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**The 2014 Brazilian World Cup:
Consequences and Legacies**

By:

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**SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS**

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Introduction

Sport is often not a topic one contemplates of when thinking of global and national narratives. For many it is not a valid or significant tool to study race or development. Sport has been minimized to an after school activity or a distraction, but sport crosses many spheres including, but not limited to, politics and identity. It has the capability of influencing people's histories and growth as an individual. Many scholars have in recent years used the politics of sport as a legitimate way to understand race and global history. The 2014 World Cup presented itself as the perfect subject to analyze various meanings driving the political, economic, and global significance of mega sports events. Brazil's history with football and the inter-connectedness with politics, nationalism, and racial identity provide an interesting platform to dissect this information and place it in a larger scope within the values of the World Cup. Upon exploration of this topic and several meetings with Professor David Goldblatt, author of the must-read soccer Bible *The Ball is Round*, I found that the World Cup was exuding with political, economic, and social implications. A few main issues caught my attention: The massive corruption and lawlessness with which FIFA elites seem to operate under, the unbelievable accounts of housing and human rights violations done in the name of football by the Brazilian government, and the inefficient and slow progress of infrastructure preparations.

Having grown up playing soccer and various other sports, I learned the innumerable life skills one can develop from participation in team activities. Coming to the end of my undergraduate career, I will truly miss my years as a student athlete,

including my four years on the Claremont-Mudd-Scripps Women's Basketball team. The connection I have experienced between athletics and daily life have been so clearly transparent for me, I found I quite easily accepted the idea of sports being more than just that- a sport. This interest has led me to conduct casual research over the years, reading articles on the politics of sport, as well as how race and national identity can be formed or broken through games. Soccer- more commonly referred to in most places outside the United States as football- has given me the chance to develop that interest, as well as research and discover the many ways in which it has been utilized throughout history, and it continues to be used today.

Such grand events like the World Cup pose the opportunity for nation building, and if hosted successfully, can be a first step for a country as a powerful global force¹. For Brazil, this can mean identifying now as a large economic agent in South America. This can take Brazil from a developing country to a developed one, which is why the government is going to great lengths, which include breaking laws, to establish its supremacy². Brazil has long been in the status of a developing country: not on par with first world countries, but not exactly third world either. Due to the historical impact of football in Brazil-including racial and national attitudes- negligence of the Brazilian government towards violations, and allowing FIFA to supersede federal law, I assert that the World Cup must therefore hold monumental and international renowned symbolism and prominence. Because of this symbolism and the idea that a legacy will be left behind after the games have finished, the government is fighting to make sure FIFA does not

¹ Andrea Dip. *Brazil's 2014 World Cup: Rights Abuses Revealed In Report*. The Huffington Post. 14 Dec. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/12/12/brazil-world-cup-abuses_n_1143905.html>.

² Andrea Dip.

take the event away, while at the same time shutting out a portion of their population in the process.

The World Cup is also the chance to present a unified country and show the population coming together to not only cheer on their nation but also work with government officials to complete the necessary preparations. In this case the international competition has the potential to be a symbol of modernity for Brazil³. But instead the opposite is happening and the World Cup is revealing a country struggling with progress and trying to cover up injustices committed because of the football games. Therefore, my thesis is a survey and inquiry on the preparations leading up to the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. In the first chapter I start off by giving historical background on football in Brazil, and the racial and nationalistic implications that have served to help create the idea of being “Brazilian” and playing with a Brazilian flair. The second chapter discusses the last time Brazil hosted the World Cup, back in 1950, and the political magnitude and nation building-and breaking- effect it had and how it still affects the country today. The third chapter takes a look at the World Cup in 2010 hosted by South Africa, another developing country that sought to take the event and use it to show its worth in the global sphere. The fourth chapter goes into the government’s infrastructure preparations, such as airports, hotels, and stadiums, and aspects of security. Because football’s governing body-known by its acronym FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association)- oversees such aspects of World Cup planning, I end the chapter with a discussion on the relationship FIFA has with the Brazilian government. The fifth

³ Veronica de la Cerda, Mariana Fernandes, David Huebner, Carmen Madanes, and Jordi Suarez. "From the Periphery to Prosperity: The Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup and the City of Salvador." Knowledge@Wharton. 26 Jan. 2011. Web. 1 Mar. 2012.

and last chapter analyzes accounts of housing and human rights violations, specifically focusing on poorer areas in Rio de Janeiro because of the information that was readily available. I conclude with bringing together the main aspects of the World Cup preparations and reiterate the massive potential the World Cup has for Brazil, and whether or not the preparations seem to reflect the international image it desires to depict.

Chapter One: Historical Context and Background

“Few things happen in Latin America that do not have some direct or indirect relation with soccer.”⁴

Football in Brazil has had an important place in the lives of the poor working class, the elites, and the government. The sport is most famously said to have originated in England as an activity strictly reserved for the upper crusts of society.⁵ If a person of color was allowed to play or watch it was considered an honor. Therefore, football had social implications, as well as distinct class and race divisions, from the very beginning. Football was brought over to Brazil by British sailors and as a result can be seen as another aspect of control, dominance, and influence- at least in the early stages of the game⁶. However, this sport shifted into what is now known as the poor people’s sport for various reasons including, but not limited to, minimal equipment and an interchangeable and fluid playing space⁷. Football became an outlet of expression as well as a tool used to form Brazilian identity. But it was also a symbol of exclusion and racism. “Futebol arte” became a style specific to Brazil and it was believed, whether true or not, that Brazilians possessed a uniqueness that differed from any other country⁸. In the later years it came to symbolize different facets including modernity, and it served as a tool of the government in the advancement of their goals. It also represented national identity and racial acceptance for a large portion of Afro-Brazilians struggling to find peace in a racist environment.

⁴ "Sport and Society in Latin America." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 37.5 (2004): 13. Print.

⁵ Eduardo Galeano. "Soccer: Opiate of the People?" *Report on Sport and Society* 37.5 (2004): 39. Print.

⁶ Eduardo Galeano.

⁷ Marcos Natali. "The Realm of the Possible: Remebering Brazilian Futebol." *Soccer & Society* 8.2/3 (2007): 269. Print.

⁸ Marcos Natali 270.

Football has been argued to be a distraction, almost a waste of time. In other words, similar to how religion is often viewed as a crutch, football is seen by many to be the opiate of the people⁹. But there may be some truth to this statement. For example, when football was just taking root in Brazil, the number of players and spectators was rather small due to the exclusionary rules associated with it. Slavery was ingrained and it wasn't until 1888 when it was formally abolished that Brazil saw its movement toward industrialization. In the years of the 1920's and 1930's Brazil was establishing itself as a national industry. Mass production of soccer balls is argued to have spurred a more popular interest in the sport and attract players. But industrialization also gave rise to factories and factory workers who were either former slaves or descendants of slaves. Factory owners saw football as a means to create factory loyalty and disrupt any sense of worker solidarity. For example, football teams were based off the factory one worked at and games between factories were thus set in motion¹⁰. Therefore teams were crafted to benefit the owners by keeping the workers busy and happy. The opiate of the people argument consequently has some legitimacy to it in this respect.

But what ultimately happened was that the formation of factory football teams allowed the workers to congregate and gather in an informal setting and share similar experiences within and outside of the work place¹¹. Now that more and more working class men were allowed to play, the shift to the poor people's sport became visible. But the elite class still controlled the avenues and ways in which they were allowed to play. For instance, even though participation was increasing among the working class, they had

⁹ Eduardo Galeano 40.

¹⁰ Rogerio Daflon, and Teo Ballvé. "The Beautiful Game? Race and Class in Brazilian Soccer." Report on Sport and Society 37.5 (2004): 24. Print.

¹¹ Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé 24.

a hard time playing within places other than in the sphere of their factory teams. When men of color attempted to play for their local clubs they were more than often denied that opportunity: “The most prominent soccer clubs in the state of Rio de Janeiro- with the sole exception of Vasco da Gama-resisted the entry of blacks to their soccer teams”¹². Many even shut down their clubs completely in order to avoid the inclusion of black players. These tactics perpetuated the already existing negative attitude towards black people and black football players.

Because people of color were seen as a problem and nuisance to society, their eventual inclusion into the sport was seen as muddying the class divisions. As one Rio de Janeiro magazine stated in 1915, “those of us who have a certain position in society are obliged to play with workers, with drivers.... The playing of sports is becoming an agony, a sacrifice, never a diversion”¹³. Its roots from British elites passed down to Brazilian elites were hard to shake and for that reason “soccer in Brazil was thus born arrogant and haughty, a symbol of extreme exclusion”¹⁴ But despite these on-going attitudes circulating around the country, it was eventually acknowledged that having black players on club and national teams were beneficial. This shift in perspective came at a time when winning championships was at the center of people’s minds. One of the first black players for the Brazilian team, Leônidas da Silva, became a huge football star and ignited the idea that having people of color on the national team is an advantage, not a problem. Gaining a certain amount of respect on the field, however, did not necessarily channel over to regular life. The prevailing idea was that blacks should be in the labor

¹² Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé 24.

¹³ Eduardo Galeano. "Soccer: Opiate of the People?" Report on Sport and Society 37.5 (2004): 40. Print.

¹⁴ Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé 23.

force producing goods that benefit upper elites financially¹⁵. In other words, the exploitation of blacks should continue and they should be kept in their place.

As popularity and success increased in the sport, the idea of professionalization began taking root in conversation. But this wasn't readily received by the upper elites who felt that "professionalization would challenge the upper-class, white hegemony in the sport, because working-class and black players would be able to focus on playing the game instead of trying to find or hold down a traditional job"¹⁶. Therefore, the idea of who benefits and who doesn't from football is seen explicitly in this train of thought. The exploitation of workers, players, and people of color-who more than often had little political influence or social status- was reflected in football. On one hand, the inclusion of black players on the Brazilian squad increases the odds of winning- or so that was the line of reason- while excluding them keeps the system of class and race distinctions in place in a world where white elite benefit from black labor and production. Now Brazil had a decision to make: what was more important, winning or maintaining a "white" image to the world? Brazil would have to either accept its mulatto race or continue demonizing it. And in the late 1930's it seemed as if mulattoism was something to be proud of and football gave it that avenue and stage to present its pride and joy¹⁷. One of Brazil's top social commentators, Gilberto Freyre, based Brazilian football success off the country's mixed heritage: "Our style of playing football seems to contrast to the European style because of a set of characteristics such as surprise, craftiness, shrewdness, readiness, and I shall even say individual brilliance and spontaneity, all of which express

¹⁵ Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé 24-25.

¹⁶ Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé 25.

¹⁷ David Goldblatt. *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer*. New York: Riverhead, 2008. Print. 282.

our ‘mulattoism [...]’¹⁸. Not only does Freyre celebrate Afro-Brazilian culture, he also celebrates it for what it is not- fully European. There was a struggle and desire to find a national identity separate from the European conqueror that imposed their laws and beliefs. Brazil was learning to find and accept the multi-ethnic population that exists today because of European immigration to Brazil.

Another reason football is seen as an important tool used to form identity in the working class is the certain amount of respect given to successful football players, as well as, the equality that is perceived to take place within the sport. Working class black males like Leônidas da Silva made a living out of playing football and earned not only respect from Brazil but also around the world. For him, it was a way to climb up the social ladder¹⁹. For the working classes they were role models and an example to what can be achieved. Da Silva was one of the best players on the national team in the 1930’s. His famous debut was in the 1938 World Cup, where even though Brazil did not take home the gold, a third place finish was enough to be received back home graciously²⁰. He played during the time Freyre argued for a positive view on mulattoism, and da Silva perpetuated the positivity towards mixed people. Another player of color and also considered the greatest footballer in the world, Pelé made his mark in the late 1950’s and into the 1960’s, where his skill and play on the pitch have been described as “brilliant” and “immaculate”²¹. A football legend, he currently is the face of the Brazilian 2014 World Cup and is working with the current Brazilian President, Dilma Rousseff, in the managing and preparations for the grand event.

¹⁸ David Goldblatt 282.

¹⁹ Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé 25.

²⁰ David Goldblatt 282.

²¹ David Goldblatt 376.

The World Cup is the most prestigious tournament of all athletic tournaments. It is a world contest in which 32 national teams compete against each other. There are the favorites and the underdogs. A World Cup Championship win is a cause of a nation-wide celebration. And for the regime that wins, it was also a chance to manipulate the victory into its own government agenda. This is all too common in history, especially Brazilian history. As an example, in 1970 when Brazil won the championship, its dictator at the time, General Governo Médici gave money to players and posed for pictures holding the trophy²². What is significant though, is the equating of a championship to an increase in global dominance. For instance, the phrase “Forward Brazil” appeared in TV advertisements and above playing fields during the victory celebration²³. The image of Pelé also appeared alongside the phrase “No one can stop Brazil”²⁴. Football was extremely important to Brazil, a country that could not prove its dominance through a forceful military or a strong economy. But it could “confront the world as its football team, and in this sphere this continent could compete and excel like in no other”²⁵. Not much different today, the federal government in Brazil is taking this opportunity to showcase its step into the modern world. That means emerging as a first world country, and no longer compared to developing countries that have hosted World Cups previously, such as South Africa. Therefore manipulating and using the game to promote a certain image to the world can and has depended on the outcomes of large sports events.

It is clear that football was more than something to do with spare time. Government officials saw the potential and significance in sport, and used it to create

²² Eduardo Galeano 41.

²³ Eduardo Galeano 41.

²⁴ Eduardo Galeano 41.

²⁵ David Goldblatt 266.

national identity and power. Working classes saw it as an escape and another way of life and people of color saw it as a way to acceptance. When Brazil was awarded the World Cup bid in 1950, it grabbed at the chance to host and present an image of advancement. With racial acceptance on the rise, a great football team, and the building of its most grand stadium, this was the perfect way to show the country off to the world. But little did Brazil know at the time was that this would lead to questions and doubts of Brazilian identity, and haunt them even today in preparing for the 2014 World Cup.

Chapter Two: The 1950 World Cup

“Everywhere has its irremediable national catastrophe, something like a Hiroshima. Our catastrophe, our Hiroshima, was the defeat by Uruguay in 1950.”²⁶

The 2014 World Cup and its political and nationalist importance cannot be properly discussed, understood, or interpreted without first explaining the history of the last World Cup hosted on Brazilian soil in 1950. Despite it occurring more than 50 years ago, Brazil still bears the consequences of that crucial final match against Uruguay. The 1950 World Cup will forever be remembered as one of the country’s most devastating moments in their history, but also one of its most unifying. It was a final so shocking that it still upsets Brazilians today. Brazil to date has won more World Cups than any other country- it boasts five championships- and is the only team to have competed in every single World Cup. Thus, it is not too bold to state that Brazil is probably more obsessed with the sport today because of its past success and reputation with football. Not only does it have great accomplishments, but it has won playing the Brazilian way-known as “futebol arte”-described as passionate and exciting, complete with tons of dribbling and tricks, as opposed to passing and lackluster²⁷. In 1950 Brazil was looking to win its first World Cup and set a tone that the country was an advanced and new force in the global sphere because of its success as a football team. As history will play out, Brazil fails miserably in many ways. Since this is the last World Cup held in Brazil, the upcoming 2014 World Cup will not only test its current status as a developed and powerful role player in the global sphere, but will also set out to redeem itself from that fateful final match on July 16.

²⁶ Alex Bellos. *Futebol: The Brazilian Way of Life*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003. Print. 1.

²⁷ Alex Bellos 1.

Because the 1942 and 1946 world games were interrupted by World War II, the last World Cup was held in 1938. Therefore 1950 was the first time in 12 years a World Cup would play out; and Brazil was to be hosts by default since they were the only official bidders while Europe was recovering from the Second World War²⁸. But Brazil took this opportunity to present to the world a modernized country that was also more developed and industrialized. At that time, the best way to do that was to not only successfully host the World Cup but to win it. Two years before the start of the games, the Maracanã stadium was built in Rio de Janeiro as a symbol of that progress towards modernity and to honor the significance of the World Cup and the nation²⁹. It was also a representation of football in all its pride and glory. The final match between Uruguay and Brazil was to be played in that stadium in front of a packed house: “Today Brazil has the biggest and most perfect stadium in the world, dignifying the competence of its people and its evolution in all branches of human activity”³⁰. Brazil’s authority and supremacy were on the line, and already football was correlated with progress as a nation state. Not only was this stadium a masterpiece, but it was directly funded by the federal government³¹. The fact that the federal government directly involved themselves in the creation of a football stadium truly shows the immense weight and significance this World Cup had for the country.

By the time the 1950 World Cup arrived, military dictator Getúlio Vargas had been in power for about 20 years. In 1934 he was congressionally elected, a dictator in

²⁸ David Goldblatt 266.

²⁹ David Goldblatt 287.

³⁰ Alex Bellos 46.

³¹ David Goldblatt 288.

1937, a senator in 1946, and democratically elected in 1951³². He was instated by the military, who was worried about the economic progress of Brazil during the time of the Wall Street Crash³³. During his reign he not only created a sense of Brazilian identity but he also centralized power in the federal government. This helped in his mission to industrialize and advance the country³⁴. The repressive part of Vargas' regime included the banning of political parties, blocking of civil rights, and the criminalizing of strikes³⁵. He successfully prevented any strong oppositional groups from overthrowing his reign, and one of the ways he did so was through football. He funded a stadium in Sao Paolo in the 1940's to gain support from those who were interested in football³⁶. In 1941 he also implemented the Confederação Brasileira de Desportes (Brazilian Sports Confederation, CBD)- the national council of sport- and with that showed a strong interested in making sure Brazilians were physically fit because it was believed this would provide the right circumstances for large industrialization³⁷. Brazil had not seriously invested an army force in either of the World Wars and as a result did not suffer a large number of casualties. But it also could not use those wars to dictate its national history³⁸. A different avenue was needed and football provided the stage for a new dictator to present to the world a Brazil worthy to play with the big global forces at the time.

Before Vargas, though, Brazilian football was not very successful in the 1920's or 30's. In 1938 however during the World Cup in France, Brazil was the sole representative

³² Rex A. Hudson, ed. "The Era of Getúlio Vargas, 1930-54." Brazil: A Country Study. 1997. Brazil. US Library of Congress. Web. 10 Apr. 2012. <<http://countrystudies.us/brazil/16.htm>>.

³³ David Goldblatt 284.

³⁴ David Goldblatt 284-285.

³⁵ David Goldblatt 285 & Rex A. Hudson.

³⁶ David Goldblatt 285.

³⁷ David Goldblatt 285.

³⁸ David Goldblatt 266.

from South America. It received the third place award after beating the Swedes. The best players on the national team at this time were all black and therefore race was also used to determine Brazilian national identity. Because of its history with slavery and interracial mixing, Brazil struggled to find a way to incorporate its mulattoism into the national narrative. Something for years seen as shameful and backwards, the country was now at a time when it was starting to accept its Afro-Brazilian heritage as a positive aspect of national identity³⁹. Usually associated with the idea of a “bastard nation”, football provided the platform to embrace a new identity that no longer specified strict whiteness⁴⁰. African body culture soon became not only associated with a certain style of play, but a successful one at that. As an example, in Rio the leading teams of cities Flamengo and Vasco won both the carioca championship as opposed to Fluminense which fielded only white players⁴¹.

Vargas portrayed himself as the benefactor of the working classes, when in reality he had the interest of the elites more at hand. He of course was also concerned with keeping his own power in place and maintaining a strong support base. He did this by favoring the elites and factory owners and made sure to keep them happy. But Vargas’ connection to football proved influential. Radio broadcasting was taking off in the 1930’s and in 1942 the word “GOOOOOL!” was first yelled over the speakers⁴². This in addition to race and style of play contributed to the football culture that was to be used as an expression of Brazilian nationalism. Vargas also joined in the mounting celebration of Afro-Brazilians. Therefore in preparation for the 1950 World Cup, Brazil stepped onto

³⁹ David Goldblatt 282.

⁴⁰ David Goldblatt 282.

⁴¹ Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé 24.

⁴² David Goldblatt 287.

the global sphere under the Vargas Era first and foremost as a football team set out to prove its modernity, as well as show case a new and developed unified national identity⁴³

The 1950 World Cup was a build-up and continuation of the growing national identity and progress already underway. It was fully believed and predicted that Brazil would take home the gold. Brazil beat Mexico, tied Switzerland, and beat Yugoslavia. They then beat Sweden and Spain, and were to face Uruguay in the final.⁴⁴ This World Cup was different, though, in that there was not one last game called the “Final”. It was rather a finals tournament and the best team to come out on top after three matches would be crowned world champions. Because of how well Brazil did against Sweden and Spain, all they needed was a tie to take home the gold. Their opponents, Uruguay, needed the win. It was a common belief that Brazil would not only be victorious, but quite easily put the Uruguayans away. The question on just about everyone’s minds was “How many goals will the Brazilians score?” as opposed to, “Who do you think will win?” Even the Uruguayan team had a discussion prior on the amount of goals they would not allow-6.⁴⁵

The confidence of Brazil was strong. Newspaper headlines and reports were printing stories with the title, “Tomorrow we will beat Uruguay!”⁴⁶ The country was already celebrating. Even Uruguayan officials did not think the game would be competitive⁴⁷. The last time Uruguay had won the World Cup was back in 1930 when it hosted the games. But since then, it had not attended another World Cup until 1950.⁴⁸ There was a massive build-up to the final and Uruguay was overlooked. This proved a

⁴³ David Goldblatt 286.

⁴⁴ David Goldblatt 289-90.

⁴⁵ David Goldblatt 291.

⁴⁶ Alex Bellos 49.

⁴⁷ David Goldblatt 291.

⁴⁸ David Goldblatt 290.

detrimental mistake. Brazil lost to Uruguay, 2-1 and the team never put on their white uniforms again.⁴⁹

The effects of the tragedy were so great because “it happened at the beginning of a decade in which Brazil was looking to assert itself as a nation with a great future”.⁵⁰ At a moment in time when many countries were recovering from the damages of World War II, it was Brazil’s time to shine. But the final was a disgrace. During an era that established pride in Brazilian identity, and also during industrialization as a step to modernizing, this incredible loss did not just shock the national team, but the entire country who truly believed the team was representatives of each citizen. The loss was a hit to national identity, and a step backwards politically and economically because of how the government constructed an idea that football was a symbol of Brazilian dominance. Since the team failed, so did Brazil.

Theories arose to explain this otherwise inexplicable loss to Uruguay—a small country lodged between much larger Argentina and Brazil. If one has not seen the infamous second goal scored by Uruguay’s striker, Alcides Ghiggia, I recommend watching the clip so that the description may perhaps better help with the understanding of the theories that emerged. The cameraman placed behind the Brazilian goal films Ghiggia coming past the last defender on the cameraman’s left side, then booting the ball near side post right past Brazilian’s keeper, Moacir Barbosa, who has been the center of much anger and resentment due to this loss. But Ghiggia hit it perfectly. What is interesting though is that the cameraman seems unable to find the ball. He does not

⁴⁹ David Goldblatt 293.

⁵⁰ Alex Bellos 45.

immediately go to the back of the net, perhaps assuming there was just no way Uruguay scored again.⁵¹ Then he finds the ball, sitting in the back of the goal while the commentator, Luiz Mendes, repeats “Gol do Uruguay!” in a voice of reluctance, disbelief, and shock.⁵²

The disaster at the Maracãna stadium in which over 200,000 people filled the stadium was given the name “The Maracanazo”.⁵³ Moments after the second goal had been scored, the stadium went completely silent. A clear favorite did not come out on top despite belief not only from the fans but from the opposition. When the final whistle blew, a heavy sadness fell upon the stadium while the players ran off the pitch in distress and grief (Goldblatt 293).⁵⁴ The atmosphere has been described as if a great number of people just witnessed a massive killing. “To upset the largest amount of Brazilians as possible without loss of life, there is probably no more efficient way than creating the largest stadium in the world, filling it to overflowing, and then losing, in the final minutes, to neighbors you had recently beaten, at a sport that is believed to best represent the nation” (Bellos).⁵⁵ Football represented the power of Brazil; therefore a loss to a small country reflected poorly and embarrassed the government, the people, and the national team. It implied that Brazil was not advanced, not progressing, and not developing.

Race was also a factor. The country places the blame on the shoulders of three men on that team, Barbosa, Bigode, and Juvenal with Barbosa bearing the majority of the

⁵¹ Alex Bellos 52.

⁵² Goldblatt 292.

⁵³ David Goldblatt 291.

⁵⁴ David Goldblatt 293.

⁵⁵ Alex Bellos 54-55.

guilt.⁵⁶ All three players were black. Brazil has struggled to accept a mixed race nation as a representation of their national identity. And as history shows time and time again for Brazil, when a problem arises and failure has occurred, the black population becomes the scapegoat and the country is once again ashamed of its mixed heritage.⁵⁷ Cowardice and lack of discipline were associated characteristics of these players, and that stereotype was used to explain why Brazil lost. Before this World Cup, a more accepting attitude towards multiracial football and a multiracial society started to develop. There was a praise of mulattoism; it was unique to Brazilian culture. But the World Cup Final set the country back in its racist attitudes and the national team would not field another black goalie for 50 years.⁵⁸

Besides race, other theories were formulated as the obsession with the final match grew. For instance, because the Uruguayan team had sky blue color uniforms and is referred to as “Celeste”, which translates into “heavenly”, ideas of divinity were used to explain the loss. Somehow their uniforms carried a mystique that helped the team to victory, as if some power from above was on their side.⁵⁹ Read this way, it takes away some notion of failure on the part of Brazil and instead states that the Uruguayans won because the “gods” were on their side. The keeper for Brazil at the time, Moacir Barbosa, became the scapegoat for the country. Despite his status as one of the best goalies in the world at the time, he is only remembered for failing to stop the second goal in the 79th minute of the World Cup Final. The drama of that goal has been emphasized and fantasized into many different stories to portray an ending that Brazil earned. “The idea

⁵⁶ David Goldblatt 294.

⁵⁷ Alex Bellos 56.

⁵⁸ "The Unforgiven." Knol. Soccer Tactics, 2009. Web. <<http://knol.google.com/k/the-unforgiven#>>.

⁵⁹ Alex Bellos 50.

emerged that it was somehow deserved- that the Brazilians were naturally a defeated people”.⁶⁰ Instead of victory projecting a successful country, it was a tragic defeat that served to nationalize and unite the population under a crushed identity.

The deciding goal has even been compared to the shot that killed Kennedy. “The goal and the gunshot that killed Kennedy both have ‘the same drama... the same movement, rhythm... the same precision of an inexorable trajectory...’ They even share clouds of dust- one from a gun, one from Ghiggia’s left foot”.⁶¹ Film producers and several writers have tried to rewrite history, and tell a version in which Ghiggia misses the second goal. A short story depicts a character going back in time, trying to shout at Barbosa but this distracts him instead and the goal goes in the net.⁶² The constant fascination has developed into a people’s desperate act to explain a devastating moment in the nation’s history. It has also tried to redeem itself, place blame on something other than just the team whether that’s through fiction or spiritual beliefs.

It is important to note that second place had been the best result at that point for Brazil, but it clearly wasn’t enough. The World Cup was not televised, and with 10% of the Rio population sitting in the stands watching their team in the grandest stadium built to represent supremacy and progress, the loss symbolized a nation that failed to pass its own test. In the words of Ghiggia,⁶³ “Only three people have, with just one motion, silenced the Maracanã: Frank Sinatra, Pope John Paul II and me”.⁶⁴ Just as in 1950, Brazil was once again the only official bidder for the 2014 games. Brazil has something

⁶⁰ Alex Bellos 55.

⁶¹ Alex Bellos 54.

⁶² Alex Bellos 60.

⁶³ Alex Bellos 54.

⁶⁴ Alex Bellos 52.

to prove not only to its people but to the world. 2014 is the chance to create a new unifying football moment as well as portray an image of a developed country that has achieved a modern appeal. It can write a new future, one free of the sting of the 1950 World Cup. It can form a new nationalist identity not submersed in failure but show itself as a country that can not only win five World Cups, but host them as well. Perhaps now more than ever Brazil feels the pressure to perform on the global stage and emerge as a developed nation. Brazil has not won a World Cup at home, and it cannot deny the historic significance of the 1950 World Cup when it prepares for the 2014 World Cup.

Another factor Brazil cannot ignore is the 2010 South Africa World Cup. South Africa is considered a developing country and not on par with first world countries such as the United States. The terms “first world”, “second world”, and “third world” come from the Cold War. First world countries have been defined as countries with strong economies and global influence, while developing countries usually are associated with weak economies, little influence in the global sphere, and a large gap in wealth distribution among the population (CITE). But South Africa held a successful World Cup and challenged many predictions of failure despite its economic standing in the world to date. Brazil, which in recent years has been advertising a developed and modern country due to recent economic development- it is now the 8th largest economy in the world and first largest in Latin America- must now prove that it can host a World Cup without a problem.⁶⁵ The 1950 World Cup did not go as planned and 2014 holds huge expectations of economic, social, and political standing. Again, Brazil’s power and prestige is challenged; its progress into a developed country and goal to distinguish itself from

⁶⁵ Veronica De La Cerda, Mariana Fernandes, David Huebner, Carmen Madanes, and Jordi Suarez

underdeveloped countries such as South Africa is on the line. In the next chapter I will discuss the comparisons that have already been made by journalists and economists in an effort to predict what the 2014 World Cup will look like, as well as how the 2010 World Cup poses a significant threat and even more pressure on Brazil to perform.

Chapter Three: The 2010 World Cup in South Africa

*“There exists a tension in international geopolitics between emerging economies and less developed nations, and North America and Europe. This tension is essentially that: ‘Ah, those little emerging countries don’t know how to organize anything, they’re all corrupt’.”*⁶⁶

The 2010 South African World Cup had its fair share of doubters and non-believers.⁶⁷ But the first time the World Cup was to be played on African soil, South Africa proved itself a worthy host. Now with 2014 approaching, it is Brazil’s turn to prove to the world its hosting capabilities. It is trying to make a name for itself; Brazil wants to show that it does not need to be compared to other developing countries because Brazil is now entering first world status. But despite this, comparisons between Brazil’s World Cup and South Africa’s have arisen and sparked debate amongst FIFA officials: “South Africa’s priorities were to organize the World Cup not to win it. It seems all Brazil wants to do is win, and that must change”.⁶⁸ By successfully hosting an international competition, this will say a lot about Brazil’s step into modernization. South Africa’s international image improved as the world was able to see a nation in a different light apart from deficiency.⁶⁹ The comparison is vital because if Brazil fails, it is seen as falling behind South Africa- a developing country-and therefore implying Brazil is not

⁶⁶ Raquel Rolnik. "World Cup and Olympics: The Show and the Myth." RioOnWatch.org. Catalytic Communities, 8 Nov. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://riononwatch.org/?p=2288>>.

⁶⁷ Mike Collett. "FIFA Blasts Brazil's World Cup Progress." Toronto Sun. Reuters, 2 Mar. 2012. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.torontosun.com/2012/03/02/fifa-blasts-brazils-world-cup-progress>>.

⁶⁸ Mike Collett

⁶⁹ Barrington Salmon. "South Africa Builds on World Cup Achievement." The Washington Informer. 29 Apr. 2011. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://washingtoninformer.com/index.php/financial-literacy/item/270-south-africa-builds-on-world-cup-achievement>>.

ready to be considered a developed nation. If the 2014 World Cup ends up being a disaster, the world will question Brazil's entrance into modernity.

Both are not first world countries, but their economies are growing and therefore the World Cup was and is their chance to continue that growth and show the world how far they have come. FIFA voiced extreme doubts about whether or not infrastructure would be complete in time in regards to South African and Brazil.⁷⁰ South Africa hoped a legacy of progress for the government and people would be left behind after the World Cup 2010 was long over. In an article written one month prior to the 2010 World Cup, a 0.5% of economic growth was expected to occur, which would be a good portion of the predicted 3% growth for that year.⁷¹ However, the population is well aware of the monetary benefits FIFA will receive, despite South Africa bearing the full brunt to put on the event. Brazilians, particularly human rights activists and those living in the poor and ignored areas in the cities set to host part of the games, are attempting to bring attention to the injustices done in order to bring FIFA and the federal government a good image and a heavy profit. In the 2006 World Cup in Germany, FIFA made \$1.8 billion, of which FIFA claims will be recycled into developing the sport globally.⁷²

However, in a different article, despite knowing the costs, the South African government claims that what will be remembered and left when the games have gone will

⁷⁰ Tariq Panja and Carla Simoes. "Blatter Meets Brazil's Rousseff to Avert World Cup Crisis." Bloomberg. 16 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-03-15/blatter-and-brazil-s-rousseff-meet-to-avert-world-cup-crisis.html>>.

⁷¹ "South Africa's World Cup:Who Profits Most?" The Economist. 13 May 2010. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.economist.com/node/16117134>>.

⁷² "South Africa's World Cup:Who Profits Most?" The Economist. 13 May 2010. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.economist.com/node/16117134>>.

far outweigh the monetary costs.⁷³ A former South African President proudly stated “The World Cup will be remembered as a moment when Africa stood tall and resolutely turned the tide of centuries of poverty and conflict”.⁷⁴ Even though the reality of great economic prosperity or a World Cup win was highly unlikely, the amount of optimism and intangible benefits that existed seemed to make up for it, such as nationalism and pride. And for many, that was enough.

A criticism with the Brazilian World Cup, that also was a topic for the South Africans’ World Cup, is stadiums turning into “white elephants”. This means that after the games are over the stadiums will not be in used regularly, but instead mainly serve as a stop for future tourists, or occasionally for a large concert. In essence, it would turn into a waste of money. Currently this is the case with huge stadiums left empty in South Africa: “If Cape Town had upgraded an existing stadium rather than built a new one, it would have forfeited the ability to host one of the semifinals, but the state could have used money saved to house a quarter of a million people”.⁷⁵ The overarching perceived benefits of building that stadium outweighed the alternative option: social projects for the poorer population. Hosting the World Cup carried such significant weight for the government that it did not hesitate putting money into infrastructure geared specifically towards football games.

Activists in Brazil and residents of favelas are attempting to bring to light social issues ignored by the authorities. The money that will be made will stay in the hands of a

⁷³ Barrington Salmon.

⁷⁴ Gevisser, Mark. "South Africa's World Cup Moment." *The New York Times*. 7 June 2010. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/08/opinion/08iht-edgevisser.html?pagewanted=all>>.

⁷⁵ Mark Gevisser.

few such as FIFA, despite the country itself paying majority of the cost. Little is actually invested in the communities, especially those already ignored. Activists in both countries use the international competition to advocate for government aide and try to dispute arguments that the World Cup is good for the country as a whole. This is a difficult argument to make because of the already existing status, importance, and value associated with hosting the World Cup. As a case in point, the South African government believed that the World Cup would be “a jab in the eye of Afro-pessimism; invaluable global coverage; the cementing of national pride and identity”.⁷⁶ Brazil hopes to put to rest doubts of whether or not preparations will be complete in time, and whether or not Brazil is ready to be considered part of the modern world. Both countries have chosen to do this through football.

Post 2010 World Cup, those that believed it was overall beneficial to the nation attributed it to a couple factors. One indication of success was that it squashed the idea that an African country lacked the knowledge to host and put on an event of that magnitude.⁷⁷ There were no major problems, and although \$2 billion was spent, it was used to upgrade some airports and pave new roads. The CEO of South African Tourism stated, “The World Cup provided a fantastic opportunity to market South Africa to the world [...] The World Cup spoke to the can-do spirit of our people, national unity and national pride”.⁷⁸ A sense of unity and changed perception of South Africa’s capabilities- and Africa as a continent- seemed to out weight monetary costs. It is hard to truly know

⁷⁶ Mark Gevisser.

⁷⁷ Barrington Salmon.

⁷⁸ Barrington Salmon

whether the local people all feel the same way, and one cannot forget that poverty still exists despite whatever positive aspects were gained.

In polls taken of the Brazilian population, 79% believe the World Cup will make some sort of a great contribution to the country.⁷⁹ This is similar to polls taken of the South African population prior to the 2010 World Cup. Economists predicted a GDP growth in South Africa, but statistics show that it actually decreased.⁸⁰ And with stadiums left relatively empty except for the few concerts or large talks led by professional speakers, the daily lives of the general population either slightly changed or did not at all. But there were achievements. One can argue that national unity was achieved, at least for a moment, and there are those whose lives did change slightly if located in close proximity to new paved roads. Upgraded airports will certainly help tourists flying in and out of South Africa. But will these types of gains be enough for Brazil? This is the chance for social change, the chance to toss aside “decades of dictatorship, rampant inflation, and violent crime to come out stronger on the other side”.⁸¹ Football provides this avenue to accomplish this, which is why the federal government is willing to go to great lengths to complete construction, invest ludicrous amounts of money, and bow to FIFA demands in order to do so.

Infrastructure and safety and security concerns for South Africa echo today for Brazil. Both invested money into their security and police forces. But South Africa is considered to be more underdeveloped than Brazil. Moreover since South Africa hosted

⁷⁹ Aron Flasher. "What to Expect Post-Cup: Lessons from South Africa." RioOnWatch.org. Catalytic Communities, 31 Jan. 2012. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=2887>>.

⁸⁰ Aron Flasher.

⁸¹ Aron Flasher.

the World Cup right before Brazil without any disasters, Brazil has a lot to lose if the 2014 World Cup ends up a social, economic, or financial disaster. But the global expectations for Brazil and South Africa do differ somewhat. If South Africa failed, it wouldn't be as much of a surprise to the global community, but just considered "another African basket-case".⁸² But if it succeeded then it was "the world's greatest fairytale".⁸³ Although Brazil is not yet a first world country, it is also not third world and therefore more is expected to successfully host the grand event. The mega sports event will be that test and indicator on whether or not Brazil- a country plagued with dictatorship legacies and human rights violations- will be known for more than winning football championships in.

The obsession with football has grown immensely over the years in Brazil mostly because of the five championships it already has under its belt. The national team is highly regarded, and as history has unfolded, it is also how Brazil confronted the world when it wanted to establish dominance. The next section details the specific preparations going into the World Cup, the meaning behind these changes and construction, as well as the relationship between FIFA and the federal government and how that plays into the overall effectiveness of the event. Hotels, stadiums, and airports are on the schedule for renovation, and FIFA is also setting out to implement their own rules which have overridden federal Brazilian law. The completion of these projects is essential for overall presentation, and if not accomplished will be detrimental to Brazil's international image.

⁸² Mark Gevisser.

⁸³ Mark Gevisser.

Chapter Four: World Cup Preparations and FIFA Influence

*"Nobody denies the cultural, economic and sporting importance of the event, but there are consequences. A World Cup organized like this doesn't work"*⁸⁴

For those opposed to the World Cup, the prevailing opinion seems to be their opposition to the way in which the Brazilian government and FIFA are currently handling it. Of the \$11.2 billion Brazil is expected to spend on the World Cup, most of it will go towards infrastructure.⁸⁵ Back in 2007, Brazil was expected to accomplish certain projects as part of the deal when it accepted the bid to host. FIFA awarded the country the bid in accordance with the rotating continent system that is currently in place. Latin America was next, and initially had two candidates: Colombia and Brazil. But after Colombia pulled itself out of the running, Brazil became the sole contender. FIFA placed big expectations for Brazil and projects with huge renovations that must be finished in time for the Confederations Cup in 2013, a prequel football tournament and test for the 2014 World Cup. Also known as "The Festival of Champions", this tournament includes six countries from the six different FIFA leagues around the globe as well as the reigning World Cup champs, and the current World Cup hosts.⁸⁶

At the announcement of the bid in 2007, there was ample celebration back in Brazil. The sport was returning to its "spiritual home" and was regarded as football's

⁸⁴ "Consumer Group Fighting World Cup Bill in Brazil." Sports Illustrated. Associated Press, 28 Feb. 2012. Web. 3 Mar. 2012.

⁸⁵ "A World Cup Effort Few Are Celebrating." The New York Times. Associated Press, 15 Oct. 2011. Web. 1 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/sports/tennis/brazils-preparations-for-2014-world-cup-lag.html?pagewanted=all>>.

⁸⁶ "Just 500 Days until Brazil 2013 Kick-off." FIFA.com. 1 Feb. 2012. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.fifa.com/confederationscup/news/newsid=1577598/index.html>>.

homecoming.⁸⁷ But with delays in stadium construction, lack of hotel accommodations for tourists, and airport renovations behind schedule, Brazil has many people doubting its abilities as a host.⁸⁸ Paolo Coelho, a Brazilian author and member present in 2007 at the announcement of the bid, said, "This is going to change the country, to unveil another country to the world, a country that needs to be unveiled".⁸⁹ But what will the world see? Activists are determined to unveil human rights violations while the government wishes to unveil a modern and developed country. The 2014 World Cup will be the tool for each to accomplish this goal.

The 2014 World Cup preparations have been plagued with doubt, disapproval, and uncertainty. This is not out of the ordinary, though, as South Africa faced similar criticisms. There has been outspoken disapproval from FIFA, and from high profile representatives of Brazil such as Pelé.⁹⁰ The FIFA general secretary, Jerome Valcke, has suggested that Brazil is more concerned with winning the World Cup than hosting one. He also remarked that the Brazilian organizers needed a "kick up the backside", which enraged many Brazilians.⁹¹ Valcke, who issued an apology soon after the statement was released, said the translation into Portuguese from his native language of French was much harsher than what was actually said.⁹² And many activists criticize the money

⁸⁷ Andrew Downie. "Doubts About a World Cup Host." TIME. 30 Oct. 2007. Web. 1 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1678035,00.html>>.

⁸⁸ "A World Cup Effort Few Are Celebrating."

⁸⁹ "Brazil 2014 World Cup Will "change the Country," Says Paulo Coelho Read More: <http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/244061#ixzz1sTwTVYBi>." Digital Journal. 30 Oct. 2007. Web. 10 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/244061>>.

⁹⁰ "Pele Warns Brazil 2014 World Cup Organizers over Slow Progress." Daily News & Analysis. 19 Feb. 2011. Web. 27 Feb. 2012. <http://www.dnaindia.com/sport/report_pele-warns-brazil-2014-world-cup-organisers-over-slow-progress_1510072>.

⁹¹ Mike Collett.

⁹² "World Cup 2014: FIFA's Valcke Apologises to Brazil." BBC News. 6 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-17267547>>.

aspect, saying political players are more concerned with making a profit than the improvement of the country and its people. With stadium construction lagging way behind schedule and airports that aren't big enough to handle the influx of tourists expected during the games, many are questioning if Brazil can pull it off.

I find the accusation that Brazil is more concerned with winning the World Cup than hosting one to be mostly false. Although winning the World Cup has many implications that go beyond a football game- as history as showed us- the world is familiar with Brazilian football and its past successes. Brazil need not prove their skills in the game so much as their status as a nation. What Brazil has at stake now is its own legacy of development, and how far it has come since its years under a dictatorship. But the government finds itself butting heads with FIFA, and both are caught in a game of power and politics that seem to be slowing down progress and cohesion, and instead causing problems that may just turn out to be too much for the government to handle.

There are many factors that go into preparations for a World Cup. I am going to talk about a few of those aspects by starting off with infrastructure: stadiums, airports, and hotels. I then go into safety and security which includes how police forces will be upgraded and used during the World Cup as well what that extra security tells us about how Brazil views its urban population. Next I discuss FIFA and its relationship with the Brazilian federal government. Through these topics, one can see the power, politics, and image and nation building going on behind the scenes. The government uses the construction to put forth a developed Brazil, while opposition uses the same aspects as a way to show that the federal government and FIFA are more concerned with looks rather than the social welfare of the Brazilian citizens.

Stadiums

Stadium construction has been anything but smooth. There are about 20,000 workers throughout the twelve cities building stadiums and with some of those workers choosing to strike, construction is severely behind.⁹³ Although recent reports do claim that stadium construction is on schedule, they also mention the total predicted cost has tripled since Brazil accepted the bid in 2007.⁹⁴ Back in 1950 the building of Rio's Maracanã stadium represented dominance. Completion of several new stadiums and renovations of others will add to Brazil's ability to host a World Cup as well as present more modern arenas. But construction is plagued with workers strikes, protests, and displacement of the urban population. Nonetheless, the government is willing to go through as is because of the significance the stadiums in its entirety represent- strong economic and political value.

In accordance with an agreement made between the government officials, a portion of the stadiums must be built by convicts.⁹⁵ This brings to light issues of workers' rights and the definition of contemporary slave labor. According to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and adequate housing, Raquel Rolnik, she equates the current working conditions to that of slavery.⁹⁶ Several strikes have ensued because of unpaid wages and the conditions they are dealing with. But some articles highlight the benefits with convict workers, as well as comments from the convicts themselves. One

⁹³ "Brazil World Cup 2014 Stadium Workers Threaten Strike Read." Fox News Latino. Associated Press, 8 Feb. 2012. Web. 1 Mar. 2012. <<http://latino.foxnews.com/latino/news/2012/02/08/brazil-world-cup-2014-stadium-workers-threaten-strike-if-demand-for-unified/>>.

⁹⁴ Andrew Downie. "Brazil World Cup Stadiums on Track, but Costs Soar." Chicago Tribune. 3 Apr. 2012. Web. <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-04-03/sports/sns-rt-uk-soccer-world-brazilbre8320jv-20120403_1_temporary-seating-stadiums-brazil-world-cup/2>.

⁹⁵ "Brazil Inmates Seek World Cup Redemption." DawnFootball.Com. 6 Jan. 2012. Web. 1 Mar. 2012. <<http://dawn.com/2012/01/06/2300113/>>.

⁹⁶ "Brazil." Annual Report 2011. Amnesty International. Web. 4 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/brazil/report-2011>>.

article portrays this as their chance at redemption. The law states that for every three days of work, one day will be reduced off their sentence. Convicts chosen went through extensive examinations and tests done by lawyers, social workers, and psychologists. "My life has changed direction" remarks one convicted drug trafficker who is paid just over minimum wage.⁹⁷ This opportunity is also called a "great honor" because of the value the World Cup has, and participation in its preparation for a group who has been socially isolated see it as a new start.⁹⁸

The federal government can get positive press from this situation amidst the negativity surrounding preparations. Despite allegations of misusing public funds to host this World Cup, the population can see that some good is being accomplished through the stadium construction. This can be seen as Brazil investing in its population. The program gives jobs to people who are struggling to find one. "I'll be able to say that I was part of this World Cup, I'll be proud to say that I was part of it. This will be part of history".⁹⁹ Former slaves are recruited and trained and it is a goal of this program to endow them with skills that they can use after the stadiums are finished. Again, investment in the population is good for international image and to also show that the World Cup is beneficial to Brazil because it also develops its citizens, not just football. A spokesperson for the program stated "The social legacy will be tremendous" due to the social project of hiring and training workers.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Brazil Inmates Seek World Cup Redemption."

⁹⁸ Tales Azzoni. "Labor Slaves, Prisoners Helping Build WCup Venues." Yahoo! News. Associated Press, 22 Feb. 2012. Web. 1 Mar. 2012. <<http://news.yahoo.com/labor-slaves-prisoners-helping-build-wcup-venues-035930194--soccer.html>>.

⁹⁹ Tales Azzoni.

¹⁰⁰ Tales Azzoni.

But this social legacy is overshadowed with strikes and violation of labor rights in host cities. Back in February of this year, São Paulo workers had threatened to go on strike which would put the construction even more behind schedule.¹⁰¹ São Paulo, the biggest city in Brazil, is due to host the opening match, as well as the Confederations Cup. Complaints include lack of benefits and unequal pay among regions across the nation in cities that are building stadiums.¹⁰² Unions representing the workers were trying to gather support from all twelve cities but pay differences and separate agreements reached with specific stadiums have crushed solidarity efforts: “Support in the cities where workers receive better salaries may not be as strong. Workers in Rio, for example, said they might not join the movement if they are able to reach a separate agreement locally”.¹⁰³

Temporary work stoppages caused by strikes are giving the opportunity for groups other than unions to advocate for their rights. The Homeless Workers Movement is protesting on the platform that the poor are paying the price for the World Cup, with displacement caused by constriction of new infrastructure such as stadiums.¹⁰⁴ On April 4, The Homeless Workers Movement said about 1,500 protested, but the government did not agree on the number, and expressed that “they’re not concerned and the protests did little to disrupt the country’s preparations”.¹⁰⁵ There is dispute over how the eviction and displacement process is being handled. The government denies any wrong doing, but

¹⁰¹ "Brazil World Cup 2014 Stadium Workers Threaten Strike Read."

¹⁰² "Brazil World Cup 2014 Stadium Workers Threaten Strike Read."

¹⁰³ "Brazil World Cup 2014 Stadium Workers Threaten Strike Read."

¹⁰⁴ Tales Azzoni. "Group Plans to Intensify Protests against Evictions Ahead of 2014 World Cup in Brazil." The Washington Post. 5 Apr. 2012. Web. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/dcunited/group-plans-to-intensify-protests-against-evictions-ahead-of-2014-world-cup-in-brazil/2012/04/05/gIQA5HkrxS_story.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Tales Azzoni. "Group Plans to Intensify Protests against Evictions Ahead of 2014 World Cup in Brazil."

opposition criticizes the federal government, saying that it is bowing to FIFA demands and only thinking of the real estate market.¹⁰⁶ With renovation and improvements in and around stadiums, as well as clearing out the poor, land value goes up and become more expensive for those already living there to afford housing.¹⁰⁷ But the government ignores these facts because it is jumping at the opportunity for projects that look good to the outside world.

In Porto Alegre, home to the successful Brazilian football club team Internacional, the Beira-Rio stadium is lagging behind in construction. FIFA was disappointed with what they saw when they went to check on progress and found the construction site empty. This did not bode well, especially with constant criticisms issued by FIFA officials, such as Jerome Valcke who stated “the big issue we have in Brazil is that not a lot is moving [...] the stadiums are not any more on schedule”.¹⁰⁸ The stadium must reach an agreement with a construction company as well as make sure the renovations will be up to FIFA standards before work can get on track, and that can take some time.¹⁰⁹

With soaring costs comes more money from tax payers’ pockets, and the issue of white elephants is questioning the benefits, if any, the cities are supposed to receive when the World Cup is over. Is the Brazilian government really thinking of the interests of each city hosting matches? Evidence points to no, with cities such as Manaus-which as a less

¹⁰⁶ Tales Azzoni. "Group Plans to Intensify Protests against Evictions Ahead of 2014 World Cup in Brazil."

¹⁰⁷ Inês Nin. "The City of Mega Events: Visibilities." RioOnWatch. Trans. Katy Bailes. Catalytic Communities, 4 Oct. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=1936>>.

¹⁰⁸ Tales Azzoni. "Stadium in Danger of Being Dropped from 2014 World Cup." Deseret News. 2 Mar. 2012. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.deseretnews.com/article/765556040/Stadium-in-danger-of-being-dropped-from-2014-WCup.html>>.

¹⁰⁹ Tales Azzoni. "Stadium in Danger of Being Dropped from 2014 World Cup

than spectacular club team- are spending a massive \$293 million on a stadium that will most likely not be filled when the World Cup leaves.¹¹⁰ This gives off the impression that the Brazilian federal government is more concerned with looks than actual worthwhile investment of infrastructure. Because FIFA demands certain criteria, the government is willing to spend over budget in order to avoid being dropped as a host or drop certain cities. It also sees the construction of grand stadiums as potential tourist spots that show off Brazil's new modern look.¹¹¹

An April 3, 2012 the government stated that five stadiums were over half way done. Two are only 20% finished, including the Beira-Rio stadium in Porto Alegre.¹¹² But there are contrasting reports such as one issued by the organization that over sees government spending of public funds that say only two are over 50% completed.¹¹³ The government's statements coincide with the threat of strikes looming, as well as strikes currently still happening. This alludes to the idea that the government is trying to cover up doubt and hindrances that may cause FIFA to pull out in certain cities. Also, ignoring strikes and worker complaints in favor of a respectable international image shows how the World Cup is not helping urban development or investing in the population but causing the government to further ignore problems that have existed before the World Cup.

FIFA is not legally responsible for the construction of stadiums, even though it calls the shots on how they need to be built, for how many, and by what date. The only

¹¹⁰ Andrew Downie. "Brazil World Cup Stadiums on Track, but Costs Soar."

¹¹¹ Andrew Downie. "Brazil World Cup Stadiums on Track, but Costs Soar."

¹¹² "Construction on 2014 World Cup Stadiums on Schedule: Brazil." CBC Sports Soccer. 3 Apr. 2012. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.cbc.ca/sports/soccer/story/2012/04/03/sp-world-cup-brazil-construction.html>>.

¹¹³ "Construction on 2014 World Cup Stadiums on Schedule: Brazil."

obligation it does have is the prize money at the end of the tournament and it handles all the national teams' traveling preparations.¹¹⁴ It appears that the job FIFA consistently holds, though, is the vocalization of its disapproval with many, if not all, the preparation. Hotels are no exception. The Brazilian government is also trying to take this aspect of the World Cup and use it towards its new international image.

Hotels

Hotel accommodations and construction are another important aspect of preparations. However, finding information specific to hotel work was hard to come by. It has not made headlines as much as other aspects of the World Cup. The official FIFA website has compiled a list of hotels that state how far each one is from an airport, and there are general comments made about hotel infrastructure being behind schedule, but for the most part it was combined in articles detailing FIFA's dissatisfaction with the lack of progress as a whole. Some cities are used to constant tourism but other less traveled venues are at risk of not having enough room for tourists. With lack of planning and little time left, some cities just may not be able to fit all their tourists. There was one report I discovered titled "World Cup 2014- Professional Training Program for Brazilian Hotels" which describes how a program implemented in the twelve cities set to host matches will serve to improve the hospitality industry.¹¹⁵ This gave some valuable insight into how the government is using another aspect of preparations, like hotels, to present a higher standard of tourism, and therefore a sign of development.

¹¹⁴ Flasher, Aron. "What to Expect Post-Cup: Lessons from South Africa."

¹¹⁵ Assis, S. A., H. Abdalla, and G. H. Pftischer. "World Cup 2014-Professional Training Program for Brazilian Hotels." *International Journal of Advanced Corporate Learning* 4.3 (2011): 10-15. Web.

In agreement with the Brazilian Institute of Hospitality (IBH) and the Brazilian Hospitality Industry Association (ABIH), Brazil is hosting a training program geared to improve its hospitality and standards. The program is called the “Welcoming Cup”, as tourism is very important and a necessary feature in depicting a positive image. It is being done through a virtual online school referred to as EVMH. The participants also meet at their respective hotel locations for further activities. By the time the World Cup arrives, it is the hopes of the Brazilian hotel industry to match international standards of tourism quality.¹¹⁶ All this is done to promote a developed image of Brazil and what better way to do that than with the tourists who are perhaps experiencing Brazil for the first time.

The workshops were offered four times a week for four hours each. About 306,000 professionals working in the tourism front line are said to be trained. The frontline is defined as those workers in direct contact with tourists such as those in the food and entertainment industry. The program is set in place in the twelve cities scheduled to host the games. Each sector of the hotel industry has a specific set of training goals and workshops of which include aspects of behavior and communication. The online portion provides lessons but also allows the makers of “Welcoming Cup” to track progress.¹¹⁷

Overall the program was seen to have been successful, although the true test will come in 2014. The “Welcoming Cup” had a graduation rate of 82%. Perhaps an important immeasurable goal achieved was the rise in self-esteem and confidence of employees who felt better prepared after going through the process. This was the first

¹¹⁶ S. A. Assis, H. Abdalla, and G. H. Pftischer 10.

¹¹⁷ S. A. Assis, H. Abdalla, and G. H. Pftischer 10.

phase, with the second phase to have taken place in 2011. This program was put on and sponsored by the Brazilian Ministry of Tourism.

The direct investment and involvement by the government shows the importance of this World Cup. In this case, it is looking into certain areas where it is lacking or needs improvement and establishing programs to advance them. But the government is investing in areas it wants the world to see, and where guests from all over will be interacting and spending time. Hotel industry is another opportunity for the federal government to showcase a high quality country that is made for visitation and vacations. If the experience is positive, tourists come back, along with their money to spend. The investment of the work force in the hotel industry will most likely provide some benefits to the employees who received training, who can perhaps utilize these skills in other occupations.

The next sub-section explains the situation surrounding airport construction. Because of inefficient use of time and inability to cooperate with FIFA, the Brazilian airport industry that was already struggling with increased tourism appears to be falling too far behind to catch up.

Airports

In addition to the concerns of infrastructure, airports seem to be one of the top concerns as expressed by both FIFA and the Brazilian government. Ten of the thirteen airports are extremely behind schedule, and even if they are completed in time, it is reported that twelve out of the 14 will be unable to withstand the mass influx of tourists

that are expected to arrive.¹¹⁸ “The World Cup is a unique opportunity for Brazil to present itself on the world stage, and the airport is the first impression that a tourist gets”.¹¹⁹ Just as the other aspects discussed earlier, airports add to the image Brazil is constructing for itself. An overcrowded and incompetent airport will be a bad start to a tourist’s vacation and stay, especially if it’s for the first time. This will also just add to the doubts already circulating on Brazil’s ability to handle the event.

President Dilma Rousseff has made it a point to release statements reassuring the confidence she has in her country to complete the tasks. “A strong intervention” will be made by the federal government to guarantee the completion.¹²⁰ But other groups disagree. Many are blaming the airport governing body, Infraero, for its incapability and lack of efficiency to carry out a proper construction plan geared for the World Cup in 2014 and Olympics in 2016. Back in 2009 seven out of twenty airports were frequently dealing with issues of overcrowding which led to delays and flight cancellation.¹²¹ The government is expecting to significantly increase its investment in construction, going from about \$143 million in 2007 to a whopping \$3.7 billion by 2014.¹²² There has been a surge of tourism to Brazil in the recent years, but the amount expected to arrive in the summer of 2014 will truly test the quality and readiness of the airports. If there is a weak first impression, then that may well set the mood for the rest of the event and Brazil’s image.

¹¹⁸ "Brazil's Airports 'not Ready for World Cup 2014.'" Business. BBC News, 14 Apr. 2011. Web. 1 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-13090122>>.

¹¹⁹ "Airport News: Can Brazilian Airports Handle the World Cup?" Eturbo News. Reuters, 27 July 2010. Web. <<http://www.eturbonews.com/17504/airport-news-can-brazilian-airports-handle-world-cup>>.

¹²⁰ "Brazil's Airports 'not Ready for World Cup 2014.'"

¹²¹ "Airport News: Can Brazilian Airports Handle the World Cup?"

¹²² "Airport News: Can Brazilian Airports Handle the World Cup?"

Brazil is paying the price for lack of planning and delays in officially finalizing of plans for construction and renovation in each of the twelve cities. For example the city of Belo Horizonte is reported to have the most completed in regards to over-all preparations, but is still in need of a second airport passenger terminal to accommodate all the travelers.¹²³ But because of postponements in beginning the project, a temporary facility will be invested in, which for many is seen as a waste of money: “We are against having the World Cup like this, with overspending, mismanagement and lack of planning [...] All this money could have been spent with other things”.¹²⁴ Blame is placed on the previous government under Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who did not take advantage of the situation to start preparations early or work on defining what projects need to be placed in what cities.

In order to accelerate investments in airports, President Rousseff has opened up the airports to private businesses this year. This has sparked controversy because her political party platform, the Workers’ Party, has openly opposed private management.¹²⁵ Around \$14 billion was raised through an auction of licenses that would allow companies to operate three of the most traveled through airports in Brazil.¹²⁶ Concern followed this massive amount of money because the companies that won the licenses were relatively small. Doubt circulates on whether it can manage the responsibility, and many don’t think it will make much profit. “Brazil’s aviation industry has grown more than any other in the world over the past decade with passenger traffic increasing 118% between 2003

¹²³ "A World Cup Effort Few Are Celebrating."

¹²⁴ "A World Cup Effort Few Are Celebrating."

¹²⁵ Dom Phillips. "Brazil's Airports Face 'Demons of Privatization'." Bloomberg. 16 Feb. 2012. Web. 1 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-16/brazil-s-airports-face-demons-of-privatization-dom-phillips.html>>.

¹²⁶ Dom Phillips.

and 2011, according to the government".¹²⁷ With a rise in economy came also the rise in the number of people able to travel. Because flying is no longer an upper class privilege, many Brazilians from lower and middle classes took to the air for the first time just last year which has increased lines, waits, and less than quality service.¹²⁸

The three busiest airports located in Sao Paulo, Campinas, and Brasilia are now co-run by the three small construction companies that won the auction, and will work with Infraero for the next twenty years.¹²⁹ The going prices were 347% higher than what was expected to be spent. "Specialists are a little worried. They think that they are groups who don't have the experience and the critical mass to assume such big commitments. Those who do have more (weight and experience) were scared to arrive at those prices [...]".¹³⁰ Even the President has expressed concerns, even though earlier in 2011 she had alluded to having confidence in the matter. Rouseff would have preferred more well-known companies to win the bid and pass on their experience to Infraero, which has been criticized for its inadequacy.¹³¹ The Workers' Party who had demonized privatization is now allowing it in hopes of hastening construction. Private companies are investing quite a large amount on this project that is meant to benefit the country as a whole and the people that travel, instead of the more frequent use of public funds targeted to benefit a few. But President Rouseff and her party have been criticized for switching their stance on privatization. Her supporters, rather, say that she has "demystified the demon of

¹²⁷ Jose Osse and Tais Fuoco. "Brazil Raises \$14 Billion in Airport Auction for World Cup." Bloomberg. 7 Feb. 2012. Web. 27 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-06/brazil-raises-12-billion-in-airport-auction-ahead-of-world-cup-tournament.html>>.

¹²⁸ Dom Phillips.

¹²⁹ Dom Phillips.

¹³⁰ Dom Phillips.

¹³¹ Dom Phillips.

privatization".¹³² In the end her temporary stance is politically and financially motivated in an attempt to put on a successful World Cup. It is all done with one goal in mind: prove to the world how competent and under control the situation is and dispute any doubts. With circulation of disapproval with the government and its organizing of the event, it is important the President maintains confidence in her country's ability to come through, as well as do what is necessary to get the job done even if it means switching her stance on an issue she stood firmly against at one point in time. If the job cannot be completed, FIFA can take the World Cup away and any hope of a legacy left from the games will be destroyed.

What is very interesting and surprising is the amount of federal government investment going into the preparations. In a country where public and social projects go unfinished or never started and where it is tough to get social programs all the way through Congress, it is amazing how much money it is willing to drop on football infrastructure, including \$23 billion towards stadium building and airports.¹³³ It is the enormous historical value the World Cup has as well as the potential to symbolize more than a football tournament that the government will go to extremes to complete projects that FIFA requires. But because of lack of planning, money invested in infrastructure is not being spent wisely, and projects that could use funds such as housing in impoverished areas, are continuously being overlooked. When money is going into poorer areas known as the favelas, it is invested in police forces in an effort to keep the population safe as well as present a secure environment for tourists. The next subsection talks about what the government is doing to provide a safe atmosphere and a clean international image.

¹³² DomPhillips.

¹³³ Tales Azzoni. "Brazil Organizers Learn Lessons from Carnival Ahead of 2014 World Cup."

But what these plans also reveal is the government's fear of its own population, and not necessarily fear of an outside threat.

Safety & Security

It is crucial to guarantee the safety of its citizens and visitors, not only for Brazil's image but to attract more tourism after the World Cup. Newspaper headlines about gangs, drugs, and violence are not conducive with a new international image. Therefore it is necessary for Brazil to take the necessary precautions, but it seems it is doing so at the cost of a particular group of citizens that inhabit socially shunned areas of cities picked to host the football games.

An obvious area of concern is the issue of security not only during the game but as a general problem that must be addressed. Violence in drug-ridden favelas has made headlines constantly and many officials questioned FIFA's bid to Brazil despite knowing certain facts. FIFA's report after an inspection on whether or not Brazil was fit to host the World Cup stated "the [Brazilian] authorities have the know-how and resources to improve the situation before 2014".¹³⁴ But to contrast this view, the country's leading newspaper for sports wrote: "Either the FIFA inspectors landed in another country thinking it was Brazil or the initial report is a practical joke".¹³⁵ The same article also refers to the statistic of more than 6,000 people murdered every year in Rio. Critics of the police force blame it on corruption and incompetency embedded in the police forces. Therefore it is of utmost importance to reassure tourists and the people of Brazil that safety will not be a problem. Now, whether or not this will be done in accordance with laws is up for debate.

¹³⁴ Andrew Downie. "Doubts About a World Cup Host."

¹³⁵ Andrew Downie. "Doubts About a World Cup Host."

As of October 2011 the head of security in Rio has stated that \$1.7 billion will be necessary to guarantee total safety at the World Cup and the Olympics.¹³⁶ It was also suggested that investment into a security “command center” would help facilitate coordination between different security teams in various locations.¹³⁷ In 2010 a security agency was created to oversee all the security at the World Cup. The Special Secretariat of Security for Major Events will be in charge of federal, state, and local branches of security in 2014 but also includes the 2013 Confederations Cup. In order for the committee to be successful, officers will need to be trained and technologies updated.¹³⁸

A company called *Johnson Controls* has now partnered with Brazilian security forces to provide technology for the 2014 World Cup in an effort to make it safe and tourist friendly. Each host city will be integrated into the advanced security project, which will cost about \$29 million, guaranteeing to effectively monitor large groups of people.¹³⁹ The director of Brazilian security credited Johnson Controls’ previous experience and a reasonable price for his decision to go with this company. An interesting, but perhaps invasive, feature of this program is the background checks performed on ticket buyers. The website selling tickets tracks the names of the buyers and runs them through law enforcement databases therefore indicating which persons have had encounters with the law.¹⁴⁰ This will be used to deny access to certain

¹³⁶ "Brazil Official Seeks More Money for World Cup Security." Fox News. Associated Press, 11 Oct. 2011. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.foxnews.com/world/2011/10/11/brazil-official-seeks-more-money-for-world-cup-security/>>.

¹³⁷ "Brazil Official Seeks More Money for World Cup Security."

¹³⁸ "Brazil Creates Security Agency for 2014 World Cup." Xinhua News Agency. Ed. Chen Zhi. 2 Aug. 2010. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/sports/2011-08/03/c_131025761.htm>.

¹³⁹ "World Cup 2014 Security Systems." Johnson Controls Inc. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <http://www.johnsoncontrols.com/content/us/en/about/our_company/featured_stories/world_cup_2014.html>.

¹⁴⁰ "World Cup 2014 Security Systems."

individuals in an effort to prevent violence. On the day of the games there will be barcode readers to identify the identity of the ticket purchaser. Ideally, there will be about 1,700 video surveillance cameras as well as the command-like centers mentioned earlier built by Johnson Controls.¹⁴¹

In South Africa for the 2010 World Cup, security was a main concern for the government as well as FIFA. About a month before the games were scheduled to begin, there was a threat of a possible terrorist attack during the games. Iraqi officials had detained a suspected al-Qaida militant and the South African authorities were notified.¹⁴² But South African officials guaranteed the safety and stated “South Africa will host the safest and most secure FIFA World Cup [...] The force is ready”.¹⁴³ The 2010 World Cup proceeded without any such attacks. But Brazil is not fearful of outside attacks like that of a terrorist threat as seen in South Africa. It is rather trying to prevent violence in its own communities and protect tourists from the groups of people it labels as criminals and drug traffickers. Therefore police pacification units are going into the areas associated with such characteristics: the urban poor neighborhoods known as favelas.

In November of 2011, around 3,000 security forces charged into Rochina, a favela in Rio de Janeiro in order to fulfill a “peacekeeping effort”. In the report on the raid, the article states that “the pacification of Rochina means that authorities have close a security loop around the areas that will host most of the Olympic and World Cup activities”.¹⁴⁴ The police forces are detaining the areas in and around construction zones which more

¹⁴¹ "World Cup 2014 Security Systems."

¹⁴² Angus Shaw. "South Africa Shows Off World Cup Security." Charelston Newspaper. LexisNexis, 18 May 2010. Web. 3 Mar. 2012.

¹⁴³ Angus Shaw.

¹⁴⁴ Bradley Brooks. "3,000 Brazilian Police Seize Rio's Biggest Slum." The Guardian. World News, 13 Nov. 2011. Web. 4 Mar. 2012.

than often are favelas. Articles that praise the decrease in violent crimes are inadvertently justifying continued police actions and also cause the government to overlook human rights abuses committed by vigilantes that take the law into their own hands.¹⁴⁵ The approval by local politicians also allows the police forces to operate on their own, and several international media sources fail to mention human rights violations when they report about a safer Brazil ready for the World Cup.¹⁴⁶

Police gangs acting as death squads rarely face punishment from the government and one former officer described this as normal: “Everyone knows the police here in Rio de Janeiro... nearly all of them abuse their authority [...] The shooting cases you hear about, most of them are executions... It’s all premeditated- very cold-blooded and calculated”.¹⁴⁷ The World Cup preparations are serving as a cause for police raids and evictions, especially in the construction zones in the cities where tourism is expected to rise. Cleansing of favelas believed to be crime ridden is done in an effort to show a safe environment. Even though the World Cup is a chance for development of infrastructure, it is instead hurting poor communities who are at the mercy of police units acting without regard to law. If Brazil can get its act together, “the World Cup and the Olympics can be a positive and pride worthy occasion for every Brazilian and needs not be tarnished by human rights abuses”.¹⁴⁸ It can serve as an example of a Brazil that values human rights;

¹⁴⁵ Giovannie Dubon. "HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN BRAZIL'S FAVELAS IN PREPARATION FOR WORLD CUP AND OLYMPICS: RIO DE JANEIRO AND SAO PAULO." *Prospect: Journal of International Affairs at UCSD*. July 2011. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://prospectjournal.ucsd.edu/index.php/2011/07/human-rights-abuses-in-brazils-favelas-in-preparation-for-world-cup-and-olympics-rio-de-janeiro-and-sao-paulo/>>.

¹⁴⁶ Tom Pegram. "The Human Rights Legacy of Brazil's Upcoming "Mega-Events"." Tom Pegram. WordPress, 21 Jan. 2012. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://tompegram.com/2012/01/the-human-rights-legacy-of-brazils-upcoming-mega-events/>>.

¹⁴⁷ Giovannie Dubon.

¹⁴⁸ Giovannie Dubon.

one that has thrown off the “troubled legacy” of dictatorships.¹⁴⁹ But police officers acting as death squads and forcibly clearing out residents will depict a country that feigns progress while it suppresses and silences its population.

The next topic brings me to the Brazilian federal government’s relationship with FIFA. Throughout preparations, FIFA has been present, whether that is by giving orders or giving their approval or disapproval on projects and progress. FIFA holds the upper hand in this situation because it can threaten Brazil by taking away the World Cup from their soil. Therefore the federal government is doing all it can to stop that from happening, and as this paper has shown, even inefficiently using public funds or evicting those to make way for infrastructure projects.

The Power of FIFA

With constant criticism by FIFA, Brazilian representatives such as Pelé and former national team player and current politician Romário de Souza Faria, and activists, it is safe to say tensions have been running high since Brazil was awarded the World Cup bid. Each entity, whether politically affiliated or not, has their own agenda and own idea of what a “successful” World Cup should look like in the end, and when someone or something gets in the way of that goal, some groups get shut out while others come out on top. This is the type of situation that has been manifesting in issues like that of alcohol sales. The inability of FIFA and the federal government to come to an agreement on whether or not alcohol will be sold illustrates power struggles, lack of cooperation, and reveals what interests are top priorities.

¹⁴⁹ Tom Pegram.

As a precondition to accepting the bid, Brazil also agreed to implement a highly influential and powerful piece of legislation known as “The World Cup Law”. Created by FIFA, it ensures that the football governing body has the political and financial means and rights to execute the World Cup.¹⁵⁰ According to FIFA, when Brazil accepted the bid it also accepted this law and all the text that came with it. But certain Brazilian congressmen have stated that it isn’t clear whether or not Brazil has to accept the bill in its entirety in order to host.¹⁵¹ A controversial bill included in the World Cup Law is the sale of alcohol. Since 2003, Brazil has banned the sale of alcoholic beverages in and around the stadiums in an effort to reduce fan violence that was occurring at high rates.¹⁵² According to a statistic, from 1998-2008, Brazil led all countries with football fan violence.¹⁵³ Opponents of the sale of alcohol include certain congressmen and also the general population. Local prosecutors and lawyers oppose it because they see it as an issue of power. The Brazilian Institute of Consumer Rights has asked the general population to speak up and out against the bill saying “it would give FIFA too much power and few responsibilities while organizing the event in Brazil”.¹⁵⁴ Several Brazilian congressmen do not want to make an exception for FIFA based on these grounds.

Of course, FIFA is upset and frustrated with this process, claiming that this bill should have passed back in 2007. The slow progress with the World Cup Law is what

¹⁵⁰ Rebecca Burns. "2014 World Cup Match: FIFA-1, Brazil-?" In These Times. 16 Feb. 2012. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/12683/fifa_1_brazil/>.

¹⁵¹ "Brazil's Congress Remains Divided." ESPN Soccer. Associated Press, 15 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <http://espn.go.com/sports/soccer/story/_/id/7688939/brazil-congress-divided-alcohol-sale-world-cup>.

¹⁵² Tom Weir. "Brazil Puts Beer Back on Tap for 2014." USA Today. 30 Mar. 2012. Web. 2 Apr. 2012. <<http://content.usatoday.com/communities/gameon/post/2012/03/brazil-puts-beer-back-on-tap-for-2014-world-cup/1#.T46S0tVqqSo>>.

¹⁵³ Bill Chappell. "Brazil Moves to Ease Soccer Beer Ban, as World Cup Spat with FIFA Grows." NPR. 7 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2012/03/07/148155110/brazil-moves-to-ease-soccer-beer-ban-as-world-cup-spat-with-fifa-grows>>.

¹⁵⁴ "Consumer Group Fighting World Cup Bill in Brazil."

prompted the secretary general of FIFA, Jeromoe Valcke, to make the insulting “kick up the back-side” comment earlier about the federal government.¹⁵⁵ President Rousseff has cut ties with Valcke. Sepp Blatter, the President of FIFA, made a trip to Brazil in Mid-March of 2012 to meet with the President to discuss not only the World Cup preparations but also the status of Valcke.¹⁵⁶ Rousseff has made it clear that Brazil does not want to work directly with Valcke after his remarks but Blatter has stated that he is unsure on whether Valcke will remain FIFA’s representative in Brazil.¹⁵⁷

Because FIFA has lost other battles with the World Cup law-such as the discounted tickets for students and under privileged residents on the welfare program which amount to 300,000 tickets- it has become even more imperative for FIFA that alcohol be sold at the games.¹⁵⁸ The issue of money is at stake and FIFA does want to lose its very profitable business relationship with Budweiser. “FIFA receives tens of millions of dollars from Anheuser-Bush InBev- the giant brewing company which makes Budweiser-in World Cup Sponsorship”.¹⁵⁹ Budweiser has been the official beer of the World Cup since 1986 and has been promised by FIFA to continue this legacy into 2014.¹⁶⁰ When the World Cup was held in South Africa, Budweiser outsold all other

¹⁵⁵ Mike Collett.

¹⁵⁶ Tales Azzoni. "Brazil, FIFA Presidents to Discuss 2014 World Cup." Yahoo! News. 15 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <<http://news.yahoo.com/brazil-fifa-presidents-discuss-2014-world-cup-202213551--soccer.html>>.

¹⁵⁷ Tales Azzoni. "Brazil, FIFA Presidents to Discuss 2014 World Cup."

¹⁵⁸ "Brazil Congress Divided over Alcohol Sales at WCup." Jakarta Globe. Associated Press, 29 Feb. 2012. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/sports/brazil-congress-divided-over-alcohol-sales-at-world-cup/501400>>.

¹⁵⁹ Bill Chappell. "Brazil Moves to Ease Soccer Beer Ban, as World Cup Spat with FIFA Grows." NPR. 7 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2012/03/07/148155110/brazil-moves-to-ease-soccer-beer-ban-as-world-cup-spat-with-fifa-grows>>.

¹⁶⁰ Bill Chappell.

drinks including bottled water and soda.¹⁶¹ Loyalty to money making corporations should trump Brazilian law in FIFA's eyes. In this way, the World Cup is not seen as a "tool for social and human development"- as stated on the official FIFA website under its mission and statutes- but another way to make a lucrative amount of money at little financial expense to FIFA.¹⁶²

But the Brazilian government is not in agreement about how to go about the bill. It had remained divided on the issue of alcohol for some time. Congressman Romário is openly against the bill. He has also generally criticized the way in which Brazil has been going about the preparations, even calling the World Cup "the greatest heist in the history of Brazil" because of the inefficient use of public funds by the federal government and the amount of money FIFA stands to make off of event.¹⁶³ For a while the bill had only been approved by a congressional commission. The lower house had been delayed because of the inability to come to a consensus. And even if it gets through the lower house, the Senate must approve it and President Rousseff has to sign the bill.¹⁶⁴ Therefore because of the postponement combined with the lack of progress with infrastructure and airports, FIFA must make decisions quickly, and perhaps concede on matters it had originally stood firm on. For example, the discounted tickets were formerly not something FIFA wanted to accept, but it has now been added to the bill. With the talk on alcohol sales, it becomes a question of who will over power who.

¹⁶¹ Bill Chappell.

¹⁶² Joseph S. Blatter "Mission & Statutes." FIFA.com. Web. 16 Apr. 2012.
<<http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/organisation/mission.html>>.

¹⁶³ Tales Azzoni. "Romario Says FIFA, Brazilian Government Being Deceptive by Saying World Cup Will Be Best Ever." Winnipeg Free Press. Canadian Press, 18 Mar. 2012. Web. 18 Mar. 2012.
<<http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/sports/soccer/romario-says-fifa-brazilian-government-being-deceptive-by-saying-world-cup-will-be-best-ever-143261566.html>>.

¹⁶⁴ "Brazil's Congress Remains Divided." ESPN Soccer. Associated Press, 15 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012.
<http://espn.go.com/sports/soccer/story/_/id/7688939/brazil-congress-divided-alcohol-sale-world-cup>.

Despite a sizeable portion of the population actively protesting the World Cup bill, they seem to be ignored and left out of the larger political decision. Multiple Twitter accounts have been made with hashtags reading “fifabaixabola” and “foraFIFA” which translates into “Slow down FIFA” and also “Out FIFA”.¹⁶⁵ The use of social media to gain a voice is articulated through Twitter in an attempt to reach the political elites making the decisions. But these political elites seemed to be under the control of FIFA. According to one article, over 5,000 people have participated in this form of protest.¹⁶⁶ The group is opposing the World Cup Law, not necessarily the World Cup because they feel FIFA will have too much power and will also not be responsible for infractions or violations committed in the preparation process. A prevailing theme seems to be flowing throughout all the preparations: “ignore public criticism and instead focus on delivering the best World Cup ever”.¹⁶⁷ FIFA has been pressuring the Brazilian government to pass the bill, but the opposition are now pressuring congressmen to deny the bill, calling it a mistake and that “Brazilians shouldn’t bow to FIFA demands”.¹⁶⁸ Inherent power issues are coming to light and money-driven FIFA representatives are pushing harder than ever to get this bill passed.

Amidst the ousting of Valcke and the delayed legislation, Blatter scheduled a meeting with President Rousseff to discuss the status of the situations and where the World Cup was headed. After the meeting, Blatter remarked that “the government will

¹⁶⁵ "Consumer Group Fighting World Cup Bill in Brazil."

¹⁶⁶ "Consumer Group Fighting World Cup Bill in Brazil."

¹⁶⁷ Tariq Panja, and Carla Simoes. "Blatter Meets Brazil's Rousseff to Avert World Cup Crisis."

¹⁶⁸ "Consumer Group Fighting World Cup Bill in Brazil."

fulfill the requirements and guarantees given, and I trust Brazil".¹⁶⁹ This demonstrates a serious shift in attitude towards World Cup preparations and dialogue. Since the World Cup bid was given to Brazil, constant criticism has been circulating and openly conveyed in the media. But Blatter left the meeting in good spirits and smiling, mostly because Rousseff promised that alcohol will be sold at the World Cup, in acknowledgement of the bill. In regards to infrastructure, Blatter states that "FIFA is not worried with the delays".¹⁷⁰ At the time of the meeting and still to this date, the Congress still has to approve it but assurance from multiple people in government has been made public. It seems that alcohol will be sold during the Confederations Cup in 2013 and the World Cup 2014. All that's left is to sign the documentation and make it legal and official. A controversial decision, this process has shown that it is the huge power and political players in the end that decide the outcome. The permit to sell alcohol is not to make a better World Cup for the people, but a more profitable World Cup for FIFA. No one knows exactly what happened in that meeting except those that were there, but one can only speculate if there were incentives or threats made in order for Blatter and Rousseff to confidently declare that the bill will be passed. Because it still needs to go through Congress before she can even sign it, her confidence in assuring the bill's passing suggests that she will do what she has to do to get it passed, even if it's forced and not supported by the majority.

In a general sense, Blatter's positive comments after the meeting gives Brazil a good image, a redeemed image where FIFA is now confident in the ability of Brazil to

¹⁶⁹ "FIFA Gets Guarantee from Brazil on World Cup Preparations." CBC Sports Soccer. Associated Press, 16 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.cbc.ca/sports/soccer/story/2012/03/16/sp-fifa-world-cup-brazil.html>>.

¹⁷⁰ "FIFA Gets Guarantee from Brazil on World Cup Preparations."

host the greatest World Cup. With a governing body as powerful as FIFA and with a huge amount of control over the preparation, their open support for the Brazilian government has the potential to reflect well on Brazil. The World Cup law and its different aspects such as the alcohol bill help demonstrate the connection and influence FIFA exercises over Brazil. At times it is a frustrating relationship where heads butt. They are at odds on certain issues, and FIFA officials become irritated when they can't quickly impose its own authority and force the changes it wants. But power struggles and politics have been at the root of this organization for quite some time. The Swiss non-profit organization has been plagued with scandals that leave many questioning the integrity of the group and of the individual members.¹⁷¹ In its early history, FIFA was not a huge force. It was small, pressed for money, and had relatively no influence in the small football sphere. The World Cup wasn't known as a money-maker, just as football in general wasn't either. The FIFA president that took FIFA and the World Cup to the level of the global franchise it is today was a Brazilian man by the name of João Havelange. The former junior football player for Fluminense, Rio's elite football team, was born to middle class immigrant parents from Belgium.¹⁷² He helped to transform and expand global football financially and made sure FIFA would have a huge slice of that pie.

To make the World Cup into a grand, impressive, and profitable sports event, four key additions were implemented. The first was in regards to sponsorship: FIFA would only go after companies that had a large audience base as well as a budget capable of paying the high costs. The second stated that there would be one brand for each advertising product. For example, one soft drink and one type of beer, therefore

¹⁷¹ Rebecca Burns.

¹⁷² David Goldblatt.

monopolizing the product for the World Cup. Thirdly, television and any sort of marketing rights would not be handled directly by FIFA but through an intermediary. The fourth addition is perhaps the most authoritative. Any existing television rights or rights to stadium space that exist in the host country prior to the World Cup are pushed aside and taken over by FIFA rules.¹⁷³ The World Cup law has been described as controversial and disrespectful of current Brazilian law. The ceding of Brazilian law to FIFA, for instance, can be seen through the sale of beer. In this respect, FIFA controls not only football and the money that comes from it, but really holds countries hostage temporarily for the interest of the World Cup and FIFA.

Today, FIFA makes a ludicrous amount of money from this international competition. Thanks in large part to changes made regarding television rights and corporate sponsors, FIFA and its members have been sitting pretty. There is not one overruling legal jurisdiction the organization has to answer to, and this has led to money transfers without explanations, match fixing, and other allegations of financial corruption that go unpunished.¹⁷⁴ FIFA is virtually untouchable, and some representatives are well aware and take full advantage. Perhaps the best way to sum up this attitude is through Havelange's own words: "I don't want to make any comparisons with the Pope, but he is criticized from time to time, and his reply is silence. I too am sometimes criticized, so explanations about such matters are superfluous".¹⁷⁵ This clearly shows what level of power FIFA is believed to hold, and the arrogant attitude Havelange sustained throughout his presidency. Yes there are allegations and accusations, but that is as far as

¹⁷³ David Goldblatt 524-25.

¹⁷⁴ David Goldblatt 748.

¹⁷⁵ David Goldblatt 513.

accountability seems to go; repercussions are rarely the case. And so FIFA is left with little to no incentive to speak publicly about alleged crimes, or to be fearful of any one authority.

Havelange has been described by other members of FIFA as a “master of managing” and a “master of power”.¹⁷⁶ He is well known for his ability to network, which served him well and made him very successful in his years as president from 1974 until 1998. He chose Sepp Blatter as his successor, someone just as corrupt and money driven as he was. The current FIFA President and Swiss lawyer, “Blatter’s first eight years in power make one nostalgic for the authoritarian certainties, the despicable charm and haughty, patrician discretion of the Havelange years” (Goldblatt 745).¹⁷⁷ Blatter’s preparations for the World Cup 2014-along with Brazil’s- have been plagued with doubts and hardships. With the recent resignation of Ricardo Teixeira-head of the governing football organization in Brazil known as the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF)- and the delayed passing of the World Cup Law, Blatter has vocally shown his disapproval and frustration with the slow progressing groundwork. But with the recent change in tide of the alcohol bill as discussed earlier, more positive and supportive comments have started to surface.

Teixeira had a strained relationship with Rouseff, who chose to have Pelé be the face of the 2014 World Cup while Teixeira tried to exclude him from preparations.¹⁷⁸ He has also had his fair share of negative publicity. In 2001 alone he was charged with 13 crimes including money laundering. One allegation states that he upped the price of

¹⁷⁶ David Goldblatt 522.

¹⁷⁷ David Goldblatt 745.

¹⁷⁸ Tariq Panja and Carla Simoes.

television rights in 2008 during a game between Portugal and Brazil so he can keep the extra cash for himself.¹⁷⁹ Although many will argue that his resignation was needed, it is also important to note the corruption that still exists. The man who replaced him, Jose Maria Marin, was recently all over Brazilian news because he was caught on camera pocketing an Under-18 football championship medal back in January 2012.¹⁸⁰ He claims it was a gift, even though one player left the game without a medal, only to receive one a few days later. The blatant actions done by FIFA officials and the lack of repercussions as displayed in instances as the one involving Marin show the freedom and unrestraint with which FIFA operates. It does as it pleases; solely acting with regards to its own monetary interests as seen with the World Cup bill. Because of the power and influence it holds over the World Cup, Brazil must find a way to pull together and cooperate on accomplishing the necessary legislation needed to move forward with infrastructure. It is because of this influence and threat of removing the World Cup that Brazil finds itself at the mercy of FIFA.

With corruption scandals defining FIFA and the infrastructure projects behind schedule, it is difficult to keep in mind the population adversely affected by the poor leadership and decision-making going on in the federal government. The next chapter focuses on housing evictions and human rights violations occurring because of the World Cup preparations.

¹⁷⁹ Pedro Pinto. "A Rocky Road to Rio and the 2014 World Cup." CNN. World Sport Goal Mouth, 13 Mar. 2012. Web. 18 Mar. 2012. <<http://worldsport.blogs.cnn.com/2012/03/13/a-rocky-road-to-rio-and-the-2014-world-cup/>>.

¹⁸⁰ "New Brazil Soccer Head Takes over." ESPN. 13 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <http://espn.go.com/sports/soccer/story/_/id/7682677/new-leader-brazil-soccer-jose-maria-marin-wants-changes>.

Chapter Five: Housing Evictions and Human Rights Violations

*“The most important thing in football as business is profit. And profit has nothing to do with low income communities”.*¹⁸¹

Background and History

According to “The Annual Report 2011” written by Amnesty International, Brazil has a history of neglecting human rights issues and violations.¹⁸² During the military era (1964-1985) police officers were immune to punishment regarding torture and killings. But in 2009, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights held Brazil responsible for not investigating these injustices. At the time the article was written, Brazil still has yet to follow through with this ruling.¹⁸³ Amnesty International is also reporting on issues that are affecting Brazil today such as the right to adequate housing and police killings. Public security continues to be a problem in that the locals in the favelas do not feel safe because of violence not just from gangs but from the police force. The government installed pacification units to reduce violence and crime but police killings are still on the rise. In fact a reported 855 people were killed in 2010 in what is being labeled as “acts of resistance”.¹⁸⁴ These killings are justified by police units whether or not the victims were in fact obstructing the law or just in the wrong place at the wrong time.

The article also comments on illegal housing evictions and the history of displacement in Brazil. Accounts of favelas being destroyed by mudslides and floods show a governmental neglect that is seen today. For instance, in a Rio neighborhood a

¹⁸¹ Paul Sief. "Futevôlei Instructor Gerson on the 2014 World Cup & Access to Sports in Vidigal." RioOnWatch. Catalytic Communities, 2 Mar. 2012. Web. 10 Apr. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=3132>>.

¹⁸² "Brazil." Annual Report 2011. Amnesty International. Web. 4 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/brazil/report-2011>>.

¹⁸³ "Brazil." Annual Report 2011.

¹⁸⁴ "Brazil." Annual Report 2011.

favela collapsed because it was built on top of a garbage dump. Not only did the government fail to assess the risks in building a community so close to toxins, they also failed to properly relocate or resettle the residents after the disaster struck.¹⁸⁵ In a situation in which a community was bulldozed to make way for a bus corridor, the community did not receive any information. Houses are spray painted, denoting which houses will be taken down, and compensation is not guaranteed.¹⁸⁶

Something even more frightening is the death squads who seem to see themselves exempt from the law. They specialize in torture and intimidation and are often times made up of off duty-policemen. For example in the city of Maceio in the state of Rio, prosecutors are alleging that the deaths of 30 homeless people were done in an effort to “cleanse” the streets and fix the city.¹⁸⁷ Maintaining a good image seems to supersede human rights and treatment of residents by police forces. With headlines reporting the seizing of slums and the decrease in violence, it only serves to justify police acts because it is seen as bettering the country, especially in the eyes of the countries that doubt Brazil’s modernity and ability to host a safe World Cup.

But before we can begin to completely understand the negligence and inattention to the needs and rights of the favela residents, one must look at where the word originated. Today negative connotation is attached the word favela such as “slum” and “squatter community”.¹⁸⁸ But the true meaning has been transformed over the decades and what we are left with is the image of drugs and violence, and helpless people.

¹⁸⁵ "Brazil." Annual Report 2011

¹⁸⁶ "Brazil." Annual Report 2011

¹⁸⁷ Giovanni Dubon.

¹⁸⁸ Corinne Cath. "On the Origin of 'Favela'." RioOnWatch. Catalytic Communities, 14 Feb. 2012. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=2920>>.

“Squatter community hints at illegality and ghetto presupposes violence. None of these definitions do justice to the richness of favela culture or acknowledge the historical place of the favela in Brazilian history”.¹⁸⁹ Therefore in trying to put forth an image of progress, Brazil is doing away or ignoring those aspects which they see as a hindrance to advancement. Public funds are not put into developing the favelas, but rather to get rid of them. As long as favelas remain in a negative light, human rights and government attention will be hard to achieve for that population. And when the World Cup arrives, all eyes will be on Brazil and the government does not want to showcase favelas, and people protesting human rights violations. Instead the games will be used by the government to justify slum clearings and police pacification projects.

The period of time from the 1900’s to about the 1940’s, “The favela was described as backwards, unsanitary and oversexualized”.¹⁹⁰ The favela was being defined in opposition to the city. The city is what the favela is not. Fast forward to today and there are now studies on these communities and increased police forces penetrating the neighborhoods to rid it of gang violence and “save” the inhabitants. A contrasting view explains it differently: “the favela should not be seen in terms of misery, drugs and crime. But by definitions that represent their nature as horizontally structured solidary communities, which hard-working people have spent decades investing in and building neighborhoods with scarcely a government service”.¹⁹¹ It is because of government neglect that the people live in poverty, and they are not ignorant of this. They are fighting back, resisting construction that violates their housing and human rights. Their voices

¹⁸⁹ Corinne Cath.

¹⁹⁰ Corinne Cath.

¹⁹¹ Corinne Cath

have been quieted, but just as the Brazilian government has manipulated the World Cup to serve their own motives, so have the favela residents chosen to take the sports games and use it as their venue to show the injustice and inequality that is not only taking place in the name of mega sports events, but has been taking place for years before in spite of Brazil's politicians best efforts to cover it up.

Pacification

The pacification process is hailed as a huge success and “a big step toward breaking drug traffickers’ hold on key parts of Rio”.¹⁹² The motto has been returning the land and security back to the residents, but are the favela communities’ interests truly being accounted for? The government sends in police forces and takes them out repeatedly, justifying use of arms as a way to “seize the slums” from what they deem evil. Comments from residents include: “Tell the world we’re not all drug traffickers! We’re working people and now they’re coming to liberate us” and “Lord knows if there will be war or peace, or even if things will be better if police take this slum”.¹⁹³ The first comment reflects the residents’ urge to give positive meaning to favelas, and the second comments reflects doubt towards authority.

Levels of violent crime have been reported to decrease in Rio, and this includes deaths by police officers. Its success is being credited to the pacification units, which is significant since this gives their legitimacy to using violence. Now with these positive statistics, Brazil can put forth an image of safety and security to the world in preparation for the mega sports events in 2014 and 2016. “Police and politicians in Rio are all too

¹⁹² Bradley Brooks.

¹⁹³ Bradley Brooks.

aware that the city has to be seen as safe enough to welcome the increasing number of visitors".¹⁹⁴

The favela named Rochina has been fought over by gangs seeking control. In November of last year it was pacified by the government and is considered the single biggest favela in all of the Americas. Pacification units and patrol officers known as Shock Units are now in the community and are forced to intervene in gang shootouts and situations of the sort. But pacification has not been entirely beneficial. Many residents are confused on who holds power and do not feel safe. They don't trust the police officers that don't take the time to relate to them, and some would prefer the drug traffickers "because at least we knew what the rules were and we knew who was who".¹⁹⁵

RioOnWatch.Org

It is important to note that human rights and housing evictions violations are happening all around the country to many different favela communities. I am going to focus more so on Rio due to the information I have read on a website dedicated to reporting on and giving voice to the favelas during the time before the World Cup and Olympics: RioOnWatch.org. Sponsored by a US non-profit Non-governmental Organization (NGO) based in Rio called Catalytic Communities (CatCom), RioOnWatch is comprised of a team of journalists, media analysts, and translators that go into the favelas of Rio and document the evictions and talk with residents. The website is offering a lens into the families' lives affected by the World Cup and Olympic preparations. It serves as another point of view that runs contrary to many mainstream headlines and

¹⁹⁴ Ben Tavener. "Significant Fall in Violent Crime in Rio State." The Rio Times. 4 Mar. 2012. Web. 8 Nov. 2011. <<http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/significant-fall-in-violent-crime-in-rio-state/>>.

¹⁹⁵ "The Show Resumes: Gang Strife Returns to Rocinha." RioOnWatch. Catalytic Communities, 26 Mar. 2012. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=3276>>.

politicians that deny such violations are occurring. "Although Rio de Janeiro's officials maintain that no forced evictions have been conducted and that all families are being appropriately compensated before losing their homes, independent research by local NGO's, Rio de Janeiro's Public Defenders' Office and international organizations including Amnesty International and WITNESS has proven otherwise".¹⁹⁶ RioOnWatch.org uploads articles and videos regularly in order to provide awareness of the terrible situations.

If the public and international sphere were made ore aware of such violations, this would prove detrimental to Brazil's image. "Forcing families out of their homes without adequate notice, prior consultation with those affected and without offering adequate alternative housing or provision of legal remedies flies in the face of the very values the Olympics stands for, and violates Brazil's laws and international human rights commitments".¹⁹⁷ RioOnWatch is attempting to bring to light abuses and give representation to the favela communities that have historically been neglected and pushed aside for the interest of big business and government. Articles are uploaded onto the website quite regularly, with topics discussing the various favelas in Rio and as a result showing true motives of the FIFA and the Brazilian government. "The mega events are essentially the excuse that was needed for a small minority of Brazilian society to impose its brand of development in a democratic landscape".¹⁹⁸ In a huge report about human rights abuses called "Megaeventos e Violações de Direitos Humanos no Brasil (Mega-

¹⁹⁶ "Brazil: Forced Evictions Must Not Mar Rio Olympics." News. Amnesty International, 14 Nov. 2011. Web. 4 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/brazil-forced-evictions-must-not-mar-rio-olympics-2011-11-14>>.

¹⁹⁷ "Brazil: Forced Evictions Must Not Mar Rio Olympics."

¹⁹⁸ Sarah De Sainte Croix. "World Cup and Olympic Report Alleges Human Rights Violations." The Rio Times. 13 Dec. 2011. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/front-page/world-cup-olympics-report-alleges-human-rights-violations/>>.

Events and Human Rights Abuses in Brazil), it states so far that somewhere between 150,000 and 170,000 residents had their right to housing privileges violated or ignored in some way.¹⁹⁹ Instances like this have questioned Brazil's progress as a democracy, and whether or not its history as a dictatorship is plaguing its ability to move forward and rectify human rights and step out of the under-developed country shadow.²⁰⁰

Raquel Rolnik, the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Council, was interviewed in a magazine named *Revista Pagina* deconstructing the notion of a legacy, calling it a myth. This interview was uploaded to RioOnWatch. It portrays the World Cup and Olympics as a tool to manipulate the masses and feign an actual huge social, economic, and financial development that benefits the entire country. "They do bring gains. The question is what for? And for whom? [...] it is a grand marketing event for companies and large businesses and the brands associated with them".²⁰¹ She addresses two very important questions when determining success rate and focuses more on the advantages for the corporate elites, not the masses. She does acknowledge the cultural importance and the grandeur of it all: "It is a show, which moves people. The emotion is real. You don't only watch. You support, you suffer, you cry".²⁰² But she mentions the dangers of being emotionally invested in mega sports events that benefit few at the cost of many. Referencing the World Cup Law as well as housing evictions, she focuses on the international treaties that Brazil has signed honoring housing rights. "I had the opportunity to visit communities which are marked for eviction. The people don't know

¹⁹⁹ Sarah De Sainte Croix.

²⁰⁰ Tom Pegram.

²⁰¹ Raquel Rolnik. "World Cup and Olympics: The Show and the Myth."

²⁰² Raquel Rolnik. "World Cup and Olympics: The Show and the Myth."

anything, they don't know why, they don't know when".²⁰³ And yet the world doesn't take notice and the Brazilian government is not being held responsible for its actions. This is why RioOnWatch in accordance with Catalytic Communities has dedicated time and energy to voice these monumental concerns and encourage and train locals to organize and speak out.

The website also features articles written by other news sources in other countries such as *The Guardian* from England and *El Pais* from Spain. Rio's main newspaper, *O Globo*, has disregarded issues in and surrounding the favelas. Even high profile institutions such as the UN has reported on human rights and housing violations. But apparently this has no standing. The fact that Brazil can get away for so long without reporting on these crimes shows how out of touch politicians and corporate business and FIFA are from the voice of the people, as well as with the type of power it operates. What is absurd is the individuals and groups that are able to get away with so much without suffering any sort of punishment. Perhaps what is most interesting is the way in which *O Globo* has talked about the favela situation. Instead of viewing it as a lack of government assistance and resources, the framing of the favela population is as a lawless group of people illegally occupying land.²⁰⁴ Therefore this justifies the occupation of police forces and the evicting and destroying of homes in an inhumane manner. If this population is viewed as criminals, the state is obligated and encouraged to clear the favelas out. This in combination with the negative stigma of favelas makes it extremely difficult to garner support and organize as a unit that according to the government, have no rights or

²⁰³ Raquel Rolnik. "World Cup and Olympics: The Show and the Myth."

²⁰⁴ Renato Cosentino. "Who's Interested in Rio's Evictions?" RioOnWatch. Trans. Jake Cummings. Catalytic Communities, 11 Oct. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=2032>>.

protection. One woman states that authorities are coming into the communities and threatening evictions and destruction of homes if they don't accept the offer to move.²⁰⁵ Seen as unwelcome, they are left to fend for themselves and organize their communities in order to resist being wiped away to make way for the 2014 World Cup.

Representation and Communication

There has been a history of lack of communication between locals and the government. A situation in another Rio favela, Vidigal, has shown what strong community ties and roots can achieve in the face of big government. "Everybody knows everybody, for better or worse, and secrets are hard to come by. You are judged by what you have done, not by what you say you will do" remarks Bernadete Soares Pereira, a community leader in charge of GASCO, a community action social group that has served the youth since 2007.²⁰⁶ Recently given an eviction notice, Pereira is struggling to keep the NGO in place as it has served as an athletic and educational resource for the residents. She mobilized public defenders and the community in an effort to stop the government from removing her NGO. Vidigal, like other favelas, is promised development projects by the government, but more often than not these projects are not complete, or even started. What is important to note in this situation is the organization of the community and the outside support. Pereira is also aware of her rights, and has attempted to make

²⁰⁵ Raquel Rolnik. "Pinheirinho, Cracolândia and USP: Instead of Policy, Police!" RioOnWatch. Trans. Elizabeth Gladding. Catalytic Communities, 9 Feb. 2012. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=2904>>.

²⁰⁶ Aron Flasher. "Vidigal's GASCO Holds Firm." RioOnWatch. Catalytic Communities, 19 Jan. 2012. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=2711>>.

contact with local officials to clear up the matter.²⁰⁷ This is necessary when fighting unpopular and unwanted government projects such as stadium reconstruction.

Workshops and meetings to inform the public about what is going on in their community has been essential in advocating for their rights, especially when the government is working hard to quite their voices. The Rio City government partnered with Bento Rubião Human Rights Foundation (FBR) to get together and discuss housing plans for the years ahead.²⁰⁸ From September through October of 2011, the meetings held on Saturdays allowed residents to talk about what resources were needed in relation to housing. The discussion and debates fostered a more transparent atmosphere which permitted community members to speak directly with those politicians making decisions that affect the land they inhabit. But a criticism was that there seemed to be a divide between the government leaders and local community leaders.²⁰⁹ A reoccurring theme, the problem is trying to figure out how to influence high government while also maintaining a solid support base among the different favelas.

Evictions and Lawless Government

Horror stories of displaced families left homeless or in worse conditions than where they started with is becoming more and more the fate of favela residents. This is the reality for Carlos Machado Lopes along with his brother, mother, and sister-in-law who resided in the favela Campinho.²¹⁰ Despite the mayor stating that evictions would not occur without prior warning, on May 12, 2011 government officials informed Carlos

²⁰⁷ Aron Flasher . "Vidigal's GASCO Holds Firm."

²⁰⁸ Maria Mancinelli. "Workshop Attempts to Infuse Participation into Rio's Housing Plans." RioOnWatch. Catalytic Communities, 28 Sept. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=1862>>.

²⁰⁹ Maria Mancinelli.

²¹⁰ Mary A. Joseph. "9 Months Post Eviction: 3 Households Left Unsettled." RioOnWatch. Catalytic Communities, 29 Feb. 2012. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=3079>>.

he would be relocated to a homeless shelter and his house would be destroyed. Without any choice or say in the matter, he and his family involuntarily left. Many other families who chose to take alternative housing earlier on suffered other fates of unemployment because their new location was too far from their work place. Children were far away from their school and in Carlos' case for his sick mother the location at the bottom of the hill was specifically chosen so his mother would not have to hike up and down. They were also close to a hospital. The three months of compensation they did receive was not enough to cover the families living in their new home. Sadly, situations like these are happening in many favelas and now this process is being accelerated due to the mega sports events.²¹¹

Currently there are about 1,300 families on a relocation list, and it is predicted that 170,000 people will be evicted due to the World Cup and Olympics.²¹² According to a series of YouTube videos uploaded to the site, highway construction in Rio is displacing the poorer communities who lived along a road known as the Avenue of the Americas by sending in troops to forcefully evict families from their homes. "The officers would come into your house, take you out by force and then demolish it" remarked one resident.²¹³ As the video goes on, comments made by the members of the community illustrate how the government views them: "When they removed us they said

²¹¹ Mary A, Joseph.

²¹² Theresa Williamson. "Brazil Is Missing an Opportunity to Invest in the Favelas (NYT Olympics Debate In-depth Response)." RioOnWatch. Catalytic Communities, 2 Apr. 2012. Web. 17 Apr. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=3367>>.

²¹³ Voices of the Mission-Restinga. RioOnWatch. Plataforma Dhesca Brasil, 20 June 2011. Web. 17 Apr. 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r3WEwzmYrJE&list=PLB359E43200FA21B8&index=1&feature=plpp_video>.

they were removing the trash from the Avenue of the Americas”.²¹⁴ With this attitude, thousands of people are suffering injustices seen as perfectly normal and necessary by authority figures. These people were also promised compensation but so far have not received anything other than empty promises from the government. It seems that the federal government is operating as FIFA does- lawless and removed from punishment.

The video series reveals the knowledge residents have of Brazilian Law. One man states that the government can resettle people, but it cannot remove unlawfully. And that resettlement must be within 7 kilometers of the original location.²¹⁵ Construction by his home has damaged the sewage system and now water constantly fills his home. He asks for more dignity in resettlement, and less forced evictions. Residents that have lived all their life in certain favelas are now being accused of exploiting public resources, and as a result seen as breaking the law.²¹⁶ Their rights disappear and they are seeing their communities destroyed to make way for the World Cup and Olympic infrastructure. One man explains that he came home one day to find a mark on his door with no explanation except that he was to leave by the end of the month.²¹⁷

A common theme that runs throughout the videos is the feelings towards the constructions projects: “We’re not against the construction project- we’re against the way it’s being done”.²¹⁸ In this way, the World Cup is being used to repress a certain population in favor of an international image that shows off big renovation projects and a more developed and modern Brazil. But according to Brazilian law, the local government

²¹⁴ Voices of the Mission-Restinga

²¹⁵ Voices of the Mission-Restinga

²¹⁶ Voices of the Mission-Restinga

²¹⁷ Voices of the Mission-Restinga

²¹⁸ Voices of the Mission-Restinga

cannot start projects without consulting the residents of the area first. And this step is constantly disregarded. Perhaps one favela resident best summed up the truth behind construction: “These projects aren’t for the community, they’re for foreigners to come see”.²¹⁹ And this is what is driving the federal government and authorities when thinking about the benefits of the World Cup.

Residents of favelas who would benefit greatly from social projects and assistance are ignored. Instead of the World Cup being seen as this grand opportunity to invest in its population, the desire for Brazil to project an international image worthy of first world status has led to big construction plans and the clearing of favelas. The World Cup, a time of pride and joy in one’s nation and a time to celebrate Brazilian nationalism is instead plagued with corruption and violations. Favela members express embarrassment instead of merriment: “If I could I would leave the country, I’m ashamed of being Brazilian [...] Because when Brazil won the bid, I was in my car and I started honking like a fool to celebrate. And now I’m paying for it”.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Voices of the Mission-Restinga

²²⁰ Voices of the Mission-Morra da Providência. RioOnWatch. Plataforma Dhesca Brasil, 20 June 2011. Web. 17 Apr. 2012. <
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QocXg5q32m8&list=PLB359E43200FA21B8&index=3&feature=plpp_video>.

Conclusion

The World Cup is a time for the country to show off its nationalism and culture; a time to put forth its best image while hosting the world's most popular sport. Brazil has had around two decades of democracy as well as a stable economy for a good portion of those years.²²¹ And with the awarding of the 2014 World Cup, it can now use this to emphasize its progress as a nation, and also further that development. This is one of the “best opportunities for a country to improve its internal infrastructure [...] improvements in this arena will definitely help the country show the world that it belongs in the major leagues”.²²² The 2014 World Cup has the potential to either validate or dispute Brazil as an emerging economic and political force.

Unfortunately, it seems the desire for this new international image is coming at the expense of the population- particularly the poorer population- and the government is using the World Cup as a justification of illegal actions. The law is ignored regarding housing rights and the lack of transparency with infrastructure projects in and around favelas show that the federal government of Brazil “is more concerned with having an image as a big emerging country than with the welfare the citizens”.²²³ Instead of highlighting progress as a democracy, the preparations for the games are revealing blatant negligence and lawlessness on the part of the Brazilian government and FIFA.

FIFA's relationship with the federal government makes it difficult for favela communities to address problems occurring as a result of World Cup and Olympic construction. During the time leading up to the World Cup and Olympics, they are not

²²¹ Veronica De La Cerda, Mariana Fernandes, David Huebner, Carmen Madanes, and Jordi Suarez.

²²² Veronica De La Cerda, Mariana Fernandes, David Huebner, Carmen Madanes, and Jordi Suarez.

²²³ Rebecca Burns.

only dealing with Brazilian government but also with FIFA officials. A member of the activist group called ActionAid-Brazil's Right to the City program, Brian Mier, stated, "The government suffers true blackmail from FIFA. Any proposal that is not in line with FIFA's interests leads them to threaten cancellation of the World Cup. Therefore, to confront the government is to confront FIFA and the media"²²⁴. These communities are forced to rely on international and outside support to hold the federal government, and FIFA, responsible. RioOnWatch is trying to serve as that purpose by giving a forum where those that are ignored can voice their concerns and criticisms.

Failure to plan far enough ahead has been costly for Brazil who now must put money in temporary projects such as the second passenger terminal. Inefficiency, instead of worthwhile investment into social projects geared to help communities with little to no government assistance, overshadows progress and unification: "Everything that we have built in Brazil in the way of public participation, councils, participatory planning, is being left by the wayside, at the moment when the works are decided on for the World Cup and Olympics".²²⁵

Amidst doubt and criticisms, and FIFA's back and forth approval of certain plans lays a Brazil struggling to break out into the modern world. By ignoring disadvantaged communities it is not solving internal problems that will not go away even if the international competition is a success. There is no doubt the football event will leave a legacy behind. The question remains if it will be the image Brazil wants. "Image has long been a problem in Africa, and when the media focus on scandals and other

²²⁴ Bruno Rodriguez. *Maré Community Debates Impact of Mega Events on the City*. RioOnWatch. Trans. Katy Bailes. Catalytic Communities, 19 Oct. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://rioonwatch.org/?p=2155>>.

²²⁵ Raquel Rolnik. "Pinheirinho, Cracolândia and USP: Instead of Policy, Police!"

problems, that only serves to make the vicious circle even bigger... It is incredibly important that Africa manages to get people talking about the positive side for once. South Africa has the perfect opportunity to show the world its beauty, its animal world, its culture, its diversity and its happy people.' In 2014, Brazil will have a similar opportunity".²²⁶ But will the lengths the country is going to project this image be worth it? A loaded question, one can only speculate at this point and analyze after the games are over to see what is left for Brazil to build upon.

²²⁶ Veronica De La Cerda, Mariana Fernandes, David Huebner, Carmen Madanes, and Jordi Suarez

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