

The Brazilian Case

The influence of the protests and the World Cup 2014 on the Brazilian presidential elections

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Abstract

In this thesis the interconnecting aspects of the Brazilian protests, the FIFA World Cup 2014 and the Brazilian presidential elections are investigated. Those unique elements combined in roughly one years' time, make it 'The Brazilian Case'. The data that is collected in order to answer the research questions is collected through a combination of desk- and field research. The desk research focuses on the protests, the process previous to the presidential elections and the final outcome. The field research attributes to the investigation of the role of the World Cup in voting behavior. The year 2007 is chosen as starting point for this research because in this year Brazil was officially awarded host for the World Cup 2014. The analysis starts with describing the socio-economic context leading-up to the protests and the environment in which they took place. The administrations of Lula and Dilma are examined and the causes of the protests discussed. In a particular section, the World Cup and its attribution to the protests and its indirect influence on voting behavior are addressed. Even though changes in attitude by the Brazilian population towards their representatives are detectable, the feelings of dissatisfaction did not lead to the election of a new president. The Brazilian electorate decided in favor of four more years PT and Dilma Rousseff. The process and the reasons for her reelection are analyzed. Through interviews, the effect of the World Cup on the presidential elections is examined. It is possible to conclude that the *Copa* played a role in the demonstrations but was in itself not a major subject in the debates previous the presidential elections. The majority of the interviewed Brazilians stated that they reckoned that the World Cup was not an issue for fellow Brazilians when they made their choice to vote for a presidential candidate.

Key words: Brazil, protests, World Cup 2014, presidential elections

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It was the first day in 2012 when I decided that I wanted to pursue my dream, follow my heart and take-up the challenge to study towards a master's degree. I was on a backpack journey through New Zealand with the purpose to make a decision in which way to go with my life. I was at a crossroads where one direction would lead me towards a career in tourism and the other towards lectures and scientific articles. I have never regretted the choice for the latter. The decision to go to Aalborg University brought me many things that are crucial and seem indispensable in my current life. After a successful first year I was ready to go on an internship. It turned out in a different way, I found an interesting internship at the UNDP in Suriname but they were only able to host me in the first months of 2015. After some consideration I decided, in coalition with AAU, to switch the internship with the thesis. Therefore the challenging journey of writing a thesis started sooner than expected. Along this journey I received the help of many individuals in multiple kinds of ways and I would like to take a moment and express my appreciation.

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Abbreviations and Translations

Abbreviations

AAU – Aalborg University

BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

BSM – Brasil Sem Miséria

CCT – Conditional Cash Transfer

CEBRAP – Centro Brasileiro de Análise and Planejamento

ESPM – Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing

FDI – Foreign Direct Investment

FHC – Fernando Henrique Cardoso

FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association

FUNDEF – Fundo para Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino Fundamental e Valorização do Magistério

IBSA – India, Brazil and South Africa

IDEA – International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

IFC – International Finance Corporation

MERCOSUL – Mercado Comum do Sul

MPL – Movimento Passe Livre

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PAC – Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento

PDT – Partido Democrático Trabalhista

PISA 2000 – Programme for International Student Assessment

PMDB – Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro

Pronatec – Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego

PSB – Partido Socialista Brasileiro

PSDB – Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira

PSOL – Partido Socialismo e Liberdade

PT – Partido dos Trabalhadores

PwC – PricewaterhouseCoopers

SAEB – Sistema Nacional de Avaliação da Educação Básica

SUS – Sistema Único de Saúde

UNASUL – União de Nações Sul-Americanas

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USB – Universal Serial Bus

USP – Universidade de São Paulo

VAP – Voting Age Population

Translations Portuguese to English

Alimentação Escolar – School Meal program

Bolsa Escola – Study Grant

Bolsa Família – Family Grant

Brasil Sem Miséria – Brazil Without Poverty (*BSM*)

Celeção – Nickname for the Brazilian football team

Centro Brasileiro de Análise and Planejamento – Brazilian Analysis and Planning
Center (*CEBRAP*)

Classe C – C-class

Copa – World Cup

Escândalo do Mensalão – Big monthly payment

Favela – Shanty town

Fome Zero – Zero Hunger

Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar – Strengthening family agriculture program

Fundo para Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino Fundamental e Valorização do
Magistério – Fund for Maintenance and Development of the Fundamental
Education and Valorization of Teaching (*FUNDEF*)

Maracanã – Stadium in Rio de Janeiro

Maracanaço – The Maracanã Blow

Movimento Passe Livre – Free Fare Movement (*MPL*)

Mercado Comum do Sul – Southern Common Market (*MERCOSUL*)

Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira – Social Democracy Party Brazil (*PSDB*)

Partido Democrático Trabalhista – Democratic Labor Party (*PDT*)

Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro – Brazilian Democratic Movement
Party (*PMBD*)

Partido dos Trabalhadores – Workers’ Party (*PT*)
Partido Socialismo e Liberdade – Socialism and Freedom Party (*PSOL*)
Partido Socialista Brasileiro – Brazilian Socialist Party (*PSB*)
Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento – Growth Acceleration Program (*PAC*)
Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego – National Access to
Technical Education and Employment (*Pronatec*)
Rede Cegonha – Stork Network
Sistema Nacional de Avaliação da Educação Básica – National Assessment of Basic
Education (*SAEB*)
Sistema Único de Saúde – Unified Health System (*SUS*)
União de Nações Sul-Americanas – Union of Southern American Nations (*UNASUL*)
Universidade de São Paulo – University of São Paulo (*USP*)

Exchange rate

Currency unit – Brazilian Real (BRL)
R\$ 1.00 – US\$ 0.38
US\$ 1.00 – R\$ 2.62
Exchange rate December 11, 2014 (www.x-rates.com)

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1. Preface

The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup 2014, hosted by Brazil, functions as the main thread throughout this thesis. The reason why this preface chapter is created is because it describes why countries are willing to put a lot of effort and resources into organizing a main sport event. Like other hosting countries, the Brazilian government had certain positive expectations when they announced themselves as candidate to host the World Cup in 2014. Mega sport events can have different purposes. Two examples are described below as the initial intentions of the Brazilian policy makers. Quotes from official documents made by organizations who work closely with the Brazilian government, are given to subscribe these intentions. The preface leads up to the introduction in which the problem statement and relevancy of this thesis are elaborated.

1.1 Why countries host main sport events

Throughout recent history countries have figuratively battled over the honor of being awarded host of a main sports event like the football World Cup or the Olympic Games. For a nation such an event is the ultimate way to show the rest of the world what they have in store. In 1968 a major breakthrough occurred in reporting main sports events. In this year the Olympic Summer Games were hosted by Mexico and broadcasted live for the first time (Kistner, 2014: 41). People all over the world were able to see their national representatives competing for a gold medal. That the competition was brought into people's living rooms all over the world had huge consequences. Companies seized the opportunity to advertize their goods to millions of spectators all around the globe. Marketing campaigns became more hostile because the stakes were raised. But not only companies had more to win or lose, also the hosting countries were in the spotlight. The media attention would increase at the beginning of a tournament, peak during the weeks of the tournament and ultimately decline again after the event was over. With the rise of television throughout the world, the pressure to create a good image for the hosting nation grew. Countries with a 'discussable' government or nations that felt like 'whipping something up' for events in the past, could use those events for their own good. In this light it is possible to see the FIFA World Cup 1978 in Argentina and the Olympic Summer Games in 1972 in Munich (Milikowski and

Hoekstra, 2009). Besides the above mentioned, there are two other main reasons to host a big sports event: economic interests and nation building-wise.

1.1.1 The Barcelona-effect:

Hosting sports events can have long-term positive effects. 'The Barcelona effect', coined by The Economist (2004) describes how a sport event can change the image of a city for the better. The Games of 1992 presented the ideal situation for Spain's second city to step out of the shade of capital Madrid. Barcelona had suffered under Franco's rule and was neglected for a long time (Taylor, 2012). The Summer Olympics changed the world viewed the Catalan capital. Huge amounts of money were spent on infrastructure, stadiums, other facilities and an artificially created beach. The attention Barcelona received made it a popular destination for tourists, even many years after hosting the Olympic Games. Nowadays, the case of Barcelona is used as an argument to gain support for a bid. Many countries and cities have tried to accomplish what Barcelona did, with mixed success. The Barcelona case is an ultimate example of an economically successful sports event.

1.1.2 The Rugby 1995 tournament and the Rainbow Nation:

Maybe the most legendary sport event in terms of 'nation building' took place in 1995. Nelson Mandela had just won the first free elections ever in South Africa. In 1993 South Africa, with Nelson Mandela as unofficial leader, proposed for hosting the Rugby World Cup. They were awarded to South Africa and on June 25th '95, the final took place in Ellis Park, Johannesburg (Milikowski and Hoekstra, 2009: 42). Before the game started Nelson Mandela set foot on the pitch dressed in the jersey of the Springboks, a nickname for the South African rugby team. This jersey was a symbol of the Apartheid-era and white domination. By the white population, rugby was seen as their sport, played by honorable man. In contrast, the black population preferred football. However, Nelson Mandela seized this special moment to show the nation how to move on, to forgive and how to unite and form the 'Rainbow Nation' (Milikowski and Hoekstra, 2009: 48). That sports possess a special power has been clear from early times on, where 'bread and games' was an often used slogan. It can be argued that South Africa improved its image and position in the world because of the tournament. The South Africa '95 case is the ultimate example of a sports event where emphasize is not placed on economics but on the social context.

1.2 Brazilian intentions

As other nations before them, Brazilian decision makers who first opted to host the FIFA World Cup saw many potential benefits. Economically as well as socially. Boosting the economy by creating new jobs, improving the infrastructure and attracting big numbers of tourists are but a few examples. In the next quotes Brazil makes its intentions clear:

“The building, renovation and rebuilding of stadia, as well as the mending of roads and construction of accommodation facilities, airports and so on will cost billions of American dollars. Brazil is currently one of the fastest growing countries in the world in terms of its economy and this is considered to be a worthwhile investment to showcase its beauty, efficiency and suitability as a tourist destination. In this way, the World Cup™ is potentially instrumental in the social development of this beautiful South American country.” (Brazil.org, 2014)

An official report written by Ernest & Young Terco (2011), commissioned by the Brazilian government, makes clear a statement on the main goal that the World Cup would set for Brazil:

“The idea is that Brazil gets organized in such a way that the event lasts not only a few days, but for many years, leaving a positive legacy for society as a whole.” (Ernst & Young Terco, 2011: 4)

The same report is also stating pure economic forecasts:

“In addition to the R\$ 22.46 billion spent by Brazil on the World Cup to ensure an adequate infrastructure and organization, the tournament will bring an additional R\$ 112.79 billion to the Brazilian economy, with indirect and induced effects being produced thereafter. In total, an additional R\$ 142.39 billion will flow in the country from 2010 to 2014, generating 3.63 million jobs/year and R\$ 63.48 billion of income for the population, which will inevitably impact the domestic consumer market.” (Ernst & Young Terco, 2011: 5)

In the prediction stated above, the economic aspect is emphasized. The official report also stresses the importance of the World Cup for the whole society:

“Chain reaction effects arising from the World Cup stimulate and encourage social benefits such as: increase in income and decrease in violence and crime.” (Ernst & Young Terco, 2011: 27)

The intentions and the line of argument becomes clear from the governments’ point of view. The point made is that the government, FIFA and companies who work for them, made very positive predictions. In the reports there is no place for setbacks, casualties or mass demonstrations. That a large part of the Brazilian population thought different about the World Cup and the spent money that was necessary to provide adequate services became clear in the protests which took place only one year before the kick-off of the tournament.

2. Introduction

In modern days, sport is more than a spare time activity (see preface). Sport is able to create emotions, shape identities, influence politics and even change somebody's position within society and history. The effect of sports can be used when analyzing racial issues, social structures, economic and political situations (Ronquillo, 2012). With organizing the World Cup, the Brazilian officials intended to spark positive developments within their country and to improve Brazil's image worldwide. The context to organize the tournament seemed ideal: Brazil is renowned as the football nation par excellence, the nation is rising in economic terms and its voice in world affairs is becoming stronger. In the end, the *Copa* did not only bring positive developments for Brazil as many would have thought, the games also became a subject of protest in the massive demonstrations. The World Cup became part of something bigger, a movement towards social change. When roughly two months after the last match the Brazilian presidential elections took place, a situation in Brazil existed where different developments were interlinked and influencing each other. The protests, the World Cup 2014 and the latest Brazilian presidential elections combined make 'The Brazilian Case', the subject of this thesis.

2.1 Problem statement

The quotes in the preface are an introductory to the problem statement. The intention in this thesis is to draw an image of the assumed benefits that could be gained by Brazil when hosting footballs' crown jewel, the FIFA World Cup. What started as a celebration, the assigning of the tournament to Brazil in 2007, ended in a less pleasant way. The massive demonstrations, partly aimed towards the World Cup, provoked a national debate that caught the international media's attention. In the six years between the announcement that the *Copa* was coming to Brazil and the first massive protests, a revision about organizing the tournament occurred on large scale. It seems that there was a change in people's attitude towards their government because people took to the streets in large numbers for the first time in two decades. This change in attitude was caused by many factors and the World Cup was one of them. Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the presidential elections were held just a couple of months after the World Cup. Neil Malhotra,

a political scientist who studied influential external factors, including sports outcome, on election results said:

“I am fairly confident that at least part of what we call 'retrospective voting' is not a rational assessment of performance but rather mood-driven satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the status quo” (Malhotra as quoted by Welsh, 2014).

Surfing the wave of positivism brought forth by the World Cup was the initial plan of the Dilma Rousseff administration. A positive tournament should ease her reelection. Observations made during the demonstrations and the World Cup have led to the research question of this thesis:

How did the attitude of the Brazilian population change towards their government during the last 7 years and what role did the World Cup play in the presidential elections of October 2014?

In the research question, a timeframe of seven years is outlined. The moment of adjudication of the World Cup to Brazil in 2007, is taken as the starting point. The changed attitude of the Brazilian population is not only caused by the World Cup. It probably played a role but so did other factors. Those aspects will be investigated in the first sub-question:

What caused the mass demonstration in Brazil and who participated?

The intention of answering this question is: examining the protests, researching what caused them, which factors played a role and how the World Cup became a scapegoat. The second sub-question is about the presidential elections:

How did the latest presidential elections play out in Brazil?

The outcome of the latest presidential election in Brazil is analyzed and the reasons for the outcome are investigated. The role of the protests and the role of the World Cup, will be examined in relation to the elections' outcome. After analyzing the elections it is possible to

make statements about the World Cup's (unintentional) influence on the president's administration and popularity.

2.2 Relevancy

A major part of this thesis' relevancy lies within the actuality of the subjects. Brazil is often categorized as South America's leading country due to its population size and the economic power it possesses. The demonstrations and the World Cup might influence people's choice when voting for a presidential candidate. The (re)election of Brazil's president is directly important for other South American countries. Additionally, Brazil is a member of multiple international organizations such as the BRICS, IBSA and MERCOSUL, making the development of the political climate in Brazil important to the international community. Furthermore, if the World Cup (partly) caused a change in the attitude of the Brazilian population towards their government, this would be an unforeseen phenomenon. For future organizers of main sport events it might be useful to consider the implications of 'The Brazilian Case'. Brazil is one of few countries that organizes the football World Cup and the Olympics Summer Games consecutively and it is possible that the Games will influence Brazilian society in a same way as the *Copa* did (Baxter and Bevins, 2014). Another scenario is that the Brazilian officials learned from the mistakes they made concerning the World Cup and will organize the Olympics better.

3. Empirical background

Where the preface gives an overall insight in the reasons or intentions that countries have when they announce themselves candidate for hosting a main sports event, this part is used to elaborate on the specific situation for Brazil. Brazilian policy makers had the assumption that the World Cup would bring many positive developments for their country. Brazil is economically rising; it is generally known that Brazilians are fond of football and that the tournament would bring a first-class opportunity to show the rest of the world the capabilities of this emerging nation. In the slipstream of the tournament the presidential elections were organized, where president Dilma Rousseff hoped that she could surf the wave of positivism brought forth by the World Cup. In this chapter it is tried to touch upon two aspects that are both important to understand the Brazilian situation and why policy makers wanted Brazil to host the World Cup.

3.1 Football is a religion in Brazil

Larry Rother states in his book 'Brazil on the Rise: the story of a country transformed' that football is unquestionably the most popular sport in Brazil (Rother, 2012: 99). The sport takes a central place in society and is accountable for many anecdotes and sayings. Brazilian players rank among the best in the world and have a reputation of being skillful and to play with grace, panache and dexterity (Ibid: 96). In this sub-chapter, the importance of football for Brazilian society and politics is explained.

The history of football in Brazil begins with Charles Miller in 1894 after he returned from his studies in Great Britain. He learned the game there, which by that time was a white's man sport, played by the urban elites (Ibid: 96). At first, it was a white's man sport in Brazil as well. So from the start, football included racial and social hierarchical aspects. That football became the 'sport of the people' in Brazil, originates from the early factory teams which played against each other. Factory workers were offered the opportunity to play football after their shifts or in their spare time. Players that played well received certain benefits such as promotions, bonuses or even jobs that were less demanding (Ibid: 97). For the first time in Brazilian history, colored employees had the chance to improve their work situation by their own strength. The competition between factories grew and in this way the demand for good players rose. When the game professionalized, the discussion on colored

players became more intense. The dilemma for the white elites who were still running the game was: 'keeping the sport white and not playing with the best players' or 'playing with the best team, no matter the skin color' (Ronquillo, 2012). Ultimately the game is about winning so colored players were allowed to play and some excelled. This created an occasion where individuals with a colored skin were able to create a better environment for themselves and their relatives.

From the sports' moment of introduction, Brazilians adapted and created their own style of playing. Later the Brazilian style became known as 'samba football', characterized by individual play, good ball technique and scoring abilities. Especially the national team with players such as: Pelé and Garrincha, that became world champions in 1958 and 1962, gave football a mythical status and the players became a sort of holy disciples (Ybarra and Goldberg, 2013).

Because of Brazil's success and elegant way of playing, the Brazilian footballer in general made a good name for himself. Brazilian footballers started playing around the world. Alex Bellos calculated in this book 'Futebol: The Brazilian Way of Life', that over one thousand Brazilians are playing for foreign clubs. This number increases every year and so do the remittances sent home by the players who play abroad (Rial, 2008).

The popularity of football created opportunities for regimes and governments to use or abuse the game for their own interests. The Brazilian military ruler General Médici used the success of the Brazilian national team of the 1970s to increase his own popularity. Images of Pelé in advertisements lifting the World Cup accompanied with the slogan: 'Forward Brazil' were widely applied by the regime to create a nationalistic feeling. But also the regimes of Chile, Bolivia and Argentina, especially the 1978 World Cup during the Videla regime, used football as a political instrument (Galeano, 2003). In the current day and age the game is still used as a political instrument and it will probably always be.

Football has not only a significant influence on politics but also on the economy. Statistical analysis have shown an economic boom when Brazil wins the World Cup. Factors such as happiness and feeling proud, influence the spending behavior of consumers, bolstering the economic growth and that creates in turn more confidence in the government (Rother, 2012: 101). An anecdote by former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC)

explains the importance of football for Brazilian politics in a nutshell. When he ran for president in 1994, he deliberately associated himself with the national squad while his opponent Luiz Inácio da Silva (Lula) did not. Brazil became world champion and FHC president. FHC admits that he is not sure what would have happened if Brazil had not won (Ibid).

3.2 The political arena

Because the 2014 presidential elections are a part of the research question, it is useful to describe the political system of Brazil. The return to democracy began in 1985 when military rule had to make way because Tancredo Neves won the presidency by surprise. Even though the election was not democratic, only members of the National Congress could vote, millions of people took the streets to celebrate the end of authoritarian rule (St Louis et al., 2010). After the military rule the constitution was changed in favor of civilian rule. In 1988 the new constitution came into power and that secured the maintenance of democracy (Souza, 2003).

The current system is a presidential and federative republic. The country is divided in twenty-six states and a federal district. The president, who is head of state and head of government, is direct elected by the Brazilian electorate (Coutsoukis, 2004). Since 1998 the first round of the presidential elections takes place on the first Sunday of October and the second round the last Sunday of October (U.S. Library of Congress, 2014). The president is elected for a term of four years and possesses executive power, advised by a cabinet. The legislative power is held by the National Congress that exists out of the Senate (81 members) and the Chambers of Deputies (513 members). Judicial power is separated from the executive and legislative powers (Brazil.org, 2014).

Brazilians above eighteen and under seventy are expected to vote. Compulsory voting is enforced by law, people who do not obey this law receive a fine or can suffer from other penalties such as a restriction on traveling or not receiving a new passport (Gringa, 2010). Illiterates are able to vote but they have a card with their registration and identity specifying their status as illiterate, consequently they vote with their fingerprint. In 1988 a change was made in the legitimate age to vote, sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds can now vote on a voluntary basis, as well as senior citizens above the age of seventy (U.S. Library of

Congress, 2014). The president (governors and mayors too) has to be elected by an absolute majority which entails the half of the votes plus one. When there is no absolute majority in the first presidential election round, there will be a second round with just two candidates (Ibid).

The three most important candidates for the 2014 election were: Dilma Vana Rousseff, Aécio Neves da Cunha and Maria Osmarina Marina Silva Vaz de Lima. As in football, Brazilian politicians are usually known by their first- or nickname. This tradition of short catchy names stems from the period that many people were illiterate and using a single name was easier. There is also a theory that claims that the single name stems from the slave system because slaves were registered by one name and sometimes their country of origin (Schultz, 2006). In the continuation of this thesis the names of the politicians are used in the Brazilian tradition.

4. Theoretical framework

The right context of a research is created via its theoretical framework. For this thesis the emphasis will be on 'attitude' and 'social movement theory'. Because this thesis focuses on changed attitude, it should be made clear what this term exactly means and how an attitude can be changed and influenced. The social movement theory is important because of the mass demonstrations, the role that the World Cup played in the protests and also a description why protests are taking place in the first place and how they are able to book results. The upcoming elections are an important moment of 'measurement' and will help explain the Brazilian mood and approval for the current government and to which degree the attitude changed.

4.1 Theory of attitude

Attitude takes an important place within the research question, so it is necessary to elaborate and clarify the term. The Business Dictionary gives a definition that will be used as a starting point:

"A predisposition or a tendency to respond positively or negatively towards a certain idea, object, person, or situation. Attitude influences an individual's choice of action, and responses to challenges, incentives, and rewards (together called stimuli). Four major components of attitude are (1) Affective: emotions or feelings. (2) Cognitive: belief or opinions held consciously. (3) Conative: inclination for action. (4) Evaluative: positive or negative response to stimuli." (Business Dictionary, 2014)

There are two types of attitude: general attitudes and attitudes towards a behavior. General attitude means: *"attitudes toward physical objects (Yosemite National Park, the Empire State Building); racial, ethnic, or other groups (African American, Jews, gays); institutions (Congress, the Catholic Church); policies (gun control, tax cuts); events (September 11, the World Series); or other general targets."* (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005: 173-174 brackets in original) Attitudes towards a behavior focus on the behavior part, for example, visiting the Yosemite National park. This distinction is made because people do not always act according to their general attitude (Ibid: 174).

For this thesis the general attitude is important. Especially toward institutions, authority and policies which are aspects of the central government. The approval rate for the president is one way of measuring the changed attitude. The election result will also tell something about the changed attitude. An attitude towards a government can be influenced by many aspects but most important are the economic and social economic developments. The social context plays a significant role for human action (Ibid: 175). This is relatable with the social movement theory which explains why people form groups and organize protest with the goal to create a change. The link between the changed attitude towards the government and the forming of social movements is necessary to examine.

4.2 Social movement theory

This theory tries to explain and elucidate mass demonstrations, protests and movements towards a change. This change can be political (against or in favor of certain policies), cultural and social (Balsinger, 2007). The theory's relevance for this specific thesis is mainly derived from answering the first sub-question, which looks at the causes of the mass demonstrations and the role of the FIFA and the World Cup in the protests. It is of importance to give the demonstrations a theoretical framework so they are seen in the right context and make an analysis more comprehensible.

4.2.1 Collective behavior:

The foundations of the social movement theory rest upon the theory of collective behavior. Gustave Le Bon and his book 'The Crowd: A study of the Popular Mind' (1895), was the most influential work in this field. His views focused on extremism, deprivation and violence in an irregular and irrational manner. He analyzed the French Revolution, urban street riots and other manifestations where frustrations and aggression were the driving force of collective behavior (Ibid.). In more recent years scholars have moved slightly away from this view and started emphasizing that movements were not irrational but a normal response to social strain. Eventually scholars of the collective behavior theory started exploring relative deprivation instead of absolute deprivation. Economic downturn, status inconsistency mechanisms and inflated expectations are causes for relative deprivation (Ibid.). In the 1960s and 1970s, movements in favor of civil rights, peace and women's rights, were organized with a well considered ideal behind it, so terms like mindless aggression and

irrationality were no longer applicable. The view on protests also shifted from an undemocratic intrusion of politics towards a valuable component of democracy and the transition away from authoritarian regimes (Oliver, Cadena-Roa and Strawn, 2003).

4.2.2 Resource mobilization theory:

This theory can be seen as the collective behaviors' counterpart where the irrational aspect makes place for the rational goal of the movement. The theory focuses on the resources needed to create a movement with the goal of establishing (political) change (Balsinger, 2007). The following quotation of McCarthy and Zald makes clear what this swift of thinking means:

"The resource mobilization approach emphasizes both societal support and constraint of social movement phenomena. It examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success and the tactics used by the authorities to control or incorporate movements." (McCarthy and Zald, 1977: 1213)

Furthermore, they argue that resources are necessary for engaging in social action. Money, labor, infrastructure, facilities and skills can be seen as necessary tools, creating an opportunity for a cost-benefit analysis and other schematic models like a supply-demand model (Ibid: 1216). Ultimately, McCarthy and Zald (1977) create an overview of resource mobilization theory in contrast to the traditional way of thinking, based on three pillars: support base, strategy & tactics and relation to larger society. Support base entails that specific social movements may have supporters that support the movement with resources (money, facilities and labor) but do not commit with the underlining values of the movement (Ibid.). The strategy and tactics pillar states that movements interact with authorities to create a change but they also have strategic tasks such as enlarging their support base, mobilizing them, neutralizing opponents and achieving change in targets (Ibid: 1217). The last category explains how social movements utilize the infrastructure provided by society. They state: *"The aspects utilized include communication media and expense, levels of affluence, degree of access to institutional centers, preexisting networks, and occupational structure and growth."* (Ibid: 1217)

Concluding: The emphasis of the theory lies in the ability to mobilize and utilize resources instead of focusing on the mental and psychical aspect of social movements. In short, the emphasis shifted from 'why' to 'how' (Meyer, 2004: 127).

4.2.3 Political process theory:

This theory combines both the before mentioned theories but rests more on the resource mobility theory. David Meyer (2004) argues that social movements choose their goals within a specific context meaning there exists a structure-agent complex. He clarifies: *"The wisdom, creativity, and outcomes of activists' choices (their agency) can only be understood and evaluated by looking at the political context and the rules of the games in which the choices are made-that is, structure."* (Ibid: 128) Cragun and Cragun (2010) argue that political process theory is in many regards the same as resource mobility theory. The difference lies within the emphasis on political opportunity. They also argue the importance of three vital components: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength and political opportunities (Cragun and Cragun, 2010). With the first component a collective feeling of deprivation is meant, that there is something not fair or even unjust. The second component deals with the resources as described in the 'resource mobility theory'. The third and last component addresses the political opportunities to create a change (Ibid.).

In the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology are stated four dimensions that are of influence on the political opportunity of a social movement:

"(1) the relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system; (2) the stability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergirds a polity; (3) the presence of the elite allies; (4) the state's capacity and propensity for repression." (Caren, 2007: 10)

The last concept is associated with the protest cycle, where more than one group is challenging the legitimacy of the state. There is a common ground between protest groups in their aim towards change, mostly targeted against the state (Caren, 2007).

Thus, the political opportunity theory complements the resource mobility theory. The emphasis of the theory is not only on the resources and how these are managed but stresses

that it is important that there are political opportunities that can be seized, making timing crucial. What the theory does not incorporate are rational values and identities, in other words, cultural aspects.

4.2.4 Culture theory:

Relatively late, in the 1970s and early 1980s, the notion of culture became an appreciated in studies of social movements. Structural en cultural theories were studied but with little interaction between them. When scholars started to combine both disciplines, the importance of culture on social movements, became clear (Jasper, 2010).

Ideology is the central theme of this sub-theory. Ideology consists of: identity, emotions and other cultural variables (Balsiger, 2007). Balsiger continues with: *“Culture is commonly defined as learned and shared patterns of thought, action, and material objects. Accordingly, notions of grievance, rationality, interests, resources, and opportunities can be understood as context-specific cultural constructs, rather than objective truths.”* (Balsiger, 2007) In this sense the collective identity plays an important role, the feeling of being an insider or outsider. However, some scholars raise questions about the identities of movements, if they are formed by the movements or precede them (Ibid.). The importance of cultural aspects will be highlighted further in the next sub-chapter about the new social movement theory that incorporates cultural values.

4.2.5 New social movement theory:

Steven Buechler (1995) wrote an influential article named ‘New Social Movement Theories’. The emphasis is on the plurality of theories because he argues that it is not just one theory but instead many new approaches that differ from the ‘old social movement theory’. Collective action where sources of identity play a significant role, like gender, ethnicity and sexuality, is something the new theories have in common. In this way they moved away from the ‘old theories’ which focuses more on class struggle, like described by Marx (Buechler, 1995).

Buechler names scholars who have all contributed to the new theories: Russel J. Dalton and Manfred Kuechler (1990), Klaus Offe (1990), Klaus Eder (1993) Wilhelm Burklin and Jean

Cohen (1983) who all describe new social movements in a different way: humanistic tradition, post materialistic, post ideological , an alternative cultural model, challenging the currently dominant structure and that all social movements have clear goals. That separates them from romantic and utopian movements (Buechler, 1995: 448). What they all have in common is the normative base and more focus on social and cultural issues instead of economic goals. A shift away from the working-class towards the new middle-class who possess a wide-range of identities (race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality). The improvement of the quality of life and self-determination are often focal points in their protests. An important aspect of social movements of today is that they have the possibility to organize themselves through the internet, especially using social media (Monnier, 2010).

The newer theories are also criticized, the focus is on the 'why' and not so much on the 'how', 'when' or 'where'. The theories should therefore be used in cooperation with other theories. The new social movement theories explain the macrolevel of structure and context. At mesolevel the focus is on organization and strategy, addressed in the resource mobility theory. Microlevel, where identity and grievances are important, is best explained through social constructivism (Buechler, 1995: 460).

5. Methodology

In the methodology section, the methods used in this assignment are described and discussed in order to answer the research questions. The core section discusses the methods and how they are utilized to collect relevant information. The last section addresses the limitations of the applied methods and their implications for this particular research. The long lasting debate about knowledge, epistemology and ontology will serve as an introduction to this chapter. Because a part of this research consists of a qualitative research it is important to understand the position of the researcher in epistemological and ontological terminology.

5.1 Philosophical debate

Before a research takes place it is useful to consider the position of the researcher and his or her views upon how the world works and how this affects the results that are obtained. Conducting research in a positivism fashion, the paradigm most commonly applied, would not be the most suitable approach for this thesis because the intention of this research is to understand the role of the protests and the World Cup in voting behavior in Brazil. Interpretivism is an epistemological term contrasting positivism. This stance is concerned with theory and methods of the interpretation of human action, also called hermeneutics, a term first used in theology when the interpretation of sacred texts was debated (Bryman, 2012: 28). Interpretivism states that positivism is not a suitable paradigm to research social phenomena because humans are not natural science objects. This is why it is important to take the researchers' position in consideration. Following interpretivism, the emphasis should be on 'Verstehen' (to understand) so argued Max Weber (Ibid: 28-29). With this epistemological point of departure, it is preferred to choose constructivism as ontological starting point. As opposed to objectivism, constructivism states that 'reality' is not a solid, given object but is in constant construction and reconstruction (Li, 2014). Reality is shaped by its social actors as they are in a constant state of revision. A specific version of the social reality is investigated and presented by the researcher, making it a reality for one, maybe not for the other (Bryman, 2012: 32-33). This thesis acknowledges that the conducted research in order to answer the research questions cannot be seen as plain, truthful 'knowledge'. Interviews create a 'truth' that is subjective, a value based reality that

differs between individuals. It would not be possible to generalize the drawn conclusions because the input of the respondents is personal. The intention is to apprehend the voting behavior in the presidential elections, preceded by collective protests, creating a notion of the role the World Cup played in the decisions made at the ballot box. Considering the epistemological and ontological point of departure, a qualitative research is most suitable. This type of research is most frequently associated with an inductive, bottom-up approach (Li, 2014). Within an inductive approach, where normally a new theory is formed from the collected data, it can be argued that not all research will create a new theory. According to Alan Bryman, some conclusions will: *“generate interesting and illuminating findings but whose theoretical significance is not entirely clear.”* (Bryman, 2012: 27) An inductive approach differs from a deductive approach where a predetermined theory and a hypothesis are tested mostly by data gained through quantitative research. In this thesis there is no hypothesis formulated and tested but instead a new hypothesis is formulated in the concluding chapter. In further research it is possible to take this hypothesis as a starting point. This is the utilization of the bottom-up approach: *“from specific observations to broader generalizations and theories.”* (Crossman, 2014)

5.2 Collection of data

The main research question can be divided in two separate sections which both ask for a different approach when it comes to conducting research. The first part has as central theme ‘the changed attitude of Brazilians towards the government in the last seven years’. To answer this specific part of the research question, a link can be made with the first sub-question. Of the seven years that are examined, June 2013 and onwards will receive extra attention because from that period on the first mass demonstrations took place (Alves, 2014: 2). There are many news items that have covered the protests, there are also more in-depth researches on the subject. Documentaries, student projects, websites and scientific articles are all sources of information. A literature study, complemented with new insights gained from the interviews, is sufficient to answer the first sub-question and the first part of the research question. Polls of government appreciation are a useful tool in investigating the attitude change towards the Brazilian government. The final election result is a measurement for changed attitude as well. Thus, the emphasis will be on secondary sources in order to answer the first sub-question, supplemented by new insights from the interviews.

There are two 'special' interviews conducted. One with the mayor of Porto Alegre and one with a respected university professor specialized in the subjects addressed in this thesis. 'Special' in this context means that the respondents can be seen as specialists on the subjects through the positions they hold. Both interviewees were able to give new points of view. Those new points of view are given as complementary data to the data collected through desk research. However the two special interviews create new insights, they are still only an opinion, a way of seeing it by the interviewee. Written sources were found to support the newly created points of view.

The second part of the research question addresses the influence of the World Cup on the (re)election of Brazil's president. Because there is not much (scientific) literature on the influence of the World Cup on Brazilian voting behavior, a self conducted research will be used to provide further insights. Through interviews, Brazilians are asked about their views and opinions on the three central aspects of the thesis: the protests, the World Cup and the elections. In this thesis it is an advantage to use interviews because they can provide more insight to the Brazilian people's way of thinking concerning these three aspects. Moreover, interviews have certain upsides: a convenient environment for the respondent, the opportunity to go in-depth on certain subjects and the possibility to participate to behavior and emotions. With applying this method it is not only possible to investigate if the World Cup influenced peoples voting behavior but also why and how it had influence.

There are several ways to conduct an interview. Some examples are: behavioral interview, situational interview, unstructured, structured or semi-structured interviews (The Student Success Centre, 2014). For this thesis semi-structured interviews are conducted. In every interview the three main themes of this thesis are given attention. This method allows a real conversation but within a pre-set framework. Because the framework will be the same with every interview, it is possible to compare the answers with each other. Labeling the answers and assign certain values to responses makes it possible to compare the input (Case, 1990). Labeling the responses into different themes makes the collected information 'manageable' and easier to analyze. Conducting interviews has a clear link with the constructivism paradigm, because the input given by the respondents is personal and normative (Bryman, 2012: 380). Before the actual research takes place, it is not possible to provide the number of interviews that is needed to gain enough satisfactory data. In an

estimation, made before the research trip took place, the number of interviews was assessed between ten and twelve. With this number of interviews conducted, it was estimated that enough data would be collected to give a satisfactory answer to the second part of the research question. The intention of the interviews is to go deeper into the reasons why the interviewees voted for a presidential candidate. The role of the protests and the World Cup will be discussed during the interview. In the end, it is the intention to link the World Cup, the protests and the presidential elections together. The decision to vote for a certain candidate is probably rooted in more than one cause, so other factors will be discussed and analyzed too. This is done to create a more profound and holistic picture.

In order to collect data, a field research was carried out in Brazil. The research trip took place from September 14 to November 3, 2014. Within this period, both the first and second round of the presidential elections took place in Brazil, creating the possibility to observe and analyze the process and ambiance personally. Furthermore, traveling to different cities, in different states and regions, made it possible to observe different points of view throughout Brazil. Being in the country while the elections took place had more upsides like: experiencing the atmosphere by being able to talk daily to locals and observe and experience firsthand the obstacles and struggles they face. The research trip lasted seven weeks. The first three were in Brasília. From there a plan was made for the remaining four weeks. Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were a 'must go' because they are Brazil's most important cities. The choice for Porto Alegre and Salvador was made because the cities are geographically, culturally and historically very different from each other. In order to grasp the diversity and the inequality, a visit to both cities was useful. The best way to gain understanding of 'The Brazilian Case' was to stay with a local in each city. By doing this, the situation was created where the host was able to elucidate the political situation and elaborate on the developments Brazil experienced.

5.2.1 Managing the data from interviews

Ten of the eleven interviews are recorded with a portable device. In one case, the interview with Jomar Henrique, technical problems occurred so it was impossible to record the conversation. An interview on paper was the solution (see appendix VII). The ten recorded interviews are transcribed and can be found in the appendices. In the analysis,

when an interview is used as the main source of information, or when there is quoted from an interview, a different kind of reference is used. The R stands for respondent, the interviewees are numbered 1-11 (see table 1) and app stands for appendix II-XII which corresponds with the right transcribed text of the interviewee. With different colors the transcribed text is labeled: purple stands for personal data, green is given to most important information about the protests, blue deals with information concerning the World Cup and data about the presidential elections is colored yellow. Interesting information that is not categorized in one of the previous mentioned categories, is colored orange. The next step was to create two tables (see analysis). Table 1 shows a general overview of the participants, when and where the interviews were conducted and the most important personal data. Table 2 is created in order to offer an overview of the opinions given concerning the World Cup's influence on the presidential elections. On the basis of this table, the analysis about the World Cup's influence on the presidential elections, takes form.

5.3 Sampling

Because it is impossible to study a whole population, the researcher is required to make choices on who to interview and who to observe. In a qualitative research it is important to interview individuals who have something 'interesting' to tell you as investigator. As researcher you select at a non-random basis called 'purposive sampling' (Bryman, 2012: 418). The word 'interesting' in the sentence above is dependent on the stated research question. What is interesting for one researcher can be of no value for another.

There are three main ways to sample: convenience sampling, judgment sampling and theoretical sampling (Marshall, 1996). This thesis primarily makes use of judgment sampling, contending that the researcher makes considerations if it is useful to interview that specific individual. Four 'hard criteria' that determine the worthiness of a respondent are: he or she masters the English language, has a middle or higher level of education, has knowledge or participated in the protests and the respondent should have an interest in Brazilian domestic politics. That the interview respondent should master the English language to a certain level is necessary for three reasons: it is the language used for this thesis, working with a translator can create misinformation and personally I do not master Portuguese. One

exception is made for the mayor of Porto Alegre who wanted to tell his story in Portuguese with a translator. The other criteria's are required because it is likely that it makes the respondents better able to describe his or her choices made at the ballot box and linking them to the developments that took place in the last seven years. Respondents were asked to recommend other possibly interesting interviewees. In this way it was possible to interview the university professor. This method is called 'the snowball-effect' (Ibid.). Interviewing government officials, original protesters or scholars can be seen as an asset for the research because they are likely to provide new points of view or give new points of departure. To create transparency, the interviews are transcribed and the recordings are stored on an USB-stick so it is possible for interested readers to verify the sources.

Through the internet, especially the social media, it is possible to select highly potential individuals to interview. The advantage of selecting the respondents in this manner is that as an interviewer you are able to select candidates that will probably fit your pre-setup profile. For this thesis, contacts were made through *Facebook.com* and *Couchsurfing.org*. To create a more variable situation, interviews took place in three different cities namely: Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Porto Alegre. In addition, the cities Brasília and Salvador were visited but it was impossible to conduct interviews there because the first election round had yet to take place or the elections were already held. In size and importance there are differences between the cities. What they all have in common is the fact that they hosted World Cup matches. The reason to interview individuals from hosting cities is because it is likely they experienced the tournament and the protests in an intensive way. 'Data saturation' plays a crucial role in the amount of interviews that have to take place (Ibid.). Because it is impossible to give a fixed number of interviews that have to be conducted before the actual research takes place, the amount of interviews depends mostly on the input provided by the interviewees. For this thesis nine 'normal' interviews were conducted and two 'special' interviews with people who have important positions or have the subject of this thesis as expertise.

5.4 Limitations

There are several downsides to a qualitative research. One often made mistake is generalization of the research results, it is true that the results are not fit to generalize them

for the whole population but this is also not the aim of qualitative research (Bryman, 2012: 390). Whereas the quantitative research tests a pre-determined hypotheses and generalizations of research, the qualitative studies are more focused on humanistic issues (Marshall, 1996).

The personal aspect plays a bigger role within a qualitative research. The results are partially dependent on the techniques used by the researcher. Also the interpretation of the answers depends on the researchers' background, mood, knowledge, language standard and so on. Because of the physical presence of the researcher, the research object can be influenced, politically or cultural correctness is a possibility. Another frequently exposed problems with qualitative research is the amount of data. An average interview can produce pages of information, highlighting the most important and interesting quotes is not an easy task and is also dependent on the researcher (Smith, 2012). Due to time constraints, money and manpower, choices have to be made that will influence the research and create a bias.

Quantitative researchers criticize qualitative research in different ways: it is too subjective, too difficult to replicate and prone to generalization and a lack of transparency. Thus, analyzing the data depends too much on the researcher's personal view on what is important and significant. The research is almost impossible to replicate because it is unstructured and personal. It is sometimes unclear what the researcher actually did, how the choices were made and how the researcher arrived at his or her conclusions (Bryman, 2012: 405-406).

For this specific research, choices on how to conduct the research have an implication and influence the results. The choices described above exclude other ways of conducting research. Taking the period from 2007 up till present day excludes developments from earlier times. Choices made in purposive sampling and the hard-criteria exclude many possible respondents. Using social media as a means to find potential interesting interviewees creates a bias because not every Brazilian has the same access to the internet or an account on the social media Web pages used for this research. Members of the website *Couchsurfing.org* for example are often well-educated, open-minded, relatively young individuals who themselves often have travel experiences. On this website travelers who are looking for a free place to stay and locals offering their couch, are brought together

with reverences from other experiences as control mechanism. The core values of the website are: share your life, create connection, offer kindness, stay curious and leave it better than you found it (Couchsurfing International, 2014). This website was chosen to make the first contacts with potential interesting persons because the set criteria match the values of the website.

Being inexperienced in conducting interviews is a limitation because it is not always straightforward to ask the right questions. The language barrier makes it more difficult for the respondent to understand the posed question and for the researcher to understand and interpret the answer. In the transcription of the interviews, it is possible that due to the language barrier or background noise, the respondents' input is not entirely clear.

6. Analysis

The following chapter entails the analysis of the collected data in order to answer the research and sub-questions. As argued earlier, the research question is dividable in two sections. The first section concentrates on the changed attitude of the Brazilian population towards their government in the previous seven years and the second part deals with the elections and the World Cup. The first sub-question, about the demonstrations, can be linked with the first part of the main research question. The changed attitude of the Brazilian population and the protests are connected with each other and are investigated in linkage with the theory. Firstly, the situation running-up towards the protests, the socio-economic context of the period 2007-2013 is analyzed. The mass demonstrations with its causes, goals and the specific role of the World Cup are addressed within the given context. After the analysis it is possible to give a comprehensible answer to the first sub-question. The second part of the main research question is linked with the second sub-question, covering the presidential elections. The causes of the election result and the role of the World Cup will be analyzed here.

6.1 The period 2007-2013

In 2007, Brazil was officially awarded with the honor to organize the football World Cup in 2014. In the course of time Brazil experienced economic ups and downs, unforeseen nation-wide civil unrest occurred. June 2013 marks a turning point in Brazilian history, instead of celebrating the victories of the *Celeção* in the Confederations Cup, hundreds of thousands individuals took to the street to show their dissatisfaction with the status quo. A quick examination of the slogans and banners used by the protesters shows that people were unhappy with the amount of money spent on organizing the World Cup, the current healthcare system, educational system and corruption. To be able to understand and analyze the protests, the period before the protest should be described. The 'organizing-honor-celebrations' in 2007 are taken as a starting point, then the context of Lula's administration is described followed by an analysis of Dilma's policies up till June 2013.

6.1.1 Brazilians celebrate after being awarded host World Cup:

This thesis takes the year 2007 as starting point because in November of that same year, Brazil was announced host for the FIFA World Cup in 2014. The only other contender, Colombia, redrew its candidacy in April 2007 thus making Brazil the only Latin American candidate (Acosta, 2007). In 2000 FIFA's chairman, Sepp Blatter introduced a system that entailed a circulation of the World Cup among continents. After the 'European' tournament held in Germany in 2006, it was Africa's turn in 2010. Latin America was scheduled next (Kistner, 2014: 209). That Brazil was serious about their candidacy was noticeable when they presented their team that had to secure support for the bid. The famous author Paulo Coelho, ex-football striker Romário and the president by that time Lula, are big names and internationally known figures. They combined their efforts in the battle to receive the honor of organizing the *Copa* (The Guardian, 2007). When Brazil was officially awarded the World Cup, there was a general feeling of support and approval for organizing football's main event. One year after Brazil was awarded host, the government approval rates were up to 79 percent (Moraes, 2014). Moreover, the country would be provided a chance to overcome a national tragedy, the *Maracanaço*. In 1950, Brazil lost the World Cup final to Uruguay in their own *Maracanã* stadium in Rio de Janeiro. The final of the 2014 tournament would be played in the same, renovated stadium (St. Louis, 2013).

6.1.2 Lula's administration:

The environment in which Brazil was elected host for the World Cup was one of rapid economic growth and positive feelings towards the future. With the election of Lula, the leader of the Brazilian Workers' Party (PT) in 2002, the Brazilian electorate took a swing to the left. The period that Lula was president (2003-2010) can be described as very optimistic (NACLA, 2011). In the eight years that Lula was in power, Brazil experienced significant leaps forward in certain areas. The emphasis of his policy was placed on reducing poverty and closing the gap of inequality, but also on stabilizing the economy and securing years of stable growth. Internationally, his grand strategy was based on three pillars: coalition building, soft balancing and trying to position Brazil as a leader of a more united South America. As a result, emphasis was placed on multilateral collaboration in the form of; BRICS, IBSA, MERCOSUL and UNASUL (Brands, 2011). Brazil was keen to play a significant role in the new

world order. The country was steadily developing and experienced a leap forward even when the financial crisis hit. Brazil was one of the new emerging countries that claimed a seat around the G20 table that was formed instead of the G7 in September 2009 (Palat, 2010: 365).

6.1.2.1 Economic progression:

After the return to civilian rule in the 1980s, Brazil experienced economic booms and busts. There were many problems such as the hyperinflation in the beginning of the 1990s and a growing inequality gap. When Lula won the elections he understood that the Brazilian economy had to be reformed and shaped in such a way that the 'yo-yo-effect' of economic booms followed by economic downturns, would be overcome (Amann, 2005: 155-156). Under Lula, Brazil shifted away from a neoliberal policy towards a mixture of neoliberal macroeconomic strategy combined with huge domestic social projects, called neo-developmentalism (Morais and Saad-Filho, 2012: 790-791). In 1999, Brazil experienced a currency crisis and president FHC reacted with inflation-targeting, floating exchange rates and a tight fiscal policy. Lula did not abandon these policies entirely but instead adapted them (Ibid: 792). During Lula's second term as president (2006-2010) more neo-developmentalistic policies were implemented with a significant role for a strong state. The mixture of policies booked successes: economic growth, poverty reduction, tightening of the inequality gap and expansion of state and private enterprises (Ibid: 793). The new policies included:

"[1] 'the adoption of temporary measures of fiscal and monetary expansion to accelerate growth and raise the productive potential of the economy; [2] the acceleration of social development through the expansion of the income transfer programmes and a rising minimum wage; and [3] an increase in public investment and the recovery of the role of the state in long-term planning'" (Barboda and Souza, 2010: 69-70 as quoted in Moraes and Saad-Filho, 2012: 793)

The outcome of the implemented policies was that the economy grew and strengthened. In macroeconomic terms the improvements were made in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and commercial credit. Moraes and Saad-Filho present the following numbers: *"Brazilian FDI stocks have risen from US\$55 billion in 2003 to US\$175 billion in*

2010, and commercial credit has grown explosively, from only US\$100 million in 2007, to US\$71 billion in 2010.” (Ibid: 794) Even though the financial crisis hit multiple countries in 2008, Brazil stabilized its net external liabilities. Furthermore, Brazil was able to collect more tax revenue, build up more foreign reserves and their position as foreign creditor improved (Ibid.).

It is noteworthy to say that the state plays a direct role in many of Brazil’s businesses. In industries that are indicated as strategic: oil, aerospace, electricity and banks, the state is capable of intervening directly because they own a majority share. Oil giant *Petrobras*, for example, is semi-public. As well as aerospace industry success story *Embraer* and biggest Latin American power utility company *Electrobras*. The role of the state is not only important in those giant companies, it is calculated that 20 percent of the Brazilian listed companies have the state among their top five shareholders (Ban, 2012: 313-314).

6.1.2.2 Social programs:

Social programs were the other spearhead of the Lula administration. Of the many programs introduced to fight poverty and inequality, the *Bolsa Família* (Family Grant) is probably the most widely known. This is a conditional cash-transfer program (CCT), which has its roots in earlier initiated programs by FHC, that provides a basic income for many poor families on condition that the children go to school and that they make use of the health services that are provided (NACLA, 2011). The *Bolsa Família* program reaches over 46 million people, belonging to 11 million families. How it works is that the government transfers a monthly sum of around R\$70.00 (in 2003) to a family with children that meets the pre-set requirements (The World Bank, 2013). After a decade the sum had risen to R\$152,35 per month. The website www.fxtop.com calculates the inflation rate over a certain time span, R\$70 on the first day of 2003 is equal to R\$130.83 on the last day of 2013. This means that the beneficiaries of the program have an absolute advantage comparing 2003 with 2013. The program is said to be accountable for lifting 22 million people out of (extreme) poverty (Rapoza, 2013). The *Bolsa Família* program is an integral part of a bigger idea that was set-up by president Lula and his PT staff, launched in 2003. The *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) program is the umbrella under which 50 interlinked initiatives are categorized with the aim to abolish hunger and inequality. Food security, poverty reduction and support for small-scale

agriculture are recognized to be interlinked. The three main policy pillars of *Fome Zero* are: the *Bolsa Família*, the *Alimentação Escolar* (school meal) and *Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar* (strengthening family agriculture). The *Alimentação Escolar* program is accountable for 47 million free school meals each day, the *Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar* program aims for an increase of the quality and quantity of the food supply through small-scale and family-based agriculture (Oxfam International, 2010).

Another measurement to improve the situation of relatively poor, is the increment of the minimum wage. Between 2003 and 2010 the minimum wage rose by 67 percent (Morais and Saad-Filho, 2012: 793).

6.1.2.3 Lula's approval rates:

The approval rates for Lula can be qualified as extraordinary. When he stepped down as president, the polling institute *Datafolha* recorded an approval rate of 83 percent, the highest ever measured (Schmalz and Ebenau, 2012: 495). In the figure shown below, the rates from 2006 until 2010 are displayed. The rates are important because Lula keeps playing a role in Brazilian politics as he influences the elections by campaigning for PT. When analyzing a changed attitude in the Brazilian population, approval rates are a useful tool.

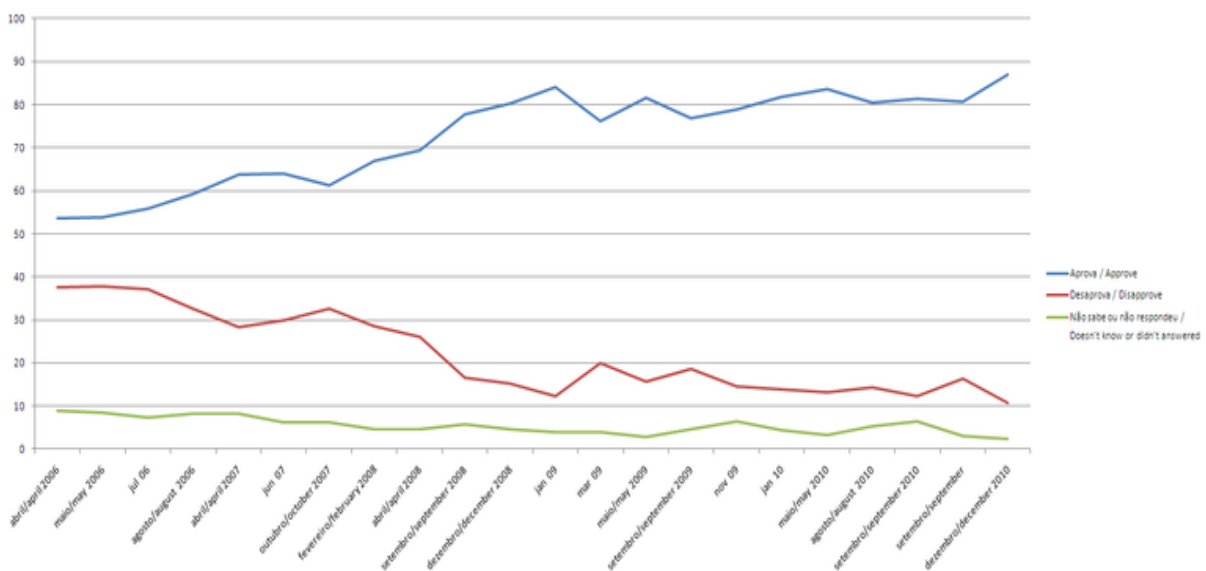


Figure 1: Lula's approval rates, source: CNT / Sensus

6.1.3 Dilma takes over:

In 2010, Dilma was elected president of Brazil. She was not the first female candidate to run for the highest office but she was the first one that was running for a party that had

realistic chances to win the election (Rother, 2012: 264). Lula campaigned alongside Dilma who won the second round of the presidential elections with a 56.05 percentage of the votes. The remaining 43.95 percent went to her opponent José Serra of the Party of Brazilian Social Democracy (PSDB). Dilma's star rose quickly within the ranks of PT. Before she became a politician she was a social activist and even served time in jail during the dictatorship because of her involvement in political activity in left-wing groups. She campaigned with Lula in his 2002 presidential campaign as part of a group that was responsible for drawing up the energy policies. She was able to impress Lula in such a way that he chose her as energy minister instead of the more expected candidate for that position, the head of the energy policy group. She made a name of herself as being an efficient, good organizer unable to be corrupted (Ibid: 262). Although, more than one observer claims that Dilma lacks the charisma that Lula possesses; It is said she has difficulties with connecting with people, on television or on a personal basis (Navia, 2014). Larry Rother describes her as: *"... she [Dilma] sometimes has seemed curt, abrupt, harsh, impatient, gruff, and severe, almost authoritarian, in dealing with others."* (Rother, 2012: 264) A characteristic description of Brazil's president might seem out of place when analyzing the developments of the country as a whole, however her personality becomes important when analyzing a changed attitude towards the government where the president functions as the most important figure. The image and personality of Dilma are also important in analyzing the protests and the presidential elections.

6.1.3.1 New economic situation

Despite that many countries were hit by the financial crisis, the Brazilian economy grew with the third-highest growing rate worldwide in 2010. Not only the 7.5 percent growth but also the strengthening of their currency the *real* impressed. Exports expanded and currency reserves were growing as fast as Brazil's status around the world (Rother, 2012: 273). Lula and his government implemented a package of policies to fight the financial crisis in a classical Keynesian, anti-cyclical way. The main component of the policy was an accelerated implementation of the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC). Domestic consumption was stimulated, social programs received more money (e.g. the *Bolsa Família* payments rose with 10 percent) and trade unions campaigned for real wage improvements (Schmalz and Ebenau, 2012: 495). In 2011 the first signs of a growth reduction appeared. The

inflation rate would exceed the 6.5 percent ceiling for the first time since more than a decade. The overall growth was 2.7 percent in 2011 (The Americas, 2012). According to the data of the World Bank, the Brazilian economy grew with 1 percent in 2012 (The World Bank, 2014). In that same year the inflation rate was set at 5.84 percent (The Americas, 2013). In 2013 the economy recovered slightly with a growth rate of 2.5 percent but lagged behind compared with other emerging nations such as India and China (The World Bank, 2013). Concluding, the economic situation that Dilma inherited in 2011 declined to a new situation on the eve of the protests in June 2013. The economic context plays a crucial role in the approval for a government but it is not the only factor of importance.

6.1.3.2 Fight against poverty and inequality

With the election of Dilma, Brazil experienced for the first time in its democratic history, a continuation of power by the same political party. When Lula was elected president for the first time he did not abolish all previous initiated programs that were initiated by his forerunner and political opposite FHC. So, when Dilma was elected, it was expected that she would continue in line with the policies initiated by her predecessor because they share the same ideology. Dilma made adjustments in the policies, not to swing away from the former strains of thought but to face the new situation. Sader argues that Lula would made the same adjustments to face the changing international reality (Sader, 2011). The spearhead policies to fight poverty and inequality were continued with investments in healthcare and poverty alleviation programs. Lula invested more than half a trillion dollars in the PAC program in his second term, Dilma expanded this program (PAC II) with an investment of US\$539 billion reinforcing the neo-developmental approach (Schmalz and Ebenau, 2012: 495). This program kept playing a significant role in the government's policies to expand the economy and fight poverty (Sader, 2011).

In 2011, the Dilma administration announced an expansion of the *Bolsa Família* program in the form of *Brasil Sem Miséria* (Brazil without poverty). This program tries to reach out to the most impoverished Brazilians with conditional cash-transfers. Having R\$70 or less to spend a month is classified as extremely poor, the majority of this part of the population lives in the north-east of the country (BBC, 2011). Another program that was launched under the umbrella of *Brasil Sem Miséria* in 2011, *Programa Nacional de Acesso ao*

Ensino Técnico e Emprego (Pronatec), aims for the creation of job opportunities and better education and training for future professionals. With an investment of R\$24 billion the government wanted to create 8 million jobs, mainly in the technical branch (Exame, 2011). Programs like these create a better balance and equality between states because the technical training schools were mainly seen in the southern states. The Pronatec program is responsible for creating technical training and education, also in the more impoverished states in the north and north-east (Pereira, 2013).

6.1.3.3 Healthcare and education

The Dilma administration understood from the beginning that healthcare and education were two key points for the future of Brazil. As a fast developing country it is essential to have a well educated and healthy workforce. So when Dilma took over from Lula she said: *“Only when there’s progress in the quality of education can we form young people that are [...] able to lead the country to the full benefits of technology and knowledge”* (Gomez, 2011 brackets in original). FHC (1995-2002) and his administration used neoliberal policies, such as bureaucratic downsizing and privatization to reform the educational and healthcare system. Lula took another approach, he instead used money earned through oil extraction to finance the reforms in the educational sector (more on education in a later chapter). Dilma continued and broadened that policy and came up with the *Brasil Sem Miséria* (BSM) as an expansion of the social policies. Next to the expansion of the CCT program as discussed above, BSM also focuses on improving the access to public services. The poor and extreme poor should become ‘productive included’ by providing them with the economic means to overcome poverty through creating jobs, training and microcredit. The facilitating aspects such as: healthcare, education, running water and electricity are a part of the BSM program (Ibid.). In her first days as president, Dilma promised to invest in healthcare. By 2014, 500 new urgent care facilities were planned to be created. Furthermore, *Rede Cegonha* (Stork Network) a program that helps mothers and their babies, came into existence. The program received an investment of \$5.7 billion (Sader, 2011). Even though those programs were initiated, healthcare and education became subjects of protests. In later sections, they will be discussed in more detail.

6.2 The protests

In June 2013, Brazil saw the beginning of massive demonstrations that lasted for months. The intensity of the protests varied day by day and from city to city but it became clear that it was broadly supported and serious. In general, the rise in bus fare tickets is seen as the spark which enflamed the protests (COHA, 2013). However, it was obvious that the Brazilians had more reasons to protest.

6.2.1 Causes of the protests

In this part, different causes of the protests will be described and discussed. Each sub-section will deal with a main cause of the demonstrations. In general, June 2013 is taken as the starting point of the enormous outburst of dissatisfaction but in reality there were manifestations before June. In the interviews with professor Bruno Lima Rocha from ESPM university and with mayor Fortunati of Porto Alegre, they came up with explanations why it started in Porto Alegre. Even though their views differ (see appendix X and XI), they both agreed that Porto Alegre was the city where the civil unrest started. Other sources explain that there were already signs of civil unrest in late 2012 (Goldblatt, 2014). The location of the first protests has therefore less relevance than the fact that the demonstrations grew enormously and were rooted in multiple causes.

6.2.1.1 Bus fare

The day that the massive protests started was June 6, 2013. The mayor of São Paulo, Fernando Haddad and the governor of São Paulo state, Geraldo Alckmin, pushed a rise in bus fare tickets of R\$0.20 (Malini, 2013). The *Movimento Passe Livre* (MPL) reacted with a small-scale protest. MPL's goal is to make all public transportation in Brazil free and accessible for everybody. The group exists mostly of young people not related to a political party and they use a horizontal structure which means they do not have official leaders (Alves, 2014: 3). The initial protest took root and expanded. Carefully planned, mostly through social media channels, other demonstrations were planned. The mission of MPL succeeded, the pushed rise in bus fare tickets was rolled back. By this time, the demonstration grew to something way more comprehensive than only bus fares. With just one more year till the start of the World Cup, Brazil hosted the Confederations Cup in 2013, a warming-up tournament with a

small number of participants. The Brazilian population was aware of the fact that the eyes of the world were aimed at their country. Organizers of demonstrations took advantage, they seized the perfect moment to gain international attention for their cause (Ibid: 4).

6.2.1.2 Dissatisfaction with the government

Some observers claim that the social unrest came as a surprise, others see it more as a matter of perspective. The Brazilian society knows many problems nowadays but there always existed extreme inequality and poverty. The last time a massive social movement took the streets was in 1992 when a crowd of over 700.000 people demanded the impeachment of president Fernando Collor de Mello (COHA, 2013). Since 1992, Brazil struggled through tough years and experienced an economic boom on the turn of the century. On first hand it seems a strange moment to take to the streets because Brazil was on the rise, but when analyzing the situation thoroughly, some fundamental problems can be seen.

Corruption:

Corruption (the misuse of public power/money for personal gain) is a problem all societies struggle with. Some countries are better able to restrict this misuse than other countries, but no society is totally corruption-free. Most scholars agree that corruption is a problem for development and social cooperation (Ribeiro de Alencar and Gico Jr., 2011).

Since the founding of the state, Brazil and corruption have been intertwined. Lately, many corruption scandals were revealed on the news and this affected many politicians and business men. The years Lula was in office are sometimes called the most corrupt in Brazil's history as a republic. Cases of nepotism, dishonesty, malfeasance, fraud, sleaze and bribery were every-day-business (Rother, 2012: 255). A famous case of corruption that reached to the highest ranks in Brazilian politics is known as *Escândalo do Mensalão* (big monthly payment). In this case, members of political parties were offered money transfers in exchange for their vote of support. Two top PT politicians, finance minister Antônio Palocci and chief of staff José Dirceu de Oliveira e Silva were accused of two separate corruption scandals in 2005. José Dirceu's accusation fell under the umbrella of the wider *mensalão*-case. Both men had to give up their positions (Ibid: 262). Michel Temer, the former running

mate of Dilma and current vice-president, is a member of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB). He is also accused of corruption. In two different cases his name surfaced. One has connection with a construction company and the other with the *mensalão*-case. Even though Dilma herself is never convicted or directly suspected of corruption, the accusation of her vice-president has a big effect on her reputation.

The FIFA World Cup brought many new (infrastructural) projects to Brazil, from building or renovating stadiums, building or expanding airports, highways and metro stations to specific security projects. There was going to be a lot of money invested so it was almost impossible that all money would be used for the initial purpose. There are multiple projects that extended their budgets but maybe the most vivid story is the one of Brasília's national stadium. Estádio Nacional offers a seat to 71.000 spectators (Panja, Colitt and Spilane, 2013) and was renovated for \$900 million. A lot more than the \$300 million that was originally estimated (Agencies, 2014). Because Brasília does not have a team playing in the top league, it is going to be impossible to use the stadium in full extend after the World Cup (Ibid.). More about the World Cup will follow in a dedicated sub-chapter.

Just before the presidential elections there were allegations of corruption involving Brazil's biggest company, *Petrobras* (Watts, 2014). Paulo Roberto Costa is a former executive of *Petrobras* and now in custody because he is suspected to be involved in the major scandal. In return for a reduced prison term, Costa revealed how a kickback scheme, which involves more than 40 politicians, worked. Highly placed politicians received money for guaranteeing contracts to *Petrobras*. Because the Brazilian state has a majority share in the company, the politicians involved are linked with PT and their allies (The Americas, 2014). The moment the scandal was revealed and the accusation of involvement of highly placed PT employees can be questioned because this information became public just before election day. Opponents of Dilma can use these allegations, even more so because she is the former minister of energy, for their own political goals. Aécio was soon with calling it '*mensalão 2*' (Ibid.).

That corruption is a main issue that is also recognized by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) who criticized Brazil's failed efforts to fight corruption. In a rapport, they argue that Brazil lacks the political will to combat corruption.

So far, there were fourteen suspected cases, five investigations and zero convictions according to the anti-corruption division of the OECD (Brasilinform 30-10, 2014). Additionally, in an article written by De Alencar and Gico (2011) they calculated that the chances of being criminally prosecuted in Brazil for corruption is less than 34.01 percent and facing civil charges lies below 24.26 percent (Ribeiro de Alencar and Gico Jr., 2011). Moreover, it is not uncommon that the Brazilian electorate elects representatives who were convicted in earlier corruption schemes. Fernando Collor de Mello, former president, was elected senator for Alagoas in 2006 after stepping down as president in 1992 on the suspicions of corruption (Britannica, 2013). When the chances of conviction are low and when suspicion does not mean a certain political death, the temptation to secure a better future for yourself and relatives financially, becomes strong. Moreover, when it is generally known that other public officials benefit from bribery, it becomes a 'prisoner's dilemma', where public official reason; if I do not take that money, somebody else will.

Taxes:

A joint investigation of PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), the World Bank and International Finance Corporation (IFC) came up with a ranking of 189 countries where their tax-systems were investigated. Brazil came out at position 159 in the overall rating and takes the leading position in the category 'most time-consuming' (Harpaz, 2013). Furthermore, the tax system is complicated because the government collects taxes at a national, state and municipal level (Ministry of Finance, 2002). The share of resources that is collected by the state to finance their expenditures on individuals and companies is regarded as the tax burden of a country. If Brazil's tax burden is compared with other, developing countries such as China, India and Russia, it is possible to conclude that the average Brazilian pays more taxes than in other developing countries. A research conducted in 2007 by the Brazilian government shows that Brazil takes the 14th overall position with a burden of 34,29 percent. All the countries that take a higher position on the list are developed, mostly European, countries. China with 20,57 percent, India with 12,16 percent, Russia with 23,73 percent, United States with 28,33 percent and Switzerland with 33,90 percent have a burden less insistent than Brazils' (The Federal Court of Accounts of Brazil, 2009).

One of the arguments why the tax burden is so high in Brazil is because the state has high expenditures. Social programs like *Bolsa Família* absorb a big amount of money (Nes, 2012). Courtney Ivins argues the contrary in her rapport 'Inequality Matters': "*As a percentage of GDP, tax revenue levels in Brazil, Russia and South Africa are similar to those in OECD countries, pointing to the availability of financing for public social programs to support the disadvantaged.*" (Ivins, 2013: 10) In the final analysis it is explicable why the Brazilian tax system is a point of debate, having a relatively high burden makes the population also expect good public services. In comparison with other countries that have a high tax burden, for example the Scandinavian countries, the Brazilian public services lack quality and accessibility. Two branches where this is clearly visible is in public healthcare and public education. Where the Scandinavian countries offer good quality and accessibility for every inhabitant, both systems operate with many difficulties in Brazil. Both branches will be discussed below.

6.2.1.3 Education

That the educational system played a significant role in the protest becomes clear after a quick examination of the slogans used during the demonstrations. Slogans like: 'we want more schools' and 'we want education, transport and health of quality' were often used (Planas, 2014). In the 1996 book 'Opportunity Foregone, education in Brazil' the point is made that Brazil has the potential to join the world's high-income nations but that Brazil is lacking a good educational system. The former minister of education under FHC, Paulo Renato Souza, argues in the introduction that, when Brazil wants to compete in the knowledge-based global economy, Brazil has to change their educational system (Birdsall and Sabot, 1996). At this moment, roughly eighteen years later, many things have changed. Most of them for the better but Brazil still has many problems to face. Reforms were implemented, initiated by FHC, expanded upon by Lula and Dilma, the three most important reforms were: "*(1) equalizing funding across regions, states and municipalities with the FUNDEF reform; (2) measuring the learning of all children on a common national yardstick (SAEB); and (3) protecting the educational opportunity of students from poor families (Bolsa Escola).*" (Bruns, Evans and Luque, 2012: XVIII brackets in original) Brazil is picking the fruits of these reforms, however, other (developing) countries did not stand still. Moreover, the quality of education lags behind compared to OECD and East Asian countries. An example is

the performance evaluation called PISA 2000. This evaluation is conducted in 32 countries by a cooperation between UNESCO and the OECD and showed bad results for Brazil. Brazilian students, aged 15-16, performed badly in mathematics and reading, ending second worst in mathematics and in reading only four countries performed worse. That only developing countries participated in the test made the result even worse for Brazil. The spending on education by the government cannot be called low in a comparative perspective (Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service, 2008). Despite of improvements made and the recognition that not everything is wrong with Brazil's educational system; there are also success-stories. An example is the University of São Paulo (USP) which is ranked among the best universities in Latin America. A major problem is the gap between motivated students and the available places, especially in federal universities. This was recognized by entrepreneurs who created private universities and it turned out to be a multi-billion dollar industry (Geromel, 2013). If private institutions play a significant role within society than that can be seen as a shortcoming of the federal offered services. In Brazil the federal universities are ranked as good but offer limited places which creates a vacuum which private universities are happy to fill. Interview respondents explained that to get accepted into a federal university, students should be able to show excellent results. It is not unusual for families who can afford it, to send their children to a private primary school in order to get accepted into a federal university. In essence this creates inequality (R7, app VIII). Those insight were investigated and confirmed by other sources.

In the World Bank rapport called 'Achieving world-class education in Brazil: The next agenda' the significant improvements made by Brazil during the past fifteen years are summarized. The rapport states that Brazil moved from one of the worst performing educational systems of any middle-income country to a better and more sustainable system that has the goal of reaching OECD levels of quality by 2021 (Bruns, Evans and Luque, 2012: XVII). Brazil's growing economy is demanding a highly skilled labor force and Brazil's improvements in their educational system are aimed to meet that demand. Implementing reforms usually takes time before significant changes are detectable. In Brazil those improvements are there but still come a long way and in comparison with other developing countries such as China, Brazil has still a long way to go. Brazilians seem aware of this fact. That is why many protesters argued that the money spent on the World Cup would have

been better spent on improving the educational system in order to close the gap with the leading countries.

6.2.1.4 Healthcare

Healthcare and education are often cited together in debates and protests, as if they are one. There are similarities detectable between the educational system and the healthcare system but because they are two different branches they are treated separately in this research. The most prominent similarity is the existence of a wide-scale network of private hospitals and clinics. This suggests that there is gap, in the same way as in the educational system. More than twenty years ago, after the military dictatorship, *Sistema Único de Saúde* (SUS) came into existence. This piece of legislation made healthcare an universal right for every Brazilian and a responsibility of the government (Lindelow, 2013). An examination of more than twenty years SUS shows remarkable achievements, especially for the poorest and most vulnerable part of society. Healthcare in general and the access to it improved (Ibid.). The Brazilian government increased its spending on SUS slightly from R\$50.2 billion in 2008 to R\$61.7 billion in 2010. The medical services needed in hard-to-reach areas lags behind as does the number of qualified personnel. Many hospitals are poorly managed and there is an inequality in medical techniques and infrastructure, where the big cities have a precedence position (Gómez, 2012). Eduardo J. Gómez concludes in the following words:

“Despite Brazil's ongoing commitment to providing health care, the government will need to ensure adequate funding, hire more personnel and strengthen its facilities before its citizens can effectively benefit from SUS. In short, government "capacity" must meet its unwavering passion for taking care of its people.” (Ibid.)

It is possible to conclude that the Brazilian government is determined to improve the healthcare situation. The situation improved in many cases but there are still many flaws. The existence of a broad network of private hospitals suggests that the public services are not optimal. In the same manner as in education, less wealthy people do not have the same access to good healthcare as the individuals who can afford private treatment. When the gap in the educational and healthcare system are seen in combination with the high taxes, it is not surprising that this became a subject in the protests. It is explicable that people are

discontent with the fact that they have to pay relatively high taxes and despite this also have to pay for private institutions for their health and educational needs.

6.2.2 Specific role of the FIFA and the World Cup in the protests

The FIFA and the World Cup and in a lesser degree the Olympic Games as well, were a target of the protests. Many slogans written on banners and walls blamed the government for spending too much public money on hosting the World Cup. As argued before, many infrastructure and security projects were, partly or whole, financed by the Brazilian government. The initial promise was that no public money would be needed to build stadiums, that private investments would be sufficient. Because of the many problems and delays, the Brazilian government had to pour US\$3 (R\$7.65) billion into the new and renovated stadiums (Watts, 2014). Ernst and Young Terco wrote a sustainability report on the World Cup in 2011. They stated the following:

“Of the total R\$29.6 billion in estimated costs relating to the World Cup (including visitors’ expenses), R\$12.5 billion will originate in the public (government) sector (42%) and R\$ 17.16 billion will derive from the private sector (58%).” (Ernest & Young Terco, 2011: 7)

Those were estimated costs. After the tournament it became clear that the government had to have invested more than the initial number. The website of Forbes talks about a number of R\$25.6 billion (or US\$11.63 billion) (Rapoza, 2014). The Brazilian policy makers recognized that stadiums would provide little to no long-term economic benefits. So they decided that less than 25 percent of the total budget should be spend on the grounds. However, with the numbers stated above it is possible to calculate that 61.2 percent of the original budget went to stadiums, forcing the government to increase their investments. Spending 25 percent of the budget on stadiums was not realistic because the venues had a cost overrun of at least 75 percent. This caused that other infrastructural projects had to tighten their budgets and divert their resources in order to finish the stadiums on time. Before the Cup started, Brazil only delivered on half of the infrastructure projects such as: new metro stations, new high ways and so forth (Matheson, 2014).

As described in the theoretical framework, political opportunities are important for current social movements. Monika Dowbor works for *Centro Brasileiro de Análise and*

Planejamento (CEBRAP), this organization monitors social movements in Brazil. She claims that the timing of MPL was good because there was a situation of huge political opportunity. The Confederations Cup was taking place, as a warming-up and test-case tournament, one year before the official *Copa*. The Confederations Cup gave the protesters a spotlight, an international platform. Social activists are aware of those events and used them to showcase their dissatisfaction to the world (Alves, 2014: 4).

FIFA, football's most important organization, does not have a very positive reputation in itself. Due to a lack of transparency and many rumors of corruption, the organization and its infamous president, Sepp Blatter, did not create a brand that is associated with good governance and norms and values. Because FIFA owns the World Cup, the hosting country should obey to FIFA's demands and regulations. This goes as far as, temporarily adjusting the constitution and active national laws so they are in line with FIFA's demands. An example is the ban of local vendors to sell their merchandise in a radius of one kilometer around the stadium. Individual salesmen, who sell products e.g. jerseys, drinks, ice creams, açaí and barbecue are not welcome near the stadium. The official sponsors of FIFA have the privilege to sell their merchandise in and around the stadiums (Kistner, 2014).

The awarding of the World Cup 2018 and 2022 to respectively Russia and Qatar did not do much good to the already decreasing name of FIFA. There are many rumors about members of the executive committee selling their votes for money and other ways of compensation. The investigation in the matter will not be freely published, something that makes the case more suspicious. The first real signs of sponsors not taking it anymore to be associated with the declining image of FIFA is the decision by Sony not to renew their contract with the World Football Association (Gibbs, 2014).

Then there are the problems with building or renovating the stadiums. Those problems were working in favor of the already growing skepticism about the World Cup and its owner. A clear case is the death of two construction workers who were killed while working on the stadium in São Paulo due to a crane collapsing and destroying a part of the stands. In two other separate cases, lethal accidents occurred in Brasília and Manaus due to construction work on World Cup stadiums. With those incidents, more questions about organizing the World Cup were raised (Romero, 2013). Another aspect that caused

discussion and debate are the stadiums without a real purpose. 'White Elephants' are huge constructions, mainly stadiums that are used for a specific tournament and afterwards are abolished. Brazil has four of those stadiums in: Brasília, Cuiaba, Natal and Manaus. Taken the lowest estimations, the four stadiums combined are estimated to cost US\$1.62 billion (Waldron, 2014). What came with the building of stadiums and infrastructure projects was the forced removal of, mostly poor, people. Especially in Rio de Janeiro, families were displaced from *favela's* where it is argued that the government used the World Cup as an excuse to remove people from their houses. CCTV America provides the number of twenty-two thousand families that had to abandon their homes. The displacements led to a strong public dislike and therefore it became a subject in the protests (Hadden, 2014).

Public support for hosting the World Cup fell dramatically. In a research conducted in February 2014 only 26.1 percent would support the tournament if it was offered again that day. More than three quarters (75.8 percent) of the respondents said that the costs were unnecessary and an even higher rate (80.2 percent) said to disagree with the construction of stadiums and that the money would be better spend on other aspects of the economy (PACS, 2014).

6.2.3 Goals of the protests, where they took place and who participated

As argued before in this thesis, it is not completely clear when the protests originally started. In the interviews with the mayor of Porto Alegre (R9, app X), and with professor Bruno Lima Rocha (R10, app XI), they both explained that the real protests started in Porto Alegre. Their stories are confirmed by other written sources but there are also sources who state that there was civil unrest in more cities than just Porto Alegre. More significant is that almost all sources agree on the original cause. The proposed increase in bus fares was the main reason to take to the streets. In many Brazilian cities, the bus fare was supposed to increase and that is argued to be the spark of the protests. On June 6, the first demonstration against the increased bus fare in São Paulo led by MPL occurred (Saad-Filho, 2013). What started out as a relatively small demonstration grew enormously. As said before, people had many reasons to take to the streets but it is argued that police brutality was one of the key-factors. The relatively small group of protesters was blamed for holding-up the daily life in downtown São Paulo, the police reacted with fierce brutality and arrested

and injured many participants. Among the injured were also journalists who started reporting the brutality, this made Brazilians throughout the country feel sympathy for the protesters. It was not about the increase in bus fare anymore, it became about the right to protest, to express your opinion without it being repressed (Alves, 2014: 11). The mainstream press like *O Globo*, who were initially against the protesters, switched sides and started to support the protests by covering the demonstrations and give them a voice to speak out to the rest of the nation (Saad-Filho, 2013). The demonstrations started to spread out to other cities. At some occasions more than a million people were simultaneously on the streets in hundreds of different cities, from Recife in the north to Porto Alegre in the south (Ibid.). With more people joining in the protests and more media coverage, the theme of issues that were addressed also broadened. It was not unusual to protest for totally opposite goals such as an ultra-right-wing wish to return to military rule opposite ultra-left-wing wishes for a socialistic or even a communist state (Ibid.). Here is an enumeration of the subjects addressed in the protests: corruption, healthcare, transportation, high taxes, security, education, women's rights, gay and lesbian's rights, the World Cup, FIFA, the Olympic Games and a lack of social security and public services. The unpopularity of the government played a role as well. By that time Dilma was a subject of protest and her capabilities as president were questioned. A facilitating aspect was the internet and especially social media. Those developments made it easier for protesters to have contact and organize a demonstration. When a topic is highly discussed and debated on Facebook or other social platforms, then the opportunity is created to gain support, direct or indirect. On a certain moment protesting can be seen as a sort of hype, where it is trendy to participate even though it is possible to question the ideological foundation.

Encouraged by the diversity of subjects and the swing from the left towards the more mainstream, the participants in the demonstrations changed. In the beginning, the demonstration were left-wing orientated, mainly students, but in the course of time the protesters became more middle-class. The term middle-class is sometimes broad and unclear. Last decade 40 million of Brazilians rose out of the category being classified as poor and elevated into the lower middle-class. The classification goes from A (upper-class) to E (extremely poor), the 40 million Brazilians who entered the *classe C* rose out of the ranks of the category D and E. The C-class is estimated to represent 54 percent of the Brazilian

population (Marinheiro, 2012). The middle-class is better aware of the situation in the country and they know what they want for themselves and their nation in the future. With the middle-class entering the demonstration in droves, they brought a wide range of demands with them. Because there was no clear focus or organizing body this went along with violence from both the protesters and the military police, this had the effect that large numbers of people decided to stay in. Fanatic demonstrators kept going throughout 2013 and there were also protests reported in 2014 but not with the same intensity as June and July '13 (R8, app IX).

When analyzing the causes of the protests, there are problems in Brazilian society that became subjects in the demonstrations. It is possible to treat them individually but it is also possible to see the bigger picture. When a country develops at a high pace economically, an imbalance can be created in the social structures and offered public services. Taking this point of view, it is explainable why the middle-class was so engaged in the Brazilian demonstrations. When a society experiences radical improvements in the economic situation, it is likely that the public services do not develop in the same pace. The people that moved into their new economic situation, demanded that the public services improve as well. With the improved economic situation, comes better access to information. In this way, people are better able to recognize the flaws and shortcomings in their own daily life and become able to compare how social structures and public services are organized in other countries. When a country experiences an economic boom and the public services do not meet the new standards, an imbalance is created. The problems created by this imbalance can be eclipsed by the newly created wealth and a better economic position within society. When the economic boom ends and people reconsider their situation, it is possible that the imbalance creates dissatisfaction. This, in the end, can lead to civil unrest and demands of a better organized public life. That the (new) middle-class was so much engaged in the process of demanding upgraded public services can be explained in the way that the upper-class has enough resources to buy the services they regard proper, if necessary through private institutions. The bottom part of society is struggling with everyday life and try to create a better economic situation for themselves and their relatives. That the middle-class, the majority of Brazilian society, played the lead role in the demonstrations is in accordance with the new social movement theory.

6.3 The presidential elections '14

The protests, the World Cup and the presidential elections all took place in a relatively short time span. The second part of the research question has as goal to investigate the role of the World Cup within the presidential elections. Brazilian politics and Brazil's number one sport are intertwined with each other. First the World Cup was broadly supported, then it became a subject of debate and protest. Later, when the actual tournament was taking place and the Brazilian football team would not meet the high expectations, those developments could influence the elections. The conducted interviews help with examining the role of the World Cup on the election result. First, the elections, the process and the final result are analyzed.

6.3.1 The president for the next four years

On Sunday 26th of October the Brazilian population decided that Dilma would stay in power for four more years. This is the fourth victory of PT in a row and simultaneously the fourth consecutive defeat of PSDB. The victory of Dilma was the closest result since the return of Brazilian democracy, with a majority of 51.64 percent she received a small number of votes over Aécio who ended with 48.36 percent of the total votes (Brasilinform 27-10, 2014).

When analyzing the election result it is clear that there is a north-south divide where the north supported Dilma and the south was in favor of PSDB (see figure 2 in Appendix XIII). As argued before, Dilma and her party PT are responsible for multiple social projects which are mostly in favor of the least wealthy part of the Brazilian population. It is no coincidence that the north and north-east region, which are regarded as the least prosperous regions, have a strong support for Dilma. There, she received an absolute majority of the votes. Dilma captured 70 percent, giving her a margin of 11.7 million votes, in the region. It is argued that it is almost impossible to cover that kind of margin (Brasilinform 27-10, 2014). In comparison, the more industrialized and wealthier south, supported Aécio (see figure 3 in Appendix XIII). Even though a left-right divide is an old-fashioned way to analyze politics, it could be argued that PT is on the left side of the political spectrum and the PSDB on the centre right. This division between left and right concentrates mostly on domestic economic aspects because within social aspects it becomes a blur what is left and right, Dilma for

example takes a relatively conservative stand in gay marriage and abortion (Lewis, 2014). Also, there is a difference between international and domestic policies. PT profiles itself as a party with socialist sympathies concerning domestic issues such as poverty reduction and redistribution of wealth but in their foreign economic policies they use neoliberal policies.

To analyze the final outcome of the second round it is necessary to take one step back to the first round of the elections. For a long time it looked like Marina Silva would go to the final round. Marina Silva, an environmentalist, was minister of Environment in the first term of Lula and for half the period in his second four years (Rocha, 2014). She became presidential candidate after Eduardo Campos died in a plane crash, her running mate and the initial presidential candidate for the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB) on August 13th (Colitt, 2014). A month before the elections she looked like a real threat to Dilma. The polls of *Datafolha* from end of August, showed a tie with Dilma in the first round and a victory for Marina in a runoff. Dilma and Marina were both forecasted to receive 34 percent in the first round and Aécio fell to 15 percent. Well informed media suggested: *“leaving him [Aécio] practically out of the race.”* (Brasilinform 1-9, 2014) That Marina did not make it to the second round has multiple causes but the attack from PT, and in a lesser degree from PSDB, on her personal leadership skills and her inexperience, probably made people hesitate. In the beginning of September Marina took a strong position, this changed slowly throughout the month and in the end of September she lost ground where Aécio was gaining (Brasilinform 29-09, 2014). On Sunday 5 October the votes were casted and the results are shown in figure 4 in Appendix XIII.

In the final analysis of the second round, it is possible to conclude that both candidates had a strong positive attraction to certain groups within the population. PT showed in their previous periods of power to be able to improve the lives of the poor, lower classes. The promise of continuation of those policies made the relatively backward states elect Dilma. PSDB could count on the support of business and the more industrialized parts of Brazil. They had some points where they could attack PT, especially on the corruption scandals and the feeling that it was time for a change after twelve years of PT. Because the spearhead policies of PT concentrate on the bottom part of society, there is a part of the (higher) middle-class that felt that there is not enough attention for their situation. The biggest advantage of Dilma in comparison with Aécio is that she could count on the support

of the enormous popular figure Lula. Aécio had the favor of Marina supporting him after the first round and encouraging her followers to vote for PSDB even though ideologically she is closer to PT (Mesquita, 2014). It is argued that the campaign was fierce from both sides (Leaders, 2014). The Dilma-team exploited the weaknesses of her opponents to a maximum, blaming PSDB for the ‘water-crisis’ in São Paulo and creating fear that Aécio would abolish the social programs like *Bolsa Família* (Stauffer, 2014). Discontentedness with domestic politics might explain the relatively high number of not casted votes. More than 7 million Brazilians decided to vote blank and 28 million decided not to vote despite the mandatory system (Rubin, 2014). According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), the percentage of the Voting Age Population (VAP) that actually went voting was the lowest with 76.34 percent since the return to democracy. However, the voter turnout in general was higher than in 2010, 80.61 percent versus 78.50 percent (IDEA, 2014).

6.3.2 Presenting the qualitative data

In order to investigate the role of the World Cup in voting behavior, there are interviews conducted with eleven respondents (see interview guide in appendix I). A general overview of the interviewees is given in table 1. The summarized results, concerning the role of the World Cup in the elections, are presented below in table 2.

Resp. No.	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Location	Duration	Day
R1	Thaís	22	Female	Steersman	Rio de Janeiro	17.41	8 Oct.
R2	Gustavo	21	Male	Student	Rio de Janeiro	12.16	10 Oct.
R3	Leandro	33	Male	Professor	Ilha Grande	18.28	12 Oct.
R4	Tamirys	24	Female	Business analyst	São Paulo	27.13	16 Oct.
R5	Jomar	36	Male	Teacher	São Paulo	-	17 Oct.
R6	Rômulo	28	Male	Physician	São Paulo	36.47	18 Oct.
R7	Luciana	37	Female	Marketing	Porto	16.05	20 Oct.

				manager	Alegre		
R8	Érico & Thiago	22 & 22	Males	Students	Porto Alegre	21.41	21 Oct.
R9	Mayor Fortunati	58	Male	Mayor	Porto Alegre	32.42	21 Oct.
R10	Professor Rocha	42	Male	Professor	Porto Alegre	28.24 3.37	23 Oct.
R11	Arthur	22	Male	Student	Porto Alegre	16.07	23 Oct.
		Average 30.58	Male: 8 Female: 3		Rio: 3, SP: 3, PA: 5	Average: 22.9	

Table 1, General overview interview respondents

The most important information about the World Cup in correlation with the elections is presented below:

Respondent	Influence yes/no	Reason why the World Cup influences the election or why it has no effect on the election result
Thaís	No	Brazilians forgot the World Cup and everything that happened. They are not thinking about it anymore.
Gustavo	No	The Brazilian people have no mind. They forgot the whole past. We are not thinking about it anymore.
Leandro	No	I think not. The Brazilian people moved on.
Tamirys	No	I think people forgot the World Cup, my vote is totally independent from the World Cup, it is for another reason, for health and education.
Jomar	No	World Cup plays no role in the elections
Rômulo	Yes	I believe there is a little link between the three [protests, World Cup and the elections] but the World Cup is not the main issue anymore, they are pieces of a very large puzzle.
Luciana	No	Of course not, they don't have memory, they don't remember.
Érico &	No	The elections could be influenced more, nowadays we don't hear

Thiago		much about the World Cup. It is not in debates. People don't really remember the World Cup anymore.
Arthur	Yes	Yes. If she [Dilma] didn't do a good job on the World Cup, people wouldn't vote for her again.
Professor Rocha	Yes	It plays as a disillusion. Those who have a strong ideological connection with the protests, they will cancel the vote.
Mayor Fortunati	Yes	As part of the broader protests, people who rose in their social status also adjust their expectations, because of this the protests existed. But the bigger problem for Dilma were not the protests but the scandals of corruption.

Table 2, Summary interviews, role of the World Cup on elections

6.3.3 Specific role of the World Cup on voting behavior

When analyzing the interviews and emphasizing the World Cup, among the Brazilian population an image of mixed feelings exists. Thaís stated: *“But we earned money with tourism”* (R1, app II). Tamirys argued that Brazil showcased their capabilities in a good manner: *“... I think it was good Brazil because it showed the world, Brazil can receive a big event, can receive the people, we’ve the infrastructure to receive a lot of people”* (R4, app V). Luciana from Porto Alegre symbolizes the two feelings many more Brazilians are struggling with. First she states: *“I love the World Cup and I love Dilma because of the World Cup.”* (R7, app VIII) But later in the interview she admits that she thinks the money that was spent on organizing the tournament was too high: *“But of course, we didn’t need that event here in Brazil now. We need that money for other important thing as health, education and a lot of other things for the people.”* (R7, app VIII) The passion for the sport comes forward in the responses of the interviewees. Érico declares: *“... the first time when Brazil was announced to host the World Cup the people got happy because soccer is the passion of Brazil.”* (R8, app IX) All positive statements are followed-up by negative opinions about the event. The general consensus is that there was too much money invested in organizing the tournament and that the money could have been spend better. The mixed feelings emerge from, the enjoyment of the games, the exited atmosphere during the tournament, the visitors from abroad who celebrate and throw parties but when realistic analyzing the situation the

interview respondents argue also the down-sides of the *Copa*. The enormous investments made by the government to finish stadiums and other projects in time, are for most interviewees unacceptable. Érico describes his feeling as follow: *"I think it is good for tourism and for the party itself, and everything, it is really nice for the environment and of sharing and integration, that is really nice part of it but it is not worth it."* (R8, app IX) This feeling is more detectable in the input provided by the interviewees. Most respondents agree on the positive facts of the tournament, that it is a great opportunity to show their country to the world and to attract tourists but the feeling of 'it was not worth it' predominates. With 'it was not worth it' is meant that in the cost-benefit analysis the costs outweigh the benefits. Corruption is an often heard cause of the big investments needed, Rômulo explains: *"Because in Brazil it is common like the construction company helps a ..., political party and gives money to their campaigns and so on when this party wins the election and assumes the government, this kind of government will make some contract with that company ..."* (R6, app VII) Professor Rocha understates that the Brazilian population suspected many cases of corruption surrounding the World Cup. He explains: *"So the huge profit in Brazil, the people know they are not stupid, they understand that the huge profit is going to the huge corporations."* (R10, app XI) Furthermore, he specifies his answer by stating who makes the huge profits: *"... specifically those construction companies and agri-business companies."* (Ibid.) Even though the majority of the respondents states that there was too much money spent on the World Cup and that it was not worth it, most of them claim that the tournament had no influence on the presidential elections (see table 2). Seven interviewees answered a clear No on the question if the World Cup influenced the presidential elections. Three stated that the *Copa* had influence on the elections but as part of a broader theme. They argue that the World Cup, as part of the protests, influenced the presidential elections. One respondent (R11) said that Dilma's appearances during the World Cup influenced the elections. He claims that when Dilma would have done a bad job during the tournament, the public opinion would turn even more against her. In the final analysis it is possible to state that, despite the positive sides of the tournament, a general feeling predominates that there was too much money invested while this money should have been spend on more useful projects for society. The influence of the World Cup on the presidential elections is marginalized because a clear majority of the respondents states that there was no direct influence, only indirect, as part of something bigger.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

In this last chapter, three subjects are addressed. First, a discussion takes place about the research results, its implications and a comparison with the previous described theory is made. After the discussion, conclusions can be drawn and an answer is formulated to the research questions. The last section deals with the implication of this research and possible interesting follow-up research.

7.1 Discussion

In the theory (chapter 4) four types of attitude are described; affective, cognitive, conative and evaluative. The affective attitude concerns itself with emotions and feelings. The protests and the World Cup awakened a broad range of feelings and emotions. As argued in the analysis. The aggression against the protesters by the police caused feelings of sympathy for the demonstrators. The protests caused much debate about the current situation of the country and in which way to go ahead. Especially in the middle-classes there were feelings of being marginalized. The cognitive attitude of Brazilians, where beliefs and opinions play the lead role, is affected by the protests. The affective and cognitive aspects together worked as a stimuli to action. In this case, demonstrating was the action. In the months June and July the feeling of solidarity and sympathy for the protests peaked. After July there were more protests but not with the same intensity or support. In the cause of time the protests changed, they became more political and extreme (The Americas, 2014). With this, the support for the demonstrators dropped from 89 percent in June 2013 to 52 percent in May 2014 (Ibid.). So overtime, in the evaluative phase, people who first had a positive attitude the protests and protesters changed towards a more negative stance. When the moment was there for Brazil to say as a nation 'we want change' they decided to reelect the president. When the new social movement theory and the data that is analyzed are combined, it becomes clear that the theory is confirmed on multiple points. The demonstrations in Brazil were not the classical class struggle as described by Marx but the participants consisted merely of well informed middle-class individuals that were demanding a better quality of life instead of purely economical reasons.

What would have happened if Brazil became world champions is left to speculation. From the interviewees input it is possible to uncover a feeling of desolation when talking

about the World Cup. That Brazil did not ultimately win the tournament probably reinforced this feeling. What if Brazil won the *Copa*? Even though there were protests against the World Cup in the run-up, during the tournament the majority enjoyed the games and the spectacle surrounding it. When the *Celeção*, preferably with their samba football, would have preformed excellently and ultimately would have crowned themselves champions of the world, it is likely that big celebrations would have spread over the whole nation. Feelings of unity, defiance, self-confidence and confidence towards the future would thrive. It is a point of discussion and pure speculation if the tournament, when won, could have subdued the social problems and negative attitudes towards the World Cup. On the one hand it is possible to argue that the feelings that come with a tournament victory cover the problems temporarily. On the other hand it is possible to argue that the problems in Brazilian society are too severe to be covered by just a title in sports. Even more so because the elections were organized almost two months after the final, leaving enough time for reason and analysis after the celebrations.

7.2 Conclusions

This thesis explored three subjects, the protests, the World Cup and the presidential elections in Brazil, and how they are connected and influence each other. The protests, uncommon in Brazil at a large scale, unequivocally showed that the attitude of the Brazilian population changed, demanding a change of their representatives in massive numbers was unseen for a long period. Even though the subjects in the protests and the demands made, were very diverse and incoherent (like the Brazilian population), the demonstration in itself proofed that Brazil was more than that football-loving nation that was happy to organize the World Cup and conform to the rules of the FIFA. A year after the most intense protests, the World Cup took place. Roughly two months after the final game, the presidential elections were organized. In the first round Marina Silva, Dilma and Aécio were the main contesters, the latter two made it to the final round. The Brazilian electorate had the power to vote for a new president and the opportunity to go ahead in a new direction. The population decided that they wanted Dilma, even though it was with a very small margin, for four more years. This explains that the attitude of the Brazilians towards their government did not change in such a degree that a new president was elected. The Dilma administration promised that they have heard the voice of the people during the demonstrations and that they will work

to accomplish improvements. To investigate the role of the World Cup on peoples choices to vote for their preferred presidential candidate, a qualitative research showed that the tournament had zero to little direct influence on voting behavior. For this research, 2007 was taken as starting point because in this year Brazil was awarded with the honor to organize the *Copa*. However, in general Brazilians cherish their passion for football and it influences politics, the role of the World Cup in the presidential elections was marginalized because it was seen as something more comprehensive, just one subject of the many that were addressed in the protests.

7.3 Limitations and future research

In the methodology chapter some preliminary limitations are discussed (see chapter 5.4). In retrospect, those limitations can be supplemented with issues experienced along the way of the research. What turned out to be a bigger weakness than estimated is my personal inability to speak Portuguese. Some interview respondents had difficulties with expressing themselves properly in English which sometimes made conversations not optimal. Even though creating validity is not a goal of a qualitative research, there is a distinct bias in the conducted research. An alternative approach could have been to formulate a hypothesis and conduct a quantitative research in the form of a questionnaire. In this manner, there would have been created more information and validity. A future research that addresses the three subjects of this thesis could use this quantitative approach and examine if the outcome corresponds. Because Brazil is organizing the Olympic Games in 2016, it might be interesting to investigate the impact of that event on domestic politics and compare the outcomes.

When coming to an end with this thesis it is possible to formulate a hypothesis that might be interesting as a starting point for follow-up research. It is matter for speculation what would have happened if the Brazilian national team preformed excellent and became winner of the tournament. From the collected data and the people on the streets who I have talked to during my trip, the impression exists that Brazil is tired of the World Cup also because the national team did not meet the high expectations. This leads to the new hypothesis: 'A main sports event has less influence on society, domestic politics and the economy when the national team underperforms than when it would perform excellent and in doing so, creating a (false) feeling of happiness'.

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Appendix I

Interview guide

- Introduction interviewee:
 - Name
 - Age
 - Occupation
 - Hometown

- What can you tell me about the protests that started in 2013?
 - Causes
 - Goals
 - What kind of people did participate?
 - Did you participate? Why?

- What is your opinion about Brazil hosting the FIFA World Cup in 2014?
 - What role played the World Cup in the protests?
 - Is the World Cup an issue for Brazilians when they go voting?

- What is your opinion about the presidential elections?
 - Who did you vote for in the first round?
 - For who will you vote the second round?
 - Who is going to win the elections do you think?
 - Reasons to vote for your candidate?
 - Did the protests play a role in your decision to vote for your candidate?
 - Can you explain if the World Cup played a role in your decision to vote for your candidate?

Appendix II

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Wednesday October 8th, 2014 in café Banana Jack in Rio de Janeiro. Respondent will be indicated by R and the interviewer by I.

R: I am Thaís, I am 22 years old, I am a pilot [steersman] I work on board of vessels, I live in Rio de Janeiro.

I: OK, shall I ask the questions and you answer? All right, so as you know there were a lot of protest taking place in Rio de Janeiro and in other cities in 2013, can you explain me a little bit why you think the protests were taking place and what do you think about the protests?

R: Yes, the protests were carried out because of taxes that we pay for the government and we don't get money back, the government took this money and told that they will invest this in healthcare, in hospitals and education, in schools but we cannot see that happen.

I: OK, and why do you think the government doesn't spend the money on the right projects?

R: Why they don't spend the money? Ah, because they stole this money, they took this money and spend it for themselves.

I: So they use it for their own benefits?

R: Yes.

I: OK, do you think the protests achieved the goals they were aiming for?

R: No.

I: No?

R: Immediately, yes. Because the tickets of the transport that was, uh how can I say? The reason, the first reason of the protests didn't rise [she is referring to the proposed rise in bus fares]. But after that, the price was up.

I: So you say that the bus fare ticket was the cause of the protests? Do you think that was the only reason why the people protested?

R: No. Another point of view is that some people didn't want Dilma as their president. They wanted to take out Dilma and put another president.

I: OK, which one?

R: Actually, I don't know which one.

I: There was not another candidate?

R: No.

I: They just wanted to have Dilma gone?

R: Yes, of another party.

I: Do you think the protests were led by political parties or were they spontaneous, just organized by the people?

R: As I told you, there are two points of view. Some people say it was only because of the poor people, they didn't want to pay more for the tickets of transport but another point of view is that some people, that is very close to the politicians, didn't want Dilma there and they organized the protests. There are two points of view. I think it is a little bit of one.

I: It is a little bit of both. Did you protest yourself?

R: If I participated?

I: If you participated?

R: No I was at work this time [she works with an one month on, one month off-schedule].

I: If you were not working, would you have gone to protest, or do you think the protest were not the right thing to do?

R: Yes, if I were at home, probably I went to the protest. Every day we see this government, making everything wrong, using our money in the wrong manner. And I think we have to do something, to try to find it.

I: To stop it?

R: Yes, to stop it. But it is difficult. **I don't believe in politicians**, I don't believe it will work as it happened the people will go to the street, the protest. But now, it is the same thing.

I: And what do you think could be a solution? Do you have one?

R: **We have to change our way of thinking. Everyone, because Brazilian are very, how can say, for everything we have one solution, one way to adjust** and plenty people that I know tell me if I apply for this job, I would not prefer. So, how can the country work?

I: So, it is a mentality question?

R: **Yes.**

I: That is hard to change I think.

R: **I think it will never change.**

I: And do you know people who participated in the protests?

R: **Yes I know. Plenty of friends of mine went to the streets and participated. I have one friend that lives in Brasília , our capital, and she told me that one day the militaries, that were doing the security of the protests, they managed the protesters in our palace, government palace [senate] and the people started to break down the palace. But that was not the goal of the people in the protest. It was a strategy, a strategy of the militaries.**

I: Alright, to blame it on the protesters?

R: Yes.

I: What kind of people did participate in the protests, were that the poor people or middle-class, do you have an idea about that?

R: **Mostly poor people.**

I: They started protesting because of the bus tickets but later there was also other subjects of protest for example the World Cup. How do you think about the World Cup and the money spent on organizing the World Cup?

R: Yes, I think the government takes our taxes and instead of spending this money on our necessities, our schools, our hospitals, they spent that on the World Cup. I don't think, I don't know, I am not so worried about it because if they don't spend this money on the World Cup, then they would spend it on other things.

I: And that is not the right thing to spend it on? They should spend it more healthcare, education and social projects you think?

R: For sure.

I: Do you remember in 2007, that Brazil was announced host of the World Cup? Do you remember that, that moment?

R: No.

I: Can you describe if your way of thinking about the World Cup changed during the last years? So, in the beginning, Brazil, in general Brazil was very positive about the World Cup but later a lot of people started complaining. How did you experience that?

R: I agree with you. Brazilians like party. Like football. They wanted to do the World Cup here but after when they saw the money spent by building the stadiums and this kind of things, they started complaining.

I: Exactly.

R: But we earned money with tourism.

I: Yes, exactly. They also promised that tourists will bring in a lot of money. Have you noticed that a lot of tourists were in Rio de Janeiro?

R: Yes, plenty. Oh my God. At Copacabana and Ipanema, we almost didn't see any Brazilians. At every place you could see the foreigners. Plenty. Plenty.

I: About the elections. The elections took place last Sunday, did you go voting?

R: Yes, I did.

I: For which candidate did you vote?

R: For the president I voted Maria Silva. And for the mayor I voted [unclear].

I: You voted for Silva as presidential candidate, why did you vote for her?

R: Because she is popular, she promised to help the poor people, to improve the hospitals and the schools, she promised but I don't believe.

I: What do you think that she will be doing different than Dilma?

R: Dilma helps more the middle society.

I: The middle-class?

R: Yes, the middle-class.

I: Ok, and you think Silva but be more for the really poor people? And Dilma is more for the middle-class?

R: Yes.

I: Silva is not going to the second round, now it is between Dilma and Neves, for whom you are going to vote now?

R: Dilma.

I: Dilma. Do you think Dilma is going to win the elections?

R: Yes. I am not sure. I will vote for Dilma because she is investing in Petrobras and I work for Petrobras, only for that.

I: Do you think that the protests of last year and also this year, that they were playing a role in peoples decision to vote for a candidate?

R: Sorry.

I: Because in the protests people wanted to have a change, now it seems that Dilma is going to win again and that will not create a lot of change. Why do you think Dilma is going to win again?

R: It is funny.

I: Because they were protesting against Dilma and now she is winning.

R: I don't know. It is missing education for the people. Plenty of education. And most of the people of the society of Brazil, are poor. And they don't have instructions, they don't have information to choose the right candidate. They are not worried about politicians.

I: So it is more out of, in a way, that it is easy to vote for Dilma because she will take care of them?

R: Yes.

I: Do you think the World Cup played a role in the decision to vote for a candidate? Because a lot of people were against the World Cup but now it seems that Dilma is going to be reelected. Do you think the World Cup played a role in the decision to vote for a candidate?

R: No. I think now the Brazilians forgot the World Cup and everything that happened. They forgot. They are not thinking about it anymore. Not worried. We became, it is the past, we started to think it is the past. Ok, it is not good but we can live like this.

I: Are you seeing a lot of development and progress as well? And do you think that is the reason why Dilma stays in power?

R: The reason why?

I: Because Brazil is growing, people see, Brazil is doing a good job in general, do you think that is also the reason why people voted for Dilma?

R: No. As I told you. Poor people that are the most in society, they don't know anything about politicians and the people that really know and really care about it are only a few people and they don't have power enough to change something. And if they have, they will only think about their class and not about the poor.

I: Alright, that makes it really clear. Actually, I don't have any questions anymore. I would like to thank you very much for participating in my research and thank you!

R: You are welcome.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
In the beginning, Brazil, in general was very positive about the World Cup but later a lot of people started complaining.		When they saw the money spent by building the stadiums and this kind of things, they started complaining	
They should spend it more on healthcare, education and social projects?		For sure. I think the government takes our taxes and instead of spending this on our necessities, our schools, hospitals, they spend it on the World Cup.	
Have you noticed a lot of tourists?	Yes, plenty. We earned money with tourism		
Did the World Cup play a role in the decision to vote for a presidential candidate?			No, Brazilians forgot the World Cup and everything that happened. They are not thinking about it anymore.

Appendix III

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Friday October 10th, 2014 at the campus of UVA (Universidade Veiga de Almeida) in Rio de Janeiro in the state of Rio de Janeiro. Interview with Gustavo Saunier a student of civil engineering. Interviewer will be indicated by I and Gustavo as respondent by R.

I: So the first point, I would like to ask you to introduce yourself, what is your name, how old are you, what do you study, where do you live?

R: First of all, my name is Gustavo, I'm 21 years old man, I'm studying civil engineer at Veiga de Almeida University and I am here now to do this interview.

I: Perfect, let's start with the real interview. The first point is about the protests, the protests started in June 2013, what do you think about the protests, why where the protests there?

R: In that time I had an opinion but now I have another opinion because for example in that time if you come back to the time you can see for example, can you be more specific?

I: What do you think the causes were for the protest, why did people go protesting?

R: In my opinion, in that time the population was bigger, too much anger against the government, we did that, we go to the streets we break everything. In that time everybody says we have a proposal but now you can see, the protests didn't reach a purpose.

I: So the goals where the protests were aiming for or trying to achieve, they are not reached, there is no change?

R: Nothing. We have no changes until now.

I: Do you think the protests can start again because nothing changed?

R: If you watched the protests on films, protest movies, you can see vandals breaking everything, destroying, fighting against the police, fighting the cops. Until now we don't see changes. The population has the same conditions, we don't have any change.

I: You said the people were really angry and that is why they went to the streets, why were they angry, what was the reason why they became angry?

R: I don't know but my reason in that time, obviously, is the government. Corrupted government. In Brazil we have a government completely bribery.

I: Did you notice yourself a lot of corruption yourself as well?

R: Yes.

I: So that was your reason why you participated?

R: I think the population has the same reason.

I: So it was against the government?

R: Against the government, but now we are voting in the same government where we were fighting against. So it is stupid, everything happened.

I: Why do you think that people now vote for, probably Dilma is going to be reelected, why do you think people vote for her when there was a lot of protest last year?

R: Repeat please.

I: Last year there were big protests, many people went to the street and now people vote for Dilma actually again, can you explain why that is, do you know why that is?

R: If I try to explain it I just say one thing; the Brazilian population, they are a bullshit, they are stupid, they are completely wrong. How can we do that? Fighting against a government and now voting for the same government. Why this?

I: Did you vote yourself?

R: Yes, not in Dilma.

I: For witch candidate did you vote?

R: I voted for Aécio.

I: What was your reason to do that?

R: Because I don't want Dilma anymore.

I: So the Workers' Party, PT, should make place for another government?

R: Yes, exactly.

I: In the second round it is Dilma against Aécio, you are going to vote for him again?

R: Exactly.

I: And do you think Dilma will be reelected?

R: Elections, we have a dubious around it, I cannot assure. Dilma will win or Aécio will win, we have to wait for it.

I: It can go both ways?

R: Exactly.

I: Do you also think that...

R: My opinion is about the Brazilian people.

I: True, do you think that it is 50/50, both have equal chances or do you think Dilma is leading or Neves is leading?

R: I think Aécio, for the moment Aécio. Until October 26, I cannot say who will win.

I: It is a close race. I have another subject where I would like to talk a little bit about, it is about the World Cup. In 2007 Brazil got awarded with the World Cup, they got the honor to host the World Cup, many people were very happy, they took the street, they celebrated, a couple of years later in the protests, many people were protesting against the World Cup, do you know why people changed their minds?

R: In that time, what was the date?

I: 2007.

R: 2007, I had 14 years.

I: You didn't realize what was going on?

R: I didn't realize what will happen but I watched the World Cup this year and Brazil, obviously, expect to win the World Cup but we have that gift from Germany.

I: If you realize now what the World Cup meant for Brazil, you could chose, for example you are the president of Brazil and you could say, alright we are going to host the World Cup again or we don't do it, what would you do?

R: Yes.

I: You would do it again?

R: Let's host it again. But let's use the money correctly. Let's apply the money to the right places. For example if you read the newspapers, you can see many bribery cases, with that money, so it is a question about choosing.

I: What is your personal opinion, for example the stadium in Brasília , it's renovated for

R: Repeat.

I: What is your personal opinion about the stadium in Brasília because it is renovated, they made a whole new stadium in Brasília , the costs were really high but there is no club playing there, what do you think about that?

R: I think, as you can see many Rio de Janeiro clubs, São Paulo clubs are hosting their matches in these stadiums so it will be used.

I: But in Brasília , it is not used. There is no club playing.

R: What I wanted to say, during the Brazilian championship, Rio de Janeiro clubs, São Paulo clubs, Minas Gereis clubs are hosting their matches in these stadiums so (they are used).

I: Then I have another point, do you think that the protests played a role in peoples decision when they voted last Sunday? So do you think that people still think about the protest and what was going on?

R: No, Brazilian people have no mind. They forget the whole past.

I: And do you think that is same with the World Cup, that people were not thinking about the World Cup when they went voting?

R: We are not thinking about it anymore.

I: That played no role?

R: Not anymore. As I told you, we have no memory. A short memory. That is the Brazilian mind.

I: In the current debates about the presidential candidates there are not debating about the protests anymore, is that not a subject?

R: Did you watch the debate?

I: No.

R: During the debate they didn't mention nothing about the protest.

I: I think I have asked all my questions. Gustavo, I would really like to thank you very much, you helped me fantastically and thanks again.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
If you could decide to organize the World Cup again, would you do it?	Yes, let's organize it again.	But use the money correctly. Let's apply the money to the right places.	
Stadiums that are not used after the tournament	Clubs from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo will use their stadium		
Did the World Cup play a role for people when they went voting?			We are not thinking about it anymore. We have no memory. A short memory. That is the Brazilian mind.
Are the protests and the World Cup a subject in the debates?		During the debate they didn't mention the protests.	

Appendix IV

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Sunday October 12th, 2014 at Ilha Grande in the state of Rio de Janeiro. Respondent will be indicated by R and the interviewer by I.

I: I would like to start with asking you to introduce yourself.

R: Ok, my name is Leandro. I lived in Rio de Janeiro since I was born. I have worked with virus and cell-biology at the moment I am professor.

I: Welcome and thank you for participating in this interview. We will start with the first point, it is about the protests that started in June last year. There were massive protests going on throughout the whole of Brazil. Can you explain me why you think those protests took place?

R: In the beginning of the protest, I think specific people, intelligent, smart people used the Facebook and Internet to talk about just one problem: Pre-Salt [recently discovered off-shore oil field]. And after this, this guy don't agree with the idea because, Dilma talking about to sale a part of [the oil field]. But for me it was a little bit crazy because the first idea is talking about Pre-Salt but I think two weeks later, one month later, a lot of people go to the street but a lot of people had different ideas. And in the beginning I think the protest was great, was awesome because there was just one idea: Pre-Salt.

I: What is that exactly, if I may ask?

R: Pre-Salt is specific money that Dilma is talking about, from petrol-oil inside the sea. A lot of people don't believe that there is real oil. The governments says it is true and in 2015 and 2016 Brazil will open the economy for Pre-Salt. And the other time a lot of people that say Dilma saves a part of this money for the United States. But I am not sure if it is true, I think it is necessary to check for more information. But in the beginning I think the main idea was Pre-Salt but during the protests other parties against Dilma contracted people to get into fights during the protests and after this a lot of police and journalists have said about the protests are not well because there are a lot of dangerous people walking on the street. And two months later, I think one month before the World Cup, the protest was totally finished.

I: So, you say that the start was about the oil field that was discovered. And what do you think of the rise in the bus fare tickets?

R: It is crazy because at the same time of that protest, in specific cities, for example Rio de Janeiro and I think São Paulo too, yeah Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo I am sure but [not of other cities]. The price of tickets rise 25 percent, or 25 cents, I am not sure. I think 25 cents, not percent. A lot of people realized that, it is not a good idea because I think two weeks before the price was increased. And a lot of people I think that was on the street forgot Pre-Salt, the initial idea and rededicate for the real price on the ticket. And for me it was crazy because at that time Dilma talked on the television and two days before the price was low again [two days after the increase, the price decreased]. And a lot of people became so 'I am good now' but the real idea is not 25 cents, it is about a big problem: oil in Brazil. And after this a lot of people talked about education, about gays, talking about a lot of things and the protests grew stronger.

I: Because there were a lot of other problems also addressed in the protests.

R: Yeah but a lot of, I think important, but I think at that time was not important too. [not all addressed issues were of the same importance] For example, some people were asking for more vacation for black people. Another for gay, another for transsexuals, I don't know, people asked about a specific problem and forget the real problem of Brazil.

I: Did you also participate yourself in the protests? And what was the reason why you protested?

R: Yes, just one time I was there with co-workers and at the time it was the beginning and I have really believed in the protests and change this law about Pre-Salt but after this I changed my mind and I didn't go there because at the end of the protests there were a lot of fights on the street with people from other parties, I speculate about this I am not sure, and I am feeling not safe. I felt not safe.

I: And in the protests there was also protested against the World Cup, how do you think about that and why do you think people protested against the World Cup?

R: I think the people protested against a lot of things and the World Cup too because the World Cup, imagining Brazil at the time, in Rio de Janeiro and other states, and I think a lot

of people thought about when I talk about, the government may be afraid of. But so I only think for this reason because during the World Cup people really enjoyed the World Cup.

I: Because for example in 2007 Brazil was announced for having the honor to host the World Cup, many people celebrated that moment, do you remember that?

R: Yes, I remember, but not very well. But I think not many people celebrated. The television shows a lot of people celebrating but I think since 2000 or 1995 many people don't agree with the government here in Brazil. Because rich people really love living in Brazil because they have money enough to pay health insurance and lot of things but the poor people don't have a good life here in Brazil. Poor people need to live in suburbs, don't have health insurance, don't have a good opportunity to go to good schools and become good professionals. I think since 1985, with the start of a real democracy here in Brazil but for me the elections are not democratic because television, Globo television is a big power on Brazil people because the mass, a lot of poor people watch Globo TV every day because they have the best soap operas and during the Globo news there is specific manipulation and every election the people elected the candidate that TV Globo agrees to. It is true.

I: And which candidate did they support this year? Globo TV. Were they in favor of Dilma?

R: At the moment I am not sure but for a long time yes, for Dilma but nowadays I don't know. But I have a lot of friends that work with journalism and publishers and told me it is not only Globo TV, it is all kind of news here in Brazil that is specific manipulated.

I: Do you think that the protests and the World Cup, in a way, influenced the elections and the outcome of the elections?

R: No. In the beginning yes but for example in Rio de Janeiro a lot of people went to the street and (rededicate) a lot of things and the intention was Sergio Cabral, Cabral was a man responsible for the government is Rio de Janeiro but nowadays after the election Pissau another candidate for the same party was won again. I don't understand why. How people six months ago, talk on the streets a lot of things and then elect the same candidate.

I: Do you have any idea why people first protested and demanded change, they also protested against the World Cup and now the people responsible for the World Cup are

going to be, probably, be reelected again. Or there is a big chance that they will be reelected. Why?

R: For example, in the beginning people really believed in the protests but after it was terminated, television showed only fights a lot of fights, died on the streets and a lot of people were scared about it and gave up on the protest. Imagine, first stay in my flat, then go out and get a fight with someone and I think nowadays the people vote for the same candidate or the same party because I've heard on the streets that: I prefer to vote for the same candidate because on the moment it is OK for me, imagine if I vote another candidate and that Brazil becomes worse than... People are scared for a new candidate because I think there aren't good candidates at the moment and people think there aren't good candidates, I prefer the same.

I: So in a way you say people are satisfied with how Brazil is rising at the moment?

R: I think rich people and middle-class but the poor people at the moment I think, believe but it is not true.

I: For who did you vote yourself? For which candidate did you vote?

R: The first round for president Luciana she is a candidate of PSOL, it is a green party and now in the second round Dilma. Because I can't say Dilma, maybe Dilma stole, I don't know, a lot of money like another candidate but Dilma worry about education. And nowadays a lot of people, rich people, poor people have opportunities to study.

I: Do you think Dilma will win the second round?

R: I am not sure because a lot of people disagree with Dilma but forget that PSDB, I think that PSDB stayed in power in Brazil for 8 or 12 years, I think 12 years since 1985 and it is a specific party for rich people, only rich people. But nowadays probably Aécio win than Dilma because there are a lot of people that don't agree with Dilma, not PT the party but Dilma.

I: Instead of voting the candidate Neves, they vote against Dilma?

R. Yes.

I: The last question that I have, do you think that the World Cup, the labor party PT wanted to use the World Cup as a tool for themselves to become reelected. They hoped that Brazil would become world champion and that the whole country would be very positive and that Dilma could be reelected very easily. Now Brazil didn't become world champion and there were protests against the world cup, do you think it could become her political death?

R: No, I think for PT, for Dilma, the Copa here in Brazil was a big opportunity to develop and show the big potential of Brazil but I think Dilma used another strategy to win the election to say to invest in education but a lot of people don't see this strategy and thinking about (daily) revolutionary changes in Brazil but I think it is necessary five years more because for many years because a lot of politicians don't care for education.

I: Yes.

R: Yes, I agree with Dilma.

I: So the World Cup has no influence on the elections?

R: I think not.

I: The Brazilian population moved on?

R: Moved on for another reason but only World Cup. I think Brazilian people don't agree with health and don't agree with education and now don't agree with Dilma because every day a lot of people and a lot of news talking about something Dilma in the past promised and nowadays doesn't do and it is important that realize I think they fixed a lot of things during 4 years, it is important four years more I think.

I: All right, I would like to thank you very much Leo, I have asked all my questions and you were very clear. Thank you very much.

R: Ok, thank you.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
Why do you think people protested against the World Cup?		I think people protested against a lot of things and the World Cup too.	
Do you remember the celebrations when Brazil was awarded host?	Yes, I remember.	I think not many people celebrated.	
Do you think the World Cup can become Dilma's political death?	The Copa here in Brazil was a big opportunity to develop and show the big potential of Brazil.		
The World Cup has no influence on the elections?		I don't understand why people six months ago, talk on the streets about a lot of things and then elect the same candidate.	I think not. Moved on for another reason but only World Cup, people don't agree with health and education and many more things

Appendix V

Transcription interview

Interview is conducted on Thursday October 16th, 2014 at a café in São Paulo in the state of São Paulo. Respondent will be indicated by R and the interviewer by I.

I: Good evening.

R: Good evening.

I: Here we are, it is Thursday 16th of October and we are going to have an interview together and I would like to ask you to shortly to introduce yourself.

R: Ok, my name is Tamirys. I am from São Paulo. I am 24 years old. I am graduated in Tourism but I work in e-commerce, actually now I am business analyst in a small company of internet. I lived all my life in São Paulo. I just left for a year, I came back from Dublin to São Paulo six months ago and started a new job, a new challenge. We can start.

I: Ok I will start with the first point. The first point is about the protests. There were massive protests taking place throughout the whole of Brazil and many cities. What do you think about the protests?

R: I think it was, I was in Ireland. But it was really good to show, the Brazilian people care about our country. The protests begin about an increase ticket bus but then is turn into a big ball, you know. So about the health, the transport, the public transport and the security so I think the people lost the principal point of the protests because they start, the protests, for one reason and then it turn a mess and a lot of fights, a big mess in Brazil. But I think it was good. They got the tickets, uh I don't know this in English.

I: Rolled back?

R: Yes, rolled back. But the life is just the same. So I think it was good that not everybody says 'out Dilma, out Dilma'. I don't like Dilma actually but it is not her fault. Brazil is really poor but that is not her fault. So the government, 40 years ago, my mom told me it was a mess, the people really hungry, didn't had nothing to eat, nothing to do, didn't have a job.

And I think the protests showed to the world, Brazil wants change but we don't know how to do this.

I: Do you think the protests were for a political reason? Were they against Dilma or were there more other things that played an important role?

R: Against Dilma. Because the people don't know nothing about politics. Because they don't search about the life, about the proposed [bills] they don't search about nothing. But I think the biggest point of the protests is 'out Dilma'. But they don't have a solution. Just wanted Dilma out, ok we don't want Dilma but then? And after? What do I have to do after? It is a big possibility, Dilma you leave the government, but and after?

I: So what do you think the goal was, the main purpose of the protests?

R: I think it is really complicated because I think Dilma didn't do a lot of things like Lula. So Lula was a good president for Brazil, in the same group [party]. But the same group put Dilma in front of the government, I think it is not a good solution. So I think if Aécio wins the election it is not because he deserves this but I think it is because people don't want to vote Dilma and steal the government.

I: And do you think that in the end the protests reached their goals or is everything still the same?

R: It is still the same. Everything is the same.

I: Do you think, if you look in retrospect, do you think the protests achieved something?

R: I think the government now is afraid so if they [want to have] change, they can think 'oh no, just wait' because the population can with another protest stop the city, stop the country. So I think it was good, really good but it is still the same. But I think it changed just the thinking of the government so if you do something I think the population can do again and do again.

I: And what do you think were the causes, the reasons why people went to the street?

R: I think the biggest problem, when start the problem, I really think because when Portugal colonized Brazil, I think it the begin since 1400 [1500]. I think the people just want to have a

safe life. Like in Europe, you can walk on 2 AM, 3 AM and nothing will happen to you. It is 8 AM, 9 AM, some drug dealer or some traffic, you can't walk safe.

I: So it is mainly about security reasons?

R: Security reasons. I think transport in of São Paulo, I don't like the transport but I think it is not the worse in the world. Ok, we have to improve but I like the transport here, it is a big city, so all the big cities have problems.

I: The World Cup became also a subject in the protests, what do you think about the World Cup?

R: I love football. After the World Cup I think it was good Brazil because it showed the world, Brazil can receive a big event, can receive the people, we've the infrastructure to receive a lot of people. We spent billions and billions of dollars on the stadiums, I think it is the stadium from Brasília, they spent almost one billion reais to build the stadium with our money. I paid for this stadium, my family paid this stadium, every Brazilian paid for the stadium and we didn't want to pay for this stadium. So one part is ok, we showed Brazil, we are a friendly people, we are a football country, everybody loves this sport but from the other side, this money could go to health, could go to transport, could go to any problem you have but no it goes to the football. This is really wrong. So I am really divided, one part of me likes, it was really good the World Cup here but I think 60% of the part is no, it is really wrong. We don't have money to spend on football.

I: Imagine if you could decide with the knowledge you have now, that it would cost this amount of money, would you chose to host the World Cup or it would be better that somebody else hosts it?

R: In Brazil or outside.

I: In Brazil.

R: Just one place to host?

I: Yes, if you could decide, ok we can host the World Cup or not, would you do it?

R: Not now. 2014, no. I think when our economy is grown-up. I think we're on the right way so if you have this money, you spend on the good things, not the football. But what is after? You can't spend it after so if I had the power to decide, no.

I: The money that is now spend on the World Cup, you think that the money could be spend better on other things?

R: Yes, of course. Even when we didn't had the World Cup, this money would never go to the right things.

I: And what are the right causes? The right projects?

R: Health, I think it is especially the health because our public health is terrible. If you don't have money to pay your insurance, you don't have health so if you watch the TV a lot of people die every day because they don't have health. So I think it is especially (..) I never raise the money of health. Security no because we have police, just the government has to put the police in the right places but we need health. The women need health, I think it is the most important. Education, I forgot education. We need really education. Good teachers, schools, if you go to the north-east of Brazil then you the schools, it is terrible, they don't have tables, they don't have chairs, they have nothing, material, books, pen, nothing they have nothing.

I: Do you think the protests and the World Cup are linked together?

R: No, I don't think so. I think every state in Brazil has a reason to fight for a cause. I think, ok we have one reason to fight everything together but for example São Paulo fights for one cause, Rio Grande do Sul for another cause and the north-east for another cause, I think in the final we have the same object but I think every city, every state have an own fight.

I: And what kind of people participated in the protests?

R: I think it is all the people. The students, the rich people, the poor people, the old people, young people, I saw on TV, I read a lot because I think (...) I think it's all the people that made the protest. So people were in the protest but didn't know nothing about the protests but were there. So it is difficult, I repeat Brazilian people don't search nothing about politics. It is

really difficult. Sometimes I have a lot of friends who know nothing about this. Let's go with me and go to the protests, ok yeah and don't ask me what, how, why.

I: So, just some people want to protest because it is a hype?

R: Yes. I go there, everybody goes.

I: Yes, exactly. You told that you were in Ireland while the protests were taking place, if you would be in Brazil, would you have gone protesting yourself?

R: For sure. I was in Dublin and we have a lot of Brazilians in Dublin so did our own protest there with a lot of Brazilians. TV showed that is really nice, Brazilians outside their country and fight for the same cause, it was really emotional.

I: How many people did participate?

R: Maybe around 400 people.

I: All right.

R: In the O'connorstreet, it is the centre street in Dublin, so we (forbidden) everything on Facebook, we'll meet there and stayed there for I think three hours. All the TV's around the world was there to film and register everything including Brazil. It was really good because we did our own, we deserved this, Brazil deserved this. We are outside of (categories) we are Brazilians. We have to fight for our cause.

I: What was your main purpose to participate in the protest?

R: Because we are, for me the biggest reason was because I'm tired, I saw my dad pay a lot of taxes and I don't have a safe life. I don't have a good public transport so I have to do everything by my car, it is really expensive but I can't leave my car at home and go because I'll spend five hours in public transport. And I think it is not fair this, so we can't live in a fair way. The corruption always steal everything so we don't have nothing.

17:27 to 17:34 waiter speaks Portuguese.

I: Do you think corruption is the biggest problem?

R: Yes, the biggest since always it is the biggest problem and I think it will never improve. Because our culture. I think it is 0.01% that the politicians are honest the rest are corrupt. So the money we pay, 40% of the salary, they steal that and buy planes, houses, everything. I think, I'm sure, it will never improve the corruption in Brazil.

I: Do you still believe in the politicians?

R: Yes because if I give up I won't have a reason to follow. I believe, I'll vote in Dilma.

I: You voted for Dilma?

R: Yes, it is complicated because, I'll vote in Dilma because I disagree with PSDB, I don't like Aécio, I don't want Aécio in the command of my country. I prefer Dilma. And I think PT did a lot of good things for my country. When Lula was our president, he showed for the world our country. He helped the poor people, he helped a lot the poor people, that is why the north-east of Brazil and the north of Brazil, everybody always votes for PT and I think this will not change because Lula helped a lot the people. I have to, I must believe in politicians.

I: And now that in the second round, Dilma opposing against Aécio, who do you think is going to win?

R: Aécio, because I work at the elections, it is my third election, I work eight hours for 8 years with elections so I have experience and I am sure Aécio will win. I really want Dilma to win but I think Aécio will win. Now is it half and half, 50/50, in the researches but Marina, that is another candidate, now supports Aécio so I think a lot of people who vote for Marina now vote for Aécio and I think this will help him. Unfortunately Aécio will win.

I: What do you think will happen with Brazil if he wins?

R: He will fall, I think it is different with Cardoso behind Aécio so Brazil will go back to 14 years ago. Now, I think we are the sixth economy in the world and if Aécio wins, everything will end.

I: For me it seems a little bit strange that people who protested last year, also against the government, are now maybe reelecting the same government, how do you think about that?

R: I can talk about my state because I live here and PSDB destroyed everything in São Paulo, we don't have water, it is impossible because São Paulo is the biggest city in South America and we don't have water. So what is the goal of PSDB here? I just can talk about my state, the people protest about, everybody is tired but we don't know how to do this so ok the big group of people that go to the street but ok everybody goes to the street because we have to see how to do this. It is strange because in the protest, most of the people put 'out Dilma' but another part that was there didn't know about nothing. So I think it is different, one part want Brazil much better and another part doesn't know nothing, one part wants Brazil better but do nothing to change this.

I: Do you think that the World Cup influenced the decision of people to vote for a candidate?

R: No, I don't think so. It is really strange because four (seven) years ago when Brazil was chosen to host the World Cup, everybody liked. Oh my God, Brazil, World Cup, really cool. One month before beginning of the World Cup, people were on the street and protested. We had to protest four years ago, not one months ago. All this start with building, all the billions of reais was wasted. Not one month ago, four years ago we had to protest, go to the streets, we don't want a World Cup here.

I: Many people who protested against the World Cup do you think that they will vote for Dilma now in the second round?

R: Depends on the state or the city. I think it depends on a lot of things.

I: So a decision to vote for a president has more to do than the World Cup or not, different reasons?

R: Yes, different reasons. I think the people forgot the World Cup. To be honest the people forgot the World Cup, everybody likes, Brazil lost, everybody likes, everybody drinks, party every day, people loved the World Cup, people loved the money, people loved everything.

I: Does it play a role for you personally?

R: Sorry?

I: Does it play a role for you personally in your voting behavior or is the World Cup end of story and I don't think about it anymore?

R: I think for me, I came back in the same season as the World Cup so I just saw something on the internet but my father he just told me it was really cause, we don't have police in the street, with the World Cup we had police every 100 meters. It was magical, really magical. And ends the World Cup and everything is the same now. My vote is totally independent from the World Cup. Totally independent. It is for another reason, for the health, especially health and education, that are my two biggest reasons, health and education.

I:Ok, I think I have asked all my questions, your story is really clear and I would like to thank you very much for participating in the interview. Thank you.

R: Ok, you are welcome, thank you very much.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
What do you think about the World Cup?	I love football. It was good for Brazil because it showed the world, Brazil can receive a big event. We are friendly people.	We spent billions on stadiums, this money could go to health, transport to any problem	
Would you host the World Cup again if you could decide?		Not now. I think when our economy is grown-up.	
Do you think the protests and the World Cup are linked?		Not one month ago, four years ago we had to protest, go to the streets, we don't want a World Cup here.	No, I don't think so. Every state has its own reason to protest.
Do you think the World Cup influenced the presidential elections?	Years ago when Brazil was chosen to host the World Cup, everybody liked.	All the billions of reais was wasted.	No, I don't think so. People forgot the World Cup.
Personal vote			My vote is totally independent from the World Cup.

Appendix VI

Due to technical problems we were unable to record our interview. We decided to do it on paper. The topics normally discussed face-to-face will now be addressed here. Interview with Jomar Henrique, originally scheduled for Friday October 17th, 2014 in São Paulo.

- I would like to ask you to introduce yourself. What is your name, age, hometown and occupation?

My name is Jomar Henrique, I'm 36 years old, I live in São Paulo (capital) and I'm a teacher.

- The first point is about the protests that took place in 2013 and 2014. What do you think about these protests? Why did they exist? Who participated in those protests? Did you protest yourself and why? What are the main causes for those protests?

I think the protests have been legitimate. Was the moment to express what the majority thought about some questions of society.

I think was a moment that everyone wants change. For me was positive, because the government presented a lot of projects to respond the claims. Unfortunately, some made bad things, destroying buildings, putting fire in cars. I think was some people of the party in alliance. Just to create a fear in the others.

I think the majority of protest was accomplished by the youngest. But a few families gathered in the movement, what was amazing. In difference of level, I think the middle class and the poor have protested.

I really wasn't there, but I enjoyed that moment, I think that was registered in the history of country. The protests have disturbed so much, but I think it was necessary, all changes can cause disturbing.

Everyone had one reason to protest, investments in education, health, security, transports, economy. But I think that the main reason was the corruption. The one who's has to represent the people, doesn't make the effort to solve common problems of society. My main claim is for education.

- The World Cup played a significant role in the demonstrations, why was that do you think? What is your opinion about the World Cup? Would you vote 'yes' or 'no' if Brazil had the opportunity to vote for hosting the World Cup again?

I think that we have a lot of problems to solve, for instance priority in education, public services (health, security, transports), economy at all. There wasn't a consult of people about the Cup, and the worst, the news that FIFA didn't invest nothing, all costs were for Brazil, the problems before and during the constructions. Now we have a lot of stadiums without using. The return to this investment for Brazil is nothing.

For now, I think I would vote for NO.

- For which candidate did you vote in the first round of the presidential elections? For whom are you voting in the second round? Who will win the elections do you think and why? Do you think the protests influence the elections? Do you think that the World Cup has influence on peoples voting behavior?

Luciana Genro (PSOL) in the first round, Aécio in the second round

I don't believe he can change all the wrong things or make our lives better, but in protest against PT, I think he can make a good government. The three periods of PT we had a lot of scandals and corruption. Not so different that FHC government, but PT is putting in the Brazilian's mind that they don't need to work to make their lives better. There are so much benefits (bolsa família, ok, but the others I think is a currency to exchange votes) and the population didn't see in a few years the country will be broken.

I am not pessimistic, but I think Dilma will win... I saw in the campaign that Aécio assumed a bad way, almost begging for vote... What is problem to Dilma is the news about corruption in government, we don't have opposition which can beat PT. Just in few states. Then, I think the results will be PT for more 4 years.

World Cup plays no role in the elections.

Thank you for participating in my research.

Jeroen Haans, 19th October 2014

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
Your opinion about the World Cup?		There was consult of the people. FIFA didn't invest, all costs for Brazil. Stadiums that we don't use anymore.	
If you could decide if Brazil should organize it		I think I would vote for No.	
Role of the World Cup on elections?			World Cup plays no role in the elections.

Appendix VII

Transcription interview

Interview is conducted on Saturday October 18th, 2014 at the interviewee's home in São Paulo in the state of São Paulo. Respondent will be indicated by R and the interviewer by I.

I: Alright, good afternoon.

R: Good afternoon.

I: We will have a short interview, I explained you the reasons why this interview is conducted. I would like to start with asking you to introduce yourself. What is your name, where do you live, what do you do, how do you see yourself in society? And then we will discuss the protests, the elections and the World Cup and how they are all interconnected with each other.

R: So first of all my name is Rômulo Hermeto (Bueno do Vale) I am 28 years old and I come from a city that is called Lavras in the state of Minas Gerais here in Brazil. I work as a physician, a medical doctor and currently I am in a sort of program that is called 'Medical residency' and my future area is nuclear medicine. So I really like to do my job, it is quite an exhausting job but it is really good. I think that we must learn new things, we must always be updated in this kind of job and we must be very responsible as well because we are dealing with people so we are dealing with the care and goodness of our patients. I think we must be quite responsible, reliable and trustful as well. So I really try to do and to better know this three matters.

I: Perfect, sounds really good and I think you do a great job. Then I would like to move on to the first point of the interview. It is about the demonstrations. They started last year in June and they quickly spread throughout the whole country. I was wondering, what do you think about the protests, why did they come into existence?

R: The inception of it all was in June 2013. It all started with, because some bus companies they tried to raise the bus fare, just 20 cents. So this action worked at that time as a spark, like a trigger to some major problems that people here in Brazil were struggling for many

years. So I think that this specific situation was a trigger to so many problems, it started with a few groups, groups that you could say they are some sort of 'politicalized', I don't know the right word for it but in Portuguese we would say something like 'politizados' it is like a word where a person or a group really cares about politics and really cares about all the things that is going on. It started with a few groups, mainly here in São Paulo and in Rio as well and some major big cities too. The military police started to act more violently against those small riots and I think it was another trigger as well. Many larger groups started to take part in this, in this action because in that time they started to protest to not to this bus company not to raise the bus fare. But it turned to a more broaden kind of request like: we want a better education, we want a better transportation because this is the main issue in the big cities like São Paulo, the public transport is a main issue. It is very difficult with many problems, our cities are too big and I really think that our public transport system is not enough for the city. So anyway, this one, education, transportation, all the scandals of corruption like the inefficiency of our own government to solve all these problems. So it played a major role in the inception of all these protests and the World Cup as well because when Brazil was chosen to host the World Cup, I think that every single person here in Brazil thought by that time; 'that will be many scandals of corruption'. I think that most people knew it already but when it becomes real, I think it might changes a lot. When something is not real yet, and something that is real. It was being published and turned public, so many scandals, so those scandals too were at that time a piece in all this puzzle. I think that the violence too caused the crime rate in Brazil is soaring and many sorts of crimes and even the really violent crimes like there is a case, just a few weeks previous to the protests when a dentist, a female, a women, she was robbed and she gave to the burglar only R\$100 and he said to her that, that wasn't enough. Are you so poor? You only have R\$100 to give me? And he set fire on her alive. So this one was a major, it took all the news at that time, so many broadcasters spread this and there are many other cases like that. It all together in a pot, I think is like you are adding some water to some dam and this dam cannot hold it anymore this amount of water and anyway it will explode. If you see in our history the people of Brazil they are most part very pacific people. There are so many cases of corruption and inefficiency of the government, some healthcare issues, some education issues, they are so old, they are very old but the people in Brazil like they except these problems so I think it came to a point that people couldn't hold any longer. It was quite an explosion. And with the

social media, as I told you before, social media as well played a very important role because mainly with young people it spreads faster than it used to be. I think that that causes the protests really reflects what the country is itself because it is a very heterogeneous protest, there were so many people, so many different people taking part of those actions like people who are up for some violent things and like to break things, like to, how can I say that? People here in Brazil we call 'Vândalos', it is a Barbarian people of Europe and it is called that kind of person and there were different people as well. So it is very mixed. And at that time, even people who never took part in any political issue went to the street to protest and it was really something amazing to see because it never happened in our history because we had so much small protests, very localized protests not that big as this one. So it is like an explosion, you gather so many trouble and of our 500 years of history you gather so many problems and it turns to a point that you explode. I think that it works this way. In my opinion, I took part in just one protest, and that protest was only for healthcare, to protest for a better health care policy. In my opinion, I think that we should focus on just one point. Do we want more education? Do we want more healthcare? Do we want to decrease violence? I think we can focus on one and just one topic because if we request so many things, we won't get anything of this. I took part only in this protest, the people that gathered at that time were mainly physicians and we went to Paulista Avenue to protest. It was a really nice protest, there didn't happen anything and the police [police] didn't even go there because it was really peaceful protest. And just one, it took place late at night I really think that we must fight for our rights, we must do that but I think that in this fight we should not mess with the rights of the other people. I would try to explain to you. If we go to the street and we close the street, we are going to mess with people that are going to return home, so we are doing something and other people are suffering from this kind of action. I am quite against this kind of thing, I really like to stand up for my rights and stand up for a better living for all of us but I always try to respect other people as well. I would never close a street if it will mess with a bus full of work people that are trying to return home after quite an exhausting labor day.

I: I think that is good way of thinking about protesting. Do you think that the protests were also aimed against the current president Dilma?

R: Yes. I think that it wasn't mainly against her person, herself, but it was somewhat aimed at her government as well. It was aimed at her government and everything that was going on at that time with all the corruption scandals. Because all the scandals were her government and there are some really bad scandals like something of billions and billions. They are stealing everything and nobody cares, nobody does nothing and those corrupts are just walking free. Some of them are arrested, in a prison, but I am quite sure that in a quite few time, they will be free again.

I: You said that there were many corruption scandals around the World Cup, was that mainly for building new stadiums and infrastructure?

R: Yes, mainly for those. Because in Brazil it is common like the construction company helps some sort of party, political party and gives money to their campaigns and so on and when this party wins the election and assumes the government, this kind of government will make some contract with that company, so something that is linked. And Lula itself, it is our former president, he has really close contact with one of those companies. It is something that is not so in de mainstream, it is something that some people know about it. But I really believe that he urns a lot of money on that. Here in Brazil it is very bureaucratic kind of system. So like when you try to construct a stadium, some new airports, and so on, you have to make a bid. You know, a bid? So you turn public with what you want, I want to construct a new stadium so every company gives you their prizes and you go for the lowest prize. But if you try and if you can manage to turn this process longer like, the stadium in Brazil they started to build very late because if you turn this bid longer, our laws allows you not to do this bid anymore. You can make your contract with every company you like. So this for me opens the door for the corruption. This kind of situation, it happened all over the country. So the bids were too long, there wasn't anything built because the main things started to get ready, I think like 12 months early which is really bad and there is a bridge in the law for the government to take this sort of action.

I: Do you think that when Brazil would have had the option to organize the World Cup again, would the people vote for it and organize it again?

R: Yes, I mean, I think in a short term no. Not at all. I think that people, the main issue here, because we haven't paid our bills yet, there is a big chance that happens to us as what

happened to Greece in the 2004 Olympics Games so Greece spent a lot of money, not being able to do it and they are facing so many struggles today. There is a chance that this situation happens to us because we haven't paid all the money yet because the government they are in a debt. But in a medium or a long-term I think that people in Brazil they usually have quite a short memory, so I think in a few years, but even today because we are in 2014 October, I think that people cannot remember anymore last June, 2013 June because people already forgot. It is quite common in Brazil. So in a longer term I think it is quite feasible that it happens again.

I: I think it is an interesting point what you make with a short memory. Because then I make the link with the elections. Seeing it from my perspective, there is a big protest throughout the whole country for a couple of months, people demanding change and there is quite a possibility that the same government will be reelected. What do you think about that?

R: Quite a chance because I think that, if you see more deeply perspective, you'll see a very large group of our population they didn't take part in this protest and I mean our poorest people and the medium social class, they didn't take part in those protests, not at all.

I: Who took part in the protests?

R: I think, what I saw last year, was the medium-class to upper-classes. Because here in Brazil, the middle-class is the people who are, they know is going on. The poor people, they do not have so much access to information, actually they do because if you go to our poorest neighborhoods, or favela's for instance, you'll see that most part of the people they've some cell-phone, smart phone's with online, and they have access to everything that is going on. I think they do not care about this topic. I think that the main issue here, in those protests, every person was angry, some protest, some fighting for their own rights but the poor, the poor part of our society was stuck in traffic because many streets were blocked and many busses was stuck in traffic and the working labor, the labor force was there stuck in traffic. If you know what I mean? And Dilma, which is our current president, and Dilma and Lula, the former president, in the social aspect they really like to do some propaganda on this social aspect, it is like the Bolsa Família, it is like a lot of money, like a salary which a family receives from the government and so many cities, mainly in the north part of Brazil, there are no jobs. And people really rely on that money. This government with their local parties, they are

spreading some bad news like, if Aécio wins, he'll cut the money and people are some sort of believing in that because if Aécio won he'll get the money so you won't receive money at all.

In Brazil, it is quite common for a family that receives money from the government do not care for to look for a job. They are in a good spot, in a good position. They do not put so much effort to go for jobs and they keep steady on that position. I think that is really wrong because it is the role of our government to help those people but to give and create some new opportunities for this people, to get a job and raise and get some rise in their lives. Get a new job, learn new things, not to be steady in that position. And this part of the population is a very large part of the population so I think that is somewhat explains how Dilma is so strong but if you ask for the middle-class, or people or a family that really has to work and pay all of our absurd taxes, people that have to sweat all day at work, I think that you won't find any Dilma supporters.

I: Do I understand you correctly that you won't vote for Dilma but vote for Aécio?

R: Yes. I will vote for him. It is quite possible that his government or another sort of government won't be a really good government for our country. I think that is quite possible. Here in Brazil we are usually not so optimistic about it, but I think I really do believe so I am quite sure of that, that any government, even myself, if I would enter the government, I would be better than Dilma. This is the thin we are living right now. Anyone that assumes the government, will be better than Dilma. It is quite a pity that you do not understand our language because I will show you that debate Dilma against Aécio it is quite a shame because our president, it is the highest position that you can get here in Brazil, she even cant form three phrases in a row. She is so confused. She can't even speak. When she starts speaking, she is so confused and she forms one phrase and the other phrase doesn't link with the previous one. It is quite a shame. I think that you would laugh on her, definitely because it is quite a shame.

I: And what is your estimation about who is going to win?

R: If you see our current polls Aécio is in the lead but with a short margin. The last poll that we had, Aécio still has 51% of the votes and Dilma 49% so it is a very close margin. I really think that Aécio will win, I really believe that he is going to win, but who knows? I really want him to win, not in a meaning that I really support him I really think his team is a way more

better than hers. I think that, let me see, if you get this point because I think this party is a Labor Party, that is the name in Portuguese, they are in the government for 12 years and in all those 12 years, in every single month or even beyond that, every single week there turned a scandal of corruption, in all this 12 years. It is a way to say 'no', even if Aécio won't be good, it doesn't matter at this point because we want to say 'no' to all this inefficiency and so on because I think that this shift of power is quite healthy for us. We are in a sort of crossroads because Brazil is growing in a low margin, in a very low rate, really low if you compare to other countries like us, like countries that are still finding their way to develop, if you compare to China, India and so on, Brazil is going to grow like 0.something, like 0.5 in the best way that you can find it. That is even worse than many countries in Europe, that are currently struggling there, so it is a really low rate because I think all those problems come from this governments' inefficiency. I mean it is a very simple way to think that all our problems comes from the government, I do not believe this and we played a very important share in our lives. I think that Brazil is still growing because of its people, of its companies, not because of our government. I really think that we are the main piece of our changing. We have to changes our minds, not the government, we have to do this. I think that the government plays a role, a model, so if we have a good model, people will put some more effort to improve their lives but the main issue is the own people. Our own people have to put some more effort, to fight more, they have to study more and to be more prepared, I think the secret of it all is within the people, not the government. The government do not, the government isn't so important in our own homes in Brazil because we are quite a free country. A good government with some honest people, I think that honestly in Brazil is something really difficult to find but not so bad as this government.

I: If you link the outcome of the elections, for example if Dilma wins, I mean if Aécio wins, do you think that has something to do with the protests of last year and also the protests against the World Cup or do you think people vote for Aécio for other reasons and they don't think about the World Cup or the protests?

R: I really do believe that there is a little link between all this three but I really think that the main issue here is not the World Cup anymore or even the protests, I think these two, if you see the World Cup and the protests in June, they are only some pieces because the main issue here is our problems. It is everything, our lack in good public healthcare, our lack in

good education. This is just pieces, I think because it happened already that is not currently happening anymore but I really do believe that they won't play a major role in our elections.

I: It is the bigger thing instead of, a part of a bigger thing maybe.

R: I think that they are just two pieces of a very large puzzle.

I: Ok, very clear. I think I've asked everything that I wanted to ask. I would like to thank you very much for your cooperation.

R: I thank you.

I: Thank you.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
Corruption scandals		In Brazil it is common like the construction company helps some sort of political party, gives money to their campaigns, when this party wins the election and assumes government, this government will make contracts with that company.	
Brazilian people would organize the World Cup again?	In a medium or long-term, in a longer term I think it is quite feasible that it happens again.	I think in a short term no.	I think that people in Brazil they usually have quite a short memory, people cannot remember last June, 2013.
Protests, World Cup and elections			I really do believe that there is a little link between all this three but I really think that the main issue here is not the World Cup anymore.

Appendix VIII

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Monday October 20, 2014 at Ipiranga gas station in Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Interview with Luciana Rodriques a marketing specialist at Dell. Interviewer will be indicated by I and Luciana as respondent by R.

I: I would like you to introduce yourself shortly.

R: My name is Luciana I'm 37 almost 38 years old. I'm a marketing manager at Dell and I'm leaving the country in six months.

I: Alright, let's move to the first point of our interview. Last year in June massive protests broke out in the whole of Brazil, in many cities, what do you think about the protests?

R: The protests started in the corner of my place where I live. I live in the corner of a big university here in Porto Alegre, 'Spooky' is the name of the university. One night I was at home and I was hearing some people screaming in the street and then I went to the social media and read that a lot of students of this university were complaining they were laying in the middle of one of the most important avenue in Porto Alegre and that is right in the corner of my place. They were protesting against the bus ticket amount that was supposed to be increased. This is where the protests started and they started about a bus ticket increase and then I guess that after a while when all the country was, I don't know what to say. When all the country decided to protest, if you ask someone why they are protesting for no one has the answer, no one knows we are protesting because of the bus ticket, we are protesting against corruption, we are protesting against the government, we protesting against a lot of things.

I: So many causes for protesting?

R: Yes many causes. I don't know how to say why they were protesting for. I didn't participate and I'm going to be very honest with you. It was very cold here in June and July during the protest and sometimes it was raining and there was organized protests and I thought 'no way, I'm not going to leave my home to go to the streets to shout against what?'

I don't take a bus, I don't have a reason to shout in this freezing night against the bus increasing, so I was participating but only online.

I: Mentally?

R: Mentally and only through social media. I wasn't on the streets.

I: And if it was in the summer months, imagine that...

R: I would be there.

I: So you supported the causes of the protests?

R: I'm against the government. I'm totally against this government because... Ok I know that the government gave a lot of benefits to poor people, I have to recognize that is good. I guess poor people that didn't have anything before, the government, now they have. They can go to the college, to university, they can buy their houses, they can buy car, they can travel abroad, ok this is fair, everybody should be able to do that but at the same time the government shrunked the middle-class. You have Bolsa Família but you don't have the same benefit for the middle-class. We pay the taxes, we pay for this, the poor people. What do we have as a return? We don't have anything. We pay taxes and more taxes and every year more taxes and we don't have anything back.

I: Do you think that the protests were also against the Dilma government or more for the causes that you named before?

R: I guess they were about everything. They didn't have any cause, ok it was about the bus taxes (fares) increased, about the World Cup that people didn't want the World Cup and people don't agree with the government. I don't know, I guess it was about everything.

I: How much do you think the World Cup played a role in the protests? Was it just one of many issues or was it a very big issue?

R: No, one of the many. Ok we have the World Cup so we need to complain about the World Cup because if we didn't have the World Cup...

I: Do you still think there would be protests when Brazil would not be hosting the World Cup?

R: No, definitively not. I don't think so.

I: What do you think yourself about the World Cup?

R: I would be honest again. I love the World Cup and I love Dilma because of the World Cup.

I: What do you think about the money that is spent on the World Cup?

R: It is not fair.

I: Do you think it was worth it because maybe a lot of Brazilians felt connected with each other and could show the world their country?

R: Yes but you don't need to spend all that money to connect Brazilians.

I: It was out of proportion?

R: Yes, totally.

I: If they would ask you personally, you could decide if the World Cup should take place in Brazil or not, with the knowledge you have now, how much it will cost, would you vote yes or no? If the power is in your hands.

R: I have to think about myself, if I would be really selfish I would say yes but of course I can't think about it and then I would say no.

I: So personally you enjoyed the World Cup very much but if you see it nationwide, ok the money could've been spend in a better way.

R: Yes, sure.

I: Do you think many people think like that?

R: Yes, I guess everybody thinks like that. We didn't had any choice, the World Cup would happen. We've protest against the World Cup, we thought it was not fair, not correct but I'll happen so let's enjoy it. It is not to get back, the government will not say we won't have the World Cup anymore because you the people from Brazil you don't want. I'm sorry the World Cup will happen so let's do our best to host all those people that will come from overseas in

our country because we know how to do that, better than other countries in the world. So, let's do it and I guess we did it very well.

I: I think it was a success in that way, definitely.

R: But of course, we didn't need that event here in Brazil now. We need that money for other important thing as health, education and a lot of other things for the people.

I: What kind of people do you think participated in the protests?

R: Middle and high-class people and a lot of students and especially students from public universities, that are rich people because you know only rich people study in public universities. Poor people, they pay for a private university. You know why?

I: No.

R: Because to be accepted in a public university here in Brazil you have to study a lot and you have to study in a very good school. Public schools here in Brazil are bad, they are not good so if you want to be accepted in a public university you have to study in a private school that will offer you a very good education, you have to pay a lot. So only rich people study in a public university and besides that, public university here in Brazil, if you are a poor people you have to work to earn some money to pay your bills, right. You don't have anyone at home that will support you. You have to work during the morning and the afternoon you have only the night to study. Public universities here in Brazil don't have, at least here in Porto Alegre, they don't have courses during the day, during the night sorry, only during the day. So if you have to work, you can't study. Only rich people can study at a public university. It is a shame but it is reality.

I: And do you think that people who voted Sunday two weeks ago, in the first round of the presidential elections, took the protests and the World Cup into consideration?

R: Of course not. They don't have memory, they don't remember.

I: It played no role in the elections you think?

R: No way. I have a lot of friends that were in the streets protesting against Dilma in June of 2013 and voted on her two weeks ago. So where is their memories?

I: So there is no influence of the World Cup on voting behavior as well?

R: I don't think so.

I: May I ask you your personal voting choices?

R: I voted on Luciana Genro that didn't had any chance to win the elections because I didn't want to vote on Dilma not even on Aécio not even on Marina that was on third place.

I: And now in the second round when you only have the choice between Dilma and Aécio, what are you going to do?

R: I'm really, seriously thinking about not voting because I don't agree with her and I don't agree with him and I am going to leave this country I could vote.

I: Because you're leaving, your vote doesn't really matter?

R: No.

I: What are the consequences of you not voting, do you have to pay a fine?

R: No I just have to go to another city close to Porto Alegre and say I am not in Porto Alegre because I just have to vote only in Porto Alegre. If I am in another city I have to go to any place where is happening an election and say here is my document to vote, I'm not in my city so I can't vote. I have to fulfill a form and that is it.

I: Alright, who do you think is going to win and why?

R: A million dollar question. I don't know, it is tough.

I: What does your feeling say?

R: I guess that Dilma is going to win again.

I: Why do you think she is going to win? Because of Bolsa Família for example?

R: Yes because she helped PT, that is her party, they brought a lot of people from poorness to, not to richness but to...

I: Elevate from poverty?

R: Yes, they did a good job with those people and so of course they want to keep that.

I: And those people will support her?

R: I think so.

I: Imagine that Aécio wins, do you think he wins because people support him or people are more against Dilma and that is the reason why he wins?

R: We don't have an option. I'm going to say something that is a little bit rude, especially for an interview but I'm going to say something to you we used to say here in Brazil. The shit is the same, what change are the flies that fly around the shit. It is the same shit, Dilma and Aécio are the same shit, we don't have an option. We have to chose between the less worse one, that is why I'm really thinking about going to another city to justify, that is what we say in Portuguese, my vote. Because I don't believe in none of them.

I: Alright, I've asked all my questions. I would like to thank you out of the bottom of my heart for your participation.

R: You are welcome.

I: Thank you very much.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
How much did the World Cup play a role in the protests?	It will happen, so lets enjoy it.	It was one of the many issues.	
What do you think about the World Cup?	I love the World Cup and I love Dilma because of the World Cup.	The money could have been spend better. We didn't need that event here in Brazil now.	
What do you think about the money spent on the World Cup?		It is not fair. You don't need to spend all that money to connect Brazilians.	
Organize it again?	If I am selfish, I would say yes.	If I am not selfish, I would say no. Money can be spend better.	
Influence on the presidential elections?			Of course not. They don't have memory, they don't remember. I have a lot of friends that were in the streets protesting against Dilma in June '13 and voted on her in the elections.

Appendix IX

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Tuesday October 21st, 2014 at La Casa de Pandora in Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Interview with Érico Fasolo and Thiago Sirena, both International Relations students. Interviewer will be indicated by I, Érico by E and Thiago by T.

I: Good morning, we have a special interview here because we are with the three of us so we are improvising a little bit. I would like to start with introducing shortly yourselves and then we can start with the interview.

E: My name is Érico, do I need to say more information about me, I have graduated in International Relations, 22 years old and that is it.

T: I'm Thiago, I'm 22 years old as well and I'm studying International Relations.

I: Alright, perfect. I would like to start with the first subject, that is about the protest, last year in June a lot of protests took place throughout the whole of Brazil, massive protest many people took place (participated), what is your opinion about it and why it took place?

E: I think it showed people were not satisfied with what is happening in Brazil and the thing is, there are a lot of causes for the protests, so I don't think there was a massive force straight to one point or another point, so people didn't really know where to put their energy so they just went to the streets and protested for their own causes. You could walk on the street with protesting on the World Cup and somebody right behind you would be protesting on another thing.

T: I think the only force in common was the bus fare. Everything was there initially because the bus fare was unfair, you pay a lot of money for really bad service and the companies that holds the monopolies and here in Porto Alegre for example they don't have a station or a right contract with the city council. The protests were an opportunity for those people who were kind of beside society to express their dissatisfaction.

E: There are a lot of public service that are not well offered like education and health, they were also in the protests, a lot of people were protesting about it but Brazil is too big I think. It is really hard to put an effort altogether, we want this to change and proposed how to do it, it is really hard because Brazil is really big. I think that is one of the points that made it not continue the protests, it was June and July and it sort of stopped. But it showed people were not satisfied.

I: Do you think if the protests would be more specific for one subject, that I could reach more the goal it was achieving? Do you think it was too broad?

E: Yes but I think it wouldn't have so many people because one point you could have right-wings and left-wings on the street protesting.

T: That never happened, there were no parties on the street with flags and everything. There were some social movements, some organizations for instance the bus rage, it wasn't really an ideology common for everything to protest.

E: If there was, maybe we could have got something.

T: No, I think we did got because we reduced the tax, bus fare. We reduced it but is already increased. People now are paying against what we've protested. I think what made the manifestations to stop was the violence. Lots of people go to the street because of the violence, the fights.

E: The police was really repressive.

T: And in my conception, we were talking about the faveladas, when the poor people came to the street, they showed all their discontentment, the violence they received from the police and government. When people don't have education, don't have water or...

E: Basic service.

T: Basic service in their lives, in their whole life they never had, when they go to the street protesting you don't expect anything peaceful.

I: Because they have nothing to lose?

T: They have nothing to lose. They want to...

E: They want to give back the violence they received their whole life.

T: Pretty much.

I: And was it from the beginning violent or did that became something later on when the protests grew?

E: The protests grew because of the violence too. In São Paulo the police started to be really repressive and I think they shot a journalist and that was when the media started to blame the police as well. With the media on the side of the protest, sort of, media is always manipulating, but then it became bigger.

I: So it was a trigger for people to go to the street?

E. Yes.

T: Yes. I saw a thing that I considered different because when our media published something about manifestations in Europe for example, you're going to read something like 'on new year's-eve in France manifestors burned 300 cars in Paris' for example, in Brazil it's going to be 'vandals going in the street and burn everything'. There is all because of the (....) and they burn. Ok, they have a reason to do that, in Brazil no. Manifestors burn everything for nothing. They don't give a shit about anything.

I: So it's a different way of making public the news, the facts. Do you think the media works in favor of the current government or?

T: Yes because they receive they receive a lot of money for publicity of the government. Millions and millions every year. And our biggest TV company, that is Globo they have a debt by the government from taxes and everything, like a billion or more, so you don't see any of the candidates debate, how the media's are monopolies given in the dictatorship regime and that is still how it is today.

I: The World Cup, what kind of role did the World Cup play in the protest?

E: That is what we discussing earlier, the first time when Brazil was announced to host the World Cup the people got happy because soccer is the passion of Brazil.

T: It was a facultative day in Rio, a kind of vacation. So no one needed to work, everybody could...

E: By the time people started to realize that the World Cup wouldn't bring many benefits, a lot of money was going to stadium building and should be directed to other sectors like education and health. That was in the protests too, people wanted this money that was going to football cup wanted this money to another part of investment.

T: I think because some stadiums and some structures were done in places that don't really have a football culture. In Brasília and Manaus, if you take the last three years of the retrospect of the soccer public in stadiums, you're going to see like 3 or 4 thousand people, so why are you going to make a 60 thousand people stadium in a place that doesn't have this culture, they don't have clubs to play there. A stadium like this costs like R\$150.000 to open-up, to turn on the lights.

I: This created corruption?

E: Yes corruption. So a lot of money that came to the World Cup, much more money than suppose to be.

I: Do you have an idea about the initial amount of money that would invested and the actual amount of money invested? Was it really that much higher than promised?

E: In June I had no idea.

T: I do not remember.

E: But yes there was a difference.

I: And is that of corruption that the amount of money that was invested was so much higher?

T: Because of corruption and because of the organization in itself. I think one or two stadiums like in Itaquerão of Corinthians, an accident happened because, I don't know, the process of building it, so they had to build it again and some stuff because it took too much time to build, it's the same process right so they spent 30% more because they lost in the

process. I think the biggest think is that we are expecting of the World Cup, we are expecting infrastructure, in airports, in railroads and...

E: A lot of this wasn't finished by the World Cup. They are still finishing.

T: Pretty much, 80% of the promises never happened and are not going to happen.

I: What is your personal opinion about the World Cup, if you had the power to say, Brazil can host the World Cup again or not, would your personal choice be, was it worth it or not?

T: No.

E: It is not worth it. The president of FIFA said that it is easier to organize a World Cup in a country that is not democratic because they hurt the sovereignty of countries. That is one of the points, we don't want FIFA again here telling us what we have to do in our country. It is not worth it I think. I think it is good for tourism and for the party itself, and everything, it is really nice for the environment and of sharing and integration, that is really nice part of it but it is not worth it.

I: Do you think that the protests and the World Up have any influence on the current election?

T: I believe it would have more but not that much right now because we lost the World Cup. That was a good thing I believe, I believe a title in the World Cup it could give a false happiness.

I: A justification maybe?

T: A justification but (unclear) people would get happier and feel better, my country is the world champion and we are good, we are the best, that's fine for Dilma but since Brazil did not won the World Cup and people actually enjoyed the World Cup.

E: It was considered successful at least from what I've heard and from international media, it was considered a successful World Cup. But for the population itself it didn't bring any benefits. The elections could be influenced more, nowadays we don't hear much about the World Cup. It is not in debates.

T: We could differentiate what the media coverage of the process of the World Cup and the corruption and the investment badly done and everything could differentiate to people not vote in Dilma and vote on Aécio but I think today from what is happening now, people don't really remember the World Cup anymore. Brazilians have a short memory. They can remember how Brazil was 10 years ago or 15 years ago or 30 years ago, people don't really recognize what already changed.

E: Fernando Collor, he suffered an impeachment in 1992 and he was reelected as a senator in a state in the North-East, so what is the point?

I: Is the protest now a subject in the debates between the presidential candidates, or is the protest they don't talk about it?

E: They talk about it but in a way, we want to do what the population was asking during the protests.

T: And both sides say that but I think the right-ish, like Aécio use it a lot more than Dilma because the right in general use this argument of the manifestation to revoke the vote for themselves I believe. They say, last year you were in the streets asking for change and now what are you doing, you are voting for the continuing of the government? Makes sense but makes sense to keep the continuity...

E: Improved their life conditions.

T: Yes, really.

E: Brazil got out of the hunger map of the UN.

T: That is something.

I: What is your guys opinion about who is going to win the elections?

E: I think Dilma is going to win but with a really short difference. My opinion on that, I don't like both but I'd rather have Dilma than Aécio.

T: Yes, that is my opinion as well. I would like actually, I don't like the actual government but I don't like the other way.

E: I think Aécio is even worse than Dilma.

T: But at the same time I believe we need a change because we are already 12 years with the same party governing so I believe for a democracy changing is always good because some people are already stagnated, feeling good in their positions and a change could modify everything but I don't know...

E: From the possibilities we have...

T: I don't like, the biggest thing I didn't approve in Aécio's government proposals was the reduction of the penalty majority, he was to turn it down to 16 years old. As you've seen in Europe, they have tried it a couple of times and doesn't really work for the criminality because people won't stop doing delicts or crimes...

E: The jails are already crowded.

T: We can't really re-socialize this people we are arresting. They are, when they get arrested they get worse, they get more knowledge about crime and they can grow up doing this and that is I believe, going to happen when you reduce the majority penalty, some kids go to jail with 16 years old without finishing school and getting out at 22, 23 or 25 and they will never get a job, never finish studies, never change their lives. This is one of his biggest proposals. He needs to change the constitution to do that.

E: He was the governor of the state Minas Gerais and he is always talking about what he did there was good but his party wasn't reelected there. He couldn't (left) his candidate for the state so and I think for education he would be really bad too because the professors of Minas Gerais released a note saying all the bad thing he did for the state. I don't trust him.

T: I don't trust him either. He received less votes for president in his own state than the actual president Dilma. He said he was reelected with 92% of approval but how is that, why did he receive 36% of the votes of president if he is that good?

I: What is your personal vote going to be if you're going to vote?

E: Actually I am not going to vote because I've to vote in another state. If I were to vote, I would probably vote no.

T: Vote blank.

E: Yes blank. If I had to choose the less worse, Dilma. That is a bad thing

T: Yes, that is a bad thing. I'm not proud of saying that.

E: You always have to vote in the less worse.

T: That's a problem in Brazil in my perception because we need to vote, by our law we're required to vote and I don't believe it is that good for democracy. If I don't trust any of the candidates, I don't want to vote and I need to go there so if I don't trust anyone, if I don't know anyone I won't vote but people don't have this.

I: You can also really wonder if the president who got elected is he or she elected because he or she is good or do people vote for him or her because they don't want to have the other in the office. That is also a thing when you are obliged to vote.

T: Yes, that is what is happening. Most of the people that vote for Aécio is voting because they demonize Dilma and they want another way.

E: They don't have a clue about Aécio.

T: They don't know about him.

I: So you can really ask yourself how much worth one vote is from someone who is protesting against somebody or somebody who really read about the politics and the policies and is voting for him as well. There is a gap there I think, a kind of inflation in voting.

T: Yes, and because the president doesn't really change that much because you have the Senate and everything. That is the problem because people don't care that much about this election then the presidential election so they discuss more voting for the president of the government but not really the representatives, state deputies and senators and federal deputies and these are the guys that legislate and make everything happen. The president only signs it up.

I: Alright, I think I've asked all my questions, I would like to thank you both for the very useful input and thank you.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
Role of the World Cup in the protests	When Brazil was announced host, people got happy because soccer is the passion of Brazil.	People wanted this money that was going to football, wanted this money invested differently.	
Corruption scandals		A lot of money that came to the World Cup, much more than supposed to be.	80 % of the promises never happened and are not going to happen.
Unfinished projects		A lot of this wasn't finished by the World Cup, they are still finishing.	
The World Cup	It was considered a success by the international media.	It was not worth it. The money could have been spend better. We don't want FIFA here telling us what to do.	It could influence more but we lost, it is not in debates nowadays. People don't really remember the World Cup anymore.

Appendix X

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Tuesday October 21st, 2014 in the city hall of Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Interview with the mayor of Porto Alegre, José Fortunati of the party PDT. Because of his inability to speak English and my inability to speak Portuguese, Fernando Lemos translated. Interviewer will be indicated by I, the mayor as respondent by R and Fernando as translator by T. Because Fernando sometimes had difficulties with translating, Julie Lind Madsen examined the translations and made adjustments were possible, they are indicated by J.

I: I would like to ask about the protests, when they took place in 2013, why they existed and why they came into being and if you ever expected if the protests would come to Porto Alegre as well?

T: 0:21 to 0:31 English-Portuguese

R: 0:32 to 0:59 answer mayor in Portuguese

T: The protests started here in Porto Alegre because of the price of the transport. Then the first movement start here, from all the protests in Brazil, they begin here in Porto Alegre.

J: The protests actually started here in Porto Alegre, they began in January 2013, and it was the first demonstration in the whole country.

R: 1:16 to 1:38 in Portuguese

T: In Porto Alegre we have a strong social life with the communities very strong here. If something starts well in Brazil, it usually starts here because if you are [..]

J: It is also important to tell that Porto Alegre is a city that has a good social life and the local community and the trade unions here are very strong and has a long tradition.

R: 2:07 to 2:32 in Portuguese

T: Porto Alegre is the begin of every social movement in Brazil, in the world as well. The World Social Forum started here in Brazil, in Porto Alegre because the Porto Alegre people from here we got so strong participation in public life.

J: The population here is very much involved. The social movement started here in Porto Alegre with a very high participation from every layer of the society. The World Social Forum started here in Porto Alegre, because the people from Porto Alegre have a strong participation in the political life.

R:3:04 to 3:10 in Portuguese

T: The manifestation didn't surprise the politicians here.

I: Do you know why they came into being, the protests? What were the causes of the protests?

T: Because of the price of...

R: 3:32 to 3:58 in Portuguese

T: The protests of the 20 cents rise of the price but isn't the real reason.

J: The truth is that apparently, the cause of the protest was the 20 cent rise in the bus fare, but to understand the protests of 2013 we have to go back.

R: 4:11 to 4:57 in Portuguese

T: In 2010 the cities in Brazil started to get difficulties with money to help the population because the population start to have more conditions to get a good life but the public service can't keep up with this new conditions.

J: After 2010, the municipalities in Brazil started face economic difficulties when attending to the demands of the population, like health, social care, public transport. Brazil had experienced a very important economic growth and because of the politicians in the federal government many people moved up in the social hierarchy but the municipalities could not keep up with this growth through social policies.

R: 5:28 to 6:48 in Portuguese

T: We had two moments, in 2008 it is mayor election, before its before 2010 ok, here 2000 [2008], [twenty] five main cities keep your government and just one main city, the people decided to change the mayor. In 2012 before this moment, just 5 cities keep their mayor, Porto Alegre is one of the five with José Fortunati and 21 changed the government because they wanted to change.

J: To demonstrate this you can make a comparison between two electoral processes – 2008 and 2012. That is two electoral processes where the mayors were chosen, in all of Brazil. In 2008 the mayors in 25 out of 26 states (DF- Brasília does not vote for mayor) were reelected or the successor from the party was elected and their program was reelected -only one from the opposition won. In 2010, more problems began and they got worse in 2011, which resulted in only 5 reelected mayors in the 2012 elections -21 of the states went to the opposition.

I: They were not reelected.

R: 7:51 to 8:47 in Portuguese

T: Do you remember before when I talked with you the manifestation stopped because the price but after they've a lot of reasons to protest but here they do have a good reason because the people who are a little tired of this situation and in 2013 we had a condition to go to the street.

J: So 2013 simply opened up for all the frustrations. The raise in the public bus fare was just the last drop, -the last drop. Because in reality the demands had been suppressed and now they appeared with the rise in the transport – because after you saw the photos and banners with everything, more health, more education etc.

I: And what kind of role did the World Cup play in the protests? The role of the World Cup in the protests. Could you ask why the people protested against the World Cup?

T: 9:50 9:57 English-Portuguese

R: 9:58 to 11:15 in Portuguese

T: The people don't complain about the World Cup but they want the public service to have the same quality as for example the stadiums, the buildings as the World Cup. We say, I want health like FIFA because it is a good way.

J: Because of the poor treatment of the public services, health, education, transport which are not of a high quality – the people began to compare with what was made in the preparations for the World Cup, especially with the stadiums. Because, the stadiums that were under reconstruction were actually lacking much in quality, like the two stations we have here now, the ones we had before were big stadiums, big but very simple –today they are stadiums of FIFA standards. Therefore, the people began to say: I want health of FIFA standard, I want education of FIFA standards, I want transport of FIFA standards. – But most people actually did not protest against the World Cup, but they really wished for services here of FIFA standards.

R: 11:46 to 12:29 in Portuguese

T: It is a small group, they are like another political party but they are against the World Cup. They start to be more use violence with the building, the city, the people than the other population wants to make a nice protest, they start to be afraid because of the small group.

J: But, there was a group, a small group, more to the left, that radicalized the manifestations – some of them call themselves Black Blocs. They deprived different buildings and stores and made their own signs, -this group was originally against the World Cup.

I: Was the police, they had to act in the way they did because the Black Bloc, and those smaller groups, they started the fights and the riots?

T: Repeat please.

I: Did the police had to respond to those smaller groups because they started the fights?

T: 13:39 to 13:46 English-Portuguese

R: 13:47 to 14:41 in Portuguese

T: Here in Porto Alegre the government is not the city but the state, they decided to say to the police keep with the group don't do nothing without the people, just keep because of this the group feel free to make a lot of this situation.

J: Here in Porto Alegre, there was a decision made by the governor of the state, just to follow the riots and their actions, and not to interfere with violence. They caused a lot of harm to the whole city, especially to smaller shops in our important shopping avenue Siena, but they also caused big problems in the lower part of the city (cidade baixa) in a neighborhood called Boêmio. The police did not repress the demonstration they just accompanied them, and that's why the Black Blocs have always been able to move in a very "free" way here in Porto Alegre.

R:15:12 to 15:27 in Portuguese

T: An example where he lives, it is here in down town, it is like middle-class building and they suffered nine attacks. And the police just showed the people making this situation, don't do nothing.

J: A specific example, is the building where I live – it is a building for middle-class people in the Centre, it was attacked 9 times, 9 times and the military police just assisted this.

R: 15:51 to 16:21 in Portuguese

T: Just as one confront[ation] with the police and the group when the group was in front of the building of the most important journal here. They started to make confusion and the police started to fight with them.

J: The only serious confrontation here, was when a movement wanted to attack the principal communication group (RBS) -here the police protected them, and there was a big confrontation when the group arrived in front of the building of RBS.

R: 16:46 to 17:16 in Portuguese

T: After the manifestation started to get less strong. The civil police started to investigate about the leaders of the manifestations.

J: After the demonstrations lost their force, the civil policy started to investigate the photos from the protests to see if they could possibly identify the leaders behind the groups, this is one of the reasons why the Black Blocs, in Porto Alegre lost their force.

R: 17:39 to 18:12 in Portuguese

T: I told you before, most peace people started not going to the manifestations because they are afraid of this violence and the second reason because they don't do the party of the corporations.

J: But the demonstrations did not lose their force because of the police – the big demonstration actually lost force because of Black Blocs, because the majority of the demonstrators were pacifists and they began to retreat for two reasons. First, they did not want to be related to the Black Bloc's actions and second because they were afraid – they were very afraid of the violence.

I: Can you ask, did the protests reached their goals, did there change something after the protests?

T: 18:52 to 18:56 English-Portuguese

R: 18:57 to 20:00 in Portuguese

T: In fact the manifestations don't improve but the manifestation make the people to think about these problems, reasons of the problems and the start of the government to change these problems because the problems is started years ago you can't improve faster.

J: Actually, with the demonstration, a concern arose in the government and they wanted to give a reply, -but it is very difficult to give an immediate response to things that have been a problem for many years. The health system in Brazil will not suddenly improve; the transportation system in Brazil will not suddenly improve. Therefore, the demonstrations changed the focus and the tone in the debate for the ongoing problems – but today the people have a more clear view of what actually needs to be changed in the country.

I: They are structural problems.

T: Yes.

I: Do you think that the protests influence the elections in this month?

T: 20:45 to 20:50 English-Portuguese

R: 20:51 to 22:05 in Portuguese

T: This protests influence this moment of the election because there is a lot of good things the government made with the population. We have a lot of poor people who good more conditions to get a good life but sometimes when you have a good life, you need better conditions but the government couldn't get improve the conditions and that is why the people start to make a protest.

J: For sure, -for sure, because... I do not doubt that the social view/classes in Brazil changed a lot the last years. There was a social change – it is obvious that when somebody raise in the social classes the expectations and demands change – and this was the result of the demonstrations in 2013. This was a very positive thing for the federal government, because it was responsible for these changes in the social classes, -but it was used as a negative thing, because they were not able to live up to their promises and people's expectations, and this brought problems for the government.

R: 22:52 to 22:35 in Portuguese

T: In his opinion, at this moment there is two reasons more important than the manifestations of last year. One is about the corruption. And the problems with Petrobras.

J: But, the biggest problem against the presidency of Dilma was not the social demonstrations of 2013, but the problems with corruption – specifically the Mensalão scandal and the Petrolão scandal – these two cases caused much more damage to the reelection of Dilma than the demonstrations of 2013 did – in my opinion.

I: And who do you think is going to win the election?

T: 24:03 to 24:06 English-Portuguese

J: Well, that is a technical thing, but I will continue make campaign for Dilma. On my Blog, Facebook, Twitter I support Dilma. I think that Dilma will win – and it is my wish.

R: 24:07 to 24:37 in Portuguese

T: Do you want to ask something about the World Cup?

I: Yes, I would like to ask if the World Cup was a positive event for Porto Alegre?

R: 24:53 to 26:28 in Portuguese

T: The talked about four main reasons. The first one is more finance to build more infrastructure for the city, new stadiums. More work and money for the population and the most important is the good image of Porto Alegre in the world, people know now about Porto Alegre.

J: There were various positive things for Porto Alegre – I am just going to mention some facts: first, thanks to the fact that Porto Alegre was elected to participate in the World Cup we obtained special funding and almost one billion Reais to make 14 big constructions in the City. Thanks to the fact that we were elected the two clubs, Gremio and Inter received new stadiums, this is very good. Third, it was a time with millions of tourist in the city, and fourth the World Cup brought a very positive image to Porto Alegre –because when people talk compare the elected cities, how it was to get to sights, getting information and so on everybody highlights Porto Alegre, this is priceless.

I: Do you think that the money was invested in the World Cup, was worth it in the end?

T: Sorry.

I: The money that was invested in the World Cup, was it worth it? Was the money that was invested a good investment? Because they needed to spend more money than they thought initially.

T: 27:32 to 27:39 English-Portuguese

R: 27:40 to 28:54 in Portuguese

T: In Porto Alegre was the only city in Brazil that didn't give money to build the stadium and one billion of the finance is used just for infrastructure. The population uses the infrastructure. About the hotels, then we have a good service with a good hospitality service, now it is a good one in Porto Alegre, now we can receive more events more people from other countries. Last question?

J: Actually, for the World Cup we investigated very little public money. Porto Alegre was the only city within the 12 elected cities that did not investigate in a reconstruction or reform in the stadiums – we did not use public money for building the new stadiums. The money we received we investigated in infrastructure, which means that it was not only for the World Cup, it was for the city.

I: Last question. I wanted to end with the note, how did my fellow countrymen, the orange people, did they behave in a good way?

T: What?

I: Did my fellow countrymen, the other people from Holland, did they behave in a good way? Were they nice visitors here in Porto Alegre?

R: 30:22 to 31:00 in Portuguese

T: The Holland people were not a big one [with many] there Argentine we got more people from Argentina but it was certain that the Holland people got more funny, happy and celebrating.

J: The Dutch delegation here was not the biggest, -we received mostly Argentineans. However, without a doubt, the happiest people here, the ones who integrated best in the city were the people from Holland.

I: I am really glad to hear that.

T: I think this one is the image of the World Cup [referring to the picture the mayor gave me as a present]

T: 31:34 to 31:41 in Portuguese

R: 31:42 to 32:09 in Portuguese

T: The Holland people got the present to him, a bicycle with one part of the bicycle [...] and he will ride the bicycle.

J: I received a present from the Dutch people, a bicycle –with a picture of Van Gogh -and I use it here in the city.

I: I would like to thank you very much for the interview.

R: Thank you.



Translator F. Lemos, J. Fortunati and J. Haans



J. Fortunati and J. Haans in the mayor's office

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
Protests and the World Cup	Most people actually did not protest against the World Cup	Protesters were demanding public services of FIFA standards.	The ultra left was originally against the World Cup.
The World Cup in Porto Alegre	Special funding, new stadiums for the clubs, many tourist and a good image.		
Infrastructure	14 big constructions in the city, very little public money invested.		
The elections			The biggest issue for Dilma are scandals of corruption

Appendix XI

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Thursday October 23rd, 2014 at the ESPM campus in Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Interview with Bruno Lima Rocha, professor in International Relations, political science and journalism. Interviewer will be indicated by I and the professor as respondent by R.

I: I would like to ask you to shortly introduce yourself.

R: My name is Bruno Lima Rocha. I am 42 years old. I have a PHD in political science, a master in political science too and my graduation is in journalism. I teach international relations, also political science and a few subjects in journalism in three universities.

I: So you know a little bit about Brazilian politics. I would like to ask you; what do you think about the protests that took place last year and also a little bit this year, why did they come into existence and what were the reasons of people to protest?

R: Let's establish some asserts ok. First of all, there is a lot of misunderstanding about the protests. It was not spontaneous, it was not self-organized or something like that. It has been developing since 2005, some small political groups who were in the left or the ultra-left. Some of them are electoral, some of them are not. And they combine the protests against higher prices of collective transport with the protests against the World Cup. The popular committees against the World Cup or because of the World Cup started to build-up since 2010 after the experience of South Africa. I have been once in South Africa in 2012 and I saw with my eyes what happened in their society because of the World Cup. This was combined with a momentum in Brazilian politics where, I could say, the centre-left government made a huge agreement with very old oligarchies, the very corrupted one and they promoted wonderful material improvement and a society with a lack of morality. But in this particular momentum Brazil has in the assembly of deputies an oligarchy. In the Senate an oligarch and in the special committee for human rights, a creationist, a new (pentagist) which was a racist and a homophobic and this was absurd. So I could say that people got mad. But mad because of the high level expenses with the World Cup and also a kind of disillusion. The word in Portuguese would be 'distopia' [dystopia] against utopia. It was a political victory

local in Porto Alegre where the local mayor said it is impossible to not higher the prices and Brazilians are very negotiable, how can I say, intermediated society. We have several levels of local committees, local arrangements, state agreements and the organism which make high or not the prices of the collective transportation are the municipal committees of transportation where the mayor have five votes, the businessmen have three votes and the passengers have three votes. So the state could decide in favor of the population and they said 'no, it's impossible', like there is no alternative. And people got a single victory. Started in March, then in April and the local police was forced to repress because the municipal police they were in front of the city hall and one of the protesters, a girl, was kind of kidnapped inside of the mayor hall. People got mad in the square so the police attacked. This developed a high level of answer, violent answer from the protesters. From the four groups of the protests. This made that one single protest which had two thousand demonstrators, then four thousand, then eight thousand and got to twenty thousand. And they won. I was said, it won't be higher. The collective rights are more important than the profit of the businessmen. This single victory developed another struggle for not highering [increasing] the prices of local collectives in São Paulo and Rio. In São Paulo it was a savage repression, it was interrupted on Anenua de Paulista which is the most important in São Paulo and the mayor who is a PT-man and the state government who is a PSDB-man, they made an agreement and both repressed. Then came Globo with is columnists said it were all middle-class guys, joking and having fun, protesting like in the 60s. It was a total disgrace for Globo. And they came with 40 thousand people. And then it was out of control. This is what happened in Brazil. So the protesters are one, self-organized which in another one, as long as people started to be, how can I say, tortured in Facebook, a lot of infiltration happened in Brazil, rightwing infiltration, they cooperate and try to kidnap the protest. In polls and some statements they wouldn't say never like morality in politics. They have a TV-cover from helicopters trying to prove they were there to fight against immorality in politics. But they were there for everything because they had two single victories. First in Porto Alegre, then in São Paulo, the in Rio and then in the whole country. This was a specific protest who massive-fied and lost control. What the rightwing parties, the other rightwing, the neoliberal rightwing, tried to make their speech that they would change professional politics, a new politics with the same old guys and same old women. Because the protest was kind of

kidnapped, infiltrated by rightwing parties and corporate media. That is what happened in Brazil.

I: Do you think that, besides the victory on the rise on the bus fare, that the demonstrations accomplished something else?

R: Yes. Because it was the first mass demonstration against the social pact that was established since 2002 but they were not against the government. They were against, how could I say, bad social conditions for that generation because they don't have a collective memory what happened during the 80s, the lost decade, during the 90s, the other lost decade and during hyperinflation during stagflation. Stagnation of the economy and unemployment with no inflation. They have, let's make an account, 2014 today so someone who was taking the streets last year, with eighteen years old, would have eight years old in 2002 or nine, they have grown-up through the social pact of Lula which is a concept 'Lulisme' would be graduation reform with a conservative agreement. So they didn't had memory of what happened yet but they do know who are the oligarchies, they have always been in government, since the dictatorship and who would be the other rightwing party. They didn't had full information and the official left in Brazil has been left (parliamentary) parties, we have a very huge one in 10 states and we have 27 states. Those people have power to establish statements and specific subjects to be concurred but didn't had a popular appeal. I would say that the second place in the first round of national elections in Brazil was people who cancelled the vote, not go to vote or voted in blank. This is much more connected to the elections than the other opposition party or the government party. I know hundreds of people that cancelled the voted in the first round and now of the fear of the coming back of the neoliberals, they are voting for the centre-left. That is a few advantage that Dilma has today in national elections. Maybe they are not confirmed but the few advantage is this.

I: Do you think Dilma will win the second round?

R: I wouldn't say this. I can't afford it because there is a huge disagreement inside political science field, those who believe in polls and those who don't believe in polls. I don't believe. I believe in the statistics, the right accounts, I don't believe in their social categories. They are too weak. I wouldn't say that asking two white guys in their middle twenties, high upper-class or middle-class would established a patronized vote. I couldn't say this. If they ask our

two friends here, I wouldn't say that they would represent a percentage of the [electorate] of Brazil.

I: The protests were also partly aimed against the World Cup.

R: Against the expenses.

I: Exactly and in 2007, when Brazil was awarded with hosting the World Cup, people were happy and celebrating that they were awarded...

R: No, it was a local holiday. Those who were on the beach on Rio, they were public service employees who were free-ed from work to inside the beach and saw Brazil winning the right to organize it. It was not a huge celebration.

I: So it was a set-up?

R: I would say it was a political, we call it here a 'fecto', you know the social fact? A fabricated one. A produced one from the local government who would be the city to host the World Cup final. I would say this but the common guys in Brazil were really concerned, we are going to organize the World Cup but look at it, we organized in Rio the Pan-American Games and it was four times more expensive than it was established first. And people said, they are going to steal a lot. And they stole a lot. As long as what happened socially in the Winter Games in Russia it was the same. The Putin friends had the public contracts and they made about 18 billion in profit. So the huge profit in Brazil, the people know they are not stupid they understand that the huge profit is going to the huge corporations.

I: Are that construction companies?

R: Yes, specifically those construction companies and agri-business companies. Because Brazil has two big expertise in world commerce; construction and agri-business. The government was very smart in making an economical agreement with them through a Keynesian state policies, financing the direct employee and transferring profit for salary. This is the old Keynesian form. But people didn't know and were very concerned about this because 42% of our national budget is always for lowering the public debt. And this comes as a, the banks in Brazil in the last ten years, they had more profit that in the whole liberal era. Brazil still pays the highest interest rate in the world, in the whole world. What the centre-

left said was; look the World Cup, the expenses are not so much but our national budget is compromised because you have to negotiate the majority and you still have to make the ceremonial [unclear what is meant here] economical policies. Keynesian one and simultaneous paying the rent for the banks, hedge funds and thinks like that. If the neoliberals will win, the future economic ministry was during the Russia crisis, the special operator of [unclear]. He has double citizenship, he is also an American citizen and was asked to be part of Obama's administration. Now he is the man of JP Morgan in Brazil. So, as we said, it will be the same pattern because when Lula won he established in the central bank the former World President of Boston Bank, that is a Brazilian one. As they say in Brazil, they put the fox to take care of the chicken.

I: Do you think that the World Cup could backlash the Brazilian economy as how it did in Greece?

R: No. Because in Greece who was fixing the tax rates and who was fixing the public national budget, was Goldman Sachs. They had an agreement with Goldman Sachs and as a special advisor was Mario Draghi, he by himself. They kind of rented the national economy of the biggest wolf in the world. Here not. Here we have a council, a monetary economic council with eight members, six are very connected to the speculators to the bankers but they are more technocrats than Wall Street tycoons. So they are more conservatives, as being speculators, they are more conservatives. Brazil leverages about eighteen points not thirty-two how it was on Wall Street in 2008. We have more conservatives in the fictional capital, speculations and ratings. We do have, the national state, has this compromise but not as huge it was in Greece, not doing what they say. The centre-left government of today was creating accountability as what they did in the Euro and what they did with [unclear] they are very serious in this. Like they are doing in Argentina, so they are trustable people with this ceremonial [unclear] point of view. The World Cup represents nothing in the national budget. Brazil's GDP is about one-third of US GDP. The six-biggest economy in the world, it is impossible to break this country.

I: Do you think, when people have to vote coming Sunday that they think about the protests and also about the World Cup? Do you think that plays a role in people's decision?

R: Yes, the protests yes. It plays as a disillusion. I hate all of them but I will probably vote in the centre-left because they present the best material way of life. Or, I hate both of them but I will vote on the neoliberals because I need to alternate the parties in power because they own the state and they cannot be owned by nobody. But not with a strong ideological connection. Those who have a strong ideological connection with the protests, they will cancel the vote.

I: So do you think the majority, like a big group of people, will vote blank?

R: Maybe not because, I don't believe in polls but it's kind of a blind game because we only have the polls to establish our opinion. As long as I live with my opinions it is very risky way of life, way of living. I would say that as long as they fear the return of the neoliberals, many of them may vote, they may don't like that, four more year because I need my job to have a salary. But every single election in Brazil it will have millions of cancelled votes, millions. And for the first time there was a huge protests, a year before the election, and those protests have connections with the votes. So thirty-four, I believe thirty-one million votes blank, not going or cancelled. That is a lot, it was in second position. If a political coalition left, ultra-left would organize those votes it would be a totally messed-up society.

I: Do you think that the mandatory voting system here in Brazil, that it favors at this moment Dilma or Aécio?

R: Dilma because if the vote is not mandatory it because even more expensive to vote. Brazilian law does not allow candidates to transport voters. You can't put a bus, go to a slump, shanty town and say let's come to vote for my candidate and I pay ten reais and give you a free lunch. It's a crime, a federal crime. But as long as people are not concerned about politics, special official politics, I believe we would have something like happens in the US, the ghetto neighborhoods never vote, about 50% is not going to vote. The mandatory system is in favor of those parties who are more established, more organized, more national organized who have more local ties, municipal ties and those who used to have, but do not have anymore, grass-root based organizations. They come from this, they abandoned this to the official policies. I am very critical about mandatory voting but I believe in Brazil it would be very expensive election and would favor the right-wing parties. I would say this.

I: Interesting. I think I have asked all the questions that I wanted to ask.

R: May I tell you something? If you have time yet, you should talk to those who organized the protests.

I: And the protests, it was not spontaneous?

R: No, at least in Porto Alegre it was organized by four political forces. One was Local Anarchist Federation, another a kind of network autonomous groups, a Trotsky group and a former PT party, a split of PT party.

I: Because they were disillusioned by the current PT?

R: No, they are not disillusioned. It split from PT this party (23:54 phone rings, answers to 25:24) for us the national elections are like the World Cup. I would say that PSOL is split from PT when Lula made an agreement with the patronized established and promoted the vote of the reformatory state pensions that was tried to be done by Cardoso and he couldn't, it was in 2003 so they split. A lie of the loyal leader keys and doing the neoliberal policies, we can't be with you, not anymore. And split but they could never organize a very strong political, moral force, some social forces with them but Brazil has a huge lack of organization because in the 80s PT and the Central Union were kind of the same. Now, the four political parties in the left and the non-electoral forces, the anarchists and the [unclear] didn't have a central union or a social coalition to impose their fights. So it is very split, how can I say, very fragmented, like many social factions, small groups, NGOs. A very rich political life but more important for us as researchers than for them as organizers, to organize it's a Babylon. It's a battle.

I: Alright, I think you have provided me with a lot of very useful information. I would like to thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

R: If you could take my advice, it would be very good for your research. Ask those who organized it.

I: I will definitely do that.

R: If you could, write to interview the local civil police. They organized the repression.

I: Interesting to see it from both sides.

R: Yes and the commissary that organized the repression, running for deputy this year.

I: Interesting.

R: Yes, he established his political career in the repression.

I: I also spoke with the mayor of Porto Alegre and he said a different kind of story than you told obviously but it is interesting to see both points. Ok, thank you very much.

Because the professor forgot to tell something important he asked for a take two.

I: All right, take two.

R. Sorry because I didn't remember. What happened here in Porto Alegre was something very interesting. After winning the local fight for not higher-ing the bus fare the organized it again the protest in solidarity with Rio and São Paulo. And they have a target, a symbolic target, the headquarter of the local media group. They organized seven demonstrations against, to be in front of it and the media businessmen asked for security conditions from the state-government with a centre-left party. The surrounded the media head quarters and for seven times. The protest was prohibited to pass in front of it. The businessmen said they would have 120 employees working during the night and they didn't agree to risk the life-conditions because of the protest. What happened, a huge repression in Porto Alegre and a political repression that remembered what happens in the last local government was a neoliberal one. For three weeks, two times a week, on Mondays and Thursdays the city down town was a battle field. It really happened here. At least in Rio Grande do Sul it was because of the power of local media in state society. I am very sure about it. This was a turning point, when the state government was confronted with the target of the of the local media, he understood that he would lose his government, his legitimacy, if he didn't guarantee media headquarters, the installations and not even imagine when somebody would get hurt while working for the media cooperation. The other side, the state police higher-ed the level of repression, it was much more ideological than to guarantee the rights of people who were driving their cars to go back to their home. I've been in one because as a

teacher, the universities in Brazil, the majority of them, they work at night, they are open in the night. But in one night I was free from my job and I could go to the march and I counted in just one protest, 62 bombs in half an hour, bombs thrown by police. For this state is was a very high level of repression. This is what I had to say.

I: Thank you very much.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
World Cup part of the protests	The expenses cannot influence the Brazilian economy too much	Protests against the expenses. There was not a huge celebration when Brazil was awarded host.	
Corruption		Specifically construction and agri-business companies.	
World Cup backlash the Brazilian economy like in Greece?	No because Greece was fixing the tax rates.		
Protests and the World Cup influence the elections?		Those with a strong ideological connection with the protests, they will cancel their votes.	Protests yes, they play as a disillusion.

Appendix XII

Transcription interview

Interview conducted on Thursday October 23rd, 2014 at a café in Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Interview with Arthur Alffaro a student of International Relations. Interviewer will be indicated by I and Arthur as respondent by R.

R: My name is Arthur Alffaro, I'm 22 years old, I study International Relations and I work as an English teacher part-time.

I: Alright, welcome and thank you for your willingness to cooperate with my research.

R: You're welcome.

I: I would like to start with the first point that is about the elections, I mean the protests, I'm sorry. They took place last year in June and they lasted for a couple of months and even this year there were some protests, what do you think about the protests?

R: I think people were tired of the politics here in Brazil and they wanted to change, our system, our government, our laws and make our politics work because what I feel is that they don't work as they should. They use to steal a lot of money from the population. When they decided to put the fees of the transportation higher, people decided to say no we don't want to pay anymore for transportation. And so they started to make manifestations to get the fees lower of the transportation but also for other, many, many things like we want a better education, we want to be more safe on the streets at night, you should stop stealing our money, you should make our laws work and you should make a lot of more laws. So people started to give manifestations, to make manifestations actually, for everything that is wrong in our country. That was it and I think they were really good because we changed a lot of stuff here in our country. Not only the fees of the transportations got lower but we have more safety now, they steal less money, things are working better.

I: Yes, you really see that the protests achieved some goals?

R: Sure, yes, I think. A lot of people that steal money and were under judgment, now they are in jail and also we have more safety on the street that we didn't have before. It is still a

little bit dangerous but not how it was before. And also they are making more laws for education and they are giving more money for education and our health system increased a lot, it is much better than before. So I think the manifestations were a good way to change our country and start to change our country but it will last for a long time, this whole time of changing I reckon. But we identified the things that were wrong because of the manifestations and I think that is the most important thing about the manifestations. Put our fingers on what is wrong and now we know what is wrong in our country, we didn't know before.

I: Did you protest yourself?

R: Actually I did once because there were a lot of manifestations I went just in one manifestation because I had to study, to be university and work all the times of the other manifestations, at least I went to one.

I: And what are your thoughts, what is your opinion about the manifestation that you attended?

R: It was very good. It was about the freedom of women, feminism. They need to create new laws for women, they get raped on the streets and they were treated normally and I think we should make some special laws for women that are raped, to make it more secure. To make more severe laws for guys that rape women and I think we got this. Now they're working better in order to protect the women.

I: Can you describe if there is one particular group of people who protested?

R: Actually there is isn't one group of people, everybody went to the streets to manifestate, everybody because the manifestations again, were not for one reason, they were for a lot of reasons. People that want to pay less taxes, people that want more safety on the street, people that want our education improved or people that want our health system to be better, people that want to protect women from raping on the street, people that want to stop politicians to stop stealing our money. So everybody went to the streets for many different reasons, so it was a time that everybody manifested together.

I: There were also a lot of protests aimed against the World Cup.

R: Yes, definitely because there were a lot of people that think that politicians would steal a lot of money by building stadiums and hotels and all this stuff. And they thought this money that would be spent on the World Cup should be applied on education, on safety, on health, to improve our lives here in Brazil not to be spend on building a stadium, so people went against the World Cup because of this.

I: The World Cup, I mean Brazil is seen as a football loving country, they really enjoy the sport, could you see it coming that people would turn against the World Cup?

R: Even if we love sports? Yes, because people really think that politicians would steal a lot of money of the World Cup. Even we are passionate about sports we decided to manifestate against the World Cup because I think this money should be, I personal think, that money should be used on our education, our health system, to improve our lives in different ways not just to build stadiums. Ok, I know the World Cup would bring a lot of money to the country, but why bring a lot of money if we already have the money, so we have to spend this money correctly on our education, all the stuff I said before. Many people were against the World Cup even if the love sports they go against the World Cup because of our politics. And also it would be very dangerous for tourists, I thought personally, because by that time we didn't had much police on the streets, so it would be very dangerous for them but I am glad that the government put a lot of police on the streets during the World Cup. It was good.

I: Do you think that the World Cup was a success for Brazil in the end?

R: That is a though one. I think I'll see the results in 10 years I think. For a while i think it was good, I base that on the things that I read, on the newspapers worldwide, they didn't had a lot of bad criticism on the World Cup in Brazil as I thought it would be. They made a lot of positive critics. So I think for a while it is good but I will see in the future if they actually didn't steal the money and that they build everything that they said they would build after the World Cup, for example politicians said if they would build one stadium, they would like build ten schools for children. So I'm still waiting to see those schools to be build, I'll see in the future.

I: Do you think that if the population of Brazil had a vote and they could say 'yes' or 'no' to organize it again, do you think they would say yes or no?

R: Actually we have the Olympic Games coming on the way. I'll have to wait until the Olympic Games to see if people would make another World Cup because I think there'll be another manifestations before the Olympic Games, I think so.

I: Against the Olympic Games?

R: I believe so. I think people want the Olympic Games because they think the government did a good job on the World Cup but I think there'll be other manifestations in order to tell the government not to steal the money for example or put more safety on the streets for us. I think there'll be quite a few.

I: Is corruption, do you think, the biggest problem in Brazilian politics nowadays?

R: I think so. People lie because of money. Somebody steals the money and another one knows that the politicians stole the money but they don't tell that he stole the money because that one pays him to not tell. So I think it is the biggest problem.

I: And do you think, if you see the results of the first round of the elections, that the protests and the World Cup had any influence on voting behavior?

R: Yes, sure. The president, the actual president of Brazil, is trying to be the president again. She is trying reelection. So if she didn't do a good job on the World Cup, people certainly wouldn't vote for her again. I think she tried to do her best at the World Cup, to be reelected and I think it will influence.

I: Do you think Dilma will win again?

R: I think so. All the research that I see, she is the one. Honestly I don't know who I'm going to vote for because the two persons who try to reach the presidency of Brazil, still I don't know who I'm going to vote for but I think is going to win. Definitely.

I: And for whom did you vote in the first round?

R: In the first one, I wasn't even in Brazil by that time but if I would be here I would certainly vote for Dilma. Because I think she did what people wanted here to do. She was an activist

when she was younger, she went to jail and was tortured so she is really fighting, I think she is doing her best but people around her, the other politicians, in Brazil we have a lot of politicians, we have thousands of people and I don't think it is necessary that much of politicians in our country. They are the problem, to have as much as politicians as we have. I think she is trying to do a good job.

I: Do you think that, in a way, it would be healthy for a country to have a switch of power because PT is already 12 years in power?

R: I think it would be very good to have a switch of power but I am not so sure if this new politician that is trying to get the presidency, he is called Aécio, I don't think he is a good one. I don't think he is strong enough to be the president of the country. I think he needs to learn a little bit more. I think she is stronger than him to be the president so that is why I would vote for her.

I: More experienced?

R: More experienced, yes I think.

I: Do you think that people who are going to vote coming Sunday, think about the World Cup and the elections, the protests I mean?

R: Yes, sure. I think a lot of people who went to the manifestations voted already for another candidate. On the first time of our election. They voted for different people. I voted for a different girl called Luciana Genro, she was an activist on the manifestations. I felt that she represented me, I voted for her. Me and another people. But yes, I think they would mind the manifestations in order to vote for an candidate. Definitely.

I: I think I've asked all the questions that I wanted to ask.

R: Really, no doubts?

I: I think it is a really interesting time for Brazil because how I could see it from abroad, from further away, I could see people that went to the street and demanded a change and it's quite a possibility that the same government will be in power again. But is that because there is a lack of good other opportunities or wasn't the protest, like you couldn't say that

the people who protested were thinking of the whole of Brazil, that it was only a small part of the Brazilian population?

R: I think that, in the beginning of the manifestations, a small part went to the streets to manifestate for different reasons, individual reasons. But in the end everybody, rich people, poor people, everybody went to the streets to manifestate. Because everybody had to tell something to the government. Rich people didn't like to pay a lot of fees, neither did poor people right and rich people wanted to be more safe on the streets, poor people also wanted. The reasons were the same for everybody. Rich people and poor people all face the same problems. So we all went to the streets.

I: Do you think that in the beginning, this diversity of subject and goals, that they were first a strong point of the manifestations and later became a weakness because there was no focus?

R: I think that despite the fact people manifested for a lot of different reasons, the manifestations were strong because they changed a lot of stuff. As I told you, the manifestations began because of the fees of the transportation, the public transportation and ended-up being for a lot of different reasons. The government they changed the way they were doing politics. Not only we got the fees of the transportation lower, they send more money to be spend on education, to be spend on safety as well. The manifestations for me, in my opinion, were very good. They changed a lot of stuff and are still changing. As I told you, I'll see in 10 years if they worked or not. But I think they were good because we put our fingers on the problems and told them what was wrong in our country. And now they know and we know that they know now. So that was very good.

I: Politicians became more, how can I say, you opened the eyes of the politicians?

R: Yes, they are paying more intention into what we want. They are doing their jobs better.

I: I think that in an ultimate goal to reach.

R: Yes. I wouldn't say we could trust them but we can trust more than we were used to.

I: Let's hope for a bright future for Brazil.

R: Let's hope so.

I:I would like to think you very much, you helped me a lot, thank you.

Question / statement	Positive	Negative	Influence on presidential elections
Protests against the World Cup	We love sports.	People thought there would be a lot of corruption. They money should be applied on education, on safety, on health, to improve our lives	
Do you think the World Cup was a success?	I think we have to see the results in 10 years. They made a lot of positive critics.	We have to wait and see if they build everything they said.	
Protests and World Cup influence the elections?			Yes, the actual president is trying to be reelected. So, if she didn't do a good job, people certainly wouldn't vote for her again.

Appendix XIII

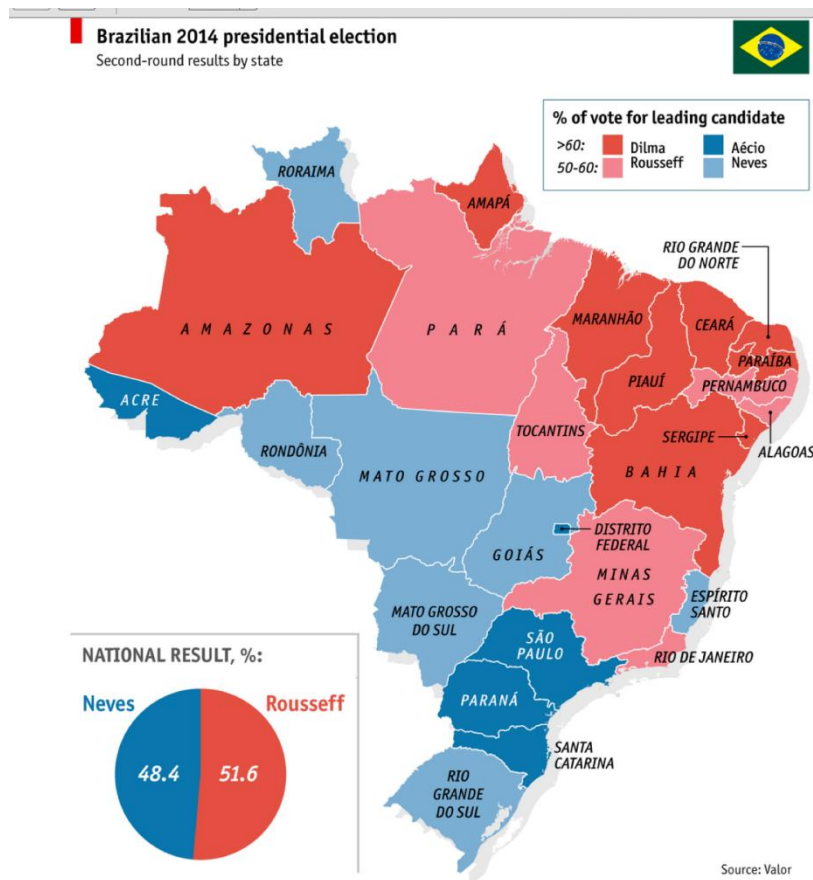


Figure 2: Brazilian election outcome, source: GeoCurrents

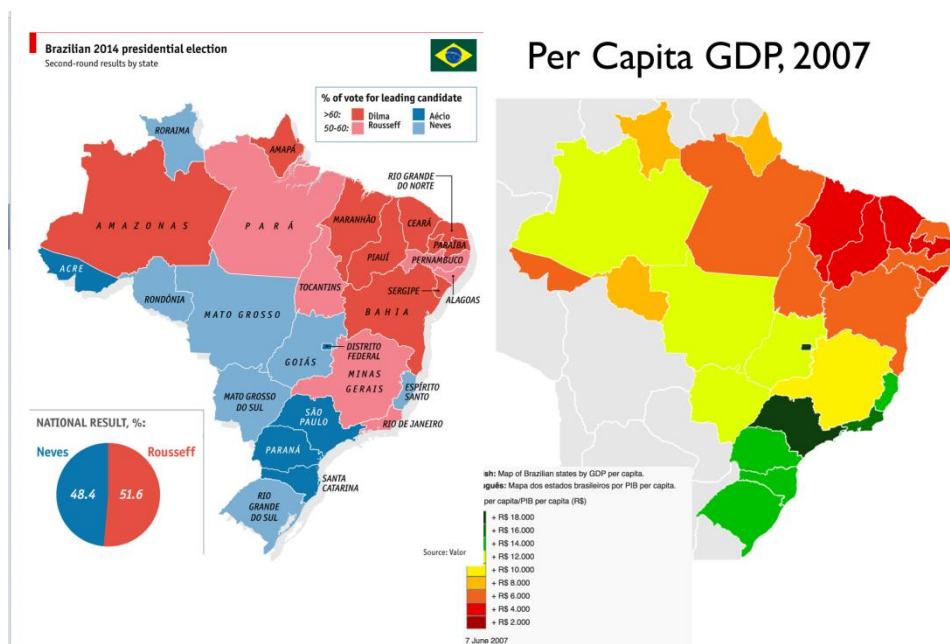
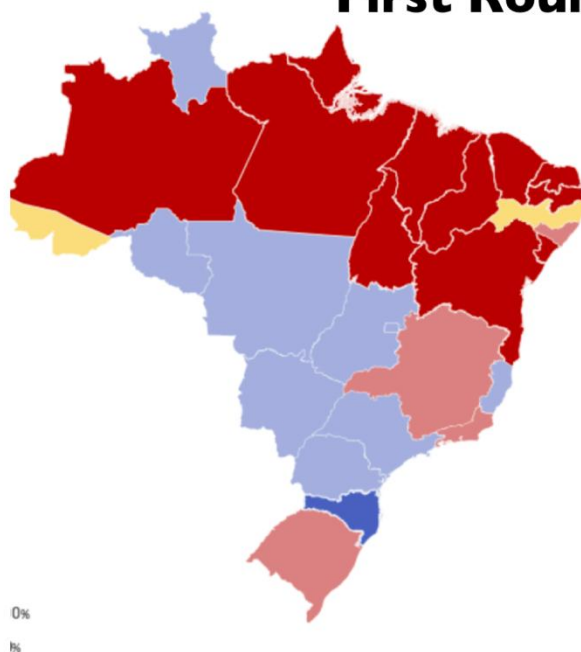


Figure 3: Brazilian election outcome compared with income, source: GeoCurrents

Brazil 2014 Presidential Election

First Round



BRASIL

SEÇÕES
TOTALIZADAS **100%**

CANDIDATO / PARTIDO

VOTOS VÁLIDOS



Dilma / PT

41,59%

43.267.668

Vai para 2º turno

☐ Ver mapa do candidato



Aécio Neves / PSDB

33,55%

34.897.211

Vai para 2º turno

☐ Ver mapa do candidato



Marina Silva / PSB

21,32%

22.176.619

☐ Ver mapa do candidato

4º Luciana Genro / PSOL	1,55% (1.612.186)
5º Pastor Everaldo / PSC	0,75% (780.513)
6º Eduardo Jorge / PV	0,61% (630.099)
7º Levy Fidelix / PRTB	0,43% (446.878)
8º Zé Maria / PSTU	0,09% (91.209)
9º Eymael / PSDC	0,06% (61.250)

Figure 4: Brazilian election outcome of the first round, source: GeoCurrents