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To cite this article: Helton Levy (2016): Reporting the 2014 World Cup: football first and social issues last, *Sport in Society*, DOI: [10.1080/17430437.2016.1158477](https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2016.1158477)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2016.1158477>



Published online: 17 Mar 2016.



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Reporting the 2014 World Cup: football first and social issues last

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ABSTRACT

Delays and infrastructure problems appeared as key issues in numerous media reports on the preparations for the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. This paper analyses to what extent the media coverage of this period helped to overshadow serious existent social issues, such as poverty and violence, and how this has meant the privilege of FIFA's narratives over these issues. A frame analysis shows that while the FIFA is quoted as a major source of the news on the event, a stereotyped portrait of Brazil has been constantly offered. As far as as protests led by ordinary citizens and social movements have appeared as disruptors of the tournament's safety. This case yet illustrates not only the priority given to commercial interests in the news, but the necessary debate around the media coverage of global events, in which the media are expected to side with international bodies, as local voices remain marginalized.

Introduction

Since the last decade, developing countries such as South Africa, Brazil and Russia have been chosen by the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) as World Cup hosts. What has been sold as political strategy has actually sought to boost these countries' economy and contribute for the development of these nations (Cornelissen and Swart 2006; Ngonyama 2010). During the preparations for the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, the media in Britain and elsewhere had focused on the readiness of infrastructure projects, while highlighting also on moments of civil unrest in Brazilian metropolises. This essay analyses news articles published since 1.5 years before the World Cup kick-off ($n = 100$), verifying to what extent those reports privileged international organizers' accounts, such as FIFA, and whether this has meant a less socially sensitive approach. Yet, we can also see the extent to which the international media reporting have failed the expectations that Brazil, and to some extent South Africa, had of boosting their global insertion by hosting a World Cup.

It is known that international media discourses can result in powerful representations when relating to foreign countries, given the often impossibility of direct interaction between

groups from different countries (Kashima 2013). Barnett and Kim (1996, 324) underline an economic bias of this asymmetry, as news flows between developed and developing regions vary in different proportions. In addition to that, World Cups have historically received a particular problematic coverage by each country's media. Tudor (1992, 393) has identified racial stereotyping from the British TV punditry during the 1990 World Cup. During the 2002 World Cup, media outlets offered distorted the representations which audiences in the US and South Korea received of each country (Lee and Choi 2009; Yang et al. 2008). The 2010 South African edition has been represented as a political achievement and as a development ally, while marginalizing or commoditizing voices from social movements (Cornelissen and Swart 2006; Duvall and Guschwan 2013).

The so-called media events have been nevertheless grounded on the discourse of 'sharing human values'. In the case of the World Cup, a call for fair competition among nations, as a viable idea, has grown stronger after many waves of globalization (Dayan and Katz 2009, 101; Tomlinson and Young 2012). The bureaucratic nature of the international coverage, punctuated by a non-diversified profile of newsroom staff, and the competitive reality of news businesses are factors that can also constrain a more balanced representation of foreign countries. However, on top of that, it is important to clarify subtle news values pursued by the major organizations, which are undoubtedly result of culturally-oriented discourses (Cottle 1999; Hall 1997). It is worth saying that Latin America has been a neglected region in the media, at least judging by the newsworthiness criteria which the British press comes adopting since decades (Aguirre 1985). Still, the international news agenda has rather been negative towards Brazil in specific (Paganotti 2009; Wanta, Golan, and Lee 2004).

In an agenda-setting perspective, the literature shows how many layers of interest make the news agenda, including the competitive relations among media organizations, and the urgency of sources, turning patterns of news coverage into actual concerns of the public (McCombs 2014). The *salience* in the context of the media happens when certain angles are prioritized, and as a result, they can lead to a poor exploration of other important issues, as others remain overexposed. That explains why only considering media portraits as negative or positive is rather a limited approach (Dearing and Rogers 1996). Therefore, studying the salience of some angles or of some sources appears as good path to study how a news agenda is constructed.

Having said that, by adopting some of the agenda-setting concepts, we can situate the coverage of Brazil's 2014 World Cup in the context of developing countries that have sought to capitalize that global coverage in favour of their own geopolitical insertion. They however might have failed to boost local projects that could benefit local populations, and promote social equality (Conchas 2014; Gaffney 2010). Even at times matching the Brazilian mainstream journalism discourse, which has historically pursued a cultural maximization of football (Gastaldo 2014), it is not possible to deny the inclusion of Brazil's social deficits in the news agenda, which included striking scenes of slums, and the constant depiction of poverty. However, I argue that the approach of social issues that could have served to attack the host country's precarity, ultimately served to either detach FIFA's interests from the burden of investment demanded in Brazil, or to represent social issues as if they were at odds with the interests of the football business. In that sense, verifying media discourses allow a better perception on the extent of this hierarchy and the clarification on what the 2014 World Cup really meant in terms of a socially-committed coverage, despite the pressure to comply with commercial agreements and sponsors.

Methods

Frame analysis remains a useful tool to understand to what extent media agents can shape basic ideological senses, acting as ultimate mediators of political power (Entman 2007; Goffman 1974). Studies have used frame analysis to measure the level of plurality of media discourses worldwide (Benson et al. 2009; Gerhards and Schäfer 2010). The diversity of media frames can be considered as indicative of news quality (Porto 2007). The frame built for this paper is first aimed at analysing the possibility of a socially preoccupied discourse amid the news on the World Cup preparations. Examples of social issues have consisted in any type of civil unrest, poverty and urban violence. Secondly, it intends to look at how media discourses situate FIFA's accounts by placing FIFA's versions on top of the local sources, or still, whether has FIFA been detached, engaged or taken into account for those issues. There are questions on how efficient the media's scrutiny can be towards FIFA, taking the case of past World Cups, in which host countries were the only ones led to respond for potential disruptions or risks (Alegi 2008; Cornelissen and Swart 2006). The role of the news media continues appearing as an essential component of global events (Rojek 2013; Wark 1994). Considering that some outlets that are part of the mainstream British press, such as the *Financial Times*, represent the so-called 'global media', one should verify whether the latter is today more an agent to entertain, than one to attend citizens' needs (Hermann and McChesney, 2001, 9).

The sample has been composed of 100 reports randomly chosen from 1.5 years for the tournament kick-off. Articles have been analysed according to their frame of FIFA's statements on World Cup on top of accounts extracted from Brazilian officials, specialists and other local actors. Brazilian authorities or institutions would be thus framed as if they had to fulfil obligations with FIFA, as far as the news coverage of social issues, such as poverty and violence, would be less emphasized. The following checks have also considered how the urgency of underprivileged groups and social movements have been described. The coding strategy has assigned 'yes' or 'no' according to their compliance to the frame. The choice for a straightforward framing filter tries to avoid subjectivity (Van Gorb 2010). A final step was to select parts of this coverage, and then perform a critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993:252), and check the articulation of text and image as visual resources may also play a role in reinforcing frames of news stories (Coleman 2010). The use of a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods can be beneficial to complement both the analyses (Holsti 1969; Riffe, Lacy, and Fico 2013).

Following the criteria mentioned by McNair (2003, 16), the sample included *The Daily Mirror* (tabloid), *The Guardian* (centre-left), *Telegraph* (Conservative), *BBC* (Public), and the *Financial Times* (newspaper). Only articles specifically related to the preparations for the 2014 World Cup have been selected, including those which have mentioned debates on venues, funding, and opinion pieces. Stories featuring specific actors, such as footballers, or national teams, were not considered. The term 'World Cup Brazil' was used as a keyword in searches performed directly in each outlet's website, collecting data from 1 January 2013 until 11 June 2014, the first day of the World Cup.

The content was retrieved in to a content analysis sheet. The intercoder reliability test involved 20% ($n = 20$) of the sample (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken 2002). Cohen's (1968) *kappa* was calculated, achieving a coefficient of 0.714. In order to reinforce this index, Krippendorff's (2007) *alpha* was also calculated, reaching to 0.743. Both indices could be justified by considering the low complexity of the coding procedure as well as by the variety of styles of the publications, as both aspects could lead to different conclusions among

Table 1. Number of articles emphasizing FIFA's accounts.

| Outlet | Results |
|-----------------|---------|
| The Guardian | 11 |
| Telegraph | 10 |
| Financial Times | 13 |
| The Mirror | 8 |
| BBC | 18 |
| Total | 60 |

coders, while still agreeing with the overall result. Indices close to 0.7 should represent a good mark for exploratory research (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken 2002), as indices inferior to 0.8 can yet be in accordance with tentative research (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico 2013).

Results

From 100 articles analysed, 60 (60%) articles from the 5 broadsheets in scope were framed as holding FIFA's agenda over social issues. Reports gave a continuous emphasis on the high chances of stadia, or airports not being ready on time or to the non-compliance with FIFA's requirements, while giving little space for the country's accounts. Six months ahead of the event, *The Guardian's* headline of 16 February 2014 summarized the tone of most reports: 'Brazil's World Cup courts disaster as delays, protests and deaths mount.' (Table 1).

Amid the main British broadsheets, left-wing *The Guardian* did not present any substantial variation in framing Brazil's social reality if compared to the more conservative *Telegraph*. *Telegraph's* approach was rather less critical on the issue of accountability, which might have happened perhaps because of its focus on entertainment, travel and leisure. BBC's coverage on the other hand offered more articles directly quoting FIFA's versions in the headlines (18). This did not happen in the case of *Daily Mirror's* approach, which gave a much more personalized tone, while using tabloid language (8). That summary means that no direct link was found between the kind of media business (commercial, financial, public funded) and the priority given to the FIFA in news reports. 40% of the articles did not approach social problems in Brazil at all, and even when they came to approach the problems, those issues appeared parallel to the event, i.e. not reported within World Cup news sections. There was a clear tendency to detach issues that have offered negative impacts over the poor, such as evictions, or those that addressed public concerns with budget constraints from the main reports. Those reports have otherwise covered engineering progresses and the opening of new venues albeit without any reference to their socioeconomic impact.

Discussion

Even not figuring as a high majority in the articles, the frame that points to FIFA's accounts first had been constant in news reports on the World Cup preparations. These accounts were those to generally place FIFA's accounts as the most important sources, and which have generally presented a range of risks to be faced by potential attendees. For example, those stories criticized the high prices for consumers in Brazil, its vast geographic distances,¹ urban violence, and, more importantly, the frequent association of poverty as a threat. Nevertheless, the 2014 World Cup has been considered a marketing success. The event reached record levels of social media audience,² and a great acceptance in the United States.³

It is not the purpose here to discuss the damage or boost of *Brazil* as an international brand. Yet, other studies have come out to increasingly scrutinize media constructions in which the FIFA appeared as the ‘owner’ of the World Cup, as the burden of the works and investment always stayed with the host country. The event organizer has left generally fortified after the event (Tomlinson 2014). As I understand, the role of an engaged and independent journalism should be one of contesting this supremacy, tackling the consequences of FIFA’s entrepreneurial ties, which in this case were only made possible with the use of public funds.⁴

While focused on political communications according to the American context (Dearing and Rogers 1996; Galtung and Ruge 1973; McCombs and Shaw 1972), studies on agenda-setting can enlighten on the reasons why the World Cup build-up has been marked by a narrative of risk, while FIFA appears in a non-scrutinized position. McCombs (2014, 112) argues that an amalgam of factors, including not only the interest from the public, but also the take from other news media groups and organizations, plus the urgency of sources, can affect the first layer of the media agenda, as others remain unexplored. In our case, if a first layer is completely dominated by the unequivocal appeal of the World Cup, the second one is dedicated to provide *salience* of the different risks posed to the event. Reports touched mostly on what could prevent the event from and its organizers from profiting, but rarely dealt with the impact over the host place. Two of these points of *salience* are more than missing parts of the conversation. By looking only at Brazil’s responsibilities, the British press has obfuscated the constraints imposed and reinforced stereotypes against the poor, likewise as it criminalized democratic demonstrations. Both issues ended up as efficient shields which prevented further criticism against FIFA, whereas that criticism could have been leveraged on a worldwide basis.

The problem with Brazil

The headline ‘Brazil’s frantic eleventh hour World Cup preparations’ (*BBC News*, May 6, 2014) is an example of the pressure that the media created around Brazilian authorities, as FIFA was portrayed as a creditor. The image of an incompetent host country was repeatedly constructed here but was not, for instance, applied to South Africa (Cornelissen 2006, 120). Wanta et al. (2004, 369) note that the use of known ‘attributes’ of news actors is enough to boost second layers in the agenda, to which the audience will always refer more easily, increasing the interest for the news. Instead of traditional and impactful agenda-setters, such as unemployment, economics or natural disasters (Dearing and Rogers 1996), we have in reality the possibility of ‘disasters’ that can undermine the FIFA, which are otherwise presented as public harm, as it is the case of the delayed infrastructure, for which the FIFA and its sponsors should be not accountable agents. As a developing country, Brazil appeared as courting delays, feeding an incompetent management, and perpetuating poverty, while the FIFA, the European institution, was excused from giving any explanation on its demands and expensive construction standards.

Such discussions have held the country under permanent scrutiny, which led to consequences. Previous World Cups promoted the temporary extolling of ‘national’ values by the media (Nicholson 2014; Tomlinson 2007), in which the stir of sensitive questions pushed the nation to undertake discussions that could be otherwise object of a more serious and deep debate (Bonthuys 2012; Kennelly and Watt 2013; Stehle and Weber 2013). This research confirms both trends on the 2014 World Cup. The pressure to comply with FIFA’s demanded that Brazilians discussed their ability to build nationwide projects. The rush for approving tenders and legislations reflected this artificial prioritization, as old bills remained

in stand-by. One example is the troubled review of laws that used to benefit the locals, but not the FIFA, such as half-priced tickets for students, the reversal of alcohol bans within stadia, and the eviction of poor families for new football venues. Only a smaller part of the coverage found in the British press in reality addressed those issues from the perspective of an ordinary Brazilian citizen.

However, this frame analysis shows a paradox of not denying a congratulatory sense when referring to the FIFA, as it did with the stadia, facilities, and the competitors, on the other hand allowing graphic imagery of poverty, inequality, and disruption when the focus was only at Brazil. Appropriately, authors have argued that media events have traditionally resulted in a ritual of self-importance, even though the news coverage tries to confirm its serious nature, removing any sense of futility (Dayan and Katz 2009, 103). Before the FIFA 2014 kick-off, the media's occasional portrait of social issues confirmed this ambiguous detachment. At one level, the World Cup was a great achievement. At another, there were 'national' de-stabilizing factors. In other words, as the country suffered the consequence of megalomaniac projects, the event in itself was still presented as desirable and proportional.

World Cup, poverty, and inequality

The British press has frequently mixed poverty, violence and technical incompetence as weaknesses of the Brazilian World Cup. 'Police warn visitors "Don't scream if robbed"' (*The Guardian*, May 12, 2014) or 'Gunfights and killings in shanty towns have escalated just weeks before the World Cup begins in Brazil' (*The Telegraph*, April 27, 2014) are examples of this generalizing approach. The *Financial Times* sought a more socially sensitive coverage, although the newspaper had at many times given FIFA the entitlement to question the Brazilian government, with no consideration to the role of each of them in the process of hosting the World Cup, e.g. 'FIFA questions Brazil as 2014 World Cup host' (July 18, 2013).

On June 4, 10 days before the kick-off, *The BBC* broadcast *Under the Shadow of the Stadiums*, a 40-minute *Panorama* documentary telling the story of child prostitution around the city of *Fortaleza*. The programme compiled shock-effect signifiers of poverty and social tragedy that at some point became disconnected from the World Cup. The struggle for social justice is a desired agenda when it comes to Brazil's flaws, but this documentary went further by insisting in a sense of moral condemnation that lay beyond the discussion of the World Cup. Other headlines of this period confirmed the same intent of other outlets: 'Brazil is dangerous, deprived and the beautiful game's spiritual home' (*Daily Mirror*, October 16, 2013). Exaggeration seems to be an increasingly common resource in the media in order to provoke moral panics (Goode and Ben Yehuda 2009, 100). Yet, the use of poverty and inequality as a counter-narrative for the World Cup was not necessarily a new type of framing. Bonthuys (2012) argues that the media rushed to discuss child abuse and sexual exploitation during the preparations for the South Africa World Cup more as an impediment for tourism, and less for addressing issues on public policy.

On the other hand, it is known that moral discourses (e.g. global warming, fight against hunger, HIV) have generally sought to add cohesion and mobilization for global events (Rojek 2013). It is fair to say that the use of the inequality in Brazil as a moral weapon discourse was not in fact linked to any bona fide purpose, not even to promote FIFA's charitable activities, which include child protection and racism⁵. 'The beautiful game exposes Brazil's ugly flaws' (*Financial Times*, April 20, 2014), and 'Brazil's battle to upgrade airports for the

World Cup' (BBC, May 19, 2014) underline the World Cup as a modernizing agent, never as a burden to development. To a certain extent, the same 'redemption to modernization' argument was also used during the 2010 World Cup, in which the sub-text was 'the first World Cup in Africa' (Tomlinson and Young 2010, 3). In that same moment, the developmental issue was a trigger to 'conscious consumerist' campaigns, as seen at RED campaign (Duvall and Guschwan 2013). In Brazil, this sort of commodification of poverty have had the *favelas* as a worldly recognizable postal card of Rio de Janeiro, a place for movies and TV shows, it is nonetheless not possible to assume that aspect as an exclusive feature of the World Cup.

Disrupting the FIFA

A large part of the reports dwelt on the massive protests that occupied the streets of São Paulo in July 2013. These reports have described the imminent threat to the World Cup, framing demonstrators as a non-organized, anonymous, and often-deviant group. Stories such as 'Anti-World Cup protests across Brazil' (*The Guardian*, May 16, 2014), and 'Sorry FIFA, protests in Brazil will go on' (*Financial Times*, July 18, 2013) brought in their covers the massive crowds that marched on Brazil's biggest metropolises. Protest participants have been historically portrayed in the media more as violent disrupters than as a group with legitimate claims (Boykoff 2006). In the second semester of 2013, the British press shifted from denial to finally confirm the civil unrest as a World Cup consequence. The mass demonstrations were nonetheless oversimplified or not correctly captured. The BBC home page (May 28, 2014) used a man in an indigenous cockade and yellow t-shirt to headline 'Anti-World Cup protest' what was actually a protest for indigenous rights.⁶

In spite of the popularity of demonstrations that indeed rejected FIFA's demands such as high standard stadia, the Brazilians were mostly in favour of the World Cup in 2013, and in 2014.⁷ On the other hand, little had been reported to understand the crisis of political representation that most likely are in the roots of those demonstrations (Saad-Filho 2013; Sweet 2014). Local protesters adopted 'Padrão FIFA' (or FIFA Standard) as a jargon to demand the same standards of construction adopted for the stadia, deemed as luxurious, at new schools, and hospitals in Brazil. This was a far more complex issue than the fierce opposition to the World Cup that was usually reported, and a debate largely absent from the coverage.

Not limited to civil unrest, the disruption narrative still counts with stories on water scarcity in São Paulo (*The Telegraph*, May 1, 2014), chaos in the metro (*Financial Times*, February 5, 2014), failed construction projects (*BBC News*, May 29, 2014), and widespread drug traffic (*The Mirror*, May 31, 2014).

A similar environment of tension and threat has appeared in the media reports of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. There were clashes between demonstrators, the FIFA, and local government authorities. As in Brazil, the media targeted South African striking construction workers, and members of social movements as potential disrupters. The bottom line of the dissent on the 2010 World Cup was at the failure of the whole World Cup project in bringing more prosperity (Ngonyama 2010). Though it is possible to confirm the same kind of political disillusion in the Brazilian protests, this has not meant a complete unfeasibility of the event or its complete rejection, as many reports did announce. *The Guardian* was one of the British broadsheets to give more voice to the Brazilians in this period, as it happened in this piece, 'The world is looking to Brazil, and we are showing that the World

Cup doesn't represent us' (May 16, 2014). These brief spaces, mostly occupied by Brazilian authors and academics, were not enough to push for more balance, surprisingly found in the tabloid-style press 'Our Brian discovers people who loathe FIFA almost as much as they love football itself' (*Daily Mirror*, December 7, 2013).

Global events and media coverage: some brief conclusions

Evidences discussed in this essay present a series of media discourses that not only have accredited the FIFA as a primary source of news stories, but also created an agenda that regarded social issues as threats to the 2014 World Cup, most of which overshadowed important discussions that happened on the local public sphere. It is not the case to state that all stories, articles, and opinion pieces were wrong or inaccurate, particularly on urban violence (Waiselfisz 2013). Amid the 40% of the sample that did not comply with the frame proposed here, there were minor, but relevant contributions to the understanding of the local reality. For example, during the boycott of the later banned Adidas t-shirts, which represented sexualized images of Brazilian women, the *Financial Times* argued against it in 'sexualised Brazilian t-shirts' (February 26, 2014). Stories such as 'FIFA World Cup "hits the poorest hardest"' (*BBC News*, September 9, 2014) showed how the media could campaign for the rights of the poor on a fair basis.

The final goal of this research is to denounce the reduction of socially sensitive journalism during the World Cup, along with the diversion towards the interests of powerful institutions, such as the FIFA. Different from the traditional media strategy aimed at exhibiting beautiful images during global events (Dayan and Katz 2009; Rojek 2013), the coverage of the 2014 World Cup has particularly allowed images of disruption and the 'aesthetics of poverty'. However, such graphic materials were exposed up to a point of no serious disruption of the event's brand, and conveniently labelled as Brazil's internal problems. It is no surprise that the so-called 'global' media have been partners of a global financial elite, leading to questions on the real commitment to democratic values and to a stronger public sphere (Hermann and McChesney 2001). The political economy of journalism continues to remain much grounded in how power holders set their definitions of the world (Schudson 1989: 267).

One of the consequences of this commercial interference is the overlook of disadvantaged groups. During the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, marketing campaigns linked charity campaigns to consumerism, while victims remained voiceless in the media (Duvall and Guschwan 2013; Ngonyama 2010). In Brazil, while exaggerating on its reports of civil unrest, or *viralizing* graphic imagery of poverty, the media failed to use the particular moments of global influence to scrutinize FIFA's self-assigned mission to become partner in the host country's development and economic growth.⁸ New case studies could expand the position of professional journalism in global events, examining the extent to which a reliable coverage amidst a strong advertising machine could be restored in a sustainable basis or at least how can the alternative media complement that coverage.

Finally, this paper recognizes the limitation of not considering the voices of journalists and media agents who worked during the 2014 World Cup, which could have opened the reality of news production. The extent to which Latin America is newsworthy in Britain could yet clarify why international correspondents still show little grasp of local politics, as observed by the lack of context offered during the World Cup protests. However, it is clear that there should be no expectations that global events can approximate countries and

reorganize geopolitics (Cornelissen 2004). Even having more correspondents now than 30 years ago, British news organizations still preserve the colonial and stereotypical outlook with regard to South and Central America (Boyd-Barrett, 1977; Aguirre 1985; Ramirez 2007). A balanced coverage should be able to independently criticize global events, that is, going beyond the US corporate media narrative, pursuing news values that are more suited to a multipolar geopolitics. That would enable socially committed reports, which would be able to criticize capitalist institutions to the extent they can undermine the democratic debates that happen in emerging urban societies from the Global South.

Notes

1. *The Guardian* published in December 2013 the cost of £6.000 lb and 13.000 miles for a countrywide trip. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/football/2013/dec/04/world-cup-2014-fans-england>. Accessed on July 4, 2013.
2. <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/jun/08/social-media-winner-world-cup-advertising>. Accessed on July 4, 2014.
3. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/29/sports/worldcup/a-new-york-odyssey-through-world-cup-fandom.html>. Accessed on July 4, 2014.
4. According to this report, public funds in Brazil have subsidized stadia and infrastructure only used for the event. Available at http://stadiumdb.com/news/2014/07/report_how_much_did_brazil_spend_on_world_cup_stadiums. Accessed on July 4, 2014.
5. FIFA's official website has a sub-section named as 'Development' in which the organization lists many of its activities related to bona fide causes, including, but not limited to, gender inclusion, racism and education.
6. The protest was motivated by the World Cup, but other groups gathered at the site for numerous other reasons. However, images of these groups were used by the global media to illustrate World Cup anger. More information on this is available at <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2014/05/1461052-indio-fere-pm-com-flechada-em-ato-anti-copa-em-brasil.shtml>. Accessed on July 4, 2014.
7. As reported by a Datafolha Survey, available at <http://datafolha.folha.uol.com.br/opiniaopublica/2014/06/1467905-51-dos-brasileiros-aprovam-realizacao-da-copa-no-brasil.shtml>. Accessed on July 12, 2015.
8. According to 'FIFA Sustainability Plan', it has avowed objectives that involve social programmes and poverty reduction. Available at http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/tournament/loc/01/65/19/25/sustainability_strategy_e_web.pdf. Accessed on July 13, 2015.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank Professor Eugene McLaughlin for some fruitful discussions on the British Press during the first phase of this project.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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