From Sport to Spectacle:

An Archaeology of Latin American Soccer

by

Patrick Thomas Ridge

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

David William Foster, Chair
Cynthia Tompkins
Carmen Urioste-Azcorra

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ABSTRACT

Using Michel Foucault's archaeological and genealogical approaches, this study analyzes the influence of discourse—particularly the discursive impact of the short story, novel, poetry, chronicle, essay, film, photography, and comics—in shaping how soccer has become known in Latin America. The analysis not only considers how the so-called "beautiful game" and related texts have been embedded with dominant ideologies—among these heteronormativity, nationalism, elitism, and neoliberalism—but also how resisting discursive forces have attempted to deconstruct these notions. The following pages demonstrate that soccer in Latin America represents more than just a mere sport, but rather a significant social and cultural entity that facilitates an understanding of the region. Furthermore, by providing a critical view of one of the region's most powerful cultural institutions, this study sheds light on how dominant individuals use the sport and popular culture to construct knowledge and guide social practices.

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, this dissertation is dedicated to my wife Sarah. Without her love and support during the last five years, not to mention the countless hours reading my work, this project would not have been possible.

Secondly, I thank my parents for always supporting my aspirations. Along with my aunt Lee Ann and uncle Tom, their endless love and encouragement has made possible this professional achievement. Finally, this work was accomplished in memory of my grandfather and nana. Their courage, wisdom, and hard work continue to influence all aspects of my life.

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CHAPTER 1

OPENING KICKOFF: KNOWLEDGE, POWER, AND SOCCER

> Si el deporte debía ser estudiado y analizado era para desmitificar su uso por parte del Estado y de las clases dominantes en el proceso de adoctrinamiento de las masas masculinas y la juventud con el objetivo explícito de despolitizarlas y adecuarlas al trabajo alienado, a la competencia, al fanatismo, al nacionalismo, al sexismo, a la violencia irracional, a la sumisión a las jerarquía sociales existentes y al autoritarismo, al culto desmedido de los ídolos, y a la aceptación sin crítica de los valores capitalistas dominantes. (Eduardo Archetti, *Deporte y Sociedad* 9)

Although the sport had been passed down for generations in England, the official rules of soccer were established in 1863 to separate the game from its rugby counterpart (Nadel, *Fútbol* 10). Upon returning from boarding school in England in 1894, it is said that Charles Miller brought back to his home country, Brazil, a set of these rules and two soccer balls to the shores of São Paulo. Carrying the two balls under his arms, his puzzled father inquired, "What is this, Charles" (Bellos 27-28). Similarly, British ambassadors, railroad and gas company workers introduced the game to the *rioplatense* region in the late 1860s (Galeano 59; Sebreli, *La era* 24). Even though the way in which Latin America understands the game today greatly adheres to the original founders and these rules, over the course of the 20th century and currently, soccer is understood as more than just a sport between eleven players on a field. Certain hegemonic discourse has contributed to soccer being shaped by the ruling classes in such a way that it is known as "a man's game," "the sport of the elite," *futebol arte*, and one of the most commercialized sporting spectacles on earth.

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Michel Foucault's archaeological and genealogical approaches, developed principally in *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1972), *Discipline and Punish* (1975), and his essays on power, aim to excavate the workings of discourse and expose how a subject becomes known in a specific society and epoch. These types of studies not only focus on the workings of discourse and knowledge, but also how dominant individuals use these elements to marginalize and subordinate (Cook 217; Markula and Pringle 33). Notwithstanding, these analyses also intend to show the resistance to this hegemonic discourse and specific power relations (Cook 217). Contrary to the sport's beginnings, the traditional forms of discourse regarding soccer—the game once exclusively played by elite males in private schools—have been challenged by the game's popularization and "non-masculine" participation.

The workings of discourse have also penetrated the realm of Latin American cultural production. In this way, there are several artistic examples that uphold traditional discourse regarding soccer, while emerging works serve to resist these hegemonic discursive practices. Using Foucault's archival techniques, this investigation serves two main purposes. First, it explores how Latin America understands soccer today through an archeological analysis of discourse regarding the game. This process also considers the workings of power and knowledge exercised by the dominant classes, while also exposing the forms of resistance to these techniques. Secondly, each chapter will analyze the way in which these dominant/resistant discourses are embedded in several cultural texts from Latin America. This diverse analysis of Latin American cultural production—this includes comics, short story, poetry, novel, photography, film, chronicle, and essay—

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will show how these dominant/resistant discourses utilize cultural production to influence and shape today's understanding of the world's most popular sport.

Archaeology: Steps to Providing a General History of Latin American Soccer

To understand soccer in Latin America today, one must consider how the sport is predominately viewed and practiced in these societies. In order to achieve this, the following study will employ Foucault's archaeological approach, mainly the analysis of discourse as it occurs in the archive. Foucault defines the *archive* as "the general system of the formation and transformation of statements," and the statement as the "atom of discourse" (*Archaeology* 80, 130). Clarifying the archaeological approach, Pirkko Markula and Richard Pringle express that these analyses should be "concerned with excavating the *archive* to reveal the interplay between discourses and the associated sets of rules that shape/constrain reality, and guide social practices" (31). Foucault suggests that this approach to knowledge "is deployed in the dimension of a general history," a technique that emphasizes the description of difference, transformations, continuities, and mutations (*Archaeology* 9-10, 130; Kendall and Wickham 24). By analyzing soccer discourses and related discursive practices, this study will establish a general history of the game in Latin America, but first we should define what the archaeologist searches for in discourse.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault used the term discourse in three distinct ways: "treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an *individualizable group of statements*, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements" (80). Markula and Pringle describe the first

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denomination as the set of statements that come together to produce a specific meaning or effect, this being the production of objects, subjects, and/or concepts. In regard to soccer, they propose that this discursive effect could produce "a soccer ball, a soccer player, a passion for soccer or the official and unofficial rules that shape participation in soccer" (29). Furthermore, their investigation points out the archaeologist's task to expose the emergence of discourse: "Foucault stressed that the objects of discourse (e.g., soccer) and the discourses that constitute those objects (e.g., discourses of soccer) emerge at the same time. The related task of the archaeologist is to expose this emergence and examine the workings of discourse as related to social change and transformation" (30). In the Latin American context, one could analyze the introduction of soccer and changing sporting practices in the 19th century via British immigrants in São Paulo and the *rioplatense* region. For example, the once unrecognizable spherical objects carried by Charles Miller in the historical example above became known as soccer balls through the workings of related discourse.

Perhaps key to this analysis is discourse defined as an *individualizable group of statements*. According to Markula and Pringle, these discourses can refer to the same phenomenon, such as soccer, but may or may not be consistent. Their study demonstrates how sports can be constructed in a divergent manner, and in this way rugby, or soccer for the sake of this investigation, can be defined as a "man's sport" (30). Citing here *Archaeology,* they go on to clarify that this notion of discourse is more than just a linguistic phenomenon: "Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they really do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech" (31; 49). Furthermore, Foucault

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suggests that discourses should not be treated as "groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations), but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (*Archaeology* 49). However, this is where Foucault's use of the term "discourse" has proven problematic, and certain studies have pointed out that the employment of the word represents "a major ambiguity and is a major weakness of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*" (Hunter). To avoid this confusion, Kendall and Wickham emphasize the use of the term "non-discursive," expressing that objects such as the body are not discourse, but rather fall under the influence of discourse (39-40). Here one can consider how discursive mechanisms of soccer—commentators, newspapers, sports chatter in bars, club owners, etc.—shape and control how the sport, players, games, and other material things are understood within Latin American society.

The third use of discourse deals with the "regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements" (*Archaeology* 80). Again, Markula and Pringle describe this as "the unwritten 'rules' that guide social practices and help to produce and regulate the production of statements that, correspondingly, control what can be understood and perceived but at the same time, act to obscure" (31). Their study, claiming to be one of the only known archeological analyses of sport, provides the example of soccer in countries like Argentina and how the sport is generally considered to be a "man's game." This specific discourse of soccer influences how the game is practiced, hence the encouraged male participation and the limited and/or criticized participation of Argentine women (31). These *machista* discourses represent a commonplace even in soccer's governing body, FIFA. The highly controversial Sepp Blatter—accused of corruption in

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2015—remarked that female footballers should wear more "feminine clothes" to attract more enthusiasm for the women's game (Kessel).

Foucault suggested that the archaeologist should locate the emergence of these groups of statements. Markula and Pringle propose that discursive formations acquire a distinct meaning within a specific cultural and historical context (52). Foucault coined this concept as the episteme, or "the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems (*Archaeology* 191). For this study then, it is important to explore the different discursive formations that have shaped how soccer has been understood throughout the last century-and-a-half in Latin America. In *Archaeology*, Foucault provides four key elements that influence discursive practices: objects, enunciations, concepts, and theories (21-76; Markula and Pringle 52). In order to accomplish an understanding of soccer in the region, the identification of these factors will help to comprehend the workings of discourse on social and cultural practices of the sport. This is especially true since Foucault suggested the links between knowledge and discourse: "knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation offered by discourse… there is no knowledge without discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms" (*Archaeology* 182-83).

In his explanation of these elements, Foucault provides the example of Psychopathology. Motor disturbances, hallucinations, and speech disorders constituted specific objects of this discourse (*Archaeology* 40). In their sport-related study, Markula and Pringle examine the knowledge surrounding fitness, and identify the body, health, and movement as objects that represent how fitness is known in western societies (52).

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Taking these examples as a frame of reference, soccer participants (players, coaches, fans, etc.), uniforms, stadiums, and equipment represent objects for the current discursive analysis.

Secondly, Foucault recognized the enunciative modalities that facilitate discourse. Questions asked here are: "who is speaking? Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language (*langue*)? Who is qualified to do so?" (*Archaeology* 50). This also includes the institutional sites where these discourses are enunciated (*Archaeology* 51). Kendall and Wickham draw attention here to institutions as "places of visibility," sites that allow the analysis of hierarchical and architectural structures (27). To understand how soccer is talked about, this part of the analysis focuses in on the discourse of owners, players, coaches, commentators, fans, media outlets, and governing bodies such as FIFA and La Asociación del Fútbol Argentino (AFA), all of which influence the knowledge of soccer within the region. Here, one can also see how cultural production and key intellectuals—for instance, Jorge Luis Borges and his critical commentary and/or short stories on soccer—mold or even change the understanding of the game.

The third element of discursive analysis involves what Foucault calls the concept, suggesting here that the archaeologist should examine how the workings of distinct statements interact with each other to create new discourses. He provides the example of Natural History and proposes that certain concepts depended on, influenced, and/or diverged from each other between the Classical Period and the sixteenth century (*Archaeology* 56-57). He explains this process in *Archaeology*:

> One stands back in relation to this manifest set of concepts; and one tries to determine according to what schemata (of series, simultaneous

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> groupings, linear or reciprocal modification) the statements may be linked to one another in a type of discourse; one tries in this way to discover how the recurrent elements of statements can reappear, dissociate, recompose, gain in extension or determination, be taken up into new logical structures, acquire, on the other hand, new schematic contents, and constitute partial organizations among themselves. (60)

If one considers the multiple forms of enunciation regarding soccer, one sees how sexist or elitist notions of who played the game lead to the exclusion of the working classes and women in the 19th century. Of course, these concepts were upheld by sets of rules and governing soccer entities that guided these social practices.

Identifying theories that arise from concepts represents the final step of discursive analysis. Foucault states here that the interaction of concepts lead to the construction of theories: "Such discourses as economics, medicine, grammar, the sciences of living beings give rise to certain organizations of concepts, certain regroupings of objects, certain types of enunciation, which form, according to their degree of coherence, rigour, and stability, themes and theories" (*Archaeology* 64). Since Foucault proposes that theories "are regulated ways of practicing the possibilities of discourse," Markula and Pringle add that certain theoretical knowledge regulates specific social practices such as fitness (53).

To take the example of women's participation in soccer, concepts constituting the sport as a "man's game" lead to theoretical practices, especially among health "experts." Often, these individuals would claim that soccer was damaging to women's reproductive capacities (Nadel, *Fútbol* 210). In turn, these groups of concepts and theories defined how soccer was known and practiced in the 20th century in Latin America, encouraged for males and repressed or often banned—in Brazil, it was illegal from 1941-75 (Nadel, *Fútbol* 209)—for females. However, and as Joshua Nadel points out (*Fútbol* 210),

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concepts of heteronormative nationalism also contributed to this exclusion since women were thought to undermine the ideals of patriarchy. Here it is seen how multiple concepts and workings of discourse—nationalism and sexism—can lead to theories of female exclusion, resulting in soccer being shaped as a "man's game."

Regimes of Truth: Who Controls Soccer Knowledge?

Although the previous pages have identified how knowledge is formed through discourse, it now must be set forth how these understandings of soccer have been controlled and constructed by a dominant few. Foucault states that every society contains *regimes of truth* that employ: "the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (*Power* 131). According to Foucault, scientific discourse and the primary political and cultural institutions of a specific culture produce and control this supposed "truth," otherwise known "as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements" (*Power* 131-32). Again, one notes here how dominant individuals of a society strategically manipulate discourse for their own interests, and Foucault emphasizes the importance of relinquishing this "power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the present time" (*Power* 133; Markula 34). Building on these theories, Rosalind Brunt points to Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1976). She highlights his concept of "regimes" of power that are able to oppress the masses,

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specifically with the help of "knowledge holders"—for example, doctors or priests—that establish their authority over subordinate groups that lack knowledge (157).

A testament to this power-knowledge nexus also exists in the soccer world, especially when considering the power held by governing bodies (FIFA, AFA, CBF, etc.), club owners, and sports commentators that (re)establish, (re)define, and/or control how the game is understood among spectators. Of course, this process is facilitated by the multiple forms of mass media—live broadcasts of games, sporting recap shows, soccer websites, blogs, and other interactive applications—that help to perpetuate hegemonic discourse and traditional practices of Latin America's most popular sport. Acknowledging the power of these media tools, Umberto Eco suggests that the multiple forms of sporting discourse serve as "sports chatter," a type of *instrumentum regni* that helps the hegemonic classes to manipulate the masses by substituting a heightened emphasis and debate on spectator sports for true political action (161-63). By controlling these discursive forces, a few powerful figures—predominately club owners, corporate enterprises, and governing officials—shape how the masses understand the game.

Even though these individuals wield their power over many, there still remains the possibility for resisting forces. Commenting on Foucault's notion of power, Gilles Deleuze emphasizes that:

> power is a relation between forces, or rather every relation between forces is a power relation… Force is never singular but essentially exists in relation with other forces… We can therefore conceive of a necessarily open list of variables expressing a relation between forces or power relation, constituting actions upon actions: to incite, to induce, to seduce, to make easy or difficult, to enlarge or delimit, to make more or less probable, and so on. (70)

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Kendall and Wickham go on to explain that "forces have a capacity for resistance, such that power is only exercised in relation to a resistance, each force having the power to affect and be affected by other forces (50). So, although powerful entities might control how soccer is understood in Latin American society, other forces can affect or even challenge this prior "knowledge" of the game. Hence the emergence of new sporting practices such as the participation of the working class and women in soccer, social groups originally excluded from the sport during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Soccer's *Panopticon*: Discourse and Power in the Stadium

Although media outlets disseminate soccer discourse to millions, today's soccer stadiums continue to facilitate mass spectacles for fans and represent "places of visibility" that produce statements and knowledge about the game. Historically, competitions in countries like Brazil have drawn up to 200,000 spectators, as was the case for the 1950 FIFA World Cup final in the famed Maracanã in Rio de Janeiro. Even today, thousands attend competitions like the Copa Libertadores de América, Latin America's most recognized international club tournament. In fact, 70,000 fans attended the second-leg of the final between Argentina's River Plate and Mexico's Tigres UANL in the Estadio Monumental (Buenos Aires) in 2015. In terms of discourse analysis, the stadium represents a key object for how power and knowledge become visible for the masses.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault states that "the success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments; hierarchichal observation, normalizing judgment and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the

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examination" (170). Foucault uses Jeremy Bentham's design of the *panopticon* to explain the workings of power in prisons. According to the 18th century British philosopher and his French successor, the circular structure, which positions prison guards in a center tower and inmates in the surrounding cells, allows for those in power to observe and classify those imprisoned (60-64; 203). This hierarchical social organization within stadium walls facilitates the creation of a disciplinary space by creating what Foucault calls "docile" bodies, a process that "increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)" (*Discipline* 138). These bodies are "directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (*Discipline* 25).

When applied to the soccer stadium, one sees how spectators are divided up into separate seating sections, ranging from corporate boxes equipped with televisions, food, and drink to general admission bench seats—often called the *geral* or the *tribuna* in Brazil and Argentina respectively—that lack the aforementioned amenities. Luiz Felipe Baêta Neves Flores explains that these distinct seating classifications serve as a visual example of economic, political, and/or social status of attendees (53-54). In this space, rival fan groups are placed in separate sections, often divided by fencing and other barriers that reflect the urban divisions outside stadium walls (Toledo, "A cidade" 130, 147).

Just as the prison guards exercise their power and surveillance over prisoners in the *panopticon*, several studies propose that attendees experience a "panopticized confinement" in this sporting space where cameras capture players and coaches, security

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manages fan behavior and media personnel, and all are guided by various rules and regulations (Cole, Giardina, and Andrews 212; Bale 84; Gaffney and Mascarenhas 10-11). In this way, the field of play is converted into a permanent space of punishment and surveillance. Due to the numerous cameras now present in stadiums—there were a reported thirty-four HD cameras for each game during the 2014 World Cup—all participants in these events feel—like the prisoners receiving the gaze from Bentham's prison tower—as if their behavior is being watched and judged (Guzzo 10-12; Florenzano, *Alfonsinho* 178-86; Saldanha 124-26). Aside from the big screens that facilitate surveillance within the stadium, fans now have access to interactive viewing technologies that allow them to pause live action, rewind, and even observe games from different angles (Guzzo 16-17). Saying this, the stadium primarily serves the interests of those in power, and through the creation of "docile" sporting bodies, whether it be those of players or fans, these powerful individuals establish their authority.

Again, the hegemonic discourse of club owners, state-run/privately owned media enterprises, and soccer's governing entities guide the dividing social practices of the stadium, and this process facilitates the construction of how the sport is understood. As Argentine sociologist Juan José Sebreli puts it, these social interactions within stadium walls represent a mirror of Latin American society (*La era* 17). The panoptic stadium is organized in a manner where the specific hegemonic entities look down upon and attempt to control the masses. In this way, powerful team presidents and FIFA organizers gaze down upon players, fans, coaches, and referees from their private stadium boxes, a look that is not generally returned from these subjects. In this disciplined space, players are given yellow or red cards for their misconduct or lose playing time for a lackluster

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performance, fans are oftentimes expelled for violent behavior, coaches lose their job if a team goes on a losing streak, and referees are fined for poor judgment. Needless to say, the various media outlets—predominately controlled by these same powerful individuals—serve to amplify this watch over the masses. This hierarchical observation demonstrates the connection between visibility and power, whereby through surveillance and discipline, bodies become shaped and controlled in a certain way (Markula and Pringle 41). Furthermore, these multiple forms of surveillance represent a normalizing gaze where punishments—whether it be physical or petty humiliations—play a key role in encouraging subjects to act "normal" (Foucault 178; Markula and Pringle 42).

Besides this disciplinary gaze, these hegemonic forces strategically use the stadium to facilitate how the game is understood in their own terms, a process that helps to maintain their power and serve their own interests. For instance, discursive elements such as soccer rules, corporate sponsors, and traditional cheering practices allow for the game to be known or played out in a specific way. Take for example the use of corporate sponsors employed by team management. Nowadays, soccer players—dressed not only in team colors, but also adorned with the logos of some of the globe's largest companies—appear more like billboards than athletes. Failure to wear or use this endorsed equipment and apparel oftentimes results in disciplinary action in the form of fines from club management or these corporate sponsors. Although fines are not involved, fans experience criticism from peers or team management if they do not "support" the team, visually shown by the wearing of jerseys, caps, scarves, etc. Through the discourse of fan dedication, management and sponsors encourage supporters to purchase authentic jerseys that not only prove team loyalty, but also contribute to economic hegemony for those in

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power. One can see how these discursive strategies serve to separate those in power from the subordinate masses, especially considering the difference in their stadium attire. Very seldom does someone see a team owner wear the jersey of this team; rather, the business suit allows for these individuals to be recognized as a figure of authority.

However, with the prevalence of current multimedia technologies, fans also experience a powerful gaze, predominately upon those on the field. John Fiske suggests that modern stadiums and digital television create a reverse *panopticon* that allows spectators to maintain surveillance over players (82). In the case of American Football and professional leagues such as the National Football League (NFL), Markula argues that Fantasy Football—a game that allows for fans to manage their own fantasy teams by drafting, trading, and releasing players—allows supporters to control sporting bodies, while also exploiting dreams of managing a successful football squad, specifically for men that represent the majority of team owners. However, he suggests that the NFL's management of Fantasy Football leagues serve its own interests by creating an increased fan-base, and this process does not allow fans to actually interfere with true team ownership (57).

In the case of Latin American soccer, videogames such as Electronic Arts's *FIFA* series produce a similar reverse panoptic effect. For example, "Franchise" and "Ultimate Team" gameplay modes allow gamers to take the role of team owner and general manager, whereby again they sign, trade, and release real-life Latin American superstars such as Lionel Messi, Neymar, and James Rodríguez. But again, these managerial game-playing modes have little outcome on real-life team management. As a result, games such as *FIFA*—endorsed by soccer's most powerful governing body and team owners—allow

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for dominant individuals to discipline the masses, making understood that players represent consumer products for sale by their business. These normalized consumer habits of buying and selling lead fans to support their favored clubs, largely by purchasing team merchandise and memorabilia from the team store or online websites. Furthermore, the videogame includes authentic sports equipment such as Adidas cleats and balls, along with advertisements in virtual stadiums, favoring the interests of soccer's corporate sponsors. Through this process and the workings of discourse, soccer "clubs" have now become known as sporting "franchises," many times influenced and structured after the corporate business model.

Un Deporte Macho: Soccer as a "Man's Game" in Argentina

As said above, the following analyses will be based on three dominant discourses relating to soccer. The first objective of these chapters is locating the emergence of these dominant groups of statements and identifying how they shape the game and its practices. Also of importance here are the resisting forces that challenge or break away from traditional knowledge. Following this archaeological approach, each chapter will examine specific cultural representations that embed hegemonic/resisting discourse, an analytical strategy that will exhibit how the game is understood and practiced today.

In Latin America, soccer has long been known as a "man's game" or a *deporte macho*, and the game's predominately male participants continue to produce statements that perpetuate this understanding of the sport. In the region, particularly during the middle-half of the 20th century, these discourses led to sexist concepts and theories to who could play soccer. For example, Nadel notes that physical education in schools

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emphasized the development of strong boys through the practice of soccer and rugby, whereby girls were shaped to be mothers and wives through less violent sports such as gymnastics and swimming (*Fútbol* 212). As said above, these theories were supported by soccer's governing bodies and led to the banning of women's sports in countries like Brazil. But as Sepp Blatter's recent comments prove, men represent the majority in the stadium, whether it be the suited males in private boxes, the "heroes" on the field, or the managers on the sidelines.

Perhaps Roberto Fontanarrosa's short stories included in *Puro fútbol: todos sus cuentos de fútbol* and *Uno nunca sabe*, as well as the *historietas* (comics) in *Fontanarrosa y el fútbol*, *Fontanarrosa de penal*, and *El fútbol es sagrado*—all released in 2013—represent the most telling literary representations to the construction of soccer as a *deporte macho* in Argentina. Traditional masculine homosocial spaces such as the stadium, the soccer field, and the sports pub represent the settings of these texts, and as David William Foster suggests, these spaces permit the regulation of heteronormativity, specifically through a heightened homophobic behavior (Foster, *Gender* 17-18; Foster, *Queer* xv). Facilitated by this traditional *machista* discourse, these protagonists use homophobic obscenities, exhibit vulgar behavior, and exclude female participants. In this way, these settings become disciplinary spaces where men engage in a certain type of *homosocial patrolling*, as Eric Anderson puts it (218), social practices that reaffirm the game being understood in patriarchal terms.

Even though these discourses and chauvinistic behavior have shaped Latin American soccer, several resisting forces have emerged to alter the "man's game." Although the recent success of female superstars such as Marta Vieira da Silva (Brazil)

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and Maribel Domínguez (México) have helped to heighten the popularity of the women's game in Latin America, Claudina Vidal (Uruguay) represents one of the most important and sometimes forgotten players of the 20th century. In 1971, the talent signed with Institución Atlética Sud Americana Paysandú (IASA), a local men's amateur team in Uruguay, and even played in several exhibition matches in Argentina and Brazil that drew notable crowds. However, due to controversy stirred by league officials, referees, and the press, she never played an official match with the team (Nadel, *Fútbol* 214-15). These cases still hold true today as FIFA recently denied Maribel Domínguez's hopes of playing with Atlético Celaya—a masculine team in Mexico's second division—based on her gender (Bennett).

The success of these athletes and the work of feminist and queer theory scholars have challenged traditional masculine exclusivity of soccer within the region. For example, using Judith Butler's concept of gender performance in *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (1993) (2), Amanda Roth and Susan A. Basow suggest that corporal strength differences are constructed in women through *doing femininity*, a process that builds weakness and perpetuates male athletic dominance. Since bodies are constructed, increased athletic activity among women, even in violent sports, shows that women's bodies are just as capable of intense physical activity (246-47, 262). Just like the female athletes participating in violent sports like soccer, Hélène Cixous proposes that female writers also challenge patriarchy, an institution that has historically silenced women and controlled their bodies, or more specifically their voices (284-92).

Even the emergence of queer theory has questioned the normalized masculine construction of Argentine soccer stars. Contrary to the conventional, stoic *macho*,

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Anderson notes that today's male athletes are more likely to show open signs of affection towards their teammates (5; 219). Other studies note the prevalence of homoaffective acts between Argentine *futbolistas*, such as hugs, kisses, and butt-slaps during goal celebrations, or even the application of the Kinseyan statistic of ten-percent homosexuality to La Primera División (Foster, "Homosocialismo" 4; Foster, "Intellectuals" 222; Sebreli, *La era* 260-61). These resisting discursive forces call into question the way that dominant *machista* discourse has constructed sporting bodies in heteronormative terms.

This is of particular interest in the soccer stadium, a space where these bodies are disciplined and normalized in a specific way. In their applications of Foucault's techniques, Debra Shogan and Margaret Carlisle Duncan suggest that women's sporting bodies, specifically those that challenge patriarchal ideals of femininity—those exhibiting aggression, strength, and pain tolerance—confront a panoptic gaze that often criticizes or denounces female participation (54; 50-51). Similar to the conclusion of Laura Frances Chase in her study over female rugby players (245), many of soccer's female participants construct undisciplined bodies that resist dominant heteronormative discourse. The protagonists of Ana María Shua's short stories "Un partido de fútbol (193?) en el fondo de la Casa Vieja" and "Fútbol era el de antes" challenge these traditional forces of patriarchy and here, women soccer players represent those that triumph over their supposedly "superior" male adversaries. These characters develop "non-docile" bodies, and their participation serves to challenge traditional patriarchal discourse that regards women's soccer as "weak" and "inferior" to the "man's game."

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Aside from Shua's short stories, Washington Cucurto's poetry also challenges the heteronormative construction of soccer as a *deporte macho*. The poem considered in this analysis, "Entre hombres," brings to light the obvious homoaffective acts between Argentina's most "heroic" soccer participants. Contrary to traditional discourse that conceals this behavior, these verses queer the celebratory *besos* and *abrazos* shared by today's "masculine" sporting bodies.

Soccer's Neoliberal Regime of Truth: Goods of *La Franquicia*

The second discursive analysis will explore how players have become known in Latin America. Traditional discourse in these countries rely heavily on aesthetics, and construct talented players on their ability to play the so-called "beautiful game" or *jogo bonito*. For instance, other statements such as *futebol arte*—a Brazilian style noted for its flamboyance and grace according to Alex Bellos (1)—value a player's "artistic" talents with the ball. Prior to the professionalization of the game, *futbolistas* employing these tactics reflected the supposed "way the game should be played." Adrian Walsh expresses the sporting ideals of the 19th and early 20th centuries: "Those ideals were explicitly anti-commercial and were focused on a vision that glorified sport for sport's sake. If the game is to be played in the right spirit, the central actors must, or it is said, be driven by appropriate motives and not be primarily focused on financial gain" (416). According to Nadel, many Latin Americans also agreed with these notions—again influenced by British ideals—expressing that being paid was degrading to its participants and the sport in general (*Fútbol* 145).

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Even with the advent of the professional game in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile during the 1930s, the movement seemed to have several benefits for the sport. For instance, it improved competition, allowed for social inclusion for once-excluded ethnic groups, and initially, players did not become overly mercenary (Nadel, *Fútbol* 147). Statements regarding soccer styles such as *futebol arte* or *la nuestra* seem to make the sport understood in nationalist terms. This discourse relied heavily on the creation of romanticized soccer heroes with innate dribbling skills from humble backgrounds (Sebreli, *La era* 31-32). According to Nadel, this *criollo* approach to the game favored "guile and improvisation over European rationality and training" (*Fútbol* 14). During this episteme, players like Pelé, Garrincha, and Maradona would emerge as so-called "heroes" of the nation.

In Brazil, soccer chronicles would represent one of the most influential discursive mechanisms for constructing players in this way. During the *seleção*'s historic championship runs in 1958, 1962, and 1970, chroniclers like Nelson Rodrigues helped to construct Pelé and Garrincha as mythical representatives of the nation and *brasilidade*. An analysis of these works will demonstrate how the writer often dramatized the heroic and artistic on-field feats of these men, a technique that allowed for these elements to become closely associated with the so-called "Brazilian" style of the game.

However, more recently players have become known in alternative ways. While early chroniclers like Rodrigues highlighted these players' *futebol arte*—exhibited by their dribbling skills and child-like love for the game—the free market practices of the neoliberal episteme have allowed for players to distance themselves from the nation. In the current regime of truth, club owners buy, sell, and transfer players from domestic

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Latin American leagues to the European soccer giants like Real Madrid C.F. and FC Barcelona. Thus, these practices have helped to construct players as free-flowing goods that serve as the face of their clubs and corporate sponsors.

John Hargreaves suggests that the lack of state and philanthropic economic support for sport in the second half of the 20th century led to new techniques based on capitalist management and marketing strategies (149). Producing more than 500 billion dollars in global revenue in 2012, soccer now represents the 17th largest economic activity in the world (Murayama 30). According to Mexican economist, Ciro Murayama, this market relies heavily on the production of entertainment or the "espectáculo de futbol," and players represent the most important cog in this international business machine (21). Although talent remains a high criterion for these athletes, oftentimes, these players also must "look the part" of the so-called superstar (Kuper and Szymanski 25). These sporting "actors," very similar to their Hollywood counterparts, not only generate revenue for their soccer skills, but also for their potential of commercial exploitation, the latter often producing over half of the most lucrative European clubs' income (Battle 9; Murayama 84). In some cases, a club's television contracts even surpass this immense commercial gain, and international rights to programming allow for the sport to create new fans or "consumers" in Eastern countries such as China (Murayama 22; Kuper and Szymanski 242).

In this global business, Latin American players represent the primary "imports" for European clubs such as Real Madrid, FC Barcelona, Bayern München, and Manchester United, and for instance, in 2013, Latin America exported over 3,000 *futbolistas* for a mere billion US dollars, 400 million of this generated by Argentina and

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Brazil alone (Murayama 111). This said, players are no longer solely understood as elite soccer artists that represent their countries, rather, current discourse influenced by successful business models construct Latin American *futbolistas* as spectator products that are exported, signed, sold, transferred, loaned, and consumed all around the globe. Again, the power-knowledge nexus plays an important role in constructing these players as such, especially considering the billions of dollars made by club owners, sponsors, print and web media, as well as television and satellite providers that exploit these stars. These players represent "docile" sporting bodies that are disciplined to wear team jerseys and corporate athletic apparel that produce income for these powerful business entities.

The poetic essays of Eduardo Galeano's *El fútbol a sol y sombra*, originally published in 1995, hint at the darker side of this epistemic shift, but they also capture the romantic views of the Latin American game. Although the late Uruguayan author acknowledges the commercialization of the sport, vignettes dedicated specifically to some of the game's most influential players present these *futbolistas* in a way that emphasizes their inherent talents with the ball and love for the game. Here, he writes of players like Pelé, Garrincha, and Maradona that play for the sake of playing or "de la alegría de jugar porque sí" (13). This section of the analysis considers how Galeano's nostalgic view offers a counterhegemonic view of today's commodified player.

Juan Villoro's soccer chronicles, included in *Balón dividido* (2014), also indicate the emerging discursive shift. Differing from Galeano's nostalgic views of the past, the Mexican chronicler presents the successes of players such as Lionel Messi, Ronaldo, and Ronaldinho not only on the field of play, but also their commercial accomplishments and/or failures as superstars for their respective professional teams. In a similar

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counterhegemonic fashion, these texts challenge the "official" representation of these players that is often constructed in Mexico's dominant media outlets and infinite sports programs. Thus, Villoro's chronicles criticize the star-like lifestyles fomented by the current neoliberal episteme. By considering these soccer chronicles and essays, this discursive analysis aims to show the emergence of the sport's business-related discourse, an *individualizable group of statements* that have made soccer players known as consumer products in the world's most popular sporting spectacle.

Pitch and *Panopticon*: Photographing Stadium Power in Brazil's Pacaembu

The third archaeological analysis focuses on Brazil's stadiums and fans, discursive objects that reveal the workings of power and resisting forces of agency. While the country's upper-class elites used stadiums as exclusive spaces in the game's early years, Brazil's popular working and immigrant classes eventually established their own clubs to challenge and defeat their social rivals. These marginalized groups, mainly Afro-Brazilians along with Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Syrian immigrants, started teams such as Sport Club Corinthians Paulista and Sociedade Esportiva Palmeiras (originally Palestra Italia), clubs that served to represent the working immigrant classes in São Paulo (J. Lopes 253-54; Louzada 16; Lima).

Contrary to the use of stadiums by the elite in the early 20th century, these spaces favored the interests of capitalist, political, and working class entities beginning with the professionalization of the game in 1933 and the first authoritarian rule of Getúlio Vargas from 1930-45 (Gaffney, *Temples* 184). These immense edifices permitted government leaders to equate the successful coordination of international sporting events with

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national progress, while also facilitating the communication of political intentions to the masses (Gallo 27, 202). The initial construction of stadiums such as the Estádio do Pacaembu—finished with public money in São Paulo in 1940 (Gaffney, *Temples* 69-70)—allowed for the organization of these traditionally marginalized groups in one collective space. Vargas understood the power of these sporting venues, sites that visibly demonstrated the nationalist ideal of Brazilian society as a racial democracy (Fontes and Buarque 15). Moreover, and aside from projecting the image of a modern nation, the use of stadiums and the mass congregations of the Brazilian working class allowed Vargas to present himself as a kind of guardian to these once-excluded social groups, a necessary step to preserve his popularity during the Estado Novo (Fausto and Fausto 218; Gaffney, *Temples* 184).

Although this nationalist discourse allowed entry for the marginalized masses in a once-exclusive space, certain technologies of power facilitated the coordination of these events in an orderly, uniform manner. For instance, the architectural design of stadiums like Pacaembu allowed for a hierarchichal organization of attendees. Rows placed fans in orderly lines, and the *tribuna de honra*—a reserved box for government officials—gave powerful individuals a place to speak to the masses. Furthermore, military presence ensured the creation of "docile" fan bodies, obedient in terms of orderly behavior and productive as a mass spectacle for nationalist discourse. As Foucault proposes, the authoritarian power of Vargas forced these multiple bodies to carryout sporting ceremonies such as the stadium's inauguration.

Whereas previous chapters consider the discursive influence of the short story, poetry, chronicle, and essay, this analysis relies on photography to exhibit the dominant

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nationalist ideologies of the Estado Novo. First, Hildegard Rosenthal's photos of Pacaembu's inauguration not only present the stadium's fascist-inspired architecture, but also thousands of athletes participating in the ceremony's opening parade. Aside from performing Vargas's nationalist spectacle, these orderly files of bodies demonstrate the creation of a panoptic disciplinary space.

However, these athletes were not the only individuals that embedded fascist order. Living in the Pacaembu neighborhood during this time, Hungarian photographer Thomaz Farkas captured some of the first images of *torcidas uniformizadas*, institutionally-supported fan groups that dressed in matching attire and cheered on their favorite Paulista clubs within this public space. Led by the *chefe*, these male-dominated *torcidas* served as moralizing stadium entities and duplicated the patriarchal structure of Vargas's regime.

Even though these groups reproduced the ideals of the Estado Novo, dictatorial repression from 1964-85 led to the emergence of *torcidas organizadas*, separate factions that challenged traditional club authorities. The stadium offered these groups—the majority consisting of lower-class urban youths—an empowering sense of agency in the midst of societal injustices (Gaffney, *Temples* 185). While stadiums served as discursive sites of visibility for those participating in *torcidas*, violence also became commonplace during matches, especially from the 80s onward. As Janet Lever proposes, São Paulo's most heated rivalries—like those between Corinthians and Palmeiras—tend to heighten historic conflict and division between differing Brazilian social groups (75). These conflicting identities appear to demonstrate what John Beverley calls *intra-subaltern* antagonism, historic segregations or divisions among the "people" that oftentimes lead to violent conflict (59). Furthermore, Roberto DaMatta expresses that *futebol* represents a

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drama of current Brazilian society ("Esporte" 40), and taking this into account, these rivalries reflect the current urban and social divisions of Brazil's largest city. Thus, *torcidas organizadas* allow many marginalized individuals the opportunity to visibly express their urban and social identities, but this oftentimes has resulted in violence and even death within stadium walls. Needless to say, not all fan groups condone this type of behavior and many choose to peacefully cheer on their club. This chapter's archaeological analysis will examine how *torcidas* emerged with Brazil's repressive dictatorship, but also how the mainstream media has often stigmatized the participants of these groups as violent "savages."

As a result of this recent stadium violence—reaching its height during the infamous Batalha Campal do Pacaembu in 1995, a violent altercation between followers of Palmeiras and São Paulo that resulted in hundreds of injuries and one death—club and governing authorities have developed revised technologies of power. For instance, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's government passed the Estatuto de Defesa do Torcedor (EDT) in 2003, legislation that aimed to improve Brazilian stadiums and ensure fan safety. Although these measures have led to the renovation and construction of old and new structures, they have also resulted in militarization, heightened surveillance, and increased ticket prices, particularly in preparation for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. Likewise, the popular stadium sections historically occupied by *torcidas* during matches—known as the *geral* in Portuguese—have been substituted for individually marked seats and VIP boxes in some cases. This has not only restricted the movement of these fans groups, but it also allows for them to be easily controlled and watched (Gaffney, "A World" 203). Consequently, these revised disciplinary tactics have

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either subdued or expelled *torcedores* from stadiums, many times through repressive force. Furthermore, the heightened police presence and the installment of surveillance command centers have allowed for these spaces to function in a similar way to Bentham's *panopticon*.

While Lula's successor, Dilma Rousseff, expressed hopes of boosting national sentiment and improving the country's infrastructure through the construction and renovation of these facilities for the recent mega-events, the government has failed to address these communities' most pressing social needs. Instead, their coordination has favored the interest of private and foreign investment, a process that has once again allowed for the exclusion of Brazil's popular masses (Bocketti 251; Gaffney, "A World" 198; Zirin 28-29). In this neoliberal episteme, *torcidas organizadas* have been vilified and substituted for "docile" fans that can afford increased ticket prices for competitions hosted in state-of-the-art sporting facilities such as the newly-constructed Arena Corinthians or Allianz Parque. As a result, historic venues that lack these safety regulations and amenities, like Pacaembu, no longer serve as the home to Brazil's most passionate *torcedores*.

While Rosenthal and Farkas's photography of Pacaembu and *torcidas uniformizadas* captures the embedded ideologies of the Estado Novo, Mário Prata's hybrid text *Palmeiras – um caso de amor* (2002) and Bruno Barreto's film adaptation *O casamento de Romeu e Julieta* (2005) offer visual evidence of the *torcidas organizadas* and the revised disciplinary tactics employed within São Paulo's most historic stadium. These images—used from actual competitions—not only demonstrate how these fan

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groups use the stadium to combat their urban anonymity, but also the police forces and barriers used to divide and control them.

To conclude the analysis, Bruno Mooca's recent photos of an empty Pacaembu further emphasize the current state of the stadium. Whereas the aforementioned texts have displayed the masses, these images bring to the forefront the mechanisms of power, specifically Pacaembu's colored and numbered seating sections. At the same time, the haunting effects of these photographs not only suggest the stadium's panoptic elements, but also its future abandonment.

Although several historical studies exist on Latin American soccer, none has employed Foucauldian methods of discursive analysis to show the game's evolution within the region. Furthermore, none consider the important role of cultural production in producing statements and perpetuating or challenging the traditional way in which soccer is understood in these countries. Focusing in on key discursive objects such as soccer itself, players, fans, and stadiums in these texts, the following chapters will demonstrate that *fútbol* in Latin America represents more than just a mere sport, but rather a significant social and cultural entity that facilitates an understanding of the region.

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CHAPTER 2

UN DEPORTE MACHO: SOCCER AS A "MAN'S GAME" IN ARGENTINA

> Fútbol. Es un deporte machazo, tanto para practicarlo como para ser espectador. (Coco Sily, "El macho y los deportes" 169)

Even though more than twenty-nine million women currently play soccer worldwide, the sport is still predominantly known as a "man's game." This specifically holds true in Argentina, and although there exist several documented examples of female *futbolistas* in the early part of the 20th century, dominant histories of soccer have tended to ignore these athletes, mainly because they did not fit into the national narrative (Nadel, "The Antinational" 46). Aside from this nationalist discourse, this chapter will analyze how other relating discourses—this includes statements spoken by dominant British classes during the 19th century, medical discourse and practice, homophobic discourse spoken predominantly in stadiums and sports bars, and the role of the media—have also constructed *fútbol* as a *deporte macho*. Also of importance to this study is the role of cultural production in contributing to this discursive archive, texts according to Katie Joseph that provide multiple opportunities to enact or resist power, especially if duplicated through mass media outlets (47). Taking this into account, this chapter will analyze how Roberto Fontanarrosa's short stories and comics dealing with the theme of soccer reproduce the traditional *machista* discourse related to the sport. Nonetheless, this analysis will conclude with the resisting discursive forces found in Ana María Shua's short stories and Washington Cucurto's poetry, texts that challenge soccer's long withstanding association with men in Argentine society.

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Enunciative Modalities and Discourse: From Gentlemen to *Machos*

As evidenced by the language associated with *fútbol*, or football as it is called in England, the influence of elite British industrialists laid the foundation of how soccer is understood in Argentina. Almost twenty years after the establishment of the official Cambridge Rules—guidelines that distinguished soccer from rugby—the first match was played on Argentine soil in 1867, and a short time thereafter, the Asociación del Fútbol Argentino (AFA) was established in 1893 (L'Hoeste, Irwin, Poblete 4). These elite British social classes represented the first enunciative modalities that disseminated the cultural practice of soccer, predominantly through school systems that employed formative strategies to cultivate "gentlemen."

The concept of Muscular Christianity represented a crucial instrument implemented by these British social groups in an attempt to establish hegemony in the region. According to Giulianotti, these imperialist ideologies incorporated sport as a key tool in producing "men" and patriarchal ideals, particularly in the Americas and Europe (96-97). Elite classes viewed soccer as a traditionally masculine sport, and while "men" were forged through its practice, women were excluded and taught to be "ladies" through "gentle, respectable games" like croquet and tennis, sports supposedly more suitable for the "weaker sex" (Je. Hargreaves, "The Victorian" 54-56). In his study over soccer and masculinity, Archetti adds that the British viewed sport as a way of transferring a "spirit of gentleman," specifically the values of strength, virility, and stamina taught through soccer's notions of fair play (*Masculinities* 49-52). Furthermore, prominent Argentine cultural and political figures, such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-88)—author of *Facundo: civilización y barbarie* (1845), president from 1868-74, and member of the

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Buenos Ayres Cricket Club—endorsed these new sporting practices as a way to preserve civilized masculine ideals for the nation (Campomar 35).

These ideals of strength and vigor were spread principally through instruction in elite private schools, where sport and fair play were seen as ways to discipline future leaders (Frydenberg, "Redefinición" 51, 61). Forming part of the country's modernization process, laws such as la Ley 1420, established in 1884, allowed for physical exercise to become an obligatory part of public education. Enrique Romero Brest, one of the first Argentine doctors specializing in sports medicine, saw these practices as an important strategy in creating civilized citizens. Additionally, these pedagogical techniques emphasized nationalist rhetoric through rigidity and fair play, approaches aimed at building strong and healthy children (Armus and Scharagrodsky 85-86). Further inculcating the traditional gender binary within Argentine schools, the Instituto Nacional Superior de Educación Física (INEF) would later modify its curriculum to include separate degrees based on gender: the Profesor Normal de Educación Física en Gimnasia Estética for women and the Profesor Normal de Educación Física en Deportes y Atletismo for men. The former was limited to gymnastics, basketball, tennis, and softball while the latter included sports such as soccer, rugby, and boxing (Armus and Scharagrodsky 90). Only in the 1980s did Argentine schools first begin to see soccer practiced by both sexes (Armus and Scharagrodsky 96). Considering these factors, one sees how discourse created by dominant classes has influenced the construction of soccer as a *deporte macho*, and these statements later were put into practice in Argentine schools where boys played *fútbol* and girls were excluded.

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Besides Brest, other medical professionals, or "knowledge holders," also contributed to the patriarchal construction of soccer through the use of statements that sidelined female participation. Nadel expresses that public health and government officials regulated that practice of women's soccer in the region, specifically since female bodies were supposed to develop softness in order to complete their duty as mothers for the nation (*Fútbol* 217-18). One can note again here the influence of British colonialism within Argentine society, especially considering the fact that physicians would advise for "gentle exercises, remedial gymnastics, and massage" to protect female reproductive organs in Victorian Britain (Je. Hargreaves, "The Victorian" 56-57; Giulianotti 98). For others, the sport's aggressive and vigorous playing style could possibly threaten the natural biological order since it would lead to overdeveloped, muscular legs instead of the normalized "harmonious" body (Nadel, "The Antinational" 57-58). Besides these fears, Nadel indicates that others speculated that the game would result in the change of sexual orientation ("The Antinational" 59). It is in this way that medical discourse has attempted to create a "docile" female body, and any woman that seeks to participate in soccer has been diagnosed as "abnormal."

This type of medical discourse related to sport also proved essential for Argentina's nationalist project, especially since these practices helped to preserve heteronormativity. Since Argentine nationalists adopted the masculine stereotype as the symbolic representative of the nation, soccer and its strong male bodies became a way to display national potential and pride (Archetti, *Masculinities* 15; Nadel, *Fútbol* 219-20). Like Argentine narratives of the gaucho and the pampa, Archetti suggests that these modernist thinkers constructed the *criollo* style of play—one relying on expression and

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creativity instead of European tactics and training—using the *pibe* and *potrero* as symbols of the nation. Hailing from these mythical patches of land, these innate talents utilized their dribbling skills, and their improvisation was seen as a direct opposition to the British discipline related to the game's early years within Argentina. As a result, these nationalist discourses, along with the development of national styles such as *la nuestra*, have allowed for soccer to become a powerful tool in establishing patriarchal dominance (*Masculinities* 15, 70-72, 182-84).

The success of the Argentine National Men's team in international competitions has only served to strengthen these notions of the game. This was especially the case in 1978 when the country hosted and won the FIFA World Cup. In an attempt to project the image of a successful and unified nation, while also silencing critics of his military rule (1976-83), Jorge Rafael Videla (1925-2013) and his governing bodies spent more than 520 million dollars to organize the event (Sebreli, *La era* 187-90; Novaro y Palermo 159). Playing a key role in disseminating the regime's nationalist and patriarchal discourse to the masses, government-funded films such as *La fiesta de todos* (1979), directed by Sergio Renán, not only present the fascist ideology of the Junta Militar, but also include scenes that underline the sport's exclusively *machista* and sexist attitudes (Ridge, "La fiesta" 118).

Although many Argentines refuse to acknowledge this controversial victory in 1978, almost all celebrate the 1986 World Cup champion team led by Diego Maradona. Hailing from Villa Fiorito, a small shantytown on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, and scoring what many have deemed "the goal of the century" against England in the quarter-finals—singlehandedly dribbling past five defenders and scoring on the goalie of their

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sporting and political rivals—scholars such as Giulianotti have noted that the superstar represents the *pibe par excellence* (112). In Barthian terms, these accomplishments on the international sporting scene have allowed Maradona to become a myth for Argentine nationalism (Sebreli, *Comediantes* 172). Facilitated by nationalist discourse, even contemporary male athletic idols such as Lionel Messi continue to define Argentine nationalism, further associating the sport as a game exclusively for *machos*.

However, this national sentiment was not the only force that contributed to the sport's masculine ties. With the game's popularization among Argentine working and immigrant classes in the early part of the 20th century, soccer stadiums and sports bars located in the various *barrios* of Buenos Aires provided men with a public domain to discuss soccer and follow their local teams. In urban centers, these divisions allowed for the creation of certain homogenized identities, and as a result, local soccer clubs gained popularity. Frydenberg adds that this phenomenon led to an elevated masculine presence in public spaces such as the stadium and the sports bar ("Sociedad" 31-33).

As Eve Sedgwick suggests, homosocial spaces such as these allow for men to perpetuate male dominance in patriarchal societies (25). Foster notes that the mentioned soccer spaces facilitate the creation of this homosocial phenomenon, and that men often establish their dominance through homophobic discourse (*Queer* xiv-xv; *Gender* 17-18). In this way, rival supporters defend their club's territory through violent behavior and language, and a type of *macho*/*puto* dynamic arises in order to define which team is superior. Players and fans that demonstrate their *aguante*, a certain masculine toughness, uphold their masculinity and successfully defend their team's honor, while those that fail to show this demeanor are demasculinized and are considered *putos* (Alabarces, *Héroes*

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162-65; Zucal 80-84). This homophobic and oftentimes sexist discourse not only includes insults between coaches or players that question masculinity and heterosexuality among team members, but also the numerous chants shouted from the stands, many of which call for the heads of opponents or others that explicitly express anal penetration of an adversary to establish masculine dominance (Giulianotti 107; Zucal 80-84; Rodríguez 256; Fiengo, *Golbalización* 43). Because of this aggressive behavior and language, soccer in Argentine society has developed into a predominantly masculine sport, a practice that continues to exclude and undervalue the participation of women or those who do not meet this masculine code.

Besides these sites of discursive production, the media represents a significant enunciative modality for making *fútbol* understood in this way. For instance, *El gráfico*, Argentina's most influential sporting magazine, represents one of the main discursive forces for disseminating nationalist discourse related to soccer, as demonstrated by Archetti's investigation on Argentine masculinity. Although *El gráfico* still influences the masses, new digital technologies used by popular sporting websites, as well as a variety of cinematographic techniques and special effects involved in broadcasting sporting events, allow soccer to reproduce the male gaze through mediated representations, ones that typically reaffirm and/or favor heteronormative ideals and discourses (Clarke and Clarke 73; Messner 40; Meân 332). As a result, during La Albiceleste's dramatic run to the World Cup Final in 2014, popular news outlets like *La nación* and *TV pública* (*TVP*) emphasized the heroic accomplishments and *aguante* of stars like Sergio Romero and Javier Mascherano, the latter literally suffering an anal lesion while extending his leg to block a shot ("La confesión"). Furthermore, and even though the government's state-

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funded Fútbol para Todos campaign has aimed to bring the sport to all Argentines, media coverage and the official website of the movement largely ignore *fútbol femenino*, choosing only to highlight the achievements of the men's national team.

Even with the advent of the women's game, television and social media play a key role in producing statements that downplay the athleticism of these participants, a process that further perpetuates male dominance in Argentine soccer. More often than not, female athletes are valued for their physical attraction, and their bodies are subjected to the male gaze and commodified for these masculine audiences (Giulianotti 102; Joseph 68). Besides undervaluing their sporting talent, media representations often emphasize or highlight heteronormative characteristics such as these women's emotional displays on the field and their motherly qualities off it (Howe 164). In some cases, the Argentine media ignore these participants, choosing rather to follow narratives that portray women as the loyal supporters of the traditional sporting heroes. For instance, *Caras*, a popular magazine in Argentina, spotlighted the wives of 90's superstars like Maradona, Goyco and Caniggia, choosing to regard these women as "mujeres de jugadores," while also presenting them in a seductive manner for male spectators (Binello and Domino 217-18). More recently, Argentine newspapers such as *La nación* have also presented these women as *botineras*, running features that include sexualized images of these wives and noting their nomination for *Sport*'s Balón de Rosa (Barcelona), a prize awarded to the most attractive soccer spouse ("Como"). It is through these mediated, male-dominated representations that soccer continues to be constructed by and for men.

Finally, governmental bodies such as AFA and FIFA establish rules and regulations that guide the sport's social practices. Through legal discourse, these

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associations regulate who plays the game, and only recently did FIFA and AFA create and support a women's soccer league in 1991. Along with the numerous male players, coaches, and fans, most of these positions are still held by men, allowing for *machista* discourse to continue to construct soccer in patriarchal terms.

Theories and "Docile" Bodies: *Machista* Discourse Put into Practice

Just as Foucault proposes in *Archaeology*, these multiple discourses work off each other to make Argentine soccer known as a sport for men, while also normalizing certain social practices. Taking this into consideration, the male variety of the game continues to dominate the country's cultural scene, principally because international competitions remained linked to public displays of masculinity and nationalism (Nadel, *Fútbol* 232). Moreover, and despite the superior international success of Las Leonas, the Argentine Women's field hockey team that won the 2002 and 2010 Women's Hockey World Cup, the men participating on the national soccer team—runner-up's in the FIFA World Cup 2014—remain the country's main "heroes" (Alabarces, "Football" 34-35; Alabarces, *Héroes* 108-09). These practices can be contributed to the discursive entities that have allowed for men's soccer to become known as the national sport.

These varying statements have also allowed for the game to be divided into two separate leagues based on gender, further reaffirming the traditional gender binary. Even though women's soccer has made tremendous strides in the last twenty-five years since the establishment of Primera División del Fútbol Femenino and the Copa Mundial Femenina de Fútbol in 1991, *fútbol femenino* only nets a mere 50,000 US dollars annually from its governing bodies. Furthermore, young Argentine girls that seek to play

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the so-called "man's game" often develop their skills at a later age due to social pressures, and even today these youths are required to have a permission slip to play (Balanovsky and Gentile).

One notes here how power and discourse have facilitated the creation of "docile" sporting bodies in Argentine society. As R.W. Connell notes, the public display of male sporting bodies serves *machista* and nationalist discourse. These strong bodies not only project the strength of men and the nation, but also obey rules created by male-dominated governing bodies, yet another manifestation of masculine superiority, especially when women are excluded from these practices (54). Even though women's participation in soccer has served as a type of resistance and bodily agency to these traditional powers, the workings of discourse discussed above have oftentimes emphasized the femininity of these athletes, while also policing and scrutinizing any female body that challenges heteronormativity, defining muscular women as "abnormal" (Dworkin and Messner 22-23; Joseph 82).

Dominant *Machista* Discourse: *Los Machos de* Fontanarrosa

Adding to the already mentioned discursive practices, Argentine cultural production also plays a significant role in constructing soccer as a man's sport. While texts such as Bernardo Canal Feijóo's *Penúltimo poema del fútbol* (1924) represent the country's earliest literary works to embed these dominant ideologies—several poems in the anthology uphold traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity, privilege the male gaze, and mock women's soccer (Wood 33-34)—Roberto Fontanarrosa (1944-2007) offers a parodic representation of men performing in these spaces. Other notable River

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Plate writers like Horacio Quiroga, Jorge Luis Borges, and Mario Benedetti have also dedicated pages to the sport, but none match the prolific contribution to soccer's cultural archive quite like their Rosarian counterpart. Further demonstrating the writer's discursive influence, Fontanarrosa has even published an illustrated dictionary of soccer-related terms—*Pequeño diccionario ilustrado: el fútbol argentino* (1994)—to facilitate an understanding of the game in Argentine society.

However, this analysis considers his texts and drawings included in five anthologies published posthumously by Planeta in 2013. Commenting on these short stories dealing with *fútbol*, Alabarces expresses that these works represent a parody of masculine language and culture within Argentina, and Wood adds that through their discussions of sex and soccer, these fictional men construct their masculinity (*Héroes* 218; 161). Taking place in the homosocial sporting spaces such as the stadium, pitch, and bar, these male protagonists employ sexist and homophobic discourse that demonstrates soccer's exclusive masculine practices. The following pages will not only analyze the literary techniques used by Fontanarrosa, but also suggest that these short stories allow for dominant discourse regarding soccer to be reproduced on a mass scale in Argentina, a discursive mechanism that further establishes the sport as a *deporte macho*.

The first of these, "Escenas de la vida deportiva,"—taken from *Puro fútbol* (2013)—presents the *machista* behavior among men who compete weekly on a local soccer field. Using direct discourse, the omniscient narrator expresses the crude language, *machista* jokes, and homophobic statements of these characters, typical of the homosocial setting. Besides the notable absence of female actors in these scenes, the aggressive behavior and language serve to uphold traditional notions of masculinity and marginalize

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anyone that does not meet heteronormative standards. For example, one character's sexist joke towards another's mother demonstrates these men's sentiments towards what they perceive to be the "weaker" sex: "Esas viejas son perfectas para chuparte el zodape [*pedazo*] porque no tienen dientes, ¿no Ruso?" (*Puro* 110). Besides the character's crude remarks, the use of the *vesre*—a reversing of syllables used in colloquial speech in the *rioplatense* region—serves to further emphasize the presence of this type of discourse in the Argentine context. Several men also publically share their sexual conquests, yet another way to show their dominance in front of their teammates: "¿Cuántos polvos te echaste, Tito?" another later responding to his friend "Cuatro al hilo" (*Puro* 112). And just as Zucal and Alabarces point out in their studies mentioned above, these men use homophobic language to demasculinize their opponents, statements that establish a *macho*/*puto* or the stereotypic active/passive dynamic: "Chúpame el choto" (*Puro* 115), "Metételo en el orto" (*Puro* 115), and "¿Por qué no me chupás un huevo, cabezón?" (*Puro* 116).

Although these dialogues present these men as the sport's most capable participants, the irony resides in the fact that none can organize a game of pickup since all have forgotten a ball. Even when one of the players, Pepe, finally arrives with a ball, it is deflated. However, once again the men remain incapable of solving the problem even when they manage to get a hold of a pump. While Miguel assures everyone that he can insert the needle into the air valve, he suddenly punctures the skin and the ball deflates. One can conclude that this denouement represents a symbolic knock on Miguel's masculinity, especially since he is unable to properly operate his "equipment." Furthermore, the disapproval received from his soccer buddies, "Miguel… Andate un

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poco a la concha de tu madre" (*Puro* 121), demonstrates how the homosocial space foments a patriarchal dynamic between winners and losers.

Again preferring the use of an omniscient narrator, "¡No te enloquesá, Lalita!," also explores masculine dominance on the field of play. Taken from *Uno nunca sabe* (2013), the narration of this short story—driven predominantly by direct discourse and the thoughts of Chalo—presents the heated on-field confrontations between Lalita and Pascual. Situational irony proves to be Fontanarrosa's established literary device as the reader and Chalo are left guessing to why these players repeatedly engage in knockdown fistfights that lead to their expulsions from local soccer matches. Like "Escenas de la vida deportiva," these men establish their dominance through violent language and aggressive behavior on the field of play.

Homosociality remains commonplace in these short stories, and besides the previously analyzed dialogue, descriptions of these men's comportment in this sporting space demonstrate soccer's designation as a *deporte macho*. For example, while one man looks on in disbelief at the quarrel between Lalita and Pascual, his crude gestures emphasize the setting's masculine aura: "–¿Podés creer vos? –dijo el otro, parado en el círculo central y acomodándose los huevos. Escupió a un costado" (*Uno* 293). This crude behavior presented within this fictional sporting setting suggests that in order to play soccer, one has to have a "pair." If this is not enough, the hyperbolic use of aggressive, homophobic language in the first few pages, accentuated by a barrage of exclamation points, not only captures the main conflict of the text, but also how demasculinizing language proves to be the men's chosen weapon in their battle for masculine dominance:

> –¡Aprende a jugar al fútbol, choto de mierda! –gritaba, ya de pie, Pascual, contenido a medias por Norberto.

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–¡Sí, seguro que vos me vas a enseñar, pajero! –respondió Lalita.
–¿Ah no? ¿Ah no? ¿No te voy a enseñar yo? ¿No te voy a enseñar yo? ¡Sabés cómo te enseño, la puta madre que te parió!
–¡Seguro! ¡Vos me vas a enseñar, forro! ¡Vos me vas a enseñar a jugar al fútbol!
–¡Choto de mierda, en la puta vida jugaste al fútbol, sorete!
–¡Vos me vas a enseñar, maricón!
–¡Sorete, sos un sorete mal cagado! (*Uno* 291-92)

Again, it appears that the *macho*/*puto* dynamic reigns in this homosocial space, and the use of words such as *maricón*—aimed at a "weaker" adversary—shows how soccer continues to be known as a sport practiced solely by the "stronger" sex.

From this initial dialogue, the reader might be led to think that this quarrel is a result of a long-standing soccer rivalry between the two men. However, Chalo's discussions with his other teammates prove otherwise, leading to a variety of theories for the two's hate for each other. Lito informs Chalo that the feud derives from "cosas extrafutbolísticas" (*Uno* 297), and later El Cabezón explains that "la cosa fue política, más que nada" (*Uno* 300). Nevertheless, it is Alemán that hints at the possibility of a love triangle that fueled the men's hate, explaining that Pascual robbed Lalita of his future spouse: "El quilombo fue de polleras. Lala, en la Facultad, estaba a punto de casarse con una mina y el Pascual se la chorió" (*Uno* 298). This encounter represents another example of homosociality, especially since the woman in this triangle serves to transmit patriarchal power from Lalita to Pascual. *Fútbol* serves as an extension of these power relations as the two men continuously exchange blows or *trompadas* at each other to establish one or the other's supposed masculine superiority.

Even though all these theories prove to be true, Chalo's conversation with Pascual near the end of the story reveals that the main reason behind the quarrel in fact did initiate from a past soccer dispute. While the two played on the same youth team when they were

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five years old, Pascual explains that the hostility derived from the fact that he was the designated penalty taker, not Lalita: "El penal se lo habían hecho a él, pero el que los pateaba siempre era yo. Esa era la orden que yo tenía del director técnico. Pero él ya era un pendejo caprichoso. Y nos cagamos a trompadas" (*Uno* 303). Aside from the *árbitros* who hand out red cards and repeatedly expel these men from their matches, the coach's instructions serve as another symbol of patriarchal order on the soccer field. Since Lalita has violated this masculine code, choosing to ignore his *director técnico*, Pascual justifies his violent actions towards his rival. Similar to these fictional sporting spaces and the majority of Argentine soccer fields today, male participants—this includes players, coaches, referees, and governing officials—continue to represent soccer's most visible protagonists, social practices that perpetuate the game being known as a *deporte macho*.

Fontanarrosa does not only limit this phenomenon to the field of play; rather the author also makes use of homosocial settings such as El Cairo, a local *rosarino* bar where eight men gather and reminisce about Argentine soccer in "El ocho era Moacyr," another short story taken from *Puro fútbol*. Different from "Escenas de la vida deportiva" and "¡No te enloquesá, Lalita!," the author employs the use of an intradiegetic narrator that oscillates between the thoughts of this protagonist and the group's dialogue. In this male-dominated space, the narration reveals these men's homophobic comportment towards Sobrecojines, a new attendee of these group conversations who remains passive during the encounters.

Typical of homosocial sporting space, these men patrol any behavior that violates the heteronormative masculine code. In this way, the frequent bar-goers question Sobrecojines's sexuality, calling him "fino" and "delicado" (*Puro* 60), especially based

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on the fact that he drinks whisky and wears a vest and pink tie, traits typically associated with the Argentine *dandy*, not the rugged *macho*. His taste in upper-class sports such as polo also lead to similar conclusions. Seeing that their new acquaintance deviates from the accepted norms of masculinity, the men's dialogue demonstrates their fear of a sexual advance:

> –Yo lo que te digo –siguió Belmondo– es que yo no me le agacharía adelante.
> –Por ahí te empoma.
> –Te empoma.
> –Tiene su pinta el hombre –estimó el Zorro. (*Puro* 61-62)

Responding to Sobrecojines's "effeminate" ways, a possible threat to heteronormativity, the exchange serves to reaffirm the sports bar as a patriarchal domain.

In any case, Fontanarrosa again makes use of irony to disprove not only the reader's presuppositions, but also those of the men who frequent El Cairo. The moment occurs while the group tries and fails to recall several past lineups of historic Argentine soccer teams. Suddenly, Sobrecojines proves his masculinity by naming one after another these sporting legends, a feat that leads to his designation as "un buen tipo" by the group (*Puro* 66). As Alabarces concludes, this short story reveals how masculine legitimacy within Argentine society oftentimes bases itself in a supreme knowledge of the game (*Héroes* 221). Considering this, one sees how *fútbol* continues to be associated with masculinity, and additionally how traditional homosocial spaces such as the sports bar help to uphold this constructed understanding of soccer.

The adaptation of these short stories into an Argentine miniseries, *Cuentos de Fontanarrosa* (2007), has also facilitated the mass dissemination of these texts, another factor in allowing soccer to be known as a man's sport in the country's cultural scene.

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Both “No te enloquesá, Lalita” and “El ocho era Moacyr,” adapted by Rodrigo Grande and produced by Coco Sily, Daniel Aráoz, and Javier Nir, aired on Canal 7, Argentina’s publicly owned television network. Furthermore, several of the episodes continue to run on Youtube, allowing for them to reach an international audience.

Fontanarrosa’s cultural impact is not only limited to these media outlets, but also to more traditional print forms such as *Clarín*, one of the country’s most popular newspapers and home to the artist’s numerous comic drawings dedicated to soccer. These discursive outlets further allow the sport to be understood in patriarchal terms, especially since the women drawn here remain excluded or appear in relation to their male counterparts. Comedic in nature, several of these panels draw their humor from men’s heated passion for the game. Saying this, several of these domestic scenes frame male soccer fans intently following their preferred teams on the radio or television, while their wives populate the foreground or background, choosing not to participate in such crazed fandom. The arrangement of two of these scenes, compiled in *El fútbol es sagrado* (2013) and *Fontanarrosa y el fútbol* (2013), uphold traditional gender categories—one of which pictures a woman holding what appears to be folded clothing behind her husband who passively listens to his team while he smokes and sips mate—while also manifesting soccer’s association with Argentine men. The reference to volume in this drawing—accentuated by the all-caps “GOOOOOOLLL” emitted from the radio’s word bubble—further establishes the sport as an exclusive domain for the male spectator (see figure 1).

Similar to the analyzed short stories, other panels highlight soccer’s emphasis on masculine superiority on the field of play. Again, the defense of one’s masculinity remains the most important task for men in these sporting settings. For instance, in one

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scene included in *Fontanarrosa de penal* (2013), two players discuss their goalie's fear of being demasculinized by the opposing fans as the word bubble reads: "La caballerosidad deportiva tiene sus contras. Vos no te imaginás los goles que le han hecho a nuestro arquero por no querer darle la espalda al público que está detrás de su arco." Here, the reader interprets how the goalkeeper must not only defend the penetration of his goal, but also watch his back from imposing hooligans or *barras bravas* who wish to verbally or physically dominate him.

Figure 1. *El fútbol es sagrado*: An Argentine *macho* listens to a soccer match.

Interesting enough, some of these drawings do hint at the presence of homoaffective comportment in the so-called *deporte macho*, a topic of further analysis later in this chapter. A typical custom between players following each match, a panel

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from *Fontanarrosa de penal* shows two semi-nude players from opposite teams exchanging jerseys (see figure 2). While in other settings, one might question this act as a

Figure 2. *Fontanarrosa de penal*: Two players swap jerseys.

violation of homosociality, the supposed heterosexuality of soccer players codifies this exchange as a manly gesture of sportsmanship. Furthermore, one team doctor drawn in *Fontanarrosa y el fútbol* attempts to justify his player's homoaffective celebratory behavior as he explains to his colleague: "Ahora comprendemos un poco más la conducta de ese jugador que festejó los goles besando apasionadamente a sus compañeros: había ingerido un afrodisíaco." Although the panel clearly acknowledges the presence of these "friendly" acts on the field of play, the dialogue implicitly suggests the impossibility of

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effeminate and/or homosexual soccer players, and only an aphrodisiac can explain the "abnormal" behavior carried out by these masculine sporting bodies. Whether it be the homosocial practices presented in these settings, or the parodic *machista* discourse spoken by these fictional characters, Fontanarrosa's diverse cultural texts embed the dominant masculinist ideologies that have helped perpetuate soccer's understanding as a sport exclusively for Argentine men.

Sports Feminism and Queer Theory as Resisting Discourse

Although these forms of cultural production continue to facilitate the construction of soccer in this way, the success of female footballers such as Maribel Domínguez (México), Claudina Vidal (Uruguay), Marta Viera da Silva (Brazil), and the participation of the over 29 million women that play worldwide serve as discursive objects that challenge the traditional notions of the "man's game." According to Giulianotti, the discourse of first-wave feminism—which roughly occurred between 1850 and 1930 and fought for several political and civil rights like suffrage and resistance to sexual inequalities—coincided with the struggles of the most early of female athletes. Moreover, second-wave feminism, occurring from the 1950s and onward—dealing primarily with women's interests and access to more employment opportunities, education, and the private sector—continued to challenge gender inequalities, and perhaps the most important and influential sporting legislation of this time is Title IX, a federal law in the United States that prohibits discriminatory practices based on gender in high schools and universities (99-100). With the advent of these discursive movements, sports feminism

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and the increased number of female athletes has emerged as a key resisting force that challenges soccer as being known as a sport solely for men.

Discourse within the sporting variety of this resistance tends to associate itself with three main branches of feminism: liberalism, radicalism, and socialism. Liberal feminists have sought for an equal representation for women in sports, often referred to as a co-option strategy, and as a result, many support inclusive sporting legislation such as Title IX (Giulianotti 105; Joseph 17). For these athletes, participation serves as a liberating freedom from current cultural restraints of patriarchy (Guttmann 252). However, critics of this stance note that many of the most popular sports, or "money" sports like soccer, are constructed around male corporal strengths that only serve to reaffirm masculine superiority. Even though women do excel physiologically in sports such as long-distance swimming and gymnastics—principally due to a higher body fat ratio and greater flexibility—women are already at a disadvantage in the sports that favor masculine body strengths (Messner 42; Howe 162).

Although socialist feminists favor co-operative strategies that aim to negate gender differences through the establishment of new, revised sporting practices, radical feminists propose that separatism remains the best strategy for female athletes, choosing for the creation of women-only sports and associations that permit women to administer and control their own sporting practices and bodies (Giulianotti 105; Je. Hargreaves, *Sporting* 31). This sect of sports feminism also concerns itself with a staunch criticism of patriarchy, focusing in on how men exercise their power over women, particularly the way in which women and their bodies are objectified for marketing purposes and ticket

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sales, while also rejecting the glorification of the typical male sporting prowess mentioned above (Je. Hargreaves, *Sporting* 31; Joseph 17).

Other scholars in this branch, such as Susan Bordo, have also noted the sexual objectification of the male sport's body, a result caused by contemporary consumer practices and the social changes regarding sexual expression (19). Consequently, many female sports fans have reversed the traditional penetrating male gaze of their bodies, and as noted in Kim Toffoletti and Peter Mewett's article over Australian football, these women have combined humor with an expression of their sexual desires to displace traditional male authority within stadium confines (103, 111). However, some critics signal that this phenomenon only legitimizes hegemonic versions of masculinity, especially since these women—and for that matter, other male fans that idolize their "heroes"—provide an adoring audience for exaggerated male athletic performances on the field (Toffoletti and Mewett 105-07; Trujillo 405; Disch and Kane 287). The allured masculine characteristics include "hard work," "toughness" and of course "athleticism," but apart from the Australian context of the aforementioned fans and players, one sees the parallels with soccer fandom and masculinity in Argentina, a society that has long hailed male soccer stars for their dribbling skills and *aguante*.

For many of these feminists, sport, in the Foucauldian sense, represents a key technology of power (Joseph 40). The initial impetus focusing on the politics of the body can be attributed to Iris Young's essay, "Throwing like a Girl," first presented in 1977. Inspired by radical feminism, her influential text proposed that patriarchal culture confines and objectifies women's bodies, and different from their male counterparts, they have not been encouraged to tap into their body's full physical potential (42-43). This

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starkly contrasts with the socialization involved in constructing the "normal" male body, social interactions that often place a heavy emphasis on size and athleticism for men instead of an idealized breast size and weight for women (Ihde 235, 239-40). Basing their study on Judith Butler's theory of gender performance, other scholars such as Amanda Roth and Susan Basow propose that corporal strength differences in men and women are constructed through *doing femininity*, a process that has conditioned weakness in females and perpetuated male athletic dominance. However, the two conclude that the increased athletic activity exhibited by current female athletes demonstrates that these participants are fully capable of the same intense physical activities performed by men (2; 246-47, 262). Supported by these sports feminist discourses, women have begun to develop "non-docile" bodies that resist patriarchy, forces that have typically used sport as way of maintaining heteronormativity.

Although AFA's establishment of the first league for *fútbol femenino* in 1991 represents the first nationwide push for women's soccer in Argentina, an article taken from *Clarín* in January of 1964 evidences the game's initial visibility, an international match between Argentina and Uruguay in the Estadio Ciudad de Vicente López. However, players here followed several different rules, including reduced twenty-five minute halves, the use of *zapatillas*, and women were by no means allowed to argue with referees (Jansson 205). These alternate rules manifest paternalist sporting practices that not only considered women athletically inferior, but also forced them to accept the patriarchal organization of the game and its guidelines.

This said, there do exist several changes and improvements to these initial *machista* practices. For instance, FIFA and their Financial Assistance Program (FAP)

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must set aside ten million dollars a year for the development of women's soccer (Nadel, "The Antinational" 52). Furthermore, and amid FIFA's recent corruption scandal, women will begin to fill more administrative roles in the association, positions that have long been dominated by men. New president Gianni Infantino has established key reforms that will make it required to have at least one female representative per confederation ("FIFA President"). The rise in popularity of the women's game has even led to the inclusion of a gameplay mode in *FIFA 16* that allows gamers to play with several of these international squads.

However, and although these changes are more visible in countries that have excelled in *fútbol femenino* such as the United States—Alex Morgan graces the cover of EA Sports's *FIFA 16*—no female *futbolista* in Latin America gets this same privilege of mass exposure. It can be argued that Brazil's Marta has achieved international success and recognition—the player has won FIFA's World Player of the Year five times—but as Moreira points out, framing her in patriarchal terms often reduces her athleticism and physicality. For instance, media outlets sometimes refer to the player as "Pelé in a Skirt," a nickname that links the athlete to male sporting prowess and heteronormativity (506-07). While Argentina's Luciana "Lucha" Aymar has surpassed Marta's achievements in her respective sport—the player has won the International Hockey Federation's (IHF) Player of the Year a record eight times—*fútbol femenino* has failed to produce a star of equal caliber within the country. The game continues to be ignored and underfunded, specifically when one considers the disparate finishes of both the men's and women's international squads in the last World Cups. While the men's team finished runner-up to

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Germany in 2014, the women failed to even qualify for FIFA's 2015 tournament won by the United States.

Whereas feminist sporting discourse has aimed to make more visible these inequalities, Queer Theory has worked to deconstruct soccer's role in establishing heteronormativity. Many of these scholars emphasize the presence of homoaffective acts in soccer, particularly the hugging, butt-slapping, and even the removal of shirts exhibited by male players and fans following goals (Sebreli, *La era* 260-61; Foster, "Homosocialism" 4). In his famed piece describing the vast number of goal celebrations, Chilean scholar Francisco Mouat confirms the existence of these acts, deeming these affective touches the *amorosa* and the *besucona*. He also notes that FIFA has attempted to control and suppress this type of affection in attempt to lower the risk of spreading the AIDS virus (47-48). México's Enrique Serna also tackles the topic in *Giros negros* (2008) in a section called "Orgías futboleras" (for more on this topic, see Venkatesh's article "Androgyny"). Héctor Carillo and Eric Anderson come to similar conclusions in their studies, suggesting that sports allow men—especially those who are publically and/or assumed to be heterosexual—to kiss, hug, and slap each other's butts (359; 91-92). Even Giulianotti points out the flaws in the nationalist discursive use of the *pibe* and *potrero* mentioned in Archetti's study, stating that the use of the Argentine boy as part of the masculine narrative for the nation challenges the typical mantra of hegemonic masculinity that places emphasis on power and aggression (113). In this fashion, even the toughest Argentine *machos* show affection to their teammates, but many times the workings of discourse disguise these practices as displays of a *buen equipo* or close-knit team.

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However, players do not represent the only ones who behave in a manner that leads to a rupture in heteronormativity. The previously mentioned fan chants that serve to demasculinize rival fans call for active homosexual penetration, demonstrated specifically by the following Argentine cheers: "¡Huracán, Huracán, por el culo te la dan!" and "¡Despacito, despacito, le rompimos el culito" (Bazán 433). The late Pedro Lemebel queers these fan dynamics in his short story entitled "Cómo no te voy a querer (o micropolítica de las barras)." By exposing these obvious queer elements, this resisting discourse attempts to expose Argentina's "manliest" sport from a different optic.

Like feminist theories, queer theorists have also claimed that not only the *macho* shows *aguante* on the field of play. Several have noted the application of the Kinsey statistic to the Argentine game, claiming that around 5-10% of the players participating in the Primera División de Argentina are gay (Rodríguez 245-46; Foster, "Intellectuals" 222). Even though no Argentine player from the first division has publically revealed these sexual preferences, many LGBT athletes have formed their own separate leagues due to continued homophobic practices in the "official" spaces, as proven by Argentine writer Facundo R. Soto who writes on and participates in one of the many *equipos gay* in Buenos Aires (Soto, "El fútbol"). As a result of these resisting discursive forces, many European institutions such as the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and the European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation (EGLSF), have aimed to fight against homophobia in soccer (Giulianotti 108). Similar associations such as the Comunidad Homosexual Argentina have fought these same prejudices in the region, and even AFA has recently shown support for the Selección Argentina de Fútbol Gay, the first of its type in Latin America ("Apoyo"). However, the nation's governing soccer body has done little

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to fight the eminent homophobia present in stadiums, a result that led to the association's 20,000 US dollar fine from FIFA for homophobic chants during qualifying for the 2018 World Cup ("FIFA Sanctions"). Furthermore, AFA's website, whose search engine yields no results to terms such as "gay," "homosexual," "homofobia," and "homofóbico," parallels the governing body's lack of interest on the issue.

Mujeres con Pelotas: Ana María Shua's *Pibas*

As with Fontanarrosa's texts, cultural production has played a key role in spreading resisting discourse dealing with soccer's traditional understanding. Contrary to Fontanarrosa's male-dominated fictional settings, the short stories of Ana María Shua (1951-) include female protagonists that excel and often defeat their masculine foes on the field of play, proving that men are not the only ones suited for the game. "Un partido de fútbol (193?) en el fondo de la Casa Vieja," a chapter taken from *El libro de los recuerdos* (1994), presents the story of Judith and Pinche, siblings who team up in a backyard soccer game between their family clan, los Rimetka Boys, and los Bacacay Juniors. However, it is not Pinche who represents the star of the match. Instead, the narrative places emphasis on the young girl's superior athleticism shown by her strong left foot.

Narrative discourse represents a valuable tool for Shua in the novel, and as can be seen by the chapter analyzed here, the game is narrated by several distinct voices, made known by the various fonts employed in the text. The narrations present the mentioned Rimetka clan, a Jewish immigrant family living in Argentina, over a seventy-year period that ends with Videla's military dictatorship, but the soccer game coincides with the

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military coup of 1930 that overthrew Hipólito Yrigoyen's government (Buchanan 84-85; O'Connell 80). These accounts not only represent the collective memory of the Rimetka family, but also serve as a metaphor for collective memory in Argentina (Buchanan 86; Foster, "Recent" 42). Although the narrators often present conflicting views of past events, these alternative discursive forces challenge dominant versions of Argentina's historical past—especially those that silenced voices during the latest military dictatorship—in a process that draws closer to the truth (Atencio 112; O'Connell 77). Seeing that many scholars point out the novel's ability to challenge dominant historical narratives, an analysis of the chapter on soccer will show how the text privileges statements that present Judith as the superior athlete on the backyard pitch. This outcome and strategy not only questions the governmental forces that have silenced women—particularly those of past Argentine dictatorships—but also those that have constructed soccer as a *deporte macho*.

As said, the multiple narrations recall a match between the Rimetka Boys and Bacacay Juniors, two teams formed by neighboring youths in Buenos Aires. These matches were carried out in the backyard of the Rimetka family's Casa Vieja, a setting that boasts a field with well-kept *pasto*, a typical romantic feature not only of sports fiction, but also of high regard to many soccer purists. The accounts juxtapose Pinche and Judith, two siblings that display disparate talents for the game. Contrary to traditional notions of soccer and masculinity, the former displays little or no athletic dominance or interest in the sport. Besides his asthmatic deficiency, the following excerpt also suggests Pinche's lack of *aguante*: "El tío Pinche no quería jugar al fútbol porque jugaba mal, porque se agitaba mucho (era asmático) y porque en el fondo de la Casa Vieja se jugaba

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fuerte y Pinche no aguantaba las patadas en las canillas" ("Un partido" 29). Because of his lack of talent, Pinche is assigned to play goalie by his peers, a position that requires the least amount of skill in their match against Bacacay Juniors.

However, Pinche is not the only character here that disrupts heteronormativity in the youth's backyard version of the game. Judith's immense talent for soccer breaks away from traditional gender norms, and as one narrative voice makes known, this dissociates her from conventional femininity. Moreover, these statements prove the lack of support and enthusiasm towards *fútbol femenino* in Argentine society:

> La tía Judith no era muy señorita y con la zurda tenía una patada formidable y goleadora. En cambio, en la clase de costura, adonde la babuela la mandaba a la fuerza para que aprendiera algo útil en la vida, los ojales le salían muy desprolijos porque la obligaban a coser con la mano derecha. (A la tía Judith saber coser ojales no le servía para nada en la vida. Pero su genial aptitud como centro-forward tampoco.) ("Un partido" 29)

The talent's left leg also serves as a sense of empowerment for Judith in front of her male childhood fans and admirers: "Ahora las piernas de la tía Judith son muy blancas y muy blandas y tienen muchas várices. La izquierda no es muy diferente de la derecha. Sin embargo ésa era la pierna preferida por los hombres de su generación cuando la tía Judith tenía nueve años: la famosa zurda goleadora)" ("Un partido" 33). Although some could interpret this as a fetishized male gaze, the emphasis on the girl's powerful left foot serves as a synecdoque for her "non-docile" female sporting body.

Considering the setting and actors of this narrative space, Judith and her immense talent also allow her to transform into the mythical *pibe de oro*. A change of narrative voice here, indicated by the italics, describes the girl's *aguante* and creative, childlike

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play that lead to comparisons with concurrent Boca Juniors stars such as Ludovico Bidoglio:

> *Judith Rimetka es un crack con un limpio concepto del sport. Emplea el shot con puntería y potencia. Es capaz de sortear adversarios yendo y viniendo de un lado al otro del field, con una habilidad que recuerda al genial Ludovico Bidoglio. Los rivales eludidos siguen en su persecución sin darle alcance y llega un momento en que la brillante figura de Judith Rimetka y sus perseguidores parece formar un cometa de larga cola*. ("Un partido" 36)

Aside from her skills that literally place her in the forefront of her peers, the same account also highlights the protagonist's ability for the *gambeta* and other skilled soccer moves shown by the traditional *pibe* and other Argentine soccer legends: "*La acción de Judith Rimetka fue el único placer de este malogrado espectáculo. J.R. es capaz de realizar a la perfección aquella jugada de la "media luna" de la que tanto hablan los viejos, la mítica jugada del glorioso Jorge Brown en el legendario team del Alumni*" ("Un partido" 36). Seeing that this discourse equates Judith with the attributes of the *pibe*, the account challenges the dominant narrative that privileges innate masculine talents like Maradona and Messi.

Due to her on-field superiority and for questions of fair play, Judith is forced to switch teams during the last five minutes of the game when one of the Bacacay Juniors players gets injured. This leads to the chapter's climax as she sets to face off against Pinche in the game's final seconds, a moment in which one narrator describes the sister's particular delight in defeating her brother: "Puede parecer extraño que Judith mostrara el mismo entusiasmo en jugar para los Bacacay Juniors que para el equipo de sus propios hermanos… porque tenía que demostrar siempre y a toda costa que no por mujer era menos goleadora y porque sentía un perverso y especial placer en meterle un buen golazo

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al gilastrún y paparulo de su hermano Pinche" ("Un partido" 36). The language here reflects the dominance associated with soccer, especially between the "active" scorer and "passive" loser.

Even though Judith slips on an uneven surface just before her shot in the final moments—also caused by Silvestre's oversized shoes that she has borrowed for the game—she manages to get off a weak right-footed shot that still gets by her brother's goal line. Besides literally "filling Silvestre's shoes" in a game that has traditionally been considered a *deporte macho*, she successfully triumphs among boys and best of all, defeats her brother. As the omniscient narrator expresses the dejected brother's thoughts in the chapter's final pages, Pinche's happiness and perhaps masculinity have been tarnished ever since the on-field mishap: "Todo termina con la muerte, pero que en cambio cada cosa, cuando empieza, tiene un comienzo diferente y que él, Pinche, había empezado a ser un infeliz el día en que no pudo atajar ese puto gol que le metió, de pedo nomás, la pobrecita de su hermana Judith" ("Un partido" 39-40).

Nearly twenty years after the publication of *El libro de los recuerdos*, Shua has continued to contribute to the narrative discourse that allows soccer to be seen in an alternative light. Similar to the previously analyzed chapter, "Fútbol era el de antes," included in *Las dueñas de la pelota* (2014), not only presents female protagonists that participate in soccer, but also those that regulate the game's rules and cheer from the stands. Claudia Piñeiro's anthology, along with Mabel Pagano's *Mujeres con pelotas* (2010) and Gabriel Balanovsky and Ginger Gentile's documentary of the same title released in 2014, belongs to a wave of texts in recent years that have offered feminist perspectives and explored the inequalities of *fútbol femenino* within Argentine society.

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Due to the sport's popularity in the region, Wood suggests that the focus on soccer in these texts offers these writers a powerful site of contestation where women can challenge traditional gender roles and national narratives (194, 212). Perhaps Piñeiro's words taken from the introduction of *Las dueñas* best capture the sentiment of this literary movement: "Por eso esta selección, para encontrarnos con plumas femeninas que le den al deporte nacional un punto de vista peculiar, un sonido diferente, palabras que lo cuenten de otro modo. En esta antología hay distinta intensidad en cuanto al protagonismo del fútbol en la historia que se relata" (14).

Contrary to the various narrators in "Un partido de fútbol (193?) en el fondo de la Casa Vieja," Shua's text here more explicitly presents the game from a female perspective as proved by the text's intradiegetic narrator. Moreover, the narrative participant identifies herself as a writer and at the conclusion of the short story, the reader discovers that she has already published her account with the Dirección Nacional de Derecho de Autor, a technique that further suggests the resisting discursive voice within the text. The text centers around the narrator's experiences at an intercollegiate futsal match—a form of indoor soccer that typically fields teams of five instead of eleven—where she has chosen to attend her daughter's debut as a referee. Turned off by some of the more overly enthusiastic parents of these nine to ten-year-old children—at one point the narrator compares their behavior to that of the local *barras bravas*—she decides to sit down next to a calm woman that reminds her of her tai-chi teacher. After chatting a few moments with her new friend, the narrator discovers that she also has a daughter on the court, hers being one of the game's participants. Although some readers might associate this passive spectator with the "soccer mom" or the typical disinterested female fan—

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paralleled with some of Fontanarrosa's previously commented panels—this woman proves to be a knowledgeable companion of the game, explaining the rules, pointing out strategies, and even sharing that she played in high school. Again, the woman's soccer intelligence serves to challenge the belief that men are the only fans that understand the game.

Leading up to these events, the narrator's thoughts again demonstrate how soccer has been traditionally constructed as a *deporte macho*. Reflecting on the game of *fútbol femenino* that she has attended, her inner monologue reflects the dividing social practices that have historically excluded women from the game: "En nuestra época las chicas no jugaban a juegos brutos. Se jugaba hándbol, vóleibol, al tenis las pitucas…" ("Fútbol" 33). She continues by hinting at how discursive practices within schools contributed to a heteronormative understanding of certain sports during her childhood: "Pero ya a los once, doce años, había que empezar a portarse como una señorita y se entendía que no jugábamos más. En la escuela, ni hablar. Pura gimnasia sueca con pollerita azul tableada y bombachudo" ("Fútbol" 33-34). Although the narrator's childhood reflections demonstrate soccer's historic masculine designation, her attendance at the futsal match and her daughter's participation in a powerful on-field role such as referee manifest some of the changing attitudes towards the sport in recent years.

However, this feminine participation on the field of play does not interrupt the narrator's critique of some of the overbearing fathers in the stands. While the narrator shares her thoughts of this aggressive behavior with the reader, direct discourse vociferates the man's disapproval towards his daughter:

> Pero la bestia humana no podía parar y pasó a gritarle otra vez a su propia hija, algo que hacía todo el tiempo.

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> —¡Espalda, animal! ¡Cuántas veces te dije! ¡La espalda, bolú!
> Lo único que entendía yo es que la pobre chiquita debía estar harta de los gritos y los insultos de su papá. ("Fútbol" 38)

While this narration manifests the violent rhetoric associated with football hooliganism and abrasive coaching tactics, the narrator's new friend shares a story of a close companion from high school that received some of the same verbal abuses. Antonella, the young girl from this anecdote, shares a similar relationship with her father and he even encourages her to try out for River Plate. Even though Antonella is named captain of her Futsal team, apparently, the only way to win over her father's support is through a successful tryout, especially since he considers the five-on-five variety to be a game reserved for "minas y maricones" ("Fútbol" 40). Again, sexist and homophobic discourse prove to construct a gender division between soccer and futsal.

During the description of the girl's tryout with River Plate, and corresponding with the ideals of radical feminism, the reader also discovers the notable inequalities between men and women's soccer. Like many young female hopefuls in Buenos Aires, Antonella thinks she will have at least one chance to set foot on the historic field of El Monumental. However, this is not the case as the new friend explains the girl's disillusions: "Había un montón de chicas y las mandaron a todas al vestuario y después a una cancha auxiliar, donde entrenan las inferiores. Ya el vestuario era una berretada, y la cancha era bien de segunda, no tenía casi césped, encima había llovido y estaba hecha un barrial" ("Fútbol" 41). These exclusionary practices not only hold true in Shua's fictional account, but also with other popular clubs in the Argentine capital. For instance, Balanovsky and Gentile's mentioned documentary on *fútbol femenino* includes interviews with youths playing on the Boca Juniors women's squad, many of whom

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express that the organization has never and would never allow them to play in La Bombonera, the club's famous stadium. Furthermore, the lackluster field conditions described in Shua's text correspond to FIFA's decision to use artificial turf for the 2015 Women's World Cup, considered an insult among many of the participants (Wahl 34). Faced with these conditions, the reader discovers that Antonella is among the best of those trying out, but not better than those already on River Plate's current squad. However, the young talent not only has to face this rejection, but also that of her father who does not talk to her for several weeks. In this way, the reader can interpret the father's abandonment as a symbolic critique of FIFA and AFA, parent organizations often distant in their support of *fútbol femenino*.

Shattered by this failure and her father's disapproval, the woman informs the narrator that Antonella ended up getting a sex change in the United States. Only then did she truly win her father's support. The narrator questions the woman's knowledge of these intimate details, but she assures her that Antonella and herself have remained "amigas del alma" ("Fútbol" 43). Like Fontanarrosa, Shua relies on irony to conclude her short story, and the reader discovers that Antonella—now Antonio—represents her soulmate and current partner. Upon discovering that their daughter is adopted, the woman explains the origins of her talent: "¿No es un genio? ¡Deben ser los genes! ¡El papá está tan orgulloso de ella!" ("Fútbol" 45). The success of the young talent and her loving support diverges from the turbulent father-daughter relationship presented in the anecdote. In this way, the reader sees how the pair has opted for alternative strategies for coaching and cheering for their daughter, serving again as a staunch critique of patriarchy.

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In the spirit of radical feminism, both Shua and her characters break away from the traditional male-dominated world of soccer and its narrative discourse. Whether it be the narrator's daughter who regulates the game, the women who support their daughters in the stands, or the young talent that flourishes with this type of encouragement, the resisting discursive forces present in the text challenge the violent masculine behavior associated with *barras bravas* and the lack of administrative support from AFA and FIFA for the women's game. Instead of the homosocial atmosphere presented in Fontanarrosa's texts, Shua's female protagonists populate and shape the soccer world in alternative ways. Sold and published by one of Buenos Aires's most notable book stores, El Ateneo, just before the 2014 Men's FIFA World Cup, Piñeiro's anthology facilitated the rewriting of the dominate narrative associated with soccer at an opportune time, arguing that the sport is not solely reserved for the likes of Messi and Maradona.

A Friendly Match: Homoaffectivity in Washington Cucurto's Poetry

Although he has not published with the same, long-established editorials in Buenos Aires, Washington Cucurto (1973-) has taken the publishing game into his own hands on the streets of the capital. The Argentine writer and journalist serves as the director of Eloísa Cartonera, an editorial that buys and recycles cardboard obtained from the *cartoneros*—a resulting phenomenon of the 2001 economic crisis where thousands continue to salvage materials such as cardboard, metal, and glass found in the city's waste to support their families—for the covers of the company's publications. Besides this alternative publishing formula, Cucurto also reaches the masses through his blog on Argentine soccer found on ESPNdeportes.com.

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However, it is his poem "Entre hombres" that offers a queer view of the sport. This alternative representation of the game and its participants constitutes a key strategy for queer cultural production, a movement that aims to deconstruct dominant representations and stereotypes of these individuals (Foster, *Producción* 171). Regarding poetry, Cucurto's themes greatly diverge from other authors who have dedicated their poems to soccer. The most notable of these include Gilka Machado's "Aos heróis do futebol brasileiro," Rafael Alberti's "Platko," Miguel Hernández's "Elegía-al guardameta," Juan Parra del Riego's "Polirritmo dinámico a Gradín, jugador de fútbol," and finally Mario Benedetti's "Onomástico," all of which present their male protagonists in a heroic light. Although Wood does note the homoerotic connection between the poetic voice of Parra del Riego's poem and Isabelino Gradín (1897-1944), the real-life sporting protagonist of "Polirrítmo" (27), few works expose soccer's inherent homoaffective elements. Just like Fontanarrosa, Cucurto includes homosocial settings such as the soccer field and even references the street version of the game, but contrary to his predecessors, his poetic representation emphasizes the intimate contact shared between masculine participants, a strategy that serves as a discursive literary force that questions the traditional *machista* construction of soccer and its supposed heroic *machos*.

It remains unclear why the poetic voice directs itself at Laercio Redondo in verses one and two—a Brazilian-born artist who resides in Rio de Janeiro—but the reader first notes an alternative perspective of soccer's "manly" participants in verses three and four. The use of anaphora and oxymoron allows for the poem to subvert the traditional connotation of the male soccer player as a "strong" individual, instead emphasizing these men's love and affection for one another: "El fútbol es un deporte de hombres dulces / el

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fútbol es un deporte de hombres que se quieren con locura" (61). The first stanza also presents the main poetic characters, represented by the nominalized adjectives of "El habilidoso" and "el recio" (61), words that respectively serve as metonyms of the midfielder and the striker. The final verses of the stanza clarify these literary tropes by referring to the location of these positions in a typical soccer formation. Of course, the love-struck midfielder trails the striker whose main purpose is to score goals at the frontline: "En el campo se impone el recio / y el enamorado corre detrás de él" (61).

Even though a close relationship between these men on the field of play often leads to cohesive passing and the scoring of goals, dominant discourse tends to conceal this necessary connection through a certain linguistic coding of teamwork and brotherhood. Choosing to deconstruct this framework, the poem exhibits this love-hate sporting companionship in verses five and six: "El habilidoso es mal tratado por el recio / y el recio se muere por mal tratarlo con amor" (61). Like many queer theory scholars studying soccer, this relationship is highlighted in the poem by the presence of homoaffective acts during celebrations, but here the reader also sees how these moments can segue into homoerotic desire, hinted at by the words directed at a trailing defenseman at the conclusion of the first stanza: "Ven y voltéame, recio zaguero" (61). The following verse also suggests that these men do not only desire to score a goal, but also long for the celebrations that follow as the poetic voice captures what appears to be an "orgasmic" celebration between these men: "Vi hombre arrojarse al pasto, para que otros / se arrojen detrás, es tan bonito el amor / corrompido, prohibido, escapado de la pacterías del mundo" (61). The enjambment here also hints at how the *deporte macho* allows these men to exhibit a "forbidden" affection that is repressed in other social settings.

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Seeing that the opening of the poem explores these acts on the pitch, the last half of the final stanza explores soccer's homoaffectivity when played in the *barrio* or on the street. Here, the poem makes mention of Pier Paolo Passolini, a gay Italian poet and film director who played amateur soccer for Bologna F.C. Besides this reference hinting at the veracity of the Kinsey statistic applied to soccer, the verses here challenge the *machista* presupposition that negates the presence of homosexual participants in the so-called "man's" game. One could also consider the inclusion of this character to represent a type of *tessera* or revision to past soccer poems. Borrowing the term from Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence* (1997) (14), Cucurto's poem continues the poetic ode to the soccer star employed by the mentioned poets, but instead of underlining the heroic feats of Passolini, the revised poetic strategy presents the man as a loving teammate and captain. However, the Italian poet was mysteriously murdered while playing soccer, a similar tragic fate suffered by Hernández and Alberti's poetic protagonists on the field of play.

Now mentioning these members in an outdoor setting, the poem reemphasizes the affection shared between players: "Passolini, lo sabía bien y disfrutaba, / era capitán de un equipo de recios adolescentes… / …entre hombres, en medio de la calle; / el recio y el habilidoso, / el abrazo y el beso del gol, son como un arrumaco / después de un gran polvo" (61). The Sedgwickian prepositional phrase here, "entre hombres," along with the word "recios" further stresses the fact that these homoaffective acts do occur between the sport's toughest competitors. The final verse concludes that the game's most visible passion is brought out by these men's celebrations: "Todo es mejor y mágico entre hombres" (61). Similar to Shua's soccer texts, Cucurto's poetry attempts to undermine the previous constructions of the sport in Argentine society. In this way, "Entre hombres"

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not only highlights the intimacy shown by most of the current players in the Primera División, but also demonstrate that soccer is not a game reserved for the heteronormative *macho*.

Considering that dominant discourse has long constructed Argentina's most popular sport as a game exclusively for men, deconstruction has proved a slow, but steady process in the last twenty-five years, spearheaded by the establishment of the country's first league for *fútbol femenino*. Although resisting discursive forces led by feminism and queer theory have facilitated this process in the academic world, it has been the cultural scene that has disseminated these discourses to the masses. Despite the immense success of Fontanarrosa's texts in embedding the traditional *machista* social practices related to soccer, critical analyses of these works and those of Shua and Cucurto have helped the game be understood in alternative ways. With their help, and that of other authors, scholars, and most importantly, fans, the sport might rid itself of its current discursive contamination. Facilitated specifically by technologies of power such as the media, it is certain that powerful corporate and state entities will find new ways to influence the practice of soccer for their own interests. However, resisting forces will continue to challenge these individuals, hoping that all those that wish to participate receive equal opportunities to play and/or shape the game they love.

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CHAPTER 3

SOCCER'S NEOLIBERAL REGIME OF TRUTH: GOODS OF *LA FRANQUICIA*

> Desde hace mucho, en las canchas vemos a un Eurobrasil: juego duro y poco arte. Sólo en los comerciales de Nike practican el *jogo bonito*. (Juan Villoro, *Ida y vuelta* 69)

Latin American players such as Lionel Messi (Argentina), Luis Suárez (Uruguay), and Neymar de Silva (Brazil)—all currently playing for F.C. Barcelona—represent some of the most recognizable soccer superstars playing in Europe. Even though these athletes are most often associated with their Spanish club, they also receive global attention when collaborating with their corporate sponsors. As a result, these players are constructed as goods that are transferred and/or loaned from smaller Latin American soccer markets to the powerful European leagues. Not to mention, transnational corporations fabricate a certain image for these players, converting them into "stars" that help sell their products to the global market.

While these athletes are currently treated as capital goods, mid- and late-twentieth-century players such as Garrincha (Brazil), Pelé (Brazil), and Diego Maradona (Argentina) were popularly seen as soccer heroes for their respective nations, especially since they all helped contribute to various World Cup titles. During this episteme, the sports chronicle served as a crucial enunciative modality for disseminating this mythical construction, most notably in Brazil. Influenced by modernist intellectuals such as Gilberto Freyre and Mário Filho, Nelson Rodrigues—Filho's brother—contributed to a journalistic archive that celebrated the triumphs of Garrincha, Pelé, and the Brazilian nation in the 1958, 1962, and 1970 World Cups. Since players constitute the objects of discursive analysis for this chapter, the following pages will first analyze Rodrigues's

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Personagem da semana column, chronicles that highlight these players' supposed *brasilidade* and artful approach to the game as they lead Brazil to international success.

While nationalism and Brazilian modernist thinking appears to influence Rodrigues's discourse, neoliberalism represents the current regime of truth that constructs players in a divergent manner. Two writers offer resistant literary approaches to this nationalist discourse. Even though Eduardo Galeano also provides vignettes of Pelé and Garrincha, his essays on these figures, as well as Ronaldo and Maradona, paint the so-called beautiful game with a nostalgic brush, one that emphasizes aesthetics and the childlike play of these athletes instead of their off-field image. On the contrary, Juan Villoro's texts do just the opposite, fulfilling the Mexican chronicle's long tradition of rewriting the "official" history disseminated by the country's dominant media outlets. Countering the infinite amount of coverage given to these athletes on sports television programs, radio shows, blogs, and news columns, Villoro's accounts tend to criticize the current star-like lifestyles of these players, a discourse that demonstrates how some players succeed or fail in a system that oftentimes overlooks on-field performance. Representing one of the most popular genres in the region, these analyses will prove both the essay's and chronicle's discursive influence in the construction of Latin American soccer players and why many have now become the most sought-after prospects in the world.

Brazilian Nationalism and *Futebol Arte*

Besides the role of sports journalism, other enunciative modalities helped to shape Garrincha and Pelé into model figures for the Brazilian nation. Since players often

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incarnate the virtues of the nation (Assumpção, Neves, and Camelo 8), Getúlio Vargas (1882-1954) and the Estado Novo utilized soccer as a tool for national integration (Kittleson 35). Surveyed later in this investigation, the construction of stadiums such as the Estádio Pacaembu and its diverse attendees most visually symbolized Vargas's ideal of Brazil as a racial democracy (Kittleson 35-36; Jackson 47-48; Fontes and Hollanda 15). But as Roger Kittleson points out, Vargas's version of masculinist nationalism through soccer followed the discursive footsteps of modernist thinkers such as Gilberto Freyre and Mário Filho (49-50).

Contrary to many of his predecessors, the ideas of Freyre, author of *Casa-Grande e senzala* (1933), suggested that Brazil's racial miscegenation represented a positive element of national culture and served as a response to the country's historic whitening practices (Helal and Gordon 61). Influenced by these notions, Mário Filho published *O negro no futebol brasileiro* in 1947, an edition that even included a preface by Freyre. His introduction highlights the importance of Amerindian and African contributions to the European game, Dionysian elements that have allowed Brazilians to create their own national approach to soccer (25). Filho, in an epic representation of the black soccer player, then argues that embracing this style and the full inclusion of both blacks and mulattos into Brazilian soccer would help unify the nation (Soares 16; Helal and Gordon 53). Even though some have deemed Filho's work a romanticized narrative, many Brazilian scholars continue to use the text as a legitimate historical source in the social sciences (Soares 13-16; Helal and Gordon 54). However, popular Brazilian chronicles influenced by these modernist ideas during and soon after the Vargas regime tended to

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emphasize *futebol* as a key element to national identity and social integration (Helal and Soares 5; Helal, "Fútbol" 9).

Similar to the emergence of the *criollo* style in Argentina discussed in chapter two, the concept of Brazilian nationalism and the narratives mentioned above would give rise to *futebol arte*, a supposed improvisational approach that favored the dribble and opposed the mechanical *futebol força* employed by the elite British founders of the game (Nadel, *Fútbol* 67-69; Helal and Gordon 70). A term coined by Freyre, many say that *futebol arte* derives its creativity from the spontaneous moves used by players to avoid attacking opponents, especially since fouls were not often called in favor of these darker-skinned participants (Amaro and Helal 2; Rohden 194; Bellos 35). Alex Bellos also notes that Freyre's theories used popular folkloric figures such as the *malandro* to embody this playful style, one that successfully transformed an orderly European approach into the improvisation associated with Brazil and its version of soccer (35-36). More recently, Roberto DaMatta has used the term *jogo de cintura* to describe the samba-like dance moves and elements of *malandragem* used to confuse Brazilian opponents on the pitch, again underlining the approach's contrast with what he calls the European *quadrada* variety (*A bola* 28). Agreeing with Soares, race, miscegenation, and racism have played an important role in the construction of this national style and its connection with Brazilian identity (45).

Noting soccer's popular impact within the country and its successful employment by the Estado Novo, the sport has also created nationalist sentiment for other political powers. To avoid a repeat of the Maracanaço—the *seleção*'s 2-1 loss to Uruguay in Rio de Janeiro's famed Estádio do Maracaná during the 1950 World Cup in Brazil—President

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Juscelino Kubitschek (1902-76) and his ambitious development plans allowed João Havelange and the Confederação Brasileira de Desportos (CBD) to modernize *futebol*, principally through top-down management of the national team (Kittleson 58-59; Goldblatt 96-97). This combined with the outstanding play of Péle and Garrincha led to back-to-back World Cup victories in 1958 and 1962. Although this stimulated a significant amount of national pride among Brazilians, General Emílio Garrastazu Médici (1905-85) also benefitted from the success of the *seleção* as he equated the success and values of his military dictatorship with that of the team's triumph and collective unity during the 1970 World Cup (Goldblatt 127). Seeing that soccer has played a pivotal role in the construction of Brazilian nationalism, this study turns its attention to how nationalist discourse transformed players into mythical figures that played the game in the supposed "Brazilian" way.

Garrincha and Pelé: Brazil's *Anjo* and *Rei*

International competitions represent the most regulated social practices that construct players in nationalist terms, specifically the World Cup. Aside from the most obvious examples of nationalism on the field of play—uniforms bearing the colors of the Brazilian flag and the singing of the national anthem before games—discourse tends to construct these players as defenders of the nation or leaders on the sporting "battlefield." For instance, sports commentators and journalists often use militaristic language—the verbs "shoot," "defend," and "attack" come to mind here—that transforms players into warriors (Cano 188). This commentary appears to uphold traditional notions of nationalism, and similar to the Argentine case, the strong masculine athlete symbolizes

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national strength and potential. This is not surprising since the Estado Novo advocated for the creation of the ideal Brazilian man through physical education and sport, a process that sought to create strong bodies able to defend the nation (Monteiro 134-39). As far as cultural production goes, Gilka Machado's "Aos heróis do futebol brasileiro," a soccer-inspired poem published originally in *Sublimação* (1938), projected the Brazilian footballer as this heroic figure, fulfilling the literary realm's discursive contribution to the modernist project.

However, during the mentioned episteme, discourse predominantly emphasized the Brazilianess of players like Pelé and Garrincha through their distinctive approaches to the game. This said, both players represented the nation in very different ways. Whereas O Rei Pelé was literally regarded as a monarch of the Brazilian nation, Manuel Francisco dos Santos acquired the nicknames of Garrincha and O Anjo de Pernas Tortas, the former referring to an elusive Brazilian wren and the latter meaning "bent-legged angel" in Portuguese. As these terms suggest, both were constructed as a national hero and antihero respectively, but together they formed the ideal for the modern Brazilian man (Melo 289-90). Known for his professionalism and technical abilities on the field of play, Pelé incarnated efficiency, virility, and cordiality (Melo 290). On the contrary, Garrincha's ties to working-class culture and his improvisational wing-play linked him with the popular sectors, and discourse often glamourized playing attributes associated with the *malandro* and *molecagem*, both supposed elements of *futebol arte* (Melo 290; Helal, "A construção" 34). Curious enough, Garrincha's deficient body condition—he was born with a deformed spine, crooked right leg, and shortened left leg—not only contributes to his status as the Brazilian antihero, but also draws parallels with the Argentine *pibe* in

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terms of masculinity, particularly since both figures display non-traditional masculine bodies. Although multiple cultural texts such as Joaquim Pedro de Andrade's *Garrincha: alegria do povo* (1963), Carlos Hugo Christensen's *Rei Pelé* (1963), and Jackson do Pandeiro's song "O Rei Pelé" all reaffirm these player's mass popularity, Nelson Rodrigues (1912-80) would come to represent the most influential voice within Brazilian culture to construct these players as national symbols.

The Nation in Pelé and Garrincha's *Chuteiras*

The emergence of the sports chronicle in Brazil coincides with the mass popularization of soccer in the 1930s, and many consider Mário Filho as the father of the genre (Freitas 90; M. Silva 33-34; Capraro, Santos, and Lise 8-9). Fulfilling an essential role in the establishment of the Brazilian nation, sports journalism developed the language, expressions, and epic discourse involved with soccer and the country's style of play (Borges 25; Fiengo, "Golbalización" 259). It must be reiterated that the concept of *brasilidade* did not originate entirely with Vargas and his regime; rather he adopted many of these ideas from the group of journalists that fabricated the idea of *futebol arte* as inherently Brazilian (Kittleson 49-50).

During this time, soccer chroniclers aimed their work at the masses, hoping to recreate the stadium experience for readers who were unable to attend matches (Pereira 2). Language here often reflected the popular expressions used by *torcedores*, allowing for passive readers to actively participate in these spectacles (Borges 25-27). Common themes included fandom, soccer strategy, and the politics involved with professional soccer, and since the chronicler often combined the facts of the game with opinion,

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readers began to develop a deeper meaning of soccer within the Brazilian context (Borges 29; Freitas 90; M. Silva 38).

Despite his brother being known as the father of the Brazilian sports chronicle, current Fluminense commentator Marcos Caetano considers Nelson Rodrigues as the most renowned soccer chronicler both domestically and internationally (9). Influenced by Freyre's work, the Rodrigues brothers paved the way for future contributors to the genre such as Armando Nogueira and João Saldanha, and even Clarice Lispector contributed to the vast archive of texts dedicated to the sport (Goldblatt 112-15). In this way, one can designate Nelson Rodrigues and his numerous chronicles as one of the most widespread discursive forces dealing with soccer during the 1950s and well into the 1970s, and even though the Brazilian dramatist—he is also considered one of the most successful playwrights of 20th-century Brazilian theater—passed away in 1980, many Brazilians still celebrate the idealized version of soccer present in his texts. In fact, in hopes of boosting nationalist sentiment before the 2014 World Cup, the Brazilian government published *A pátria de chuteiras* (2013). The anthology compiled many of the writer's most famous soccer works and included an introduction by Aldo Rebelo, Brazil's Minister of Sport (Bocketti 251).

Rodrigues's unique style contributed to the popularity of his columns, published more often than not in widespread print sources like *O Globo* and *Manchete Esportiva*. Known for his talents in the performing arts, the journalist recognized the connections between theater and soccer, especially the parallels between players and audience, or in this case fans (Carvalho 411). With the absence of live broadcasts during this time, he tended to embellish stadium atmosphere and provide elaborate descriptions of game

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events, and some note that his chronicles even constitute epic narratives of these competitions (Pereira and Vaz 177; Antunes 211; Santos 2). Combined with hyperbole, his *crônicas* served as a type of *espíquer das redações* for his readers, providing animated commentary filled with graphic visuals (Marques 88).

These mythic narrations allowed for soccer to become one of the most important elements of Brazilian identity. Many of Rodrigues's interpretations of soccer remain used today, but perhaps the most popular of these concepts is the *pátria em chuteiras*, an idea suggesting that the integrity of the Brazilian nation literally rested in the cleats of its beloved players. Furthermore, the *escrete*—a term employed by Rodrigues and derived from the English word scratch which refers to the starting lineup—as nation in these chronicles played an important discursive role in the 1950s and 1960s as the populist government of Kubitschek equated the national team's success with the country's progress (Antunes 270; Santos 4). But most important to the construction of players as national heroes were his weekly columns dedicated to the *personagem da semana* or player of the week, texts that would provide an idea of the modern Brazilian man (Melo 289).

Rodrigues tends to emphasize the most dramatic moments created by these players, and doing so often transforms them into epic protagonists that battle and defend the nation (M. Silva 108; Vejmelka 161). Historically marginalized individuals such as black and mulatto players represent the most romanticized and celebrated figures in these writings (Facina 89; Pinho 147-48). While he deems Rei Pelé—Rodrigues is credited with giving the player his royal nickname—the hero of the 1958 World Cup triumph in Sweden, chronicles surrounding the 1962 competition construct these men as soldiers on

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the battlefield, especially considering Pelé's tournament-ending injuries suffered against Czechoslovakia (Capraro 13-16; Antunes 231-34). However, as Rodrigues elevates Pelé to the heroic narrative plane, his chronicles on Garrincha celebrate the player's creative approach, despite his antiheroic bodily deficiencies. Presenting the player as unconquerable and highlighting his *futebol arte*, the chronicler regarded Garrincha as the ideal incarnation of Brazilian soccer (F. Silva 123; Freitas 92; Vejmelka 162). According to Rodrigues, Pelé and Garrincha would serve as Brazil's antidote to what he coined the *complexo de vira-latas*, the supposed inferiority complex that symbolized Brazil's underdevelopment and led to soccer catastrophes such as the Maracanaço. Now carrying the nation in their "cleats," the two would be equated with Brazilian national progress (Capraro 10-12; Freitas 93; Wisnik 272-73). By analyzing these players in Rodrigues's *Personagem da semana* chronicles, the following pages will show how this nationalist-charged discourse has constructed Pelé and Garrincha as ideal symbols for the Brazilian nation.

Although Rodrigues originally published his chronicles in news outlets such as *O Globo*, *Manchete Esportiva*, and *Fatos & Fotos* throughout the 50s, 60s, and 70s, Brazilian journalist Ruy Castro has compiled several posthumously in *À sombra das chuteiras imortais* (1993) and *A pátria em chuteiras* (1994). Besides these anthologies, Rodrigues's daughter Sônia Rodrigues recently organized *Brasil em campo* (2012), and the colorful edition of *A pátria de chuteiras* (2013)—originally serialized on the federal government's "Portal da Copa" (Bocketti 289) and now available for free download on Ediouro's website—has further disseminated Rodrigues's ideas regarding Brazilian soccer. Selected from these editions, chronicles on Pelé and Garrincha capture what

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would become Brazil's golden age in the sport, winning three World Cups in four tries. As suggested above, Rodrigues's chronicles allowed for fans to relive these glories through his narrated sporting dramas, and his use of the first-person plural not only created an important connection between reader and chronicler, but also provided discursive elements that would establish national sentiment, fervor, and unity.

Published in *Manchete Esportiva* on March 8, 1958, chronicling a match between Brazilian clubs Santos and América at the Maracaná, "A realeza de Pelé" would represent the first text giving Pelé his most iconic nickname. By indicating match facts, dates, game events, and publication medium, Ruy Castro's footnotes in his compiled editions provide an important cultural context for readers, and in this case, he acknowledges Rodrigues's first use of the term "Rei Pelé" (*À Sombra* 42). Additionally, it should be noted that Castro provides titles for many of these chronicles since the original texts only included the chronicler's "Meu personagem da semana" heading. At the same time, these anthologies exclude the original publication's accompanying photography, here a smiling, youthful Pelé sporting his white Santos kit ("A realeza" 8-9). Even though the Brazilian takes the field here at the young age of seventeen, the text emphasizes his royal and racial superiority on the field: "Racialmente perfeito, do seu peito parecem pender mantos invisíveis. Em suma: – ponham-no em qualquer rancho e a sua majestade dinástica há de ofuscar toda a corte em derredor" (*À Sombra* 42). The chronicle allows Rodrigues a space to embellish Pelé's dominance over his opponents as his royal attire separates him from his adversarial "subjects." Furthermore, the text's comments on race and the repeated use of the term "sublime crioulo" in other chronicles, exhibit Freyre and Filho's influence on the chronicler, a desire to include the player's heritage as important

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to the construction of Brazilian identity. Rodrigues continues to underline Pelé's technical superiority as the text creates a scene of royal hierarchy between the Santos forward and opposing defenders: "Quando ele apanha a bola, e dribla um adversário, é como quem enxota, quem escorraça um plebeu ignaro e piolhento" (*À Sombra* 42). In this way, Rodrigues's embellishment of Pelé's dribbling skills presents the América players as royal subjects symbolically under the rule of the seventeen-year-old star.

Not only this, the chronicler constructs the player as an ideal masculine symbol for the nation. For instance, when asked who is the greatest midfielder and forward in the world, Pelé confidently responds: "Eu" (*À Sombra* 42). Aside from this display of confidence, Rodrigues projects the player's strength by deeming him an "esforço pessoal," both traits of traditional masculinity (*À Sombra* 42). Relying on his dribbling skills—a key element in the construction of *futebol arte*—Pelé single-handedly takes on his opponents: "Numa palavra: — sem passar a ninguém e sem ajuda de ninguém, ele promoveu a destruição minuciosa e sádica da defesa rubra" (*À Sombra* 43). Here, the emphasis on the player's individual dominance allows for Rodrigues to project him as a heroic figure whose athletic prowess symbolizes the strong Brazilian man. Even the chronicle's description of Pelé's ball-control suggests male soccer dominance: "Põe-se por cima de tudo e de todos. E acaba intimidando a própria bola, que vem aos seus pés com uma lambida docilidade de cadelinha" (*À Sombra* 43). By describing these feats in patriarchal terms—both *bola* and *cadelinha* are "feminine" nouns in Portuguese—Rodrigues underlines the nation's potential as symbolized through the young, male athlete.

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This proves an important narrative strategy since Brazil's national team would be competing in the 1958 World Cup that next summer. Following the epic narration of Pelé's royal supremacy, the chronicler offers a bold prediction for the upcoming event: "Na Suécia, ele não tremerá de ninguém. Há de olhar os húngaros, os ingleses, os russos de alto a baixo. Não se inferioriza diante de ninguém. E é dessa atitude viril e mesmo insolente que precisamos. Sim, amigos: — aposto minha cabeça como Pelé vai achar todos os nossos adversários uns pernas-de-pau" (*À Sombra* 43). Rodrigues suggests that the strength and dominance of the Santos star will be necessary for World Cup success, an ideal international competition to show off Brazil's talent to the rest of the globe and overcome the *complexo de vira-latas*. Not only will this courageous play prove essential in establishing Brazilian superiority, but the chronicle also predicts that Brazil, symbolized by Pelé, will embarrass traditional European soccer powers with its own style of play.

That summer, Pelé would contribute to the *seleção*'s 5-2 victory over Sweden in the World Cup final, a feat that would lead Rodrigues to publish "Meu personagem do ano," a piece honoring the young champion in a special edition of *Manchete Esportiva* from 1959. The chronicle both celebrates Brazil's recent championship and establishes the Brazilian game as a newly-perfected art form. Of course, this is personified by Pelé and his artistic genius: "De fato, assim como Miguel Ângelo é o Pelé da pintura, da escultura, Pelé é o Miguel Ângelo da bola" (*A pátria* 53). Rodrigues's use of sporting metaphor allows him to equate Brazilian soccer and Pelé to Renaissance greats like Michelangelo, a literary technique that also suggests the "rebirth" of the European game in perfected Brazilian form.

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Like "A realeza de Pelé," the chronicle also links the player with royalty. In this case, Rodrigues recreates the final's post-match events as Sweden's King Gustaf VI reaches out to shake hands with Pelé on a sporting "stage" that places monarch and player on the same social level: "Estava lá um rei, Gustavo, da Suécia. E viu-se, então, essa coisa que estaria a exigir um verso de Camões: — o rei desceu do seu trono e foi cumprimentar, foi apertar a mão do menino Pelé" (*A pátria* 53). Typical of Rodrigues's work, references to high culture accompany many of his chronicles, and here the incorporation of Portuguese poet Luís de Camões (1524-80), author of the epic *Os Lusíadas* (1572), equates the heroic feats of Pelé and Brazil with the literary heroes of Camões's verses. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of these two figures on equal ground hints at Brazil's newly-established position as a modern nation, accomplished symbolically through their victory over Sweden. By winning the country's first World Cup, Pelé now would be immortalized in the Brazilian imaginary, as Rodrigues suggests in the concluding words of the chronicle: "Pelé é imortal. E por isso, porque ninguém pode enxotá-lo da nossa memória, eu o promovo a meu personagem do ano" (*A pátria* 55).

But as mentioned, Pelé was not the only player that helped Brazil accomplish this monumental feat. Entitled the "Descoberta de Garrincha," Rodrigues introduces Pelé's antiheroic accomplice as the ideal representative of Brazil's *futebol arte*. Facing off against a formidable Soviet Union squad in the tournament's group stages, the chronicle recreates the atmosphere of the *seleção*'s 2-0 win against the Russian's contrasting, tactic-based style, referred to as *futebol científico* by the writer. At first, Rodrigues elevates the suspense of the match by opening the chronicle as if it were a heated battle,

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but Garrincha proves to have too much firepower for the Russians: "Insisto—nos primeiros três minutos da batalha, já o 'seu' Manuel, já o Garrincha, tinha derrotado a colossal Rússia, com a Sibéria e tudo o mais" (*À sombra* 53). Later, the author's use of simile equates the player's rapid dribbling and speed with that of a bullet that penetrates the opposing defense: "se disparou pelo campo adversário, como um tiro. Foi driblando um, driblando outro e consta inclusive que, na sua penetração fantástica, driblou até as barbas de Rasputin" (*À sombra* 53). Just like the fate of the Russian mystic—assassinated by Prince Feliks Yusupov in 1916—Garrincha would end the opposing team's match-life within minutes.

Aside from "fighting" for his nation's side, Rodrigues also underlines the superiority of *futebol arte*, a style perfected by the "garoto de pernas tortas." While the Soviets rely on the power and tactics of *futebol científico*, the chronicle emphasizes Garrincha's improvisation and grace: "Realmente, jamais se viu, num jogo de tamanha responsabilidade, um time, ou melhor, um jogador começar a partida com um baile. Repito: — baile, sim, baile! E que dramatiza o fato é que foi baile não contra um perna-de-pau, mas contra o time poderosíssimo da Rússia" (*À sombra* 53). As Rodrigues concludes, the Russian's defending tactics prove inapplicable to a player that appears "inmarcável" (*À sombra* 53). By finding a way to defeat the established soccer powerhouse, the chronicle suggests the dominance of Brazil and their national style over their Soviet adversaries.

Yet, Rodrigues notably presents Garrincha in a contrasting way to the stoic Pelé in the previously analyzed texts. Here, Brazilian nationality is tied to his child-like love of the game: "Perante a platéia internacional, era quase menino. Tinha essa humilhante

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sanidade mental do garoto que caça cambaxirra com espingarda de chumbo e que, em Pau Grande, na sua cordialidade indiscriminada, cumprimenta até cachorro" (54). Again, one notes the parallels between this passage and the *pibe* and *potrero* narratives present in Argentine soccer folklore. Both these figures share the child-like love for the game, and contrary to the Soviets' approach, Rodrigues proposes that true Brazilian soccer does not rely on tactics and strategy. Even though Garrincha's teammate, Vavá, scores the *seleção*'s only goals, Rodrigues's antihero emerges as a constructed symbol of Brazilianess, and the text describes the figure's unifying impact: "Aqui, em toda a extensão do território nacional, começávamos a desconfiar que é bom, que é gostoso ser brasileiro" (*À sombra* 54).

Both Pelé and Garrincha would be back for Chile's hosting of the 1962 World Cup, but following the former's tournament-ending injury in an early match against Czechoslovakia, O Anjo das Pernas Tortas would become the sole representative of the Brazilian nation. Following the country's second championship in a row, Rodrigues composed a lengthy chronicle for *Fatos & Fotos*. "O escrete de loucos" once again presents Garrincha as the antihero, this time by juxtaposing him with the fair-complected Czechs during a rematch for the championship: "De um lado, uns quatro ou cinco europeus, de pele rósea como nádega de anjo; de outro lado, feio e torto, o Mané" (*A pátria* 79).

With this *mise-en-scène*—Rodrigues uses the term *cena* here to paint the scene—the chronicler aims to exhibit the contrasting European and Brazilian styles, mainly celebrating the *futebol arte* employed by his sporting protagonist. Child-like play and

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molecagem represent key elements to this construction as he dribbles his way through opponents to the delight of his Brazilian fans:

> Soa o riso da multidão—riso aberto, escancarado, quase ginecológico. Há, em torno de Mané, um barulho de tchecos. Novamente, ele começa a cortar um, outro, mais outro. Iluminado de molecagem, Garrincha tem nos pés uma bola encantada, ou melhor, uma bola amestrada. O adversário pára também. O Mané com quarenta graus de febre prende ainda o couro. (*A pátria* 79)

Not only does Rodrigues distinguish his superior play and ball control, but the hyperbolic descriptions of fan delight also reveal the approach's popularity, discourse that would help reaffirm the style as part of Brazilian national identity. Similar to the encounter with the Soviets in 1958, the chronicle attempts to separate this *futebol arte* from *futebol força*, here employing an antithesis of both race and national styles as positive elements of *brasilidade*. At the same time, the author expresses that this playfulness forms an integral part of Brazilian masculinity:

> Se aparecesse, na hora, um grande poeta, havia de se arremessar, gritando: — 'O homem só é verdadeiramente homem, quando brinca!'. Num simples lance isolado, está todo o Garrincha, está todo o brasileiro, está todo o Brasil. E jamais Garrincha foi tão Garrincha, ou tão homem, como ao imobilizar, pela magia pessoal, os onze latagões tchecos, tão mais sólidos, tão mais belos, tão mais louros do que os nossos. Mas veriam como, varada de gênio, o Mané põe, num jogo de alto patético, um traço decisivo do caráter brasileiro: — a molecagem. (*A pátria* 80)

Whereas earlier chronicles portrayed a strong, athletic Pelé as the ideal symbol for the nation, these tend to add creativity and agility to the mix, personified by Rodrigues's antihero.

As the author concludes his chronicle, an important reference to Brazil's quarter-final victory over England suggests the transformation of football into *futebol arte*: "Contra Inglaterra foi uma vitória linda. Não tínhamos rainhas, nem Câmara de Comuns,

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nem lordes Nelsons. Mas tínhamos Garrincha" (*A pátria* 81). Rodrigues expresses that men's soccer—specifically the variety displayed in these chronicles—represents an essential element to Brazilian identity, and similar to English national symbols like the queen and Lord Nelson, players like Pelé and Garrincha embodied the nation, particularly during the 1958 and 1962 World Championships.

Jogo Bonito* to *Jogo Vendido

Seeing that players would be constructed in nationalistic terms well into the 1980s, especially coinciding with the military dictatorships in the Southern Cone, the democratization process would lead to alternative regimes of truth that would transform these athletes in very divergent manners. Although not analyzed here, movements such as the Democrática Corinthiana, a leftist movement started by Corinthians-footballer Sócrates and his teammates, allowed for players to symbolize democracy during the final years of the country's oppressive 21-year dictatorship (see Florenzano's *A democrácia* for a more detailed analysis of this movement). This is not to say that international competitions like the World Cup and the Copa América currently uphold nationalist ideology, but one only needs to compare the jerseys of Pelé and Garrincha with the Nike-sponsored kits sported by Neymar to conclude that corporations and mass media outlets represent the current regimes of truth (see Gini and Rodrigues's text for visual evidence of these discursive transformations among Brazil's top club teams). Concepts such as Neoliberalism and Globalism have led to mass privatization, and whereas the Brazilian greats of the past symbolized their nation, today's "stars" more often represent products that sell their country, sponsor, club, and image. This epistemic shift has led scholars

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such as Venkatesh to conclude that masculinity is now more associated with the marketability of the body instead of the symbolic ideal for the nation (*The Body* 6-7). Contrary to past government leaders that used these players for their own national popularity, the media, advertisers, publicists, and professional club presidents—often considered businessmen in their own right—now constitute the most influential enunciative modalities that produce players for mass consumption.

Neoliberalism constitutes the main driving force for the mentioned epistemic shift, and as Fiengo suggests, the power of the global market has now replaced the State's historic control of soccer ("Golbalización" 268). Mainly concerned with the privatization of government assets and deregulating transnational trade, this process has led to a hypercommodification of entities like sport. Giulianotti adds that this primarily favors transnational corporations—in the sporting realm this includes the business of mass media, corporate sponsors, and soccer clubs—all of which benefit from the deregulated flow of capital and labor, this case in the form of players (210-15). In the United States—the main contributor to this global economic phenomenon—the branding of Michael Jordan in the 80s and 90s might best revise the concept, especially considering the player's generated revenue with Nike and other corporate sponsors. Through globalization, Giulianotti suggests that other countries have adopted these marketing tactics, replicating a system which turns profits by not only selling tickets, but also sports merchandise (217). As discussed later, this explains the commodification of Latin American players like Ronaldo, Ronaldinho, and Lionel Messi in recent years.

The discourse surrounding these players constructs them as cogs in the sporting business machine. Within this system, players are converted into products that are

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bought, sold, and transferred—Otálora and Sebreli suggest that these athletes are treated as raw materials or goods (135; *La era* 217)—to teams in the European leagues which represent the world's largest market for sporting talents. Hinting at these player's dehumanization, Adrian Walsh proposes that athletes are now objectified and treated instrumentally, and that their worth is often measured by their commercial value (419-20).

Further exhibiting how these players enter into a business-like discourse, Otálora's economic guide proves that talents from Latin America are often interpreted in financial terms of risk by seeking employers. In this way, youth prospects typically represent high-risk, high-reward investments (148). Considering this, Stefan Szymanski proposes that these investments involve the same kind of decision-making and financial speculation associated with commercial organizations, and not surprisingly, his study on the English Premier League demonstrates that clubs with the highest salaries produce on average the best league finishes (30, 36). Otálora provides a sophisticated economic guide to this process, breaking down how player's potential values are assessed based on four main factors. These include both the athlete's expected worth, that produced on the field of play, and the perceived value generated from public image or stardom (122-27). His study further concludes that clubs generate revenue mainly from ticket sales, television rights, sponsorship, advertising, and player transfers. Using the popular Buenos Aires club Boca Juniors as an example, he demonstrates that the last three categories accounted for around thirty-one percent of the team's total financial gains in 2011 (130-34).

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Even though these free-market practices have allowed talents such as Neymar and Messi to transfer to FC Barcelona, players such as Pelé did not have the opportunity to play abroad until late into his career due to Brazil's transfer regulations. Since the game's professionalization, legislation prohibited transfers, but the signing of the Pelé Law in 1998 overturned these regulations, allowing for players to sign with another club (Oliven and Damo 104-05). Perhaps the Bosman Ruling represents one of the most influential cases regarding the free movement of players. Named after the Belgium footballer, Jean-Marc Bosman and his struggles to sign with another European team in the early 90s—players were originally prohibited from leaving their club unless the organization agreed to the terms—the new law allowed teams to field an entire starting eleven of foreign-born players, contrary to the previous three starters (Fordyce). Since the law's passing, and as of 2015, a total of sixty-eight Latin American footballers have won UEFA Champions League trophies, that compared to the seventeen winners before 1995 (Kunti). Further facilitating these transnational migrations, the Bueno-Rodríguez case instilled similar legislation in Latin American countries such as Uruguay. When Uruguayan nationals Carlos Bueno and Cristian Rodríguez attempted to transfer from Peñarol in 2004, Montevideo's most popular club team, a unilateral extension clause allowed for the team to keep their talents, but a court of arbitration overturned the movement as unlawful (Kunti). Considering these types of free-market legislation, one understands how players have become known as products imported and exported between European and Latin American nations. Noting the economic impact of this transnational flow of labor, Brazil and Argentina alone exported more than 3,000 players in the first half of 2013, accounting for over 400 million dollars in transfer fees (Murayama 111).

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The influence of neoliberalism and the United States's brand of sport has also contributed to the creation of a similar star-system involving Latin American talents. In this business structure, a player's success relies heavily on their abilities to sell their image rather than sacrifices for their respective national team (Fiengo, "Golbalización" 268). In most consumer-based societies, scouts seek out prospects that "look the part," proving the heightened emphasis on seductive appeal rather than athletic performance (Giulianotti 203-04; Kuper and Szymanski 25). The dynamic appears to imitate the Hollywood star system, a capitalist production that uses popular actors and actresses to boost box-office sales (Dyer 10-11; Vincendeau viii). This is already occurring in countries with established national cinemas like Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, where stars such as Wagner Moura, Ricardo Darín, and Gael García Bernal have received international recognition (King 145-48). Applying this concept to the sporting context, and similar to the Hollywood flop, a star footballer sells tickets, jerseys, and club ideology to fans—sport's target audience—even when a team loses.

The glamorous lifestyle carried out by these stars also represents a key element in reproducing soccer's consumer culture. Richard Dyer proposes that these individual's lavish lifestyles represent ideal models for capitalist ideology, especially when fans choose to imitate these spending habits (39-49). Again, the dedicated sports follower also mimics these consumer practices when they choose to support their idols through the purchasing of club jerseys and corporate-sponsored athletic equipment. Since stars play a fundamental role in the transformation of sporting competitions into spectacles, mass media also contribute to constructing a player's ideal image, yet another discursive mechanism that helps to sell the game to fans (Murayama 23; Gurgel 5; Rubio 101-03).

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Thus, by aiming to protect their economic interests, professional soccer organizations and sponsoring corporate entities not only make players known as products to be sold to the masses, but they also rely on these icons to perpetuate their business model.

Different from the international soccer competitions of the 50s and 60s, professional club tournaments such as the mentioned UEFA Champions League and the FIFA Club World Cup represent the most regulated social practices that further disassociate players from their respective national teams. However, even today's World Cup represents one of the most commodified sports events in the world. This is especially true since Nike and Adidas now sponsor most national teams and their participants during these tournaments, proving that players tend to represent their sponsor rather than their nation (Helal and Soares 3, 12). For example, during the 1998 World Cup, Nike chose to sponsor Brazil's *seleção* and Ronaldo, popularly known as Fenômeno. Considering his global popularity, scholars like Wisnik designate him as the Michael Jordan of soccer (357-59).

Furthermore, professional soccer academies associated with Europe's top-tier club teams have helped to erode romanticized national approaches such as *futebol arte* and *fútbol criollo* among Latin American attendees. Instead of the mimetic approaches learned from *peladas* or the *potrero*, schools place heavy emphasis on tactics that subject many foreign-born talents to a homogenized European style (Fiengo, "Golbalización" 261-67). Since players often enter these academies at an early age, these individuals learn the strategy employed by current club management and receive less exposure to their home country's idealized approach. Even Brazil's *escolinhas*, beach training clubs, have led to soccer's homogenization, a brand of the game that Brazilian-great Sócrates

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designates as mass produced (Bellos 359-60; Zirin 127). Unfortunately, only advertisements tend to reproduce *jogo bonito*, demonstrating the value associated with the exotic Brazilian style (Guedes 149; Amaro and Helal 12). However, others propose that the women's game—most often neglected from both FIFA and commercial entities—preserves the Brazilian variety's creative elements (Zirin 128). As for the Argentine case, Alabarces suggests that superstars like Messi are incapable of reproducing Argentina's national narrative for soccer, mainly because of his development in the Catalonian school ("*Fútbol*" 42-43).

As Foucault suggests, these player's bodies might best exemplify the construction of soccer's current regime of truth. Besides sporting their club's logo, players' jerseys and their numerous advertisements allow for them to be perceived as walking billboards (Sebreli, *La era* 226). So just as Pelé and Garrincha served modernist discourse as symbols of the Brazilian nation, players like Neymar serve as representatives of their club and sponsors. Perhaps Mexico's Jesús Corona represents the most curious example of branding players. While playing for C.F. Monterrey, team ownership and sponsors—mainly Tecate and Cuauhtémoc-Moctezuma (FEMSA)—fabricated the nickname "Tecatito" for the player since his real last name unintentionally supported the club's rival beer company (A. Corona). Other nicknames such as "Fenômeno" and the "Pulga Atómica," the respective bynames of Ronaldo and Messi, also emphasize the spectacle involved with today's game.

Besides their commodified body, players now also accentuate fashionable hairstyles and accessories on the pitch, adding to their seductive star image. For instance, Latin American players such as Arturo Vidal, Paolo Guerrero, and Neymar regularly

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sport the Mohawk, while Messi has recently bleached his hair blonde. In a case study on recent Neymar advertisements, Amaro and Helal conclude that the player's fashionable body allows him to project both beauty and success among fans of both sexes, making him a prime marketing tool for his over eleven corporate sponsors. Of course, these companies market him in various ways, and while Nike highlights his skills with the ball to sell their sports equipment, others align their products with the player's personality to maximize profits (6-9). Even though these practices have become commonplace in today's game, Galeano and Villoro's texts serve as counterhegemonic discourse that attempts to deconstruct the current way of understanding players.

Remembering the Beautiful Game: The Poetic Vignettes of Eduardo Galeano

While Rodrigues chooses to portray Garrincha and Pelé as epic heroes of the nation in his chronicles, Eduardo Galeano (1940-2015) uses poetic vignettes to reflect on the aesthetic playing beauty of these past soccer greats, now overshadowed by the sport's commodification and corruption. Most known for *Las venas abiertas de América Latina* (1971), an analysis on the United States and Europe's historic exploitation of Latin America, the writer's *El fútbol a sol y sombra* (1995) explores similar issues through the lens of soccer. As the title suggests, this includes the light and dark sides of the sport, mainly money's negative effects on the game (Lovisolo 84). This represents a common trend among current soccer scholars, who posit the game's past form as superior and pure (Lovisolo 81). Instead of providing a clear theoretical framework in his text, Alabarces claims that Galeano makes the most of a type of narrative argumentation ("Entre" 74). One way the author explores this topic is through his many vignettes of past soccer

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greats, resisting discourse to the sport's current social practices, those that treat players as capital. Hugo Lovisolo suggests that these texts tend to highlight players' beautiful play and child-like love of the game, impossible in today's professional soccer world which forces these individuals to be preoccupied with money and image (86-89). These romanticized literary creations reflect the very essence of nostalgia as defined by Linda Hutcheon, a type of idealized history that merges with a dissatisfaction with the present (20). Keeping this in mind, the mentioned vignettes employ various poetic tactics and figurative language, a technique that recreates the aesthetic soccer beauty of the players presented.

Even though Galeano also chooses to exhibit the exciting play of the Anjo de Pernas Tortas in "Garrincha," his use of the third-person distances his vignette from Rodrigues's nationalist sentiment present in "Descoberta de Garrincha" and "O escrete de loucos." Nevertheless, the text still emphasizes similar antiheroic attributes such as Garrincha's crooked spinal column and uneven legs, but Galeano chooses to hyperbolize this contorted body with "una columna vertebral hecha una S y las dos piernas torcidas para el mismo lado" (186). And aside from referencing the player's mentioned success in the 1958 and 1962 World Cups, the essay underlines Garrincha's Brazilian popularity, particularly through his child-like play: "fue el hombre que dio más alegría en toda la historia de fútbol" (187). Furthermore, a series of metaphors alludes to how the footballer transformed the game into a fun-filled circus show: "Cuando él estaba allí, el campo de juego era un picadero de circo; la pelota, un bicho amaestrado; el partido, una invitación a la fiesta" (187). And finally, Galeano revives Rodrigues's discourse over the national hero's *molecagem*, present here through Garrincha's on-field trickery that leaves

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opponents collapsed and dazed: "Garrincha no se dejaba sacar la pelota, niño defendiendo su mascota, y la pelota y él cometían diabluras que mataban risa a la gente… En el camino, los rivales se chocaban entre sí, se enredaban las piernas, se mareaban, caían sentados" (187). But even as this hyperbole demonstrates the Brazilian's dominance over his adversaries, Galeano, unlike Rodrigues, reveals the tragic end to the nation's most popular player, one stricken with alcoholism and marital troubles: "Garrincha murió de su muerte: pobre, borracho y solo" (188). Galeano revives the aesthetic play of *jogo bonito* so lacking in today's Brazilian game, but the conclusion serves as a stark contrast to Rodrigues's optimism for the nation.

Resulting in a less tragic outcome, "Pelé" demonstrates the heroic qualities of Garrincha's counterpart. First, Galeano alludes to both Pelé's national and international popularity—shown by the numerous songs dedicated to the three-time World Cup champion and his designation as king—but the text also proves Brazil's attempts to preserve one of their most important national symbols: "No había cumplido veinte cuando el gobierno de Brasil lo declaró tesoro nacional y prohibió su exportación" (235). Contrary to the free movement of players in today's privatized soccer, facilitated by the Pelé Law, the player remained a key nationalist tool for the State while he continued to play domestically for Santos FC.

Galeano then provides one of the most poetic passages of the text, a technique that not only emphasizes the player's on-field dominance, but also an ornate literary format that replicates Pelé's aesthetic play. Although in prosaic form, the employed anaphora—a repeated use of the words "cuando" and "los rivales"—gives the fragment a

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certain poetic rhythm, while also showing the player's repeated mastery over his opponents through a series of other tropes:

> Cuando Pelé iba a la carrera, pasaba a través de los rivales, como un cuchillo. Cuando se detenía, los rivales se perdían en los laberintos que sus piernas dibujaban. Cuando saltaba, subía en el aire como si el aire fuera una escalera. Cuando ejecutaba un tiro libre, los rivales que formaban la barrera querían ponerse al revés, de cara a la meta, por no perderse el golazo. (235-36)

While the simile, "como un cuchillo," suggests the player's ease while dribbling in and out of defenders, Pelé's zig-zagging movements serve as a metonymic labyrinth that leaves these adversaries disoriented. Not only this, a metaphoric staircase elevates the Brazilian to a different playing level, one only fit for a king. However, the final verse carries a double meaning, one hinting at the defenders' fear of being struck by Pelé's powerful shot, but also a surrendering to witness a beautiful goal. The idealized version of the player serves as a nostalgic view of the beautiful game, one now influenced by money and tactic-based approaches that cloud these once-creative sporting poetics.

Typical of these texts, Galeano ends with the darker side of soccer, this time referring to Pelé's lack of social contributions within his country: "Fuera de las canchas, nunca regaló un minuto de su tiempo y jamás una moneda se le cayó del bolsillo. Pero quienes tuvimos la suerte de verlo jugar, hemos recibido ofrendas de rara belleza" (236). Thus, although Pelé contributed numerous beautiful offerings on the field, the text concludes by criticizing his well-known social inaction, which one could argue even holds true today. While thousands protested the government's mismanagement of the 2013 Confederation's Cup and 2014 FIFA World Cup, held in Brazil for the first time since 1950, Pelé urged his compatriots to take a more passive approach: "Vamos

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esquecer toda esta comoção no Brasil, todos estes protestos, e lembrarmo-nos que a seleção brasileira é o nosso país e nosso sangue" ("Vamos").

The two essays dedicated to Diego Maradona also exemplify this dichotomy between the beautiful and corrupt game. The first of these, "Gol de Maradona," emphasizes almost every element of the Argentine soccer narrative. Taking place in the *potrero* in 1973, a young Maradona and his fellow *pibes*' team, Los Cebollitas, try to win their hundredth game in a row. Just like the mythic figure described in Archetti's theories, the young *pibe* relies on the *gambeta* to dribble through his opponents and score:

> Varios jugadores le salieron al encuentro: a uno se la pasó por el jopo, a otro entre las piernas y al otro lo engañó de taquito. Después, sin detenerse, dejó paralíticos a los zagueros y al aquero tumbado en el suelo, y se metió caminando con la pelota en la valla rival. En la cancha habían quedado siete niños fritos y cuatro que no podían cerrar la boca. (*Masculinities* 246)

The display of athletic dominance serves as a retrovision of the on-field persona of Maradona, once deemed the Pibe de Oro. Galeano closes the passage with an interview with one of the playmaker's teammates, and his innocent words serves as irony for the darkness that would overshadow the rest of Maradona's career: "Nosotros jugamos por divertirnos. Nunca vamos a jugar por plata. Cuando entra la plata, todos se matan por ser estrellas, y entonces vienen la envidia y el egoísmo" (247). Suggesting the beauty of the children's game—free of professional influence and business-run social practices—the essayist uses Maradona's early career as an allegory for the previous epoch of soccer.

Representative of the current episteme, "Maradona" explores the rise and fall of Argentina's former icon, as revised by the text's opening remarks: "Jugó, venció, meó, perdió" (347). The concluding verbs refer to Maradona's failed urine test administered

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during the 1994 World Cup; the player tested positive for the drug Ephedrine, and was disqualified from the tournament. Less poetic than the previous texts, Galeano takes on a more essayistic approach while he juxtaposes the player's triumphs with S.S.C. Napoli and the National Team with his mafia ties and drug problems:

> El mesías convocado para redimir la maldición histórica de los italianos del sur había sido, también, el vengador de la derrota argentina en la guerra de las Malvinas, mediante un gol tramposo y otro gol fabuloso, que dejó a los ingleses girando como trompos durante algunos años; pero a la hora de la caída, el Pibe de Oro no fue más que un farsante pichicatero y putañero. Maradona había traicionado a los niños y había deshonrado al deporte. (351)

So while "Gol de Maradona" provides a nostalgic view that recreates the player's past glories—including what many deem the goal of the century against England in 1986—"Maradona" parallels the decadence of today's game with the Argentine's fallen career.

Later, in "El Mundial del 98," a subsection entitled "Estrellas" explicitly states the differences between the Brazilian players of the past and today's current superstars: "Los jugadores de fútbol más famosos son productos que venden productos. En tiempos de Pelé, el jugador jugaba; y eso era todo, o casi todo. En tiempos de Maradona, ya en pleno auge de la televisión y de la publicidad masiva, las cosas habían cambiado" (369). Representative of the current regime of truth, Galeano inserts Ronaldo, O Fenômeno, at the center of his vignette. As mentioned, Nike chose to sponsor the player during the 1998 World Cup, but unable to handle the pressure of representing both country and corporation, the text presents his nervous breakdown:

> Abrumado por el fervor popular y la presión dineril, obligado a brillar siempre y a ganar siempre, Ronaldo sufrió una crisis nerviosa, con violentas convulsiones, horas antes de la definición del Mundial 98. Dicen que Nike lo metió a prepo en el partido contra Francia. El hecho es que jugó pero no jugó; y no pudo exhibir como debía las virtudes del nuevo

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> modelo de botines, el R-9, que Nike estaba lanzando al mercado por medio de sus pies. (369)

Contrary to his Brazilian predecessors, Ronaldo's body no longer principally symbolized the nation. Rather, the text presents the player's feet as a synecdoche of his commercialized body, both representing Nike products advertised on the sport's largest stage. Calling attention to the footballer's dehumanization, Galeano provides one of his most powerful critiques of the current state of soccer. Now, only his romanticized views of Garrincha's circus-like moves and Pelé's poetic dominance allow for an escape from this shadowed reality.

Rewriting the Superstar Narrative: Villoro's Soccer Chronicles

Different from Rodrigues's Brazilian chronicles and perhaps more ideologically similar to Galeano's nostalgic essays, the Mexican variety of the genre tends to counter the dominant discursive mechanisms of the State. During Mexico's student movement and following the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, chroniclers have generally written texts that aim to serve the popular sectors, choosing to provide these marginalized populations a voice traditionally silenced by the "official" accounts controlled by the ruling classes and disseminated in newspapers such as *El Día*, *El Nacional*, *Unomásuno*, and *Excélsior* (Corona and Jorgensen 10-11; Monsiváis 33-34; Blanco, Leñero, and Villoro 64). Literary devices such as irony, hyperbole, anecdotes, picturesque description, and an alternating narrative perspective allow chroniclers to juxtapose these dominant accounts with those of the masses, hoping to steer readers away from traditional ways of thinking and allow them to develop alternative ways for social change (Corona and Jorgensen 4-5; Reguillo 55; Monsiváis 28; Egan 110; I. Corona

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138). In this way, the chronicle provides a faithful description of reality, principally through altered or fabricated narratives that reconstruct the "official" culture presented in the country's mainstream media outlets (Sefchovich 8). In the sporting context, one can think of the infinite programs and highlight shows dedicated to soccer presented in these media outlets, not to mention the gossip shows focusing on player's personal lives.

Deconstructing this hegemonic discourse—particularly the "jet-set" narratives produced by the star system and mass media—constitutes one of the most important tasks of critical work over sport (Alabarces, "Entre" 99). Author of *Los once de la tribu* (1995), *Dios es redondo* (2006), and *Balón dividido* (2014), Juan Villoro (1956-) often carries out this duty while representing one of the most published voices commenting on soccer. Furthermore, his frequent contributions to Spain's *El País*, demonstrate how he, like his Latin American soccer counterparts, have reached global audiences. His overt subjectivity in his chronicles allows him to become a fan, observer, author, and commentator of the world's most popular sport (I. Corona 132). At the same time, his texts employ numerous references to both his genre's predecessors and contemporaries, such as the analyzed Rodrigues and Spain's Manuel Vázquez Montalbán. This global perspective proves beneficial in *Balón dividido*, an anthology whose superstar chronicles provide a satirical view of the absurd show business now surrounding soccer.

Chronicles such as "Ronaldo: las razones del cuerpo" clearly demonstrate the sport's wear and tear on the body. However, Villoro ironically suggests that Ronaldo's deteriorated corporal condition at the end of his career was not due to the game's physicality, but instead to the immense psychological pressure caused by corporate sponsors and the media's invasion of his private life. Although the chronicle highlights

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the Brazilian's dominance on the field, just like his fellow compatriots of the past, the text mainly exhibits his off-the-field persona that fits the business's star formula. For instance, Villoro parallels the striker's prolific goal-scoring abilities—Ronaldo ranks only second to Pelé on the all-time scoring list for the national team—with his "scores" off the field: "Coleccionista de goles, Ronaldo también quiso serlo de las mujeres que trabajan en tanga. Los contactos con chicas de otras profesiones no acabaron bien. Entre otras cosas, tres de ellas no fueron chicas sino travestis que quisieron chantajearlo" (*Balón* 84). This image serves two important functions for the sport and its corporate entities. First, the sports hero draped alongside the supermodel reaffirms patriarchal notions of masculinity, while also projecting an image of supposed success to the predominantly male fan base. Villoro further criticizes this later when he underlines the media's discursive construction of Ronaldo's first wife, Susana Werner, as "la Ronaldinha" (*Balón* 85). And secondly, the entertainment industry's emphasis on these relationships, mainly through tabloids and blogs, allows for the creation of a certain dramatic *telenovela* that attracts new audiences. Besides this, his lavish spending on these women—shown here by a glamorous wedding—projects the model consumer for fans, the sporting industry's target audience: "Al terminar con Susana Werner, Ronaldo le prepuso matrimonio a otra *top*, Daniela Cicarelli. La boda se celebró en el Castillo de Chantilly, escenario ideal para un príncipe antojadizo que jamás rechazó un plato de crema" (*Balón* 85).

As explored in Galeano's "Estrellas," corporations like Nike also exploited the star's ideal image, even when this led to the player's nervous breakdown hours before the 1998 World Cup final, as noted by Villoro: "Se esperaba tanto de él y de los zapatos

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especiales que le confeccionó Nike, que se sometió a una tensión extrema y sufrió convulsiones en vísperas de la final. En el país que promulgó los Derechos del Hombre, el Fenómeno fue obligado a jugar en calidad de zombi" (*Balón* 85). These comments serve to explicitly subvert the message of Nike's advertisements during Brazil's 1998 campaign. Instead of propelling the superstar to World Cup glory, the corporation's R9s—the shoes worn by Ronaldo in the final—serve as the symbolic reason for Ronaldo's dismal performance. Even though the chronicle references the player's triumphs after this loss, like his comeback from injury to win the 2002 World Cup, Villoro expresses that corporate and media entities capitalized on Ronaldo's on- and off-the-field play, even if this led to his body's physical and psychological deterioration: "En el circo mediático del futbol, sobrevivió del único modo en que supo hacerlo: desgastándose más. Perdió el desafío físico, pero conquistó su nombre. Nadie se volverá a llamar Ronaldo" (*Balón* 86).

As hinted by the title of the following chronicle, "Ronaldinho: un gigante en diminutivo," the talent's following act would represent another superstar with Brazilian soccer lineage. Ronaldo de Assis Moreira, commonly nicknamed Ronaldinho Gaúcho due to his Porto Alegre birthplace, exhibited a playing style that differed from his most recent predecessor. However, his improvisational midfield play links him more with other Brazilian greats such as Garrincha. Villoro most certainly emphasizes the player's similar child-like joy on the pitch: "Ronaldinho parece un hombre feliz que sólo cierra la boca cuando va al dentista… La cancha es para él una playa de diversión, pero la portería es cosa seria" (*Balón* 87). The chronicle's use of hyperbole captures the star's pure love for the game, absent from many of today's professionals. For Villoro, this child-like

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approach links him to Filho and Rodrigues's construction of Brazil's beautiful game: "Prefiere jugar con la despreocupación de quien se entrena para un partido sin importancia o filma un documental sobre el *jogo bonito*" (*Balón* 96). However, even if his spectacular play proves effective against defenders, captured by the chronicle's picturesque descriptions, this improvisational style leads to new challenges for coaches trying to control his unpredictability: "Ronaldinho marea a los marcadores con rotaciones, repliegues, curiosos cambios de perspectiva; es un diestro incrustado en el ámbito de los zurdos, como una silueta presa en el espejo convexo de una feria. Aislado a los suyos, esto lleva al desorden" (*Balón* 95). Nevertheless, with the right supporting cast, Villoro suggests that Ronaldinho incarnates "una alta paradoja del juego de conjunto" (*Balón* 85), an unselfish play that leads the chronicle to compare him to Pelé and and Garrincha's midfield contemporary: Didi.

But perhaps this unpredictability has led to the player being transferred between numerous teams, proving that the game's once-regarded purest form—Brazil's *futebol arte*—stands no chance against the advanced tactics and coaching strategies employed in today's professional game. Beginning his career playing for his home region's Grêmio, Gaúcho has played for some of Europe's most popular clubs, including Paris Saint-Germain F.C., FC Barcelona, A.C. Milan, not to mention stints in Mexico for Querétaro F.C. and for domestic clubs, Flamengo, Atlético Mineiro, and Fluminense, in recent years. This free movement of the player demonstrates the current globalized economy, one where human capital moves freely between borders. Villoro insinuates how this process involves several business factors, often dealt with behind closed doors:

> El fichaje de un astro del futbol es un acto en el que se necesita una fortuna para ser irracional. Los mercenarios de platino no se venden en el

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> mercado común. Es más: ni siquiera se sabe que están en venta. Los pies acaudalados se subastan en riguroso secreto. Sólo cuando una flotilla de agentes, abogado y directivos se pone de acuerdo, el *crack* comparece ante la prensa, luciendo la camiseta del equipo con la espontaneidad de quien luce un nuevo bronceado. (*Balón* 89)

The fragment's use of metaphor hints at the immense economic value of these superstars, compared here to the precious metal, but the author's reference to superficial boasting, symbolized by a new tan, demonstrates the importance of image for clubs competing to create the most exciting show for their consuming fans.

Villoro expresses how these teams' search for stars often parallels with materialism, here described by Barcelona's singing of Ronaldinho in 2003 after the team failed to sign then Manchester United superstar, David Beckham: "El Barcelona fue de *shopping* en pos de un Ferrari y regresó con un Audi, que no está mal, pero sinceramente no es lo mismo. Pagó treinta millones de euros por el brasileño, la tercera parte de lo que costaba un *galáctico* en Madrid" (*Balón* 92). Besides the use of English, the passage demonstrates the United States's neoliberalist influence, a process that has led many teams to treating these footballing stars as consumer goods. Despite these criticisms, Villoro concludes by comparing Gaúcho to soccer legends like Pelé and Maradona: "En una época en que los números se estampan en las camisetas como precios de supermercado, le entregó a Ronaldinho el 10 de Pelé y Maradona" (*Balón* 95). These comments provide a dual meaning, first reiterating the game's current capitalist discourse stamped on players' backs, but Ronaldinho's designation as number ten—often reserved for playmakers—suggests his important impact on the game.

Notwithstanding, the Brazilian's former Barcelona teammate, Lionel Messi, represents the most iconic superstar playing today. "Lionel Messi: infancia es destino"

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again proves that the Argentine *pibe* represents a *leitmotiv* both in the country's romanticized construction of soccer and its literary portrayals. Beginning with an anecdote from Messi's childhood, the chronicle demonstrates the player's determination and greatness from an early age:

> Poco antes de disputar su primera final en las categorías infantiles, Lionel Messi se quedó encerrado en un baño. El niño que no podía ser detenido por defensa alguno se enfrentó a una cerradura averiada. Faltaba poco para que comenzara el partido y Leo aporreaba la puerta sin que nadie escuchara. El trofeo de ese campeonato era el mejor del mundo: una bicicleta. Otros hubieran cedido a las lágrimas y la resignación, otros más habrían agradecido no tener que demostrar nada en el campo. Leo rompió el cristal de la ventana y saltó hacia afuera. Llegó a la cancha con la seguridad de quien no puede ser detenido. Anotó tres goles en la final. El genio tenía su bicicleta. (*Balón* 45)

While Spanish director Álex de la Iglesia provides a documentary representation of this tale in *Messi* (2014), Villoro's description of the player's escape parallels him with the uncontained *pibe* roaming the *potrero*, the repeated narrative already explored in Galeano's depiction of Maradona.

Like other texts presenting Argentina's *criollo* style, Villoro stresses his creative approach, most often accentuated by the dribble. For example, the chronicle describes his trademark move: "Su sello personal consiste en recibir el balón fuera del área, frenar en seco, iniciar una súbita carrera lateral, sortear un par de adversarios y tirar de ángulo" (*Balón* 49). Aside from providing an intertextual reference, Hernán Casciari's "Messi es un perro"—a short story that compares Messi's incredible talent for maintaining possession to that of the protagonist's dog that refuses to let go of a house sponge—the chronicle equates the Argentine's artistry with Picasso while a documentary films his brushstrokes: "En un documental, Picasso dibuja un toro ante la cámara. Sus trazos avanzan con inquietante virtuosismo hasta que la obra es perfecta" (*Balón* 50). Again,

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like Rodrigues's use of Michelangelo, the painter is used to parallel mastery on the canvas and the pitch. But the chronicle calls attention to the player's most notable on-field highlight that leads to many suggesting him as Maradona's heir as the Argentine *pibe*: "En 2007, ante el Getafe, calcó el gol que Diego se inventó ante Inglaterra en el Mundial de 1986" (*Balón* 59). Compared with what many deem the "Goal of the century," one would think that Messi's stunning run would put him on par with the next mythic figure of Argentine soccer folklore. However, his successes with Barcelona have not helped produce victories for his national team, having most recently lost three straight international finals from 2014 to 2016.

Suffering from a hormone deficiency at an early age, Villoro points out that the player needed to take costly hormone shots. Describing Newell's Old Boys and River Plate's unwillingness to take on these fees, Messi and his father moved to Barcelona in 2000. The chronicle points out the economic risk involved for these domestic clubs, similar to the claims in Otálora's guide: "El club de la franja roja no quiso negociar el traspaso con Newell's ni aceptó pagar el tratamiento médico para un *crack* indiscutible, pero de futuro incierto" (*Balón* 47). Soon thereafter, Barça signed the young prospect and enrolled him into La Masía, the club's youth soccer academy. Villoro emphasizes the other star products of the school: "En Rosario estaba el mundo, pero en Barcelona estaba La Masía, la escuela de fútbol donde se formaron Xavi, Iniesta y Guardiola" (*Balón* 48). Besides the Argentine's enrollment in the Catalonian soccer academy, his transatlantic journey exhibits the current globalized state of the game.

However, the homogenized game cultivated in Barcelona's youth academy appears to have affected Messi's success for the national team, as Villoro expresses: "La

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táctica barcelonista se ordenó en torno a las virtudes de Messi, algo que nunca ha podido disfrutar en su selección" (*Balón* 55). Later, the chronicle describes this lack of success as cause for division between the player and his Argentine fan base, metonymically expressed here as a divorce: "el divorcio con la afición se mantendrá hasta que no triunfe con Argentina. No ha jugado con ningún club de su país y su deuda con la albiceleste es una cuenta pendiente" (*Balón* 56). This play abroad also directly contrasts with national superstars like Pelé during the previous episteme. While Brazil's king was limited to a domestic reign playing for Santos, Villoro points out that today's players such as Messi serve more as symbols of their clubs rather than their respective national team.

Nonetheless, unlike many of his playing contemporaries, Messi lacks the star quality off the field. Contrary to hyperpublicized figures like Ronaldo, the chronicle presents the footballer's mundane private life as unmarketable in the corporate world: "El productor de un comercial para televisión buscó entrar en contacto con su mundo íntimo y le preguntó qué hacía en el vestidor, antes de un partido importante. <<Como chicle>>, fue la desoladora respuesta" (*Balón* 50). Furthermore, Villoro hyperbolizes the player's introverted personality and preferred, uneventful off-field pastime: "Messi no sólo es callado: parece en paz con silencio. Cuando no está jugando o con su novia, cede a una afición que domina con destreza monacal: la siesta. Puede dormir dos o tres horas después del almuerzo y eso no le impide dormir diez horas en la noche" (*Balón* 50). The chronicle then juxtaposes this dull life with some of the absurd practices of current sports stars, but Villoro ironically suggests that the former now represents an anomaly: "El genio celebra la vida durmiendo. Esto parece extraño en un planeta exhibicionista donde los famosos festejan su éxito en compañía de modelos eslovenas, a bordo de un yate de

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impresionante eslora o incrustándose un diamante en premolar" (*Balón* 50). Instead of normalizing the lavish consumer practices presented in mainstream media, Villoro uses the chronicle to rewrite these dominant presentations, choosing to exaggerate the absurdity of this spending and emphasizing Messi's human qualities. At the same time, this also demonstrates how the player fails within capitalism's star formula.

Even though discourse now constructs players in divergent ways, more often than not as economic products for corporate and capitalist entities, one thing remains constant between epistemes. Latin American soccer players are most valued for their creative, dribbling style on the pitch, especially when framed as children, free from tactics and strategy. Just like Garrincha's trickery, Maradona's dribbling on the *potero*, or Ronaldinho's playful smile, Messi's child-like play on the field constitutes the region and world's most popular form of soccer, as Villoro sums up as he returns to the initial anecdote: "Cuando un niño quiere una bicicleta es capaz de muchas cosas. Cuando un hombre juega como el niño que quiere una bicicleta, es el mejor futbolista del mundo" (*Balón* 60).

However, in the wake of a recent scandal involving the star—not to mention the illegal profiteering between FIFA and the CBF's Ricardo Texeira—corruption seems inevitable when money contaminates the game. In July of 2016, the Spanish government found both Messi and his father guilty of tax fraud, ordering them to pay over a million dollars in fines. Responding to the crime, Villoro wrote a follow-up piece for Mexico's *El Norte*, and the chronicler's deflated enthusiasm contrasts with the previously analyzed fan piece. The opening line sums up these frustrations by comparing his on-field talents with his off-field crimes: "Lionel Messi es el mayor escapista del fútbol. Con el mismo

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ímpetu con que sortea defensas, quiso evitar impuestos" ("Messi" 7). Imitating the reaction of many disheartened soccer fans, Villoro reveals how the world's greatest *pibe* was after more than just a bicycle. By adapting Rodrigues's famous phrase, one can conclude the recent epistemic shift. Now influenced by neoliberalism and capitalism, transnational corporations, not nation, are symbolized through players' *chuteiras*.

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CHAPTER 4

PITCH AND *PANOPTICON*: PHOTOGRAPHING STADIUM POWER IN BRAZIL'S PACAEMBU

> Passadas as emoções mais imediatas do jogo de estréia do Brasil, vale recordar o conjunto de sentimentos que definimos pelo verbo "torcer", esse ato que, tanto no futebol quanto na vida, nos transforma em "torcedores". Quanto mais não seja porque, nos Estados Unidos, como na maioria dos países que insistimos em chamar de "adiantados", não existem torcedores, mas espectadores. (Roberto DaMatta, *A bola corre mais que os homens* 42)

Like players, stadiums and fans have become known and used in various ways over the last century-and-a-half in Brazil. More often than not, powerful individuals have benefited from the stadium's capabilities of disciplining fans and influencing the masses. Although the game's founding elites lacked the modern materials to construct these monumental edifices, mainly cement, soccer became a way for these powerful individuals to civilize fans as "gentlemen" and "ladies" (Bocketti 163). Later, powerful State leaders such as Getúlio Vargas utilized the Estádio do Pacaembu as a tool to project the nationalist ideals of the Estado Novo (Ferreira 85-87; Franzini 7). Even though the emergence of *torcidas organizadas* has historically allowed Brazilian fans to express themselves in a more individualized manner—many of these fan groups have used the stadium as a space to express urban identity and political and social unrest—the privatization of Brazilian stadiums following the 2014 FIFA World Cup, along with government and FIFA security measures, have helped to marginalize these supporters,

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substituting them for consumers that can afford increased ticket prices and merchandise before and after games (Gaffney, "A World" 198-201; Hollanda, "Public" 169).

As a result, newly constructed facilities such as Allianz Parque and Arena Corinthians—home to Sociedade Esportiva Palmeiras (Palmeiras) and Sport Club Corinthians Paulista (Corinthians), respectively—sport state-of-the-art VIP boxes, museums, shops, restaurants, and bars for these consuming fans. In this way, these spaces no longer just host sporting events, but rather serve as multipurpose arenas that house concerts, shows, and expositions (Demuru 296). While clubs make most of their money from player sales and television rights—ticket sales only account for around 10% of total revenues—increased ticket prices have helped to exclude the masses from these venues and favored the interests of the political and economic elite (Gaffney "A World" 198-99, 203). Pacaembu remains discursively linked to the city, soccer, and the Brazilian nation—the facility's official name, the Estádio Municipal Paulo Machado de Carvalho, honors the Paulista man that helped assemble Brazil's back-to-back championship squads in the 1958 and 1962 World Cup—but foreign investment companies such as the mentioned German-based Allianz and other corporate sponsors represent the most prominent tenants occupying São Paulo's current soccer grounds.

Stadiums and fans represent the discursive objects for analysis in this chapter. The following pages will analyze how these entities have become understood in Brazil during four main epistemes: the sportsmen, Vargas, military dictatorship, and neoliberal eras. Given the historic importance of the photographic image to document power dynamics and nationalism within the stadium—one thinks of the fascist imagery of Hitler's Nazi Germany or Jorge Rafael Videla's neofascist military dictatorship in Leni Riefenstahl's

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Olympia (1938) and Sergio Renán's *La fiesta de todos* (1979), respectively—this chapter will analyze photographs taken by Hildegard Rosenthal and Thomaz Farkas at the Estádio do Pacaembu during the Vargas regime. While these images show the unified Brazilian masses and the disciplined *torcidas uniformizadas*, the visual material taken from Mário Prata's hybrid text *Palmeiras – um caso de amor* (2002) and Bruno Barreto's film adaptation *O casamento de Romeu e Julieta* (2005) not only present *torcidas organizadas*—groups that have historically used the public space of stadiums to gain a sense of agency—but also the modified disciplinary tactics within São Paulo's most famed sporting venue. Aside from the increased surveillance provided by closed-circuit television (CCTV) and the space's militarization in recent years, separate sections and assigned seats now allow these fans to be more easily watched and controlled. To conclude this chapter, Bruno Mooca's recent photos of the empty Pacaembu bring to the forefront these mechanisms of power, but also suggest the stadium's future abandonment. The analysis of these various forms of visual culture will demonstrate how the stadium has become a panoptic space where *torcedores* and *torcidas organizadas* have been vilified, especially in the current neoliberal episteme.

The Sportsmen: Brazil's Elite Fans

Just as today's stadiums are becoming the exclusive domain for the economic elite—reserved for those that can afford increased ticket prices—the first Brazilian soccer grounds reflect these same exclusionary practices. As Norbert Elias points out, and similar to the "courtisation" of middle-age warriors, sports have historically played a key role in what he calls the civilization process, specifically the implementation of rules to

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establish discipline and order between participants (*On the Process* 370-71; "An Essay" 151). While this often holds true on the field of play, early Brazilian elites also believed in certain standards among fans. After studying abroad in England, Switzerland, and Germany, students from these families brought their knowledge of the game back to urban centers such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and would establish some of the country's first football clubs. Business leaders and company managers used soccer as social events, and as a result, these gatherings perpetuated the exclusionary practices of the urban elite (J. Lopes 242). These wealthy men—regarded as "sportsmen"—represented the main enunciative modality that made stadiums and fans understood as elite entities.

Like the Republic's reformist thinkers, the sportsmen viewed soccer as a way of improving Brazilian society through European and British models (Bocketti 3). Influenced by positivist ideals, intellectuals like Coelho Neto championed soccer as a way to develop the nation and its citizens (Wood 49-50). Contrary to the fervent *torcidas organizadas* that occupy current stadiums, the sportsmen thought that fans should display a controlled enthusiasm for their team, thus behaving like respectable "ladies" or "gentlemen." Even partisanship was frowned upon, and certain comportments such as booing and rooting against opposing teams went against these principles (Bocketti 160-64). Furthermore, dress codes were imposed for stadium attendees and only the upper classes were granted access to the grandstands (Bocketti 164-65). Thus, the stadium served as an ideal discursive mechanism for creating "docile" fan bodies.

The stadiums and fans of Fluminense Football Club—a team reserved for Rio's social elite—might best exhibit the sportsmen's episteme. These men and women wore

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suits, hats, ties, and elegant dresses, and accessories, such as hatbands with team colors, would designate the club's exclusive members (J. Lopes 242-43). The club would also construct one of the nation's first soccer stadiums in 1918, and supporters believed that the complex would project a modern and enlightened Brazil (Bocketti 51). The stadium, designed by Hypólito Pujol, mixed art nouveau and neoclassical techniques, and incorporated a clubhouse that included a library, dining room, ballroom, carved balconies, in-laid mirrors, a parquet floor, stained glass imported from France, and paintings depicting Greco-Roman scenes. Bocketti notes that the club's annual report in 1918 regarded the stadium as a testament of progress and civilization, specifically in the capital of the Republic (Bocketti 55-56). As this lavish construction proves, Brazil's first stadiums were made known as privileged spaces for the country's "civilized" elites.

Although working-class and non-white spectators were excluded from these first stadiums—these individuals often watched games from grassy areas and hills surrounding the venues—wealthy white women often represented the "ideal" spectators for the sportsmen since they often exhibited the supposedly proper etiquette for other fans (Bocketti 165-66; 187). To increase their participation in these events, women were even offered free admission and seats at midfield (Bocketti 172). Additionally, media coverage and cultural production served as important discursive mechanisms that helped to construct the sportsmen's idea of the stadium and its attendees, while also establishing heteronormative gender roles. While journalists portrayed these *torcedoras* as elegant, fashionable, and sophisticated, numerous romantic plays such as Brito's "Off-Side" (1924), Bittencourt and Menezes's "Flá-Flu!" (1925), Iglesias and Paradella's "As

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Torcedoras" (1927), and Roma's "América 'Versus' Fluminense" (1928) were dedicated to these female fans and their attraction to the male soccer star (Bocketti 172-177). Despite these representations, many *torcedoras* refused their traditional passive roles, and often chose to passionately cheer on their team (Bocketti 187). This type of female agency appears to coincide with the emergence of the *melindrosa*, an empowered feminine figure that arose with Rio's urbanization and challenged conventional gender segregation (Conde 129-30). This would later change under the Vargas regime, but these early Brazilian stadiums—like other cultural spaces such as movie theaters and samba schools—offered women some of the first public escapes from their traditional domestic domain (Bocketti 171; Caulfield 73-74; Conde 142).

Even though the sportsmen viewed the stadium and fandom as practices that employed the use of English, non-partisanship, discipline, elegance, and civility, many attendees chose to behave otherwise. Instead, some fans dressed in popular attire, used obscenities, spoke Portuguese, booed the opposing team and referee, and at times instigated violence (Bocketti 180-83). To ensure sportsmanship and prevent rival brawls, event organizers took some of the game's first disciplinary measures, some of these reflecting current stadium regulations. For instance, higher barriers were installed around the pitch and police were hired to instill order. Despite these measures, violence within stadiums remained a common practice from the late-1910s until the 1930s (Bocketti 183). Poems such as Apparício Fernando de Brinkerhoff Torelly's "Match de Football" provide early literary evidence of these conflicts, critical representations of the sport that served to undermine the civilizing vision of Neto and his followers (Wood 48-49).

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The adoption of Portuguese on and off the pitch—most notably the use of *futebol* instead of its English equivalent—perhaps best demonstrates these fans' resisting discursive practices towards the sportsmen culture. Most importantly, these passionate supporters began using the term *torcedor* and *torcedora* to describe themselves, words rooted in the verb *torcer* and suggesting fan's emotional contortions while cheering for their respective teams (Bocketti 188). The use of the word would later denominate the *torcidas uniformizadas*, uniformed Brazilian fan groups, but as Bocketti points out, these groups did not first appear in the early 1940s as many historians suggest. Instead, Brazilian enthusiasts during the late-1920s, such as Fluminense fan Carlos Burlamaqui and his Torcida Tricolor, also went against the sportsmen ideal, choosing to group together in the stands, coordinate cheers and songs, and wear matching team badges. Likewise, differing from the sportsmen's ideals, Burlamaqui's *torcida* excluded women and would lay the foundations for future exclusionary practices, specifically those that marginalized these individuals during the Vargas regime (188-89; 193-194). Discussed in the following pages, Vargas's stadiums exalted the *novo homem* and ushered in the once-excluded masses, but women were typically left outside the gates.

Vargas's Stadiums: The Unified Brazilian *Povo*

If the sportsmen utilized the stadium for creating the civilized Brazilian citizen, Getúlio Vargas made these constructions known as symbols for the unified nation. Four main discursive concepts—masculinist nationalism, social inclusion, fascist order, and modernization—would therefore help to construct Pacaembu as the iconic sporting edifice of the Estado Novo. Mirroring the sportsmen's stadiums, powerful state

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oligarchies dominated the years of Brazil's republic (1889-1930), but Vargas—hailing from Rio Grande do Sul—viewed it necessary to centralize the government. Following a popularly backed coup in 1930—many resented São Paulo's attempts to maintain political hegemony over the rest of the country—he appointed federal *interventores* to replace the previously elected state governors (Fausto and Fausto 194). By 1934, the National Constituent Assembly approved a new constitution that would begin nationalizing mines, mineral deposits, and waterfalls, and new labor legislation would call for a minimum wage, paid vacations, and rules for children and women. However, most importantly, the assembly elected Vargas to a four-year term as president. But in 1937, his coup to establish the Estado Novo would end hopes for a democratically run Brazil (Fausto and Fausto 202-03). With this move, the government took on an authoritarian ideology, and through conservative modernization, the State would aim to improve social conditions and develop the economy, but this also led to an end to partisan politics and freedom of expression (Fausto and Fausto 205).

Popular sports such as soccer and stadiums like Pacaembu would form key discursive sites for fomenting masculinist nationalism and support for the new regime. As part of this nation-building project, Vargas relied on the sport—as well as other cultural entities such as literature, music, and cinema—to construct Brazilian national identity (Toledo and Bega 126-27). Decree 3199, passed in 1941, served as a key measure to hand control of sports over to the government. The law established the Conselho Nacional de Desportos (CND) to reorganize sports administration, manage professional leagues, organize the nation's participation in international competitions, and oversee public investment in the construction of sporting facilities (Toledo and Bega 127; Bocketti 17).

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As a result, soccer became the government's tool for national integration, especially for its potential capabilities for pacifying partisan politics and ideological differences (Kittleson 35).

Additionally, soccer would help fight the rise of interclub conflict and suppress ethnic pride. With the discursive influence of notable chroniclers such as Thomaz Mazzoni, the nationalization of soccer would further strengthen the sport's ties to the nation and discourage club fan identity (Negreiros 125-26). This was particularly important since many of these teams fomented a sense of solidarity among immigrant classes. In 1938, Vargas's campaign for *brasilidade* began targeting immigrant groups in efforts to homogenize Brazilian culture and eliminate foreign elements. Although this prejudice was also directed towards Italian and German communities, most attempts were aimed specifically at Jews, Arabs, and Japanese since they supposedly had "unassimilable ethnic elements." Three years later, the government also banned foreign-language newspapers and made Portuguese mandatory in all media forms (Lesser, *Immigration* 137-38, 165-66). Regarding soccer, these discursive measures guided certain linguistic changes for club teams. For instance, Paléstra Itália and SC Germânia, teams historically associated with Brazil's Italian and German immigrants, became Sociedade Esportiva Palmeiras and Esporte Clube Pinheiros, respectively (Goldblatt 61). Aside from Belo Horizonte's Cruzeiro, Rio de Janeiro's Vasco da Gama, and São Paulo's Portuguesa, teams traditionally linked with Italian and Portuguese immigrant communities (Lesser, *Immigration* 100), similar club and ethnic ties can be found throughout Latin American cities with notable immigrant populations. This is the case in Buenos Aires, where Jews have historically been associated with Club Atlético Atlanta

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(Rein 1-2). As a stage for *brasilidade*, stadiums served as the ideal setting for the government to nationalize popular culture (Goldblatt 61-62).

However, the discourse of Vargas constructed stadiums and soccer as an exclusively masculine entity. For the Estado Novo, the male athlete embodied the regime's concept of the *novo homem*, a youthful figure that symbolized national potential (Ferreira 87). As demonstrated by the president's inauguration speech at Pacaembu in 1940, the stadium also served as a testament to the country's strength and capabilities (Ferreira 86; "Inaugurado"). Other fragments of Decree 3199 reaffirmed the selection of the male sporting hero as symbol for the nation. For instance, Article 54 banned women's participation in sports like soccer, rugby, and judo, deeming them potential threats to the supposed nature of the female body (Nadel, *Fútbol* 219; Zirin 128; Bocketti 166). These measures reflected the government's patriarchal agenda, specifically those of the Department of Propaganda e Difusão Cultural which celebrated women as homemakers and mothers (Levine, *The History* 115). Consequently, these discursive practices would not only limit women's participation on the field of play, but also in the stands. More than likely, many of those involved with soccer shared the same heteronormative ideals with the regime, a process that led to the absence of the *torcedora* during the Vargas years (Bocketti 199). Like the sport itself, stadiums embodied the patriarchal ideals of the Estado Novo.

Even though the episteme witnessed the decline of the *torcedora*, Vargas's emphasis on social inclusion helped usher in non-white Brazilians and the working classes. On the one end, Vargas became known as *o pai dos pobres* or the father of the poor through his sympathizing efforts for the latter. His labor policies did repress non-

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government affiliated labor unions, but the president popularly instilled a minimum wage, healthcare, and pensions, not to mention the opening of improved schools and hospitals in some urban centers (Levine, *The History* 109; Fausto and Fausto 196). Vargas also believed that all social groups should be equal before the law, and this supported his views of Brazil as a racial democracy. However, despite this color-blind ideology, many non-whites continued to lack certain educational and career opportunities (Levine, *The History* 113). The Estado Novo used stadiums and sporting spectacles as ways to demonstrate these new inclusive practices. These edifices helped shape the classes into masses, and allowed soccer to become known as a popular entity instead of an elite one (Ferreira 20-21). The inclusion of players from all social backgrounds also facilitated this discursive process, especially since this diverse fan base could now identify themselves and their sporting compatriots as Brazilian (Franzini 7).

Aside from projecting ideals of masculinist nationalism and social inclusion, Vargas's stadiums also reflected the fascist order of the Estado Novo. The regime—named after José de Oliveira Salazar's authoritarian government in Portugal—borrowed nationalist principles, government models, and shared disapproval of liberal democracy from European fascists, specifically Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) (Levine, *The History* 104-05). The militaristic discourse of Francisco Campos, the author of the 1937 constitution, might best demonstrate the government's views towards this new social order: "À sombra dessa Bandeira, cada brasileiro é um soldado e, seja qual for o seu ofício ou a sua profissão, a sua alma há de ser uma alma de soldado, pronta a atender, disposta a obedecer, preparada para a privação e para o sacrifício" (352; Levine, *The History* 105). Likewise, Vargas followed the sporting model used by the European

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fascists. Similar to the promotion of fascism during Mussolini's 1934 World Cup and Hitler's 1936 Olympic Games, the Estado Novo used stadiums to choreograph grand spectacles that incorporated demonstrations of exercise and celebrations of Brazilian nationalism (Kittleson 36; Ferreira 45-46; Murray 95; Zimbalist 13-14). Laws such as the Legislação do Munícipio de São Paulo further demonstrate the State's intentions to use soccer and its stadiums as a way to educate the masses both physically and psychologically, aiming to create strong athletic bodies and disciplined masses (Ferreira 58). Discussed later, Rosenthal's photography of the inauguration of Pacaembu—images that capture the event's parade and synchronized movements of thousands of athletes—might best exhibit the regime's call for disciplinary order.

Finally, stadiums such as Pacaembu and its inauguration ceremonies served as symbols of Brazil's modernity (Peixoto-Mehrtens 159). After the fall of the Republic, both State and civic entities invested heavily in the construction of buildings with luxurious architecture, principally because these edifices would demonstrate government power (Ferreira 62). The construction of Pacaembu and the Estádio São Januário did just this, projecting the technological and organizational power of the regime (Gaffney, *Temples* 184). Furthermore, the construction of São Paulo's municipal stadium mirrored the *art deco* style of Albert Speers's Olympiastadion in Berlin, built for Nazi Germany's 1936 Olympics (Ferreira 62-63). Francisco Prestes Maia, elected as the city's mayor in 1938, proposed this architectural style, and with the use of concrete, he hoped it would bring out the construction's monumentality (Atique, Sousa, and Gessi 101; Ferreira 64). As essential building materials of modernity, the use of cement and steel allowed government leaders to congregate the masses in stadiums, places where they

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disseminated political intentions, stimulated national pride, and celebrated progress (Gallo 27, 202). Thus, stadiums such as Pacaembu not only incorporated the vertical style of fascist architecture, but also served to "cement" Brazilian progress (Atique, Sousa, and Gessi 102-03).

The Pacaembu Inauguration: Framing Fascist and Nationalist Ideologies

Built on marshland, Pacaembu stadium and neighborhood adopted their nickname from the Tupi equivalent for swamp (Ferreira 69). Hoping to develop the area for surrounding real estate and commercial means, Cia City—a British landholding company that had originally acquired the terrain—provided the government with a construction site for the municipal stadium (Atique, Sousa, and Gessi 99-101; Peixoto-Mehrtens 140-42). Following a lengthy negotiation and building process—including Francisco Prestes Maia's proposed changes to the project—Pacaembu would be inaugurated on April 27, 1940.

Pacacembu's inauguration ceremonies demonstrate the Estado Novo's commitment to the fusion of sport and masculinist nationalism. Carefully orchestrated, the Diretoria Geral de Esportes do Estado de São Paulo (DEESP), with support from the regime, put together a celebration of sport that not only kicked off with the mentioned ceremonies, but also two weeks of athletic competitions that included soccer, swimming, boxing, basketball, fencing, tennis, volleyball, and polo (Ferreira 77; *Catálogo* 32). State-controlled newspapers like *O estado de S. Paulo* also helped disseminate the idea of the stadium and the ceremony's parade of both Brazilian and other South American athletes

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as symbols and models for physical education and economic progress for Brazil and its neighbors (Ferreira 75-76).

Hildegard Rosenthal's *Cenas urbanas* (1998) includes two photographs of Pacaembu. The first displays the stadium's façade (68), and as Goldblatt notes, the geometric lines and capitalized sans serif fonts that read "ESTÁDIO MUNICIPAL" reflect the period's push for modernity (65). However, one also recognizes the similarities of this photographed façade with that of the Olimpiastadion in Berlin. Both the repeating columns and elevated cement towers that hoist Brazilian flags serve as visual proof to the construction's fascist inspiration. The latter photo, "Estádio Municipal do Pacaembu. Solenidade de Inauguração" (69), presents the inauguration's orderly parade of athletes and the unified masses.

After moving to Brazil from Germany during the early years of the Nazi regime, Rosenthal (1913-90) would eventually take thousands of photos of the country's most important economic and industrial center. Preserved by cultural foundations such as the Instituto Moreira Salles, her work provides a crucial documentary source for historians and scholars working with Brazilian urban history (Foster, *São* 60). Although Foster notes that the artist's photography is not directly political in nature, her work helps viewers understand the period of social and economic change guided by the Estado Novo. Furthermore, her images of São Paulo portray a modern masculinist city, and the mentioned image's geometric display of bodies proves the stadium's fascist function (*São* 60, 165-66). As discussed in the following pages, the photograph captures the embedded fascist and nationalist ideologies of Vargas's stadiums.

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Rosenthal's image presents an elevated view of the ceremony—she was most likely photographing from the stadium's northwest corner—and she frames the field, track, portions of fans sitting on the east and west sides of the u-shaped grandstand, and the acoustic stage built at the south end (see figure 3). The last architectural feature would later be demolished in 1969 for the erection of the Tobagã, a grandstand that would hold an extra 10,000 fans (Atique, Sousa, and Gessi 105). Behind this, the viewer can also distinguish fans watching the spectacle from the grassy hills outside the confines.

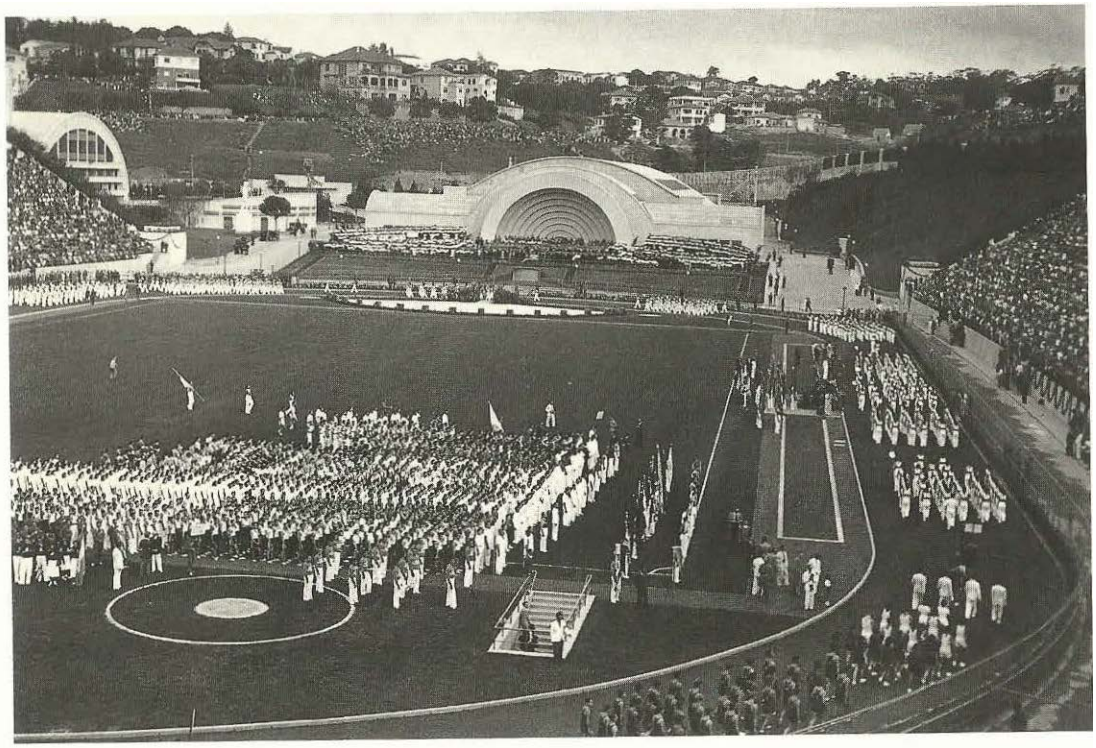

Figure 3. *Cenas urbanas*: Rosenthal frames Pacaembu's inauguration.

Besides the acoustic stage in the background, Rosenthal's framing draws specific attention to the rows of individuals standing on the field and those marching in orderly lines on the track. The horizontal lines drawn on the soccer field also parallel with the rows of athletes, and thus, make a visual connection between the inherent order and regulation of sport and that of the regime. Receiving instructions from the DEESP and

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the Directoria de Esportes, approximately 10,000 of these athletes—over two thirds of them from the state of São Paulo—marched into the stadium wearing matching white shoes and their respective team uniforms (Ferreira 78). Some directions even provided incentive for factions that fulfilled the regime's fascist ideals of discipline and order:

> Visando premiar os que merecidamente se esforçarem para o realce do desfile, a DEESP, instituirá prêmios às representações tanto do interior como da capital, e civis ou militares que melhor satisfazerem os seguintes requisitos: a) disciplina; b) apresentação de uniforme; c) atitude em marcha ou parada; d) respeito de conjunto. ("Instruções" 6)

The contrast between the athletes captured in Rosenthal's image—predominantly dressed in white or lighter colors—and the darker hues of the track and field highlight the disciplined uniformity that Vargas sought. However, the most revealing technique of the parade can be seen by comparing the distinct factions of athletes marching in different uniforms around the track with those grouped on the field to the left. It appears that these distinguished groups of athletes finish their march by filing into a unified whole on the field. The mass group of athletes on the field mirror the proposed inclusive practices of Vargas and his stadiums. Thus, the unified and disciplined sporting bodies served as a metaphor for the Estado Novo and its ideals of a unified Brazilian nation (Ferreira 78-79).

Likewise, the organizer's instructions aimed for the ceremony to match the grandeur of the newly-constructed stadium and government (Ferreira 78-79; "Instruções" 6). Aside from the masses standing at either side of Rosenthal's image, the juxtaposition of the undulating *concha acústica* placed in front of the houses of the Pacaembu neighborhood—shown in the frame's horizon—emphasize the stadium's modernity.

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Although not pictured here, Vargas's own words, uttered from the presidential box, summarize the intentions of the Estado Novo and Pacaembu:

> Agora mesmo assistimos ao desfile de 10 mil atletas, em cujas evoluções, havia a precisão e a disciplina, conjugadas no simbolismo das cores nacionais. Diante essa demonstração da mocidade forte e vibrante, índice eugênico da raça—mocidade em que confio e que me faz orgulhoso de ser brasileiro—quero dizer-vos: Povo de S. Paulo! Compreendestes perfeitamente que o Estádio do Pacaembu é obra vossa e para ela contribuístes com o vosso esforço e a vossa solidariedade. E compreendestes ainda que este monumento é como um marco da grandeza de São Paulo a serviço do Brasil. Declaro, assim, inaugurado o Estádio do Pacaembu. ("Inaugurado" 8)

As the image shows, the unified group of athletes face the western side of the stadium, the location of Vargas's *tribuna de honra*. Staging the event in this manner duplicates the *panopticon*, and through hierarchical observation, the president creates "docile" athletic and fan bodies that facilitate the stadium's inauguration. The obedience of these athletes serves to reaffirm Vargas's power and status as the supposed father of the Brazilian nation, and the orderly display provides a model for those in the stands. While these words demonstrate the regime's fascist and nationalist ideals, Rosenthal's photography shows how this discourse helped coordinate the Estádio Pacaembu's opening ceremonies as a means for disciplining the masses.

In the following days, the stadium hosted its first soccer matches, pitting Palestra Itália (Palmeiras) against Coritiba (Curitiba), and then Corinthians versus Clube Atlético Mineiro (Ferreira 89). Going against the nationalistic intentions of the Estado Novo, these competitions fomented team and Paulista identity rather than national sentiment (Machado and Banchetti 457-58; Negreiros 150). Although ceremonies such as Pacaembu's inauguration attempted to discipline the masses and unify the nation, club matches offered many fans the opportunity to distance themselves from the rhetoric of

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the dictatorship and instead embrace their own urban identities. However, these clubs' *torcidas uniformizadas*, controlled by team management and heralded in the State-run media, would serve as disciplinary forces that again embedded the dominant narratives of the Estado Novo.

Farkas's *Torcidas Uniformizadas*: Disciplined Cheering

Vargas intended to create an inauguration ceremony that exalted the nation, but some of the athletes marching in the parade chose instead to celebrate their Paulista identity. For instance, some carried flags in support of São Paulo Futebol Clube, one of the city's most popular soccer clubs (Giacomini 320). Their main *torcida*, the Torcida Uniformizada do São Paulo (TUSP), would represent one of the first organized fan groups in Brazil (Campos and Louzada 151-52; Toledo, *Torcidas* 21-22). The rise of these *torcidas* coincides with the professionalization of soccer, a move that would have been criticized by the game's early sportsmen.

Amateurism represented an essential ideal for these elites, particularly since they thought that one should play the sport out of love (Nadel, *Fútbol* 145). However, these practices also maintained the game's elite status and helped to exclude many from the working classes (Nadel, *Fútbol* 146). Since soccer was not professionally played in Brazil until 1933, many of the nation's most talented players chose to earn wages for top teams outside the country in South America and Europe (Ferreira 42). Some even played for these country's national teams, specifically Brazilians with Italian or Spanish heritage (Nadel, *Fútbol* 146). As a result, FIFA changed its guidelines for professionalization in 1932, and Vargas took measures to do the same, but the Confederação Brasileira de

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Desportos (CBD) would not officially recognize these changes until 1937 (Ferreira 43-44; Nadel, *Fútbol* 146). Although many thought that these changes would diminish the game's popularity, the quality of play improved and team revenue increased. Furthermore, the measures granted access to the game for previously marginalized social classes, Afro-Brazilians in particular (Nadel, *Fútbol* 147). At first glance, Vargas's move appears to mirror his political stance on social inclusion, but professionalization ultimately aimed to field a national team that could project the success of his regime both domestically and abroad.

With the Estado Novo's discursive influence, and the appearance of black and immigrant players on the pitch, São Paulo's masses began to fill the stands. This is specifically the case of teams such as Sport Clube Corinthians Paulista (Corinthians) and Sociedade Esportiva Palmeiras (Palmeiras), clubs founded by immigrant and working classes during the early part of the 20th century. Workers from the Bom Retiro neighborhood founded Corinthians in 1910, and its first fans predominantly included Afro-Brazilians and immigrants from Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Syria (J. Lopes 253-54; Lima). Like their current crosstown rivals, Italian immigrant workers formed Palestra Itália—now Palmeiras—in 1914 in hopes of competing with clubs belonging to the Paulista elite (Louzada 16; Araújo 83-85). This said, Palestra Itália also contained many Italian immigrants from the middle and upper classes, and even resisted including black players on their team until the 1940s, thus aligning themselves more with the traditional soccer elites (J. Lopes 253-54). Because of these social foundations, Corinthians and Palmeiras continue to be respectively associated with the popular classes and Brazilians with Italian ancestry (Campos and Louzada 157).

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Due to their social makeup, both clubs dealt with the sportsmen's early prejudices, but soon gained entry to the Paulista Athletic Sports Association (APEA)—São Paulo's most important soccer league at the time—in the mid 1910s (Bocketti 86-88). In 1920, Palestra Itália's victory over Paulistano—one of the league's most successful and aristocratic teams—challenged the traditional hegemony of elite clubs (Ferreira 40). By the late 1920s, matches that featured Palestra Itália and Corinthians drew around 35,000 supporters, mass numbers that demonstrated the need for a new municipal stadium like the proposed Pacaembu (Ferreira 41). In Vargas's stadiums, these fans would gain access to a once-exclusive cultural entity, now an inclusive public space where they could celebrate both their social and club identity.

Many fans began showing this allegiance through the participation in *torcidas organizadas*, *charangas*, or the mentioned *torcida uniformizada* of São Paulo FC. Supported by their club, selected *chefes* or bosses would lead these fan groups in cheers, choreographed goal celebrations, and the playing of instruments (Hollanda, *O clube* 48; Hollanda, "Public" 178; E. Silva 175). Aside from this hierarchical organization that reflected the totalitarian discourse of the Vargas regime, members also began wearing matching uniforms, and some scholars have suggested that these dress practices were adopted from college sports fans in the United States (Bastos and Raspaud 193; Hollanda, "Public" 178-79; E. Silva 175). Others argue that samba schools served as the inspiration for *torcidas uniformizadas*. Inspired by sports journalists, competitions such as the Concurso de Torcidas judged fans on liveliness, music, and organization, and this led to the rise of the mentioned fan practices (Hollanda "Public" 179). Music ensembles in the

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stands, often referred to as *charangas*, were so popular that Rio's Flamengo financed their own musical support group in the early 40s (Bastos and Raspaud 193).

Due to the increased number of fans attending games in the 1940s, club and State authorities began efforts for controlling stadium conduct (Toledo, "A invenção" 149). *Torcidas* received institutional support from these entities, and at times they even honored government figures such as Vargas (E. Silva 175). Reflecting the regime's discourse of military order, these groups—mainly consisting of young middle- and upper-class Paulistanos—and their structured fan practices allowed them to be seen as moralizing stadium entities (E. Silva 176). Aside from the already heightened measures for stadium security, *Torcidas* also received police support, and were often given secure sections for their members. Those not belonging to *torcidas*, primarily from the lower classes and sometimes referred to as *torcedores comuns*, were often blamed for stadium violence and conflict (E. Silva 175-76). While these first *torcidas* allowed many Brazilians access to public space, their stadium practices became yet another discursive force that would help create "docile" bodies that projected the ideals of the Estado Novo.

Thomaz Farkas (1924-2011), a photographer living in the Pacaembu neighborhood during the 30s and 40s, provides visual evidence of these supporters in São Paulo's municipal stadium (Holland, "Public" 179). Born in Budapest, Hungary, he later immigrated with his family to São Paulo in 1930. Since his family owned the camera company Fotópica, Farkas experimented with photography at an early age, and he ended up eventually inheriting the business (Silva and Leite 4-5). Like Rosenthal, the Instituto Moreira Salles houses many of his images, and his work received early praise after being exhibited at the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP) in 1949 (Silva and Leite 5).

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The photographer worked with soccer on numerous occasions, and films such as *Brasil verdade – subterrâneos do futebol* (1968)—as well as Joaquim Pedro de Andrade's *Garrincha: alegria do povo* (1963)—provided some of the first moving images of Brazil's stadiums and fans. He also admits to filming the inauguration of Pacaembu (Farkas), but the location of this footage remains unknown to this author. However, his images of the Estádio Pacaembu, included in *Thomaz Farkas, Pacaembu* (2008), perhaps best represent his dossier of stadium photography. This work, along with his visual documentation of the construction of Brasilia, capture Brazil's impetus for modernity during the Vargas era and that of Juscelino Kubitschek. A Corinthians fan himself, Farkas averts the viewers gaze from the field to those seated in the stands (Kfouri). Constituting some of the first—if not only—images of Palestra Itália and Corinthians's *torcidas uniformizadas* from the early 1940s, these photographs demonstrate the altered social makeup of Vargas's stadiums. Contrary to the uniform masses in Rosenthal's extreme wide shot of Pacaembu, Farkas's framing enables the viewer to contemplate the individual identity of his subjects. However, some of these visuals also exhibit the inherent disciplinary function of sport and its constructions. Likewise, the absence of women demonstrates how soccer became an exclusive male "arena" during the Estado Novo.

Although Farkas's photography presents the stadium's panoptic capabilities, his work also demonstrates how many fans used soccer to embrace their immigrant and social backgrounds. By utilizing the medium and wide shot—a framing that displays the subject's full body or from the waist up—fans become the protagonists of the event. Thus, the images prove Vargas's ideals of social inclusion, but at times, this technique

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also brings attention to these *torcedores*' urban identities as constructed through their club affiliation. Instead of displaying national sentiment, these fans, by wearing team colors and logos, exhibit their distinct Paulista identities. It is also important to note that the biographical framing of these fans differs from the use of photography in the game's early years. Framing of this kind predominantly featured teams in posed group shots, and some of these can be found in Farkas's dossier. In this way, Farkas's photography not only highlights these fans' individual identities, but it also suggests their participation as symbolic "twelfth" members of their respective teams.

The first of these images includes Paléstra Itália's *torcida*, as indicated by the letter "P" on some of these men's sweaters (see figure 4). It is possible that the photograph was taken after the club was forced to change its name to Palmeiras, particularly since the team's former logo included the initials "P" and "I." Separating themselves from the masses shot in the background, the *torcedores* wear their green sweaters with the era's typical stadium dress, either under their sport coats or over their button-down shirts and ties. Some also wear multicolored beanies such as the man in the lower left-hand corner.

While their attire visually marks their club identity, as well as their Italian heritage in many cases, the use of instruments amplifies their stadium presence. The viewer spots a symbol in the lower right-hand corner, and two others in the group hold trumpets. One of these men lifts and plays his instrument which is illuminated by the sun streaming down from the left side of the frame. Farkas's use of lighting not only brings attention to the *torcida*, but also to the sounds of their orchestrated support.

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Figure 4. *Thomaz Farkas, Pacaembu*: The Palmeiras *torcida* celebrates.

The photograph provides no obvious clues to these men's ethnic backgrounds, but the notable presence of Italian immigrants within the city and associated with Palmeiras leads the spectator to assume that many of those pictured might share these origins. While this is not certain, the photo does prove soccer's capability of fomenting a sense of common urban identity, symbolized by the *torcida*'s matching uniforms. Another curious detail is the participation of a man with Asian facial features to the left of the frame, just under the outstretched trumpet. Also sporting one of the *torcida*'s sweaters, the man possibly forms a part of São Paulo's historic Japanese community. Due to Brazil's shortage of cheap labor after slave abolition in 1888 and Japan's desire to export their surplus of agricultural workers, around 189,000 Japanese immigrants moved to Brazil from 1908 to 1941. Representing the largest diaspora of its kind, more Nikkei currently

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live in the state of São Paulo than the rest of the world combined (Lesser, *A Discontented* 3-5). Additionally, many Brazilian elites viewed these immigrants favorably (Lesser, *A Discontented* 5), so it is not surprising to observe their presence among the middle- and upper-class youths of Palmeiras's *torcida*. Whatever the case, these uniformed men and their boisterous fan behavior represent the antithesis of the "civilized" and elegantly dressed sportsmen. Despite the group's social makeup, their cohesive attire and orchestrated cheering tactics project "docile" bodies to be emulated by the *torcedores comuns* seated behind them. Furthermore, the t*orcida*'s use of a musical ensemble emphasizes this desired stadium "harmony."

Although Farkas's image leaves little visual evidence to these men's origins, it does capture their candid expressions in front of the photographer's lens. The man in the foreground, perhaps taken aback from the presence of the camera, displays a disgruntled gaze into the lens. However, the man close to the symbol in the right-hand portion of the frame expresses a genuine smile. These techniques give the photograph an authentic touch, and exhibit the *torcida*'s genuine excitement as they cheer on their club, albeit in a controlled manner.

The collection also includes an image of Corinthians's *torcida* (see figure 5). Similar to the previously discussed photo, the *torcedores* wear matching garments over their shirts and ties, but in this case, the viewer clearly distinguishes the group's affiliation. Their white sweaters show the words "Corinthians Torcida" and bear the team's crest. The emblem combines an anchor, oars, and rope—honoring the club's prestige in nautical sports—that encircles the state flag of São Paulo. This serves as an implicit challenge to Vargas's centralized State—shortly after the establishment of the

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Estado Novo in 1937, the president organized a public ceremony that displayed the symbolic burning of each state flag (Williams 65)—and allows these fans to exhibit their Paulista pride instead of that of the nation. However, it is important to note that Corinthian's social ties, more so than Palmeiras, fall in line with Vargas discourse on social inclusion, specifically since the club was linked with the working classes. Despite this, the group's use of matching sweaters and their white banner pictured in the middle of the frame demarcate stadium space, and thus, allow institutional authorities the ability to classify different fan bodies. As a model for other Corinthian supporters, the *torcida* conducts normalized stadium comportment for all fans to follow. The *torcida*'s practices mirror Vargas's nationalist and fascist discourse, specifically those dealing with uniformity and order.

Figure 5. *Thomaz Farkas, Pacaembu*: The *chefe* leads the Corinthians *torcida*.

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This photograph also demonstrates the hierarchical structure employed within fan groups. Whereas the image of the Palmeiras *torcida* portrays a more disorganized scene of celebration, Farkas captures the orderliness of the Corinthians *torcedores*. This is personified by the group's *chefe* that holds a black megaphone—symbolic of his leadership role—and part of a team banner in the center of the frame. Behind the *torcida*'s boss, his fellow fans remain seated in their rows, and await his cheering lead. Like the hierarchical surveillance employed in the *panopticon*, the oversight of the *chefe* and the obedience of his fellow supporters appears to duplicate the authoritarian order of the Estado Novo, and even parallels Vargas's control over the rows of athletes framed in Rosenthal's image.

Despite these observations, the photograph does suggest the club's more inclusive practices, especially regarding the inclusion of black players and members. Accentuated by the white banner and the sweaters of his fellow *torcedores*, the black *chefe* draws the viewer's immediate attention, representing the *punctum* or central focus of the photo in Barthian terms. By directing the spectator's gaze towards this figure and his position of power, not to mention the presence of a mixed group of supporters behind him, Farkas provides further evidence of Corinthians's ideals of social acceptance among São Paulo's clubs. Although this discursive practice might embed Vargas's concept of Brazil as a racial democracy, the *torcida*'s banner also serves as a visual demarcation of class distinction.

Farkas's image of the *torcedores comuns* perhaps best illustrates the stadium's panoptic capabilities under Vargas (see figure 6). Using a low-angle shot, the viewer's gaze is drawn to the guard just above the stadium railing at the top of the frame. The

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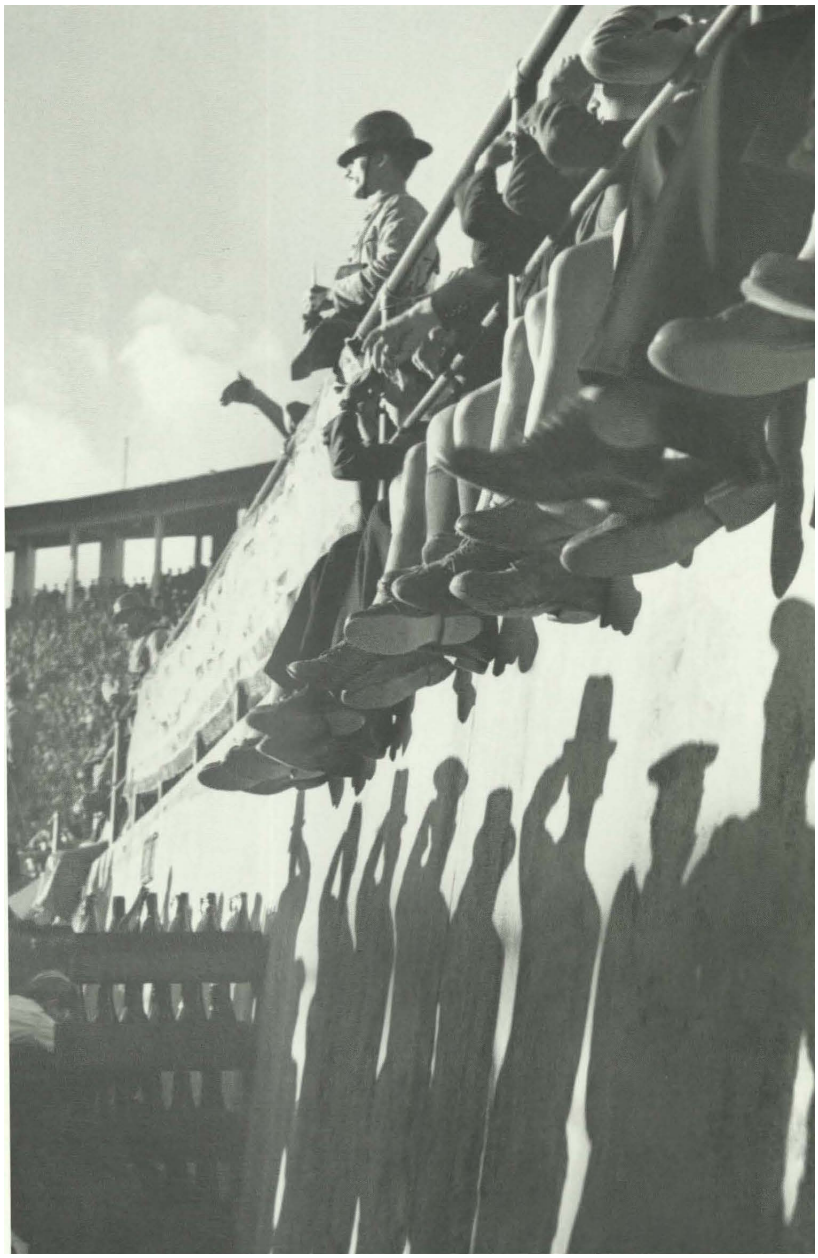

Figure 6. *Thomaz Farkas, Pacaembu*: A soldier watches over the crowd.

visual effect produced by the angle gives the soldier a towering and authoritative presence over the attendees. The shot also provides evidence of the heightened efforts of government control within these confines. This man and his fellow solider pictured to the left of the frame appear to guard a section of *torcidas uniformizadas*, suggested by the banner hanging from the railing in between them. Aside from representing another

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example of the increased military presence, the soldiers' protection of the *torcida* proves these groups' institutional and State support. This hierarchical observational structure—club and State authorities supervise the soldiers, who in turn maintain constant vigilance over the crowd—again mirrors Bentham's *panopticon*.

Like the photos of the mentioned *torcidas*, this image also captures the orderly and uniform display of "docile" bodies. Farkas accomplishes this by his use of light and shadows. He presents the silhouettes of a row of supporters projected onto a cement wall, and just above, the viewer spots a parallel group of legs dangling from their seats. Contrary to the previous images, the technique fails to show any of the subjects' face, thus concealing the identities of these *torcedores comuns*. As a result, the bodies of these fans not only form parallel lines with one another, but also give off the illusion of a unified stadium whole. Further illustrating this effect, a stack of crates holding rows of bottles—sold by a vendor just outside the left side of the frame—mirrors the neatly ordered fan bodies.

Even though these fans remain anonymous through Farkas's techniques, one thing is for certain. Like the members of the pictured *torcidas*, all those photographed are men, as indicated by the black leather shoes attached to the dangling legs and the shadows of fedoras, homburgs, and newsboy caps just below. This visually proves that soccer and stadiums under Vargas became homosocial entities. While *torcidas* helped institutional forces maintain order within stadiums, the overwhelming male presence—influenced by the government's sporting legislation regarding women—became the "norm" in this public space. Similar to Rosenthal's work, Farkas confirms that Pacaembu worked as a disciplinary tool for the Vargas regime. Influenced by the discourse of the Estado Novo,

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and different from the sportsmen episteme, stadiums became known as spaces for the masses, but also as devices for instilling fascist order and national cohesion.

Torcidas Organizadas: Resisting Fan Forces

As discussed in the previous chapter on players, soccer continued to represent a powerful discursive site for Brazilian nationalism, specifically with the success of the national team and their triumphs in 1958, 1962, and 1970. Like Vargas, Brazilian dictators such as Emílio Garrastazu Médici used soccer to embed ideals of Brazilian nationalism, specifically with the latter World Cup victory (Levine, "Sport" 246). This discursive process would repeat itself in 1978 when Jorge Rafael Videla used Argentina's triumph to project a united nation amid government torture and corruption (See Alabarces's *Fútbol*, Ridge's "La fiesta", and Sebreli's *La era* for more on this topic). Although the sport continued to be constructed as a nationalist entity under Brazil's new military rule from 1964-1985, *torcidas organizadas* became cultural sites of resistance both in and outside the stadium.

The Estado Novo came to an end in 1945, and for nearly two decades, Brazil experienced a period of democracy which included another Vargas term from 1950 until his suicide in 1954. Under Kubitschek, the country improved its industrial sector, specifically its automotive industries, and succeeded in establishing Brasília as the new capital in 1960 (Fausto and Fausto 249-51). Despite these accomplishments, inflation continued to rise, and as a consequence of the loss of government legitimacy and social order under João Goulart's administration, a military coup backed by the United States ousted the president in 1964 (Fausto and Fausto 270-72). Aiming to end State corruption

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and communism, the military began issuing Atos Institucionais that began to change the government's institutions. Even though the Brazilian economy showed vast improvement by the late 1960s, the increased executive power permitted the government to function as an authoritarian regime which persecuted, arrested, and tortured all who opposed (Fausto and Fausto 273-75, 283). Following mass student demonstrations such as the Passeata dos 100,000 and other worker strikes, President Artur da Costa e Silva announced the Ato Institucional número cinco (AI-5), an act that closed congress, began censorship of the media, and prohibited public gatherings of a political nature (Campos and Louzada 152-53; Fausto and Fausto 280-82).

Living under these repressive conditions, stadiums constituted one of the only public spaces where the disenfranchised, mainly unemployed urban youths, could unite and exercise a sense of agency through their participation with *torcidas organizadas* (Gaffney, *Temples* 185). Contrary to the *torcidas uniformizadas* captured by Farkas, these new types of fan groups did not receive institutional or club support, nor did they serve as moralizing stadium entities. Instead of merely providing the "uniformed" backing for their club, groups such as Corinthians's Gaviões da Fiel began expressing their disapproval towards mismanagement, an "organized" strategy that helped to pressure the team administration's decision-making (Campos and Louzada 152-54; Lopes and Cordeiro, "Torcidas" 80). In Rio's stadiums, the emergence of *torcidas jovens* appears to also reflect the resistance of the mentioned student rebellions. Likewise, these groups challenged the institutionally supported *torcidas uniformizadas* and the authoritative role of the *chefe* (Hollanda, "Public" 179). As a result, fans, specifically *torcidas organizadas*, no longer duplicated the government's discourse of order, discipline, and nationalism.

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Instead, these groups have become known as a discursive site of visibility for Brazil's marginalized urban and youth populations.

Despite providing a space for resisting government repression, *torcidas organizadas* became increasingly chaotic by the 1980s. Financial and political instability marked Brazil's redemocratization process, and during this period, Brazil failed to invest in urban infrastructure and prepare itself for the transition to the global economy. Again, marginalized youths used their participation in *torcidas* as a way to publically vent their frustrations, often through violent conflict (Gaffney, "A World" 191-92). Attracted by this rise in stadium violence, thousands began participating in these fan groups. Mainly from the urban peripheries and favelas, these groups of young fans quickly became associated with violence, juvenile delinquency, and drug use found outside stadium walls (Hollanda, "Public" 179-80). By the late 80s and on into the 90s, discussed in more detail later, militarization became the answer to control stadium conflict (Gaffney, *Temples* 185).

Stadium violence between *torcidas organizadas* can be attributed to various factors, but historic rivalries lead to most violent conflicts. Opposite the unifying effect produced by competitions involving the Brazilian *seleção*, matches that include Paulista rivals such as Corinthians and Palmeiras tend to foment separate urban identities. In this way, stadium divisions and field demarcations often symbolize territorial, cultural, ethnic, class, and/or religious conflict (Fernández 97-98). Rivalries many times reflect divisions of social class, and based on their distinct origins, clubs have become known either as teams of the masses or of the elite (Lever 75-76). In fact, violence linked to urban territorial divisions and drug trafficking causes a vast majority of conflicts between

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torcidas organizadas, even among those cheering for the same team (Lopes and Cordeiro, "Torcidas" 79). Fandom allows for these individuals to express their sense of belonging within the metropolis (Lever 120).

More specifically, *Torcidas organizadas* allow supporters the opportunity to develop feelings of group solidarity, especially when confronting rivals (Pimenta 46). Through the wearing of matching attire, the waving of flags, and chants, *torcedores organizados* view themselves as protagonists for their preferred teams. Violent and aggressive actions against rival *torcidas* allow groups to not only express their solidarity, but also their masculinity (Pimenta 46). Masculine toughness and confrontation with police and rival groups—not to mention the robbing of flags, shirts, and memorabilia from these "enemies"—allow groups to gain a certain visibility to combat their otherwise urban anonymity (Lopes and Cordeiro, "Futebol" 123-24).

It must be clarified that not all fan groups exhibit this type of violent comportment. Even though many *torcidas* now campaign against this behavior, the media tends to discursively construct all of these fan groups as violent (Campos and Louzada 154). In fact, only 5-7% of the total *torcedores organizados* commit these types of acts, and the majority age between 15 and 25 years old (Murad 30-31, 158). Additionally, not all of these fans are young "delinquents"; rather these groups contain students, workers, women, fathers, and mothers (Pimenta 43). Media representations of *torcidas* typically ignore their festive and celebratory elements, choosing rather to construct them in a negative light. This discursive strategy relies on the use of bellicose or animal-like adjectives and metaphors that present fan groups as dangerous, hostile, and savage (Lopes and Reis 689-90; Lopes and Cordeiro, "Futebol" 126). In Foucauldian terms of

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power, these media representations have successfully constructed *torcidas organizadas* into abnormalized fan bodies. While violent acts have allowed for these groups to gain visibility, media technologies ironically have served as a *panoptic* device that limits this resistance and facilitates social control (Lopes and Cordeiro, "Futebol" 126, 130-31). Furthermore, the sensationalized presentation of this violence has only attracted more violent fans (Murad 193).

As a result of this type of representation, *torcidas organizadas* are often linked with the British phenomenon of hooliganism or *barras bravas* in neighboring Argentina (for studies on hooligans, see Elias and Dunning; for those on *barras*, see Alabarces and Zucal). Although youths from the popular classes constitute the majority of these members (Lopes and Cordeiro, "Torcidas" 79), Brazilian fan groups differ in many ways from their foreign counterparts. Whereas hooligans arrange their social gatherings in pubs and refrain from wearing club-affiliated attire, many *torcidas* have a fan headquarters and dress in colorful team clothing. Furthermore, the former does not create a carnival-like atmosphere through the use of instruments and synchronized fan movements (Cavalcanti, Souza, Capraro 46; Lopes and Cordeiro, "Torcidas" 79-80). Unlike *torcidas*, hooligans and *barras bravas* are also more likely to exhibit racist and xenophobic behavior, not to mention some of these groups' association with the ultraright. On the contrary, *torcidas* such as Corinthian's Camisa 12 hold a Dia da Consciência Negra and exhibit giant stadium flags that condemn racism (Lopes and Cordeiro, "Torcidas" 80-82). The official websites of *barras bravas* and *torcidas organizadas* in Argentina and Brazil also differ in their coverage of stadium violence. While www.organizadasbrasil.com often promotes peace within these walls, www.barra-bravas.com.ar highlights the latest fan conflicts

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(Lopes and Cordeiro, "Torcidas" 81). Some *torcidas* even form friendly ties with other groups, and on the weekends of games, they facilitate the rival club's visit (Lopes and Cordeiro, "Torcidas" 81).

More recently, factions referred to as *movimentos* have surged in Rio de Janeiro's stadiums. Differing from many *torcidas organizadas*, they appear to show a more white-collar profile, speak out against violence, and use club symbols rather than their own (Hollanda, "Public" 182-83; Hollanda, Azevedo, and Queiroz 20-21). Despite these differences, Brazilian club and State authorities often stigmatize all fan groups as violent hooligans. Thus, they have traditionally employed the same disciplinary tactics as those dealing with the European brand of fan violence, actions that have had overall negative effects (Lopes, Reis, and Martins 625). Combined with the discursive influence of the media, these actions have allowed for Brazil's *torcidas organizadas* to become vilified. Likewise, stadiums in the 1990s and early 2000s transformed into prison-like structures that emphasized order and social classification. These changes would facilitate the State's coordination of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games.

The Stadium's Revised Disciplinary Tactics

As stated, British measures to combat hooliganism influenced those employed by Brazilian authorities. In response to England's Hillsborough Disaster—an overcrowding of Sheffield's Hillsborough Stadium that resulted in the death of ninety-six fans in 1989—English Parliament devised the Taylor Report to revise regulations and safety in sporting venues. Among these revisions, the document addressed needs for renovations such as the elimination of popular seating sections, regulation of alcohol sales, increased

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police monitoring, the building of security control rooms, and the introduction of new antiracism laws within stadiums (Amaral and Bastos 5-6). The report drastically changed sporting venues in England and led to UEFA's adoption of the Binding Safety and Security Instructions in 2003 and the Stadium Infrastructure Regulations in 2006, measures that served as models for modernizing other stadiums abroad (Amaral and Bastos 6-7; Spampinato).

Experiencing similar stadium conditions throughout the 80s and 90s—Brazilian stadiums have witnessed over fifty deaths since 1988 (Hollanda, Azevedo, and Queiroz 3)—the country began taking serious steps towards combatting stadium violence at the beginning of the 21st century. In one of the most notorious of these incidents in 1995, the so-called Batalha Campal do Pacaembu, fans from the competing Palmeiras and São Paulo clubs invaded the pitch. Armed with sticks and rocks taken from a closed-off area of the stadium that was undergoing renovations, the rival conflict resulted in the death of a minor and hundreds of injuries (Hollanda, Azevedo, and Queiroz 13). It is important to note the media's framing of the incident as a "battle," yet another discursive tool to construct both stadiums and *torcedores* as dangerous and hostile. From then on, Brazil would take various measures to reduce violent incidents in stadiums (Lopes and Cordeiro, "Futebol" 121). Although *torcidas organizadas* used stadiums to gain visibility from the 60s onward, the Estatuto de Defesa do Torcedor (EDT), militarization, increased surveillance, seating renovations, and increased ticket prices have allowed for Brazilian and institutional authorities to construct sporting venues in a way that substitutes passionate *torcedores* for orderly consuming fans.

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The Estatuto de Defesa do Torcedor, sometimes referred to as the "lei de moralização do futebol" (Reis 14), represents one of the most important disciplinary steps towards controlling stadium violence and addressing the rights of Brazilian fans. Passed by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's administration in 2003, the president stated that the law would end the so-called savage treatment of *torcedores* within stadiums (Gaffney, "A World" 195). In the first place, the law required stadiums to ensure the maintenance of public bathrooms. Many of these facilities exhibited puddles of water, pungent odors, a lack of trash cans, and some venues could only support the hygiene needs of around 5,000 attendees (Reis 120-21). Lacking the proper amenities and treated like animals, some conclude that fans ended up behaving as such (Alvito, "A madeira" 42). Studies show that proper hygiene facilities help to inhibit stadium violence (Bastos and Raspaud 199). Despite these regulations, and as of 2010, many Brazilian stadiums failed to address the fans' most common bathroom rights (Amaral and Bastos 10).

Most importantly, the EDT called for attendees' rights to a secure and safe stadium environment. However, these measures employed heightened punitive measures for fans, but not for security entities that overstepped their authority while enforcing the new laws (Gaffney, "A World" 195). In 2010, Lula approved an amendment to the EDT for harsher punishments that criminalized those committing violent stadium acts (Bastos and Raspaud 200). In particular, Rio de Janeiro has witnessed some of the most aggressive stadium policing to combat violence. Armed with clubs and pepper spray, the Grupamento Especial de Policimento em Estádios (GEPE) has provided security within stadiums since 1991, and it represents the only group of its kind in the country. Subordinates of the Batalhão de Policia de Choque—the battalion that helped forcefully

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repress public protests during the military regime—the GEPE rarely respect the rights of *torcedores organizados*. For instance, one incident in the Estádio São Januário led to several innocent bystanders, including children, being hit with pepper spray (Alvito, "A madeira" 40-41; 48). Despite this heightened military presence, many times these security forces fail to ensure attendees' protection while they exit the sporting facilities, considered some of the most dangerous moments of these events (Reis 117). Although many protested the repressive actions leading up to the World Cup—most notably the public marches during the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup—a more heightened police and military presence equipped with tear gas, batons, and machine guns silenced this political unrest for the 2014 and 2016 mega-events (Zirin 6-8).

Additionally, in the surrounding areas of Rio's stadiums, units such as the Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP) aimed to take back control of these territories from criminal gangs and drug traffickers before the 2014 World Cup. While these security measures helped ensure safety for attendees of the event, as well as limit police corruption and violence against inhabitants of areas like Providência, the moves could also favor real-estate speculators. For instance, Eike Batista—one of Brazil's richest men and targets of the country's recent corruption scandal—financially backed forces like the UPP (Zirin 13, 219-24). This proves that both stadium and urban militarization could potentially favor private and corporate interests.

Besides these repressive tactics, the EDT has also called for the installation of juizados especiais criminais (JECRIMs) within stadiums to try and condemn unruly fans (Alvito, "A parte" 470). Likewise, article 18 requires sporting events that host more than 10,000 spectators to maintain a security control center, a measure that allows for

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authorities to watch fans through internal surveillance technologies (Alvito, "A parte" 470-71). Regarding preparations for the World Cup, the government spent over nine-hundred million dollars to install security cameras and command centers in the twelve host cities. Furthermore, drone surveillance planes watched fans from above (Zirin 51-52). In Rio, they spent $50 million dollars to erect the Centro Integrado de Comando e Controle (CICC), and while the building facilitated surveillance of the 2014 and 2016 sporting events, it is now used to monitor activity in several of the city's favelas ("Contra"). This demonstrates how stadiums and their surrounding areas have not only become militarized, but also *panoptic* spaces that produce the normalizing gaze cast on fans' bodies.

Next, the elimination of the *gerais* have helped to limit the agency of *torcidas organizadas*. Brazil's choice to coordinate the FIFA World Championship of Football Clubs in 2000, and more recently the FIFA World Cup in 2014, have led to many of these renovations. For the former, FIFA and the CBF called for numbered seats to replace the popular *geral*. FIFA states that "no international match can take place if people are standing" (Zirin 38). By dividing this space into white, green, and yellow sections, authorities sought to limit the freedom of movement of *torcidas*. The move appeared to curtail conflict within the stadium, but worsen it in the surrounding neighborhoods (Hollanda, "Public" 181-82). Besides restricting movement, the implementation of individual seats and demarcated sectors allows for fans to be watched and controlled more easily (Gaffney, "A World" 203). Analyzed later, similar restrictions have been applied to the Estádio Pacaembu, specifically color-coded sections with numbered seats. Furthermore, the creation of VIP sections offers privileged services that are not available

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to the common fan (Gaffney, "A World" 203). Thus, just like the *panopticon*, current stadia allow fans to be classified and observed.

Finally, increased ticket prices have left many *torcidas* outside stadium walls. FIFA's demanding stadium regulations and the EDT have served to gentrify Brazil's sporting venues, thus excluding non-elite fans through high ticket prices (Hollanda, "Public" 169). For example, entry fees for matches of the Série A do Campeonato Brasileiro, Brazil's first division, increased by nearly 300% from 2002 to 2012. This has allowed for the sport to reemerge as an exclusive cultural entity, and as a tool of dominance over the lower-class *torcedor* (F. Lopes 3-4). Not only this, increased prices for matches held during the 2014 World Cup and corporate-sponsored fan fests further marginalized Brazil's most popular support groups and their celebrations (Bocketti 252-53).

When Lula originally pitched hosting the World Cup to his compatriots, he claimed that it would provide an excuse for building modern airports, subways, monorails, and a bullet train from Rio to São Paulo, but almost all of these proposed projects were scrapped by the time of the event (Cuadros 237). Likewise, Dilma Rousseff, as well as José Maria Marin and Aldo Rebelo—the head of the CBF and Brazil's minister of sport, respectively—voiced these promises and that the event would promote the ideal of national harmony (Bocketti 251). However, instead of addressing these needs and those of Brazil's urban populations, the coordination of the World Cup and the Olympics have aimed at bringing in big business (Zirin 28-29). The recent overhaul of Brazilian stadiums has resulted in a renewed *elitização* of these spaces (Gaffney, "A World" 198). Like the stadiums of the sportsmen, the revised disciplinary

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measures have once again allowed for those in power to exclude Brazil's most passionate *torcedores*.

This is particularly concerning since public funding accounted for most of the stadium renovations and constructions leading up to 2014 World Cup. Thus, even though the Brazilian taxpayers funded these projects, the majority of the *povo* could no longer enjoy these sporting spaces. No longer relying on revenue generated by mass attendance, increased ticket prices have allowed club management to maximize profits and change the social makeup of the stands. Now priced between R$30 and R$40 on average—some reports indicate that they reached R$60 after the recent renovations—tickets for Brazilian league matches represent the most expensive entry fees in the world relative to minimum wage (Gaffney, "A World" 198-200). Consistent with the stadium and sports management practices found in Europe and the United States, clubs are aiming to fulfill the needs of consuming fans rather than the traditional *torcedor*.

To make matters worse for the *povo*, many of Brazil's publically funded stadiums have been or will be handed over to those in the private sector. This means that many of the stadiums constructed for the World Cup—this includes those erected in Natal, Manaus, Cuiabá, and Brasília, cities with no professional teams in Brazil's first division—will represent private entities isolated from their urban context (Gaffney, "A World" 205). Some have described this as a reverse Robin Hood-effect. Taken from the pockets of the Brazilian masses, some of Brazil's largest companies—Odebrecht, IMX, Grupo OAS, and Andrade Gutierrez—were paid to help construct and run the majority of the twelve stadiums for the 2014 event (Ribeiro Jr., Cipoloni, Azenha, Chastinet 331). FIFA has also played a key role in this process, and their Technical Evaluation of

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Stadiums states that "public private partnerships" will be the result of these constructions and renovations. Furthermore, soccer's governing body also requires that stadiums reserve a two-kilometer radius surrounding stadiums for their exclusive marketing control during international competitions (Gaffney, "A World" 201-03).

Aside from the mentioned naming rights of stadiums like Palmeiras' Allianz Parque, the Arena Corinthians—constructed for the 2014 World Cup and now the official home of Corinthians—has adopted similar marketing models. For example, the stadium's website offers businesses the opportunity to advertise their products almost anywhere in the stadium, whether it be the facility's big screens, LED tickers, or even bathroom televisions (*Arenacorinthians.com.br*). Thus, multinational sponsors, broadcasting networks, and private transnational agencies form a part of the stadium's most important discursive entities (Hollanda, "Public" 168). As a result, stadiums no longer fulfill the congregation needs of the Brazilian masses, but rather the interest of FIFA, corporations, and the political and economic elite.

Barreto and Prata's *Torcidas organizadas*: Filming the Stadium Masses

The visibility of stadium masses is not only limited to sporting events. Like the photography of Rosenthal and Farkas, cultural production has helped bring *Torcidas organizadas* into the Brazilian cultural imaginary. Mário Prata's *Palmeiras – um caso de amor* (2002) and Bruno Barreto's film adaptation of the short story present the historic rivalry between Palmeiras and Corinthians. Other narrative films such as Ugo Giorgetti's *Boleiros – Era uma vez o futebol* (1998) and Walter Salles and Daniela Thomas's *Linha de Passe* (2008) also present these *torcedores*, specifically Corinthians's Gaviões da Fiel

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(for an analysis of these films, see Ridge's "Um Bando"). Again, São Paulo and the Estádio Pacaembu serve as the backdrop for these texts. While Prata's hybrid work offers photography of Palmeiras's *torcidas*, Barreto chooses to film both clubs' multiple fan groups in the Pacaembu.

Soccer not only serves as the theme of *Palmeiras – um caso de amor*, but also works by the author such as *Paris, 98!* (2005). Although the former was published originally in 2002, this analysis considers the 2005 edition released by Ediouro. The text belongs to the editorial's Camisa 13 collection which has released cultural works themed after some of Brazil's most popular club teams. This also includes Washington Olivetto and Nirlando Beirão's *Corinthians – é preto no branco* (2002). The collection boasts a set of colorful and aesthetically pleasing hybrid texts, and Prata's work features Beto Fario's illustrations that accompany his short story, as well as ten separate appendices that provide photography, facts, statistics, player bios, club accomplishments, and the history of Palmeiras. Among these, readers learn of the team's historic Italian ties with specific references to the organization's mentioned name change in 1942 and the previously worn blue jerseys honoring the *Azzurri* (41-42).

Prata (1946-) employs a Shakespearian narrative formula to emphasize the heated rivalry between Corinthians and Palmeiras supporters. Romeu, a fan of the former, falls for Riane, but their families are divided by their separate club identities. Despite her allegiance to his rival team, Romeu acts as a Palmeiras fan in hopes of courting the woman and gaining her family's approval. This includes convincing Baragatti, Riane's father and Palmeiras fanatic, of this support, mainly by memorizing and reciting facts about historic teams, players, and matches. While his character is stereotypical, Baragatti

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personifies the club's Italian ties, particularly through his use of profanities like "Cazzo!" (21), and his serving of pasta and red wine during a family dinner.

Romeu's narration of these events also demonstrate the immense divisions fomented by the urban rivalry. For instance, the reader interprets his misery while he wears his rival club's colors and recites their hymn in front of Baragatti and the Palmeiras president: "Vesti a camisa do Palmeiras. Repito: vesti a camisa de Palmeiras. Não havia mais retorno!... Cantei o hino do Palmeiras" (28). Furthermore, Romeu's son disapproves of his father's treacherous plans to court Riane:

> Eu posso perdoar tudo, pai. Tudo, menos isso! Até virar são-paulinho eu engolia. Mas palmeirense, pai? A minha vida toda, fomos juntos ao campo. Quantas camisas do Timão você me comprou?... Você está fazendo com que eu passe a duvidar de tudo que me disse e me ensinou. Palmeiras, pai?! Eu já vi você fazer loucuras por causa de mulher, mas essa, pai!... (30)

Finally, the protagonist confesses his true fandom to Riane, but having witnessed Romeu cheering for Corinthians during a Copa Libertadores game against Palmeiras, she reveals that she was already aware of his true colors. Although Riane accepts this allegiance, Romeu must tell her father, and he chooses to do so after Palmeiras loses to Manchester United in Tokyo, an actual reference to the club's 1-0 loss to the British side during the 1999 Intercontinental Cup. Baragatti invites his future son-in-law to make the trip, and after the match Romeu reveals that he has good and bad news. While the narration indicates that Baragatti will become a grandfather, it omits the latter, and the reader supposes that Romeu reveals his true club identity, hinted by the short story's opening narration: "O Baragatti, quem diria, encostou a cabeça careca no meu ombro e chorou feito criança. Logo ele, ali, balançando a pança como Chacrinha. Ali, em Tóquio, no dia 29 de novembro de 1999" (15).

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Although the narrative demonstrates São Paulo's disparate club and urban identities, Prata's hybrid text also gives readers visual evidence of Palmeiras's *torcidas organizadas*. Black-and-white photographs by Lala Almeida and Edu Garcia capture these fans and their passionate support. Almeida's image, included in Anexo 7 of the text (72), exhibits several of these supporters holding banners and streamers while dressed in Palmeiras jerseys and/or colors. The photo also highlights the *torcida*'s hypermasculine atmosphere since no female presence is visible. Furthermore, the shirtless fan pictured in the lower left-hand corner of the frame embodies the ideals of masculine toughness and youth found in these groups. At the same time, the boy's behavior, as well as the chaotic movement suggested by the streamers and waving hands, allow these fans to create "non-docile" bodies that challenge traditional stadium order. Moreover, his naked skin further exhibits this defiant comportment as it contrasts with Farkas's *torcedores uniformizados*. Curiously, Prata also includes the caption "Vocês" below the photograph (72), and the technique allows for the author—a Palmeiras fan himself—to address and empower readers as fellow *torcedores*.

Likewise, Garcia's image on page 107 presents both the masculine and chaotic elements of these groups. The lower half of the frame shows two men that sit on what appears to be a giant white banner displaying a green parakeet, one of the club's mascots. Above this, fans help to pass green and white streamers to their fellow supporters. It is not clear to which of these *torcidas* the fans belong, but their actions appear to demarcate their own territory within the stands. Like the images taken by Farkas, the photo also exhibits an exclusively masculine space. However, like Almeida's photograph, the *torcida*'s use of streamers and banners contrasts with the orderly and hierarchical

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structure carried out by the Vargas-era *torcidas uniformizadas*. By incorporating these images into his text, Prata demonstrates cultural production's capabilities for duplicating these *torcedores*' visibility within the urban setting.

Like *Palmeiras – um caso de amor*, *O casamento de Romeu e Julieta* (2005) relies on authentic visual footage of *torcidas* to enhance the text's validity. Nonetheless, by choosing to film scenes in Pacaembu, Barreto (1955-) allows the viewer to compare the photography of these fan groups with those captured by Farkas. While the reader is unable to distinguish the affiliation of the *torcidas* in Prata's book, the director gives special thanks to the Gaviões da Fiel and the Mancha Verde (now the Mancha Alviverde)—Corinthians's and Palmeiras's largest fan groups, respectively—in the film's credits.

Within the Brazilian and international context, the discursive influence of Barreto's work is notable, especially considering his success with film adaptations. Aside from *O casamento de Romeu e Julieta*, the filmmaker directed *Dona Flor e seus dois maridos* (1976), *O beijo no asfalto* (1981), and *Flores raras* (2013), award-winning adaptations of works by Jorge Amado, Nelson Rodrigues, and Carmen L. Oliveira, in that order. Furthermore, the director represents one of the few contemporary Brazilian filmmakers—Héctor Babenco and Walter Salles to name others—to achieve Hollywood recognition, specifically with *Four Days in September* (1997). In terms of style and narrative, the film discussed here appears to insert itself into the typical North American formula for filmmaking. Besides the use of well-known Brazilian stars such as Luis Gustavo (Baragatti), Luana Piovani (Julieta), and Marco Ricca (Romeu), Barreto and his screenwriters—Marcos Caruso and Jandira Martini—essentially create a Hollywood

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romantic comedy based on Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. This is emphasized by changing the name of Prata's character Riane to Julieta.

However, as Orrichio notes, the combination of Shakespeare and *futebol* represents the narrative formula for films such as Pereira Dias's *Domingo do Gre-Nal* (1979). Instead of the São Paulo rivalry, the movie presents a romantic episode and family feud between fans of Porto Alegre's Sport Club Internacional and Grêmio Foot-ball Porto Alegre (238). This intense *Gaúcho* rivalry also serves as the backdrop for novels such as Michel Laub's *O segundo tempo* (2006). Although Barreto does maintain many narrative elements of Prata's text, particularly the romantic relationship between the rival couple and stereotypical references to Baragatti and Palmeiras's Italian roots, the scenes shot on site at Pacaembu provide more convincing evidence of São Paulo's most popular *torcidas organizadas*.

In an establishing shot that features the façade of the so-called Estádio Municipal Paulo Machado de Carvalho, Barreto and his cinematographer Adriano Goldman set the scene for a match between Palmeiras and Corinthians. Similar to Almeida's and Garcia's photos, the footage captures a hypermasculine fan environment. Although one shot displays the profile of a woman praying next to her fellow *torcedores*, the opening sequence within the stadium predominantly features male members of the Gaviões da Fiel dressed in their black outfits and participating in chaotic crowd movements and chants. Like Farkas, Goldman's use of medium and close-up shots function to give these *torcedores* a visible identity among the masses. Again, many of these men choose to remove their shirts as they cheer, an action that bolsters their manhood in front of their rivals. Close-ups of these men's bare skin not only accentuate their masculinity, but also

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their dedication to Corinthians and their *torcida*, as demonstrated by tattoos bearing the group's hawk, name, and team emblem (see figure 7). A separate shot also shows the fans performing one of their most effective techniques in gaining visibility. The *torcida* raises their *bandeirão*, a giant black banner that displays the mentioned group iconography.

Figure 7. *O casamento de Romeu e Julieta*: Members of the Gaviões da Fiel.

In response to these symbolic challenges, the camera cuts to the opposite side of the stadium where the Mancha Verde exhibit similar actions. Dressed in white and green, these masses mirror the movements and chants of their rivals, some choosing to remove their shirts and wave them in the air. The *torcida* also raise their *bandeirão*, an equally-massive white banner that features the group's name and what looks to be their logo, a green version of Disney's Phantom Blot (see figure 8). Following a goal, the group celebrates by releasing white and green smoke, yet another tactic that marks their territory and intensifies their stadium presence. While both Barreto and Prata's narratives demonstrate fandom's role in fomenting a sense of distinct urban identity, these filmed

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sequences of São Paulo's largest *torcidas organizadas* demonstrate how these groups use the stadium as a way of combatting their social anonymity through the creation of "non-docile" fan bodies.

Figure 8. *O casamento de Romeu e Julieta*: The Mancha Verde raise their *bandeirão*.

Nevertheless, Barreto and Goldman also capture the revised disciplinary tactics employed by Brazilian authorities in response to these group's aggressive behavior. Since the film was released in 2005, the footage captures the probable after effects of the EDT. First, the mentioned close-ups of the backs of the members of the Gaviões da Fiel not only highlight their tattoos, but also their hands that grasp the fencing that encloses the pitch. The framing emphasizes the *torcida*'s entrapment within their designated *geral*. The film also shows the heightened security as fans exit the stadium. The use of montage connects three separate images during this tense moment. The first shows the *torcedores* exiting through Pacaembu's north doors that display a view of the São Paulo skyline. However, above the portico, a sign also reads "PAZ NO FUTEBOL" (see figure 9). Next,

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Figure 9. ***O casamento de Romeu e Julieta*****: Fans exit Pacaembu.**

Figure 10. ***O casamento de Romeu e Julieta*****: The Polícia Militar gaze down at fans.**

the camera cuts to an upward-angled shot of two guards dressed in gray uniforms and white helmets—most likely a part of São Paulo's Polícia Militar—that cast their gaze downward towards the crowd (see figure 10). Then, the viewer is provided with a bird's

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eye view of the fans, and blue metal barriers and security forces armed with black shields divide both the frame and the separate *torcidas* (see figure 11). Felipe Lacerda's editing touch suggests that "peace" will be the result of increased militarization and State surveillance. Furthermore, the dividing practices carried out by these forces, combined with the normalizing military gaze, allow for stadium authorities to watch and control fans, thus transforming the space into a *panoptic* structure.

Figure 11. *O casamento de Romeu e Julieta*: Barriers separate fans.

Aside from these disciplinary tactics, the film also provides evidence of Pacaembu's separate seating classifications. For instance, a downward-angled shot focalizes Julieta's view of the rival *geral*, and her first sight of Romeu as he leads the *torcida* in the chanting of "Timão." Contrary to where her family sits, the *geral* appears to allow more freedom of movement. More visible in the next scene filmed at Pacaembu, the Baragatti clan—now accompanied by a reluctant Romeu—cheer from their assigned seats in the upper level. The mid shot of these Palmeiras fans notably contrasts with the

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sequences of the Mancha Verde or the Gaviões da Fiel. Besides their middle-class attire and numbered seats, the film's use of angles suggests the disparate social identities of these fans and the *torcidas*. Likewise, the shots of the *geral* display a more chaotic grouping of supporters in comparison to the orderly rows surrounding Romeu and the Baragattis.

While these scenes demonstrate the stadium's function as a disciplinary entity, both Prata and Barreto's narratives appear to underline soccer's capacity to divide and dramatize urban conflict. Referencing Lévi-Strauss's theory of sports and their disjunctive character (30-33), Toledo proposes that *futebol* also creates a scission between different groups. At the same time, soccer in Brazil's urban context foments a sense of *Nós* between certain communities ("A cidade" 133-34). Although the film ends in the symbolic union of Romeu and Julieta, a final shot during the wedding ceremony—an overhead view of the separate families holding their respective team banners and divided by the church's center nave—visually emphasizes soccer's power to both divide and unite.

Ghosts of Pacaembu: Bruno Mooca's Abandoned Stadium

Following the 2014 World Cup, Corinthians officially settled into their new home at Arena Corinthians. Lacking the modern technologies and elite facilities present in most stadiums of the neoliberal era, Pacaembu had lost its most important tenants. The stadium has continued to host events such as the Copa São Paulo de Futebol Júnior in recent years, but now most Paulista derbies take place in the Arena Corinthians or Allianz Parque. Despite these changes, São Paulo's municipal stadium houses Brazil's Museu do

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Futebol that honors the country's soccer past. Bruno Mooca (1982-), a contemporary photographer and photojournalist based in São Paulo, offers a ghostly view into the stadium's former years. Taken in an empty Pacaembu in 2011, Mooca's work not only captures the traces of the stadium's most recent disciplinary tactics, but also hints at the abandoned future of those that lack state-of-the-art amenities, individual seats, and surveillance technologies.

Figure 12. Bruno Mooca: Pacaembu's colored seating sections.

Contrary to the other works discussed to this point, Mooca's images omit the masses and *torcidas*, an effect that allows for Pacaembu to become the lone protagonist in his work. Void of their traditional occupants, his photos bring to the forefront the mechanisms of power. For instance, one color image taken from the southwest corner of the Tobagã echoes Rosenthal's perspective of the inauguration (see figure 12). However,

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the use of color produces a contrasting effect. Instead of displaying the orderly files of athletes and attendees, Mooca exhibits the various colors that now function to divide and classify the masses. Other images demonstrate the move towards a more controlled *geral*. Shot at an upward angle, the photographer captures the infinite rows of repeating numbers stamped on the stadium's stepped seats. While this image produces diagonal lines of ascending numbers, another of his photos frames individual seats that escalate with repeating numerals of "69" and "70." The presence of these infinite seat numbers reveals the stadium's capacity for producing "docile" fan bodies, particularly limiting the chaotic and celebratory movements of the *torcidas organizadas*. This framing also emphasizes how fans—like inmates—are assigned individual numbers, a technique that establishes further connections between the stadium and the prison (see figure 13).

Figure 13. Bruno Mooca: Numbers painted on a Pacaembu *geral*.

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Finally, a separate color image provides an upward view of the yellow seating section. While the viewer again distinguishes the numbered seating assignments, Mooca captures the white wrought iron fence that divides one section from another (see figure 14). Like the mentioned portico shot in Barreto's film, the words "PAZ" can also be seen in the lower left-hand corner. These juxtaposed elements again prove that stadium peace is often achieved through repressive disciplinary measures. Above this scene, the Brazilian flag flaps in the wind, but unlike Vargas's Pacaembu, the empty stadium can only project remnants of the regime's nationalist ideals. The construction still remains under government control, but it appears the masses have travelled to new grounds. While Brazil's Maracanã stadium in Rio Janeiro received a full makeover for the 2014 World Cup, São Paulo's most historic sporting ground, and many of its popular *torcidas organizadas*, have been replaced—at times through brute military force—by corporately sponsored stadiums and their consuming fans.

However, during Brazil's current corruption crisis, the Maracanã has suffered a similar abandonment. Currently, the stadium's lack of upkeep has resulted in dead grass, broken windows, and stolen seats, computers, and televisions (Vickery). Due to the immense operating costs of running these facilities, many stadiums run the risk of becoming "white elephants" upon the conclusion of the World Cup and the Olympics (Zimbalist 69). In fact, the stadium built in Brasília is already underused and as of 2015, served as a parking lot for city buses (Zimbalist 98-99). As for Manaus's sporting edifice, one government official suggested turning the construction into an open-aired prison following the event (Cuadros 238), proving that some stadiums might literally become *panopticons* in the near future. Although Pacaembu's Museu do Futebol will continue to

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remind visitors of the country's soccer past, Mooca's photography provides a glimpse into the abandoned fate of many of Brazil's concrete giants.

Figure 14. Bruno Mooca: The Brazilian flag flies above Pacaembu.

Millions have been made and lost through the construction and renovation of stadiums for Brazil's most recent mega-events, but it seems that the biggest losers are the country's masses. Not only have their traditional public spaces been privatized and militarized, but the government's mismanagement of public funds to organize these events—not to mention the recent corruption scandals involving Odebrecht, Petrobrás, and bribes for stadium construction rights—have left many of these groups as prisoners of both their stadiums and their local communities that lack sufficient hospitals, schools, and infrastructure.

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CHAPTER 5

EXTRA TIME: CLOSING REMARKS ON THE DISCURSIVE ROLE OF SOCCER AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION

> A través del mundo del fútbol, desde el poderoso dirigente hasta el hincha anónimo, pasando por el ídolo, puede analizarse el estado actual de la sociedad en su totalidad, y comprobar a través de esa "microsociedad" las tendencias latentes o manifestantes de la "macrosociedad"; el fútbol no es solamente el fútbol. Del mismo modo que lo fue el campo de Olimpo en la Antigua Grecia, el Circo en el Imperio Romano, o el Hipódromo en el Imperio Bizantino, el estadio de fútbol es un espejo de la sociedad actual. (Juan José Sebreli, *La era del fútbol* 17)

Due to its regional popularity, soccer in Latin America represents one of the most powerful cultural mechanisms in reaffirming dominant ideologies. By employing Foucauldian discursive techniques, this study has explored how powerful entities have manipulated objects such as soccer, players, fans, and stadiums in distinct ways. The melding of nationalist, sexist, and elitist ideals with popular culture has allowed these individuals to control knowledge and perpetuate their own social hegemony. Nonetheless, this investigation has proven that cultural production represents a potent counterhegemonic force that can challenge these traditional ways of thinking. The previous chapters have explored the discourse present in traditional print and visual mediums in Argentina, Brazil, México, and Uruguay, but a vast archive of regional soccer fiction and culture requires further research. Discussed in the following pages, scholars must also consider the emerging discursive mechanisms such as blogs,

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videogames, and interactive fan-viewing experiences, alternative formats that have either continued to serve those in power or offered new ways to resist it.

Soccer: Deconstructing Argentina's *Deporte Macho*

Chapter two demonstrates that Argentine soccer has long been forged with patriarchal ideology. Roberto Fontanarrosa's short stories and comics serve as parodic displays of this masculinist culture. Although others have suggested that the use of colloquial language in these texts serves to reappropriate soccer from the grips of the State, particularly during the most recent military dictatorship (Wood 156), it is the homophobic discourse of these characters that parallel most with the sport's male-dominated reality. While these texts continue to construct soccer as a *deporte macho*, other popular Argentine writers such as Eduardo Sacheri—author of *Papeles en el viento* (2011), *La vida que pensamos* (2013), and *Las llaves del reino* (2015), not to mention his collaboration on the screenplay of Juan José Campanella's *Metegol* (2013)—also deserve critical attention, especially since these works incorporate the "discourses of male-dominated 'tradition'" related to the sport (Wood 159-60). Regarding the *historieta*, the late Carlos Loiseau, known popularly as Caloi, and his Clemente series compiled in Planeta's *Clemente es mundial* (2014)—particularly his drawings that include the protagonist's wife and la mulatona—also contribute to the heteronormative construction of soccer and nation.

Of equal interest for future studies, Hernán Casciari's blog *Editorial orsai* offers users access to some of the writer's latest stories on soccer. The author achieved initial success in Argentina with the medium for his *Weblog de una mujer gorda* (2003-04). On

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April 21, 2004, Mirta, Casciari's fictional blogging protagonist, even addressed Maradona's cocaine overdose and hospitalization in her post entitled "Vivir para contarlo (carta a Diego) (Cleger 351-59), proving that soccer not only permeates multiple layers of Argentina society, but also the country's social media realm. While many of *Editorial orsai*'s short stories, such as "Messi es un perro," continue to construct male soccer stars in mythical *pibe* fashion—the post celebrates the player's ability to stay on his feet despite confronting hard-fouling opponents—the blog also embeds videos and music that embellish these constructions. Among other interactive features, readers enjoy the author's voice as he reads these works—found under the link "podcast"—and can communicate with Casciari and other fans via the comments section after each post. Due to its easily accessible platform, communicative features, and popularity—the mentioned "Messi es un perro" has a staggering 350 comments, including responses from the blogger himself—future studies must consider the discursive influence of blogs and their contributions to the country's traditional soccer narrative. This is particularly important since previous studies have proven that most visitors of sports-related online forums tend to marginalize or dominate non-male users through abusive and sexist language (Hynes and Cook 98-103). Thus, although many of Casciari's stories capture the passion of Argentine soccer and many of the country's cultural nuances, user comments on these sites can potentially enable sexist and/or homophobic discourse that perpetuates the sport's masculinist construction.

In response to these hegemonic narratives, this study has shown how Ana María Shua's feminist short stories and Washington Cucurto's queer poetry challenge conventional notions of gender, specifically through the creation of literary figures such

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as the *piba* and the affectionate soccer *macho*. Often overlooked or recodified in Argentina's dominant media outlets—female portrayals often emphasize "looks" over athleticism—these protagonists help deconstruct soccer's traditional heroes and demand for their inclusion in the country's dominant sporting narrative. Besides these counterhegemonic texts, future studies should also consider the new wave of Argentine women writers working with soccer in the mentioned *Mujeres con pelotas* (2010) and *Las dueñas de la pelota* (2014), as well as the queer voices provided by Facundo R. Soto and his soccer-themed novel *Olor a pasto recién cortado* (2011) (for films that offer a queer gaze of the game's homoaffective acts, see Martín Farina's *Fulboy* [2015]). Furthermore, Argentine blogs such as *Gambeteando palabras*, established in 2008, provide users and researchers with narrative posts that explore issues of gender, soccer, and identity (Wood 209-10). These analyses should seek to further challenge the *machista* attitudes and perspectives so often found in soccer's homosocial strongholds, as well as the genre's male-dominated literary circle. These critical perspectives should not only assist in making the Argentine game more inclusive both on the field and off it, but also help to deconstruct outdated social beliefs and practices that uphold patriarchy and heteronormativity.

Players: From National Symbols to Economic Goods

As objects of nationalist discourse, players have historically helped to foment national sentiment and unity. Key in constructing athletes as such, Nelson Rodrigues's epic narrations of Pelé and Garrincha in his *Personagem da semana* columns transformed these players into symbolic defenders of the nation and exponents of *futebol arte*, the

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constructed Brazilian approach to the game. This study merely scratches the surface of the numerous chronicles written during Brazil's so-called "golden era" of soccer. Besides Rodrigues, chroniclers such as Mário Filho, João Saldanha, Armando Nogueira, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, José Lins do Rego, and Rachel de Queiroz—even those popular today like Juca Kfouri—can enrich discursive analyses that focus on constructed national symbols such as Pelé and Garrincha. Due to the scarcity and fragility of many of these texts' original periodical form, current criticism of these chronicles often omits commentary on the accompanying photography used to make further evident these players' triumphs. Since television was absent during this period, analysis of these photographs is essential in understanding how Brazilian fans viewed these players, particularly since these profile shots allowed viewers to construct their national identity around soccer and its heroes. Unfortunately, acquiring 50s and 60s editions of these sporting magazines will most likely require costly archival research for those living outside Brazil.

Dominant national narratives of soccer have more recently given way to neoliberalism's free-market practices that allow for player's to loosen their national ties. Like Rodrigues, Eduardo Galeano's poetic vignettes revive the heroics and playing aesthetics of past soccer greats, but his texts dedicated to Maradona and Ronaldo demonstrate that money and business practices have polluted the so-called child-like love of the game. While this discourse often projects players as free-moving goods and walking billboards on the field of play, Juan Villoro's chronicles expose the absurd star-lifestyle off it, proving that these athletes are no longer constructed as symbols of the nation, but rather as proponents of consumerism and free-market capitalism. In the

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current episteme, superstars such as Messi and Neymar no longer solely represent their nations. Instead, they serve as global icons for European clubs like FC Barcelona and their multiple sponsors, often enjoying more airtime off the field than on it. Furthermore, this study's techniques urge fans and scholars to pay close attention to how words and statements—the atoms of discourse—have constructed the current sporting world around the discussion of contracts, franchises, loans, sales, transfers, free-agent markets, etc.

Television and media are not the only entities that embed discourse surrounding players as "packaged" stars. Popular sports videogames such as EA Sports' *FIFA* series further strengthen these constructions on a mass scale. Others have commented on the knowledge-producing capabilities of soccer titles such as *Championship Manager*, *Football Manager*, and *Pro Evolution*, games that provide users with large amounts of information on players, visual explanation of game rules, and the ability to virtually practice tactics (Crawford 509; Crawford and Gosling 61; Gallardo 8-11). Additionally, the first two titles allow users to play and take virtual risks on soccer's transfer market (Crawford 504), like *FIFA 17*'s "Ultimate Team" and "Career" modes. Further inculcating soccer's business discourse, the latter even provides users with detailed breakdowns of income and expenses generated from transfers, loans, media, and merchandising. Besides this, the "Ultimate Team" mode gives users the opportunity to assemble their soccer "dream team" by buying real-life players, managers, kits, and licensed equipment (Adidas or Nike soccer balls) on the transfer market. As Sicart concludes, "sports games are about the promise of living the narratives of professional, commercialized sports" (32). Although this study has drawn attention to Galeano and Villoro's critiques of soccer's recent commercialization, as well as the discursive power

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of print media and the chronicle, others must also consider how interactive texts such as the mentioned *FIFA* series further normalize soccer's current business and consumer practices. Careful attention to this discourse, and the free-market practices it enables, not only gives fans new ways to interpret the "beautiful game," but also an understanding of the current global reality of the neoliberal episteme.

Stadiums and Fans: Perpetual Power Dynamics

Like players, stadiums have historically embedded nationalist discourse by facilitating the congregation of the masses into one collective space. Hildegard Rosenthal and Thomaz Farkas's photography provides invaluable visual evidence of the Estado Novo's social practices that took place within stadium walls. Whereas the orderly files of athletes and modern architectural elements of the stadium exhibit Vargas's emphasis on fascist order and modernity in Rosenthal's photos, Farkas's framing of the male-dominated and uniformed *torcidas uniformizadas* project the regime's ideals of masculinist nationalism. This study has been limited to the photography found in print editions published by the Instituto Moreira Salles. Surely, the thousands of photos taken by Rosenthal and Farkas—as well as the work of other Brazilian photographers—housed at the institute's archives in Rio de Janeiro will provide further insight into Vargas's nationalist use of Pacaembu and other stadiums. Even though these images were taken in the 1940s, many are still relevant today since stadiums continue to organize the masses into rows and assigned seats. Often overlooked while attending today's sporting spectacles, these images force fans to contemplate the fascist origins of sport and its discursive connections with military discipline and order.

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Later, the *torcidas organizadas* of the 1960s and onward would occupy stadiums to confront the repressive measures of Brazil's military dictatorship from 1964-85. While Mário Prata and Bruno Barreto's texts have made visible the resisting fan groups of Corinthians and Palmeiras, they have also shown how the Brazilian government has cracked down on stadium violence in recent years through laws such as the Estatuto de Defesa do Torcedor (EDT) and increased surveillance technologies that have allowed for these constructions to function as *panoptic* disciplinary spaces.

It is important to note here that several Brazilian cultural texts present the phenomenon of *torcidas* and their related fan groups, but few consider the issues of *barras bravas* in neighboring Argentina. Unlike Brazil's recent crackdowns on stadium violence, the Argentine fan groups have operated with relative impunity for their violent actions. This is mainly because *barras* often work as mafia-like entities within the country, serving as the muscle for corrupt team owners, politicians, and judges, confirmed by Javier Cantero, former president of Buenos Aires's Club Atlético Independiente (Levinsky 347). Even most recently, during a Copa Libertadores match between Boca Juniors and River Plate, a *barra* member of the former pepper-sprayed players in the rival's locker room during halftime, an action that resulted in Boca's disqualification from the competition (Levinsky 374). By signaling the differences between *torcidas* and *barras bravas*, as well as the distinct fan groups within each national setting, this study seeks to combat criticism that stigmatizes all of these supporters as mere hooligans.

However, certain discursive fan practices do establish parallels between groups in different regions. For instance, *porras* from Mexican clubs such as Club América employ

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homophobic chants to demasculinize their adversaries, like those of Argentina's Club Huracán. Similarly, the yelling of "puto"—directed at the opposing goalkeeper during goal kicks—was adopted by several national teams during the 2016 Copa América Centenario in the United States (Ridge, "Mexico"). This said, researchers should carefully consider how these groups are constructed in their distinct social settings. By reviewing these factors, future discursive analyses will not only distinguish the emergence of fan resistance, such was the case with the analyzed *torcidas organizadas*, but also power's suppression or manipulation of these forces, evidenced by the Brazilian government's employment of security measures or the corrupt use of *barras* in Argentina. Perhaps these research strategies will also help to interpret and combat the violence committed by Russian supporters during the 2016 European Championship and their imminent threat to the peace of the 2018 World Cup hosted in their home country.

The recent militarization of Brazil's stadiums also reveals an important power-knowledge nexus. Whereas FIFA's stadium regulations allowed for the organization to maximize profits through strategic television and stadium advertising, local economic elites used the event as an excuse for gentrifying these complexes and their surrounding areas for their own private interests. Additionally, government officials often benefit from millions in payoffs for construction rights for stadiums (Zimbalist 49), as proven by the recent corruption cases involving Marcelo Odebrecht and Eike Batista ("Eike"; Stauffer and Parra-Bernal). Nevertheless, the mentioned security measures and surveillance technologies most clearly benefit stadium owners and operators who have converted these spaces into multiuse entertainment complexes that foment consumerism. As suggested by Bruno Mooca's photos of an empty Pacaembu, stadiums without these

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mechanisms of power have given way to state-of-the-art sporting facilities that often exclude Brazil's most passionate fans.

An analysis of visual culture has proven to be a beneficial way to explore the stadium's *panoptic* tendencies. Aside from the texts discussed here, HBO Brasil's *(FDP)* (2012)—a television series named for the uttered "filho da puta" directed at the show's referee protagonist—offers another view into the power dynamics present in Brazilian stadiums, this time shown by the pressures felt by soccer's on-field disciplinarian. Regarding surveillance, interactive fan-viewing experiences facilitated by television powers such as Fox and ESPN give viewers the opportunity to watch their favorite games through multiple lenses. For example, users of Fox Sports Go's Match 360 can simultaneously tune in to the normal match feed on their laptop or smart phone along with a tactical view, spider cam, and reverse iso cam that present alternative perspectives of the game. While these camera angles often amplify the already numerous advertisements visible to spectators, these technologies also allow for the viewer to occupy the normalizing *panoptic* gaze cast towards players, referees, and attendees. Furthermore, the most passionate of fan groups are typically placed out of the frame during these broadcasts—often gathering behind goals or in the upper deck—and the "docile" spectators seated in orderly rows just above illuminated advertisements project a safe and commercial environment for viewers.

These technologies of power are already available to viewers of ESPN Brasil, and AFA recently sold the television rights of Argentina's first division games to Fox/Turner, replacing the government-funded Fútbol Para Todos (Czyz and González; González). Thus, criticism must also consider how these interactive-viewing technologies have

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amplified the discursive power of television, yet another example of how soccer and stadiums can be used to disseminate dominant consumerist ideologies to the masses. Although some could argue that streaming soccer-related shows like Netflix's *Club de Cuervos* (2015-) exhibit the links between the sport and social media—principally Twitter and Snapchat—these new interactive viewing capabilities could represent the subject of the region's future cultural texts.

FIFA: Exposing Soccer's Main Enunciative Modality

Upon excavating these multiple cultural discourses, one thing is for certain. Although national governments and leaders have historically benefitted from linking soccer to their nationalist ideologies, FIFA, soccer's main governing body, represents the sport's most powerful enunciative modality that currently perpetuates dominant constructions of the game. Likewise, regional governing pawns such as the South American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL) and the Confederation of North, Central America and the Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF), as well as their member organizations like the Asociación del Fútbol Argentino (AFA), the Confederação Brasileira de Futebol (CBF), and the Federación Mexicana de Fútbol Asociación (FMF), have disseminated this traditional knowledge within their respective national settings. Whether it be these associations' disproportionate support for the women's game, failure to address homophobic fan practices, deregulation of foreign transfer laws, or lengthy construction guides that serve to commodify stadiums, soccer's governing bodies control how the game is perceived and who reaps the economic benefits.

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Proven by the organization's recent corruption scandal, bribes and kickbacks also keep immense power and money in the hands of a few. Latin America represents a key region in this analysis, particularly since this power-knowledge nexus can be traced back to João Havelange, president of FIFA from 1974-98. After his election, the Brazilian became the first soccer head to charge for television rights, what would become the most lucrative source of income for the organization in the advent of the medium (Pérez). Additionally, corporations such as Coca Cola would begin advertising globally by choosing to serve as the main sponsor of FIFA, a six-million-dollar deal in 1976. This number has since ballooned to $30 million dollars a year from 2010-14 (Pérez), proving the important power dynamics and wealth associated with soccer's governing body, television, and marketing.

The most controversial dealings involve the mentioned television rights. International Sports and Leisure (ISL), a company started by former Adidas head Horst Dassler, acted as an intermediary for FIFA and local stations for broadcast rights to the World Cup and other international events. To maintain this strategic power, ISL is reported to have paid over $150 million dollars in bribes to FIFA officials over the years, including Havelange (Pérez). Similar scandals appear to have happened in the 1990s in Argentina where the late Julio Grondona sold exclusive broadcasting rights to TyC-Clarín (TyC) without consulting other bidders (Levinsky 262). In recent years, secret recordings surfaced where the former AFA president speaks of the infamous "dinero negro" of Argentine soccer, resulting in an investigation that deemed the association an "administración fraudulenta." Some $30 million dollars were found in the president's offshore accounts (Levinsky 356). Besides Grondona, former CBF president Ricardo

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Teixeira embezzled over $9.5 million dollars from FIFA, and he is also accused of shaving money from the national team's deal with Nike (Jennings 58, 71). Not only this, the U.S. Department of Justice's recent indictment of twenty-seven FIFA higher-ups included top CONMEBOL officials such as Marco Polo del Nero, Eduardo Deluca, Teixeira, Juan Ángel Napout, Manuel Burga, and Carlos Chávez, accused of bribes and kickbacks totaling over $200 million dollars for exclusive media and marketing rights ("Sixteen").

A discursive analysis of this corruption and the emergence of related social practices in other Latin American federations remains ambitious for this study and others. For now, journalistic pieces and documentaries constitute the most effective cultural weapons for tackling the topic, among these Amaury Ribeiro Jr., Leandro Cipoloni, Luiz Carlos Azenha, and Tony Chastinet's *O lado sujo do futebol* (2014), Andrew Jennings's *The Dirty Game* (2015), Jamil Chade's *Política, propina e futebol* (2015), Jean-Louis Pérez's *La Planète FIFA* (2016), and Sergio Levinsky's *AFA: el fútbol pasa los negocios quedan* (2016). Since these scandals, FIFA and new president Gianni Infantino have released "FIFA 2.0: The Vision for the Future" (2016), a plan that calls for transparency, accountability, inclusivity, and cooperation within the organization (28). Furthermore, FIFA recently hired Fatma Samoura in 2016, its first female Secretary General ("Fatma").

Despite these changes, the future of FIFA and its regional federations remains unknown. The CBF's current president, Marco Polo del Nero, is involved in the U.S. Department of Justice's ongoing corruption investigation and AFA's first division suffered a one-month delay in 2017 due the government's rescission of Fútbol para

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Todos. But scholars should continue to examine the ways in which counterhegemonic discursive forces maintain the checks and balances on soccer's most powerful organizations.

Due to the current popularity of soccer-related documentaries—one thinks of the recent successes of Sebastián Bednarik's *Mundialito* (2010) and *Maracaná* (2014)—the medium might represent the chosen cultural format to dissect FIFA and its corrupt social practices in the coming years. As shown by films such as Carmen Luz Parot's *Estadio Nacional* (2003) and Christian Rémoli's *Mundial 78: verdad o mentira* (2007) (see Ridge's "La fiesta" for an analysis)—texts that explore Augusto Pinochet's and Jorge Rafael Videla's use of soccer for their political agendas—the documentary also offers a powerful cultural medium for examining soccer's links to power.

Final Whistle

In this study, Foucauldian discourse analysis has uncovered the nationalist, sexist, elite, and commercial ideologies embedded in one of Latin America's most popular cultural institutions and its related texts. As mentioned, future studies must also consider culture's role in interpreting the corruption and practices of soccer's powerful governing bodies. Techniques such as these provide the necessary tools for understanding how these individuals, as well as other hegemonic powers in society, construct knowledge—or in some cases, "alternative" facts—that normalize their marginalizing or corrupt practices.

This investigation by no means covers all Latin American cultural texts dealing with soccer. The sheer number of works presenting the theme prove the institution's discursive force for producing knowledge within the region. Despite this, only a handful

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of studies—principally the work of Joseph Arbena, Franklin Morales, Pablo Rocca, Milton Pedrosa, and Benjamín Torres Caballero—consider soccer's literary impact (Wood 1). However, David Wood's recent work, *Football and Literature in South America* (2017), provides an extensive overview of key soccer texts in the region, and relevant to this study, he recognizes that these "authors combine football and literature to challenge dominant narratives of their time and place" (2). Other scholars like Shawn Stein and Nicolás Campisi have also pushed for more critical attention to the role of soccer fiction, specifically in the introduction of their recent *Idols and Underdogs* (2016), an anthology that includes English translations of some of Latin America's most distinguished short story writers working with the sport.

However, this study importantly extends this criticism to soccer's cultural realm. Although the pen has served as a powerful weapon for several authors, those using cultural production—popular modes such as photography, comics, film, and documentary, among others—provide important tools for exploring soccer's role and history in Latin American society. An archaeology of the sport allows fans and scholars to view the so-called "beautiful game" in a critical light. These techniques demonstrate that players, stadiums, fans, and the sport itself represent key indicators for understanding how soccer has become understood during the last two centuries. Dominant discourse embedded in these objects has allowed powerful individuals to construct knowledge that perpetuates traditional social practices. Thus, what started as a mere game played by British elites has now become a popular cultural entity capable of stimulating nationalism, sexism, and consumerism. Even though discursive techniques demonstrate how these dominant ideologies have permeated cultural production, they have also

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proven popular culture's abilities to challenge these constructions and the powerful individuals who control them.

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