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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Between global events and local reverberations: Globalization, local media framing and the 2014 FIFA World Cup

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Abstract

This article advances sociological work on globalization processes. It concerns itself with conceptualizations of how the local and global 'clash', utilizing Ulrich Beck's work on globalization, cosmopolitanism and power. By employing Brazil's 2014 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) men's World Cup as a case, this article seeks to build on Beck's theorizations, into the field of football; using the General Law of the World Cup as a symbolic representation for the global/local, interest-driven interactions between Brazil and FIFA. In particular, this article is concerned with how FIFA's requirements, standards and norms, as imposed on the host nation, were framed within local media and journalistic discourses. The article extends Beck's insights by problematizing how global demands meet local socio-spatial, legal and cultural contexts and how these demands, seeking to regulate and secure consumption, are resisted by various domestic and localized actors situated within a power game.

KEYWORDS

Brazil, framing, globalization, media, power game, sport

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INTRODUCTION

Over the last four decades, 'globalization' has represented one of the key concepts within the mainstream social and political sciences (Beck, 2000; Robertson, 1992). Sociological analyses have established how globalization processes have transformed the traditional role of the modern nation-state (Beck, 2005) and enhanced individuals' consciousness of 'the world as a whole' (Robertson, 1992: 8). Within these debates, one highly significant, central issue subject to much analysis relates to the global-local nexus, or more specifically, how global processes are experienced, responded to, or resisted, on a local level (Beck, 2000; Castells, 2004; Krauss & Krishnan, 2022). It is to these debates this article makes an important contribution by extending Beck's theories on globalization and globality and problematizing how global demands meet local socio-spatial contexts in the case of a global sport mega-event in Brazil.

In modern societies, sport and specifically international sport mega-events are illuminating sites of analysis for sociological understandings of how the local 'encounters' or 'clashes' the global (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007a, 2007b, 2012; Roche, 2006) and how networks of corporate sponsors and broadcasters coalesce around the global mediated production of sporting spectacles (Bourdieu, 1996). Sport mega-events including the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) Men's and Women's World Cup and the European Championship in football all arrive with a set of globalized standards and requirements commonly set out by sport governing bodies, often to benefit themselves and their networked commercial partners (Wloch, 2013). These requirements, host cities, local organizers and national governments must agree and adapt to, and finance, by taking on the hosting rights the relevant sport mega-event (Eick, 2011; Wloch, 2013; de Oliveira, 2020; Lee Ludvigsen and Petersen-Wagner, 2022). Thus, it is established that 'mega-events form a time-bound space where state and specific non-state actors such as global sports organizations [...] enter into intensive interest-driven interactions' (Wloch, 2020: 46). This, in turn, makes sport mega-events critical sites of globalization – that is the cultural processes 'whereby local cultures adapt and redefine any global cultural product to suit their particular needs, beliefs and customs' (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004: 546).

Against this backdrop, this article uses the Brazilian '*Lei Geral da Copa*' (General Law of the World Cup) as a symbolic representation of global-local interactions to examine how the global standards and requirements of football's global governing body – FIFA – were framed in a local media context before and after the 2014 men's World Cup in Brazil. The *Lei Geral da Copa* was a federal law promulgated in 2012 (Presidência da República, 2012) which implemented the commitments made by Brazil in 2007, when awarded the 2013 Confederations Cup and 2014 World Cup by FIFA (do Bomfim, 2012; dos Reis, 2012). By drawing upon the analysis of the *Correio Braziliense* newspaper (2010–2019), this article engages with and uses the World Cup case to explore the following questions asked by Ulrich Beck (2010: 90):

[w]ho opens local doors for global actors, and how and why and against what forms of resistance? How are global economic, cultural and political enterprises rooted in a place – or not, as the case may be? Is there a process of assimilation, or does the global modify the distinctive character of the local?

The football World Cup is a truly global occasion broadcasted across 180 territories. As Giulianotti and Robertson (2007a: 167) wrote, World Cup finals therefore 'provide a substantive *lingua franca* that sets international peoples talking'. For Smart (2007: 118), they represent one of 'the world's most popular sporting festivals', whereas '[f]ootball is often identified as a global industry because of its worldwide popular appeal' (Edensor & Millington, 2008: 188). Yet, despite the World Cup's analytical proximity to notions of the 'global', 'international' or 'transnational', the mega-event is still completely dependent on a *local setting* to be housed in. Brazil's staging of the 2014 World Cup has been subject to analysis previously from scholars (de Oliveira, 2020; Graeff & Petersen-Wagner, 2019; Graeff et al., 2019; Graeff, 2020; Knijinik, 2018; Pauschinger, 2023; Petersen-Wagner et al., 2018; Schausteck de Almeida et al., 2015) and critical journalists (Zirin, 2014). Yet, it takes decades to fully understand mega-events' social impacts. Within the existing literature, the ways in which the local contexts of Brazil were subjected to the rules imposed by FIFA has been devoted some attention, leading de Oliveira (2020: 15) to argue that '[p]laces that host mega-events produce

profound regulatory and institutional ruptures and realignments across multiple scales of power' much influenced by FIFA's 'tangle of recommendations, codes, guarantees, contracts and even specific tribunals'. Pauschinger (2017, 2020), meanwhile, investigated how global security assemblages were locally delivered in the security and policing operations associated with Brazil's sporting spectacles in 2014 and for the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio. Naturally, this study contributes to this scholarly literature. However, more broadly, by subscribing to the idea that analyses of football may reveal wider globalization-related trends (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, 2012), this article will contribute towards a sociological, Beckian (Beck, 2000, 2005) understanding of the ways in which dialectic global-local relations are framed in local media by addressing the following research question: How was the meetings, interactions and clashes between FIFA and the Brazilian government framed as problematic by a local Brazilian newspaper?

Conceptualizing *global-local* encounters: Beck, cosmopolitanization and co-existence

This section maps out our key theoretical cornerstones for making sociological sense of the local-global *nexus*. We employ Ulrich Beck's influential work on cosmopolitanization and power here. For Beck (2000, 2007), most of the classical and modern sociological thinking has been conceptualized through methodological nationalism – or through what he termed the container theory of society and the prison error of identity – meaning that society and all the associated social practices were equated and contained to the territorial borders of modern nation-states. This version of sociology, in which society and social practices were subordinated to states, was turned upside-down by:

[n]ew developments in world society, which are making the idea of 'national' products, firms, technologies, industries, or even sports associations increasingly fictitious, *compel* them on pain of economic, political and cultural decline to open their eyes to the possibilities, ideologies, paradoxes and hysterias of the global age – and above all, to the new power game to which everyone is to a greater or lesser degree subjected (Beck, 2000: 15, original emphasis).

Although 'globalization' was clearly the leitmotif of the end of century sociological imagination (Robertson, 1992; Roche, 2006), its definitions and use were and continue to be vague (Beck, 2000). Initially taken as an antidote to the container theory of society approach, global theorizations sought to evoke two distinct and separate entities – the local national and the global international – in which the encounters would erase the former by substituting with a one sole homogenous structure and system (Beck, 2010). This national–international either/or order is opposed to the transnational and cosmopolitan both/and practices, which tend to not be confined to the strict borders of modern nation-states.

Consequently, for Beck (2000), globalization would entail the processes in which nation-states would be undermined by external transnational powers in a form of either economic or political, or even cultural globalism. Nevertheless, this one-dimensional global imagination was succeeded by what Beck (2010) called cosmopolitanization, where all different dimensions (political, economic and social) show a higher degree of interdependence. For Beck (2005: 52), the blurring of dimension boundaries means the emergence of new 'meta-power game' where 'the relationship between global business and the state, a power struggle in which the balance of power and the rules of power governing the national and international system of states are being radically changed and rewritten'. This new meta-power game is composed of both the political dimension of global capitalism and the economic dimension of global politics which, while essentially pacifist, might still have unintended *violent* consequences (Beck, 2005). The translegal domination by global actors means that they are able to influence and *impose* reforms that are consonant with their interests to further their command in global markets. Hence, it is not a question about *if* those reforms will happen, but *where* and *when* (Beck, 2005).

Beck (2007, 2010) thus called for a cosmopolitan sociological imagination that takes a *both/and* rather than an *either/or* outlook to those dimensions, reweaving the once separated realities. In cultural terms, this would mean

the recognition of differences that bypass the pitfalls of false alternatives in the form of universal sameness or the incommensurability of perspectives (Beck, 2010) within in what Robertson (1992) conceptualized as glocalization. Local and global paradoxes and ambivalences are dialectically in motion in both processes of de-location and re-location, in a continuous process of new *border* demarcations (Beck, 2007, 2010). In economic terms, as societies can be viewed as part of a *world-system* (Wallerstein, 2011) that, by playing conflicting albeit complementary roles as core, semi-periphery, and periphery zones in relation to their stages in the *global* capitalist pursuit of profit maximization, there are both integrations and decompositions between those nation-states (Beck, 2000).

In turn, political globalization means that nation-states do not monopolize power; having to share the stage with emerging international and transnational organizations such as Greenpeace, Amnesty International, World Bank, World Social Forum and in the context of this research: FIFA, which has established international global governance across football since the early 1970s (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012). This polycentric world politics (Beck, 2000) brings into question the traditional notion of national sovereignty, as nation-states are now *restricted* in their decision-making and subsequently on actions they take (Held, 1995). Consequently, the state is no longer 'the actor' in the international system, 'but rather *one actor among others*' (Beck, 2005: 9, original emphasis).

Thus, for Beck (2010), the local and global do not 'exist' per se but they are 'made' in practices and projects that redefine and reorder particular spaces and social orders. In a way, this connects Andrews and Ritzer's (2007: 149) observation regarding the 'widespread tendency to glorify the power of the actor, the local and more recently the glocal'. For these reasons, it is possible to argue that those global and local forces are 'staged' in order to win over peoples' mind the maxims of neo-liberal globalization, which ultimately create a reality in which there are no other viable alternatives (Beck, 2005). Despite having the power to impose such a viewpoint and a reordering of social orders, within the new meta-power game, the lack of legitimacy by the global finds a counterbalanced force in the local that albeit having no power possesses legitimacy (Beck, 2007). As a result, both the global and local dialectically reinforce the *existence* of each other, which, again, complicates the juxtaposition of the global and local as constant, binary opposites.

The 'local' and 'global' in the mega-event context

Analyses of sport mega-events often produce new ways of understanding global networks of corporate sponsors, broadcasters and organizations (Smart, 2007), urban regeneration (Lauermann, 2019), states' foreign policies (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012) and local resistance (Boykoff, 2020), just to name a few examples. Every sport mega-event possesses significant local and global dimensions and, mirroring wider sociological trends, scholars situated across sociology, urban studies and political science have explored the ways in which sport mega-events are conceptualized, imagined and assembled *globally*, but on a local level, delivered by relevant authorities and stakeholders, and increasingly contested locally by social movements and anti-World Cup or anti-Olympic activists (Boykoff, 2020; Lauermann, 2019).

Sport mega-events 'have long been promoted as drivers of urban development, based on their potential to generate physical, economic, and social legacies for host cities' (Lauermann, 2019: 48). However, the increasingly outdated assumption that mega-events are, by default, 'good' for their cities has repeatedly been challenged and disproved. In part, this has led to increasingly sceptical host cities, especially in the 'Global North', who are presently more unwilling to bid for, or take on, sport mega-event hosting rights, given that the capital cost is often financed by host governments and poses considerable financial and political risk given the long history of mega-event cost overruns.

The financial and social costs of a mega-event are in many cases directly linked with the requirements and guarantees that host cities must agree to by bidding for, and take on, mega-event hosting rights. Importantly, when (or if) a state is interested in hosting a sport mega-event, 'it must adhere to the conditions set, authoritatively and arbitrarily, by the international sports federation, that is, to sign the restrictive guarantees attached to the bid application' (Wloch, 2013: 307). These requirements and standards are set by sport governing bodies (franchise owners) who delegate an

event's hosting rights (e.g. FIFA). As various case studies reveal, these requirements and the hosting rights come with huge socio-spatial, economic and legislative implications for the host city, the relevant national sporting federation and residents of the host city or country (Boykoff, 2020; Lee Ludvigsen and Petersen-Wagner, 2022).

Indeed, cities organizing and housing a mega-event are often associated with the exceptional and special legislation and the 'temporary suspension of sovereignty' (Cornelissen, 2011) to accommodate for the relevant sport governing body's requirements:

For most mega events [...] governments temporarily transfer jurisdictional powers to the sport federation that owns the rights to the event. In an event such as the FIFA World Cup, for example, host governments are required to adopt legislative measures that provide exclusive rights and spaces to the organisation's personnel and corporations attached to it. A set operational and security template is rigidly imposed by the organisation (Cornelissen, 2011: 3223).

Such global, standardized templates and institutional regulations – typically set out years in advance in requirements and bid books, however, are not merely existing in terms of security governance and legislation and hence confined to FIFA's power to define, for example risk (Eick, 2011). They also relate to creation the conditions for sponsors' commercial zones (Petersen-Wagner, 2024), or the creation of new stadiums conforming to the organization's technical demands, infrastructure and other concessions. In the case of the football World Cup, it can, as Eick (2011) maintained, be argued that FIFA set the commercial and security-related rules for each World Cup edition. Here, the 'added pressure exerted by international federations [...] for the production of a flawless event pushes ambitious civic leaders to take whatever measures they deem necessary to achieve success' (Sánchez & Broudehoux, 2013: 136). These dynamics make it possible to analytically approach FIFA, IOC and UEFA as 'global governors' (Wloch, 2013) because they, through these practices, break from and challenge the state's traditional hegemony (cf. Beck, 2005) and, despite their non-state status, are still able to 'create issues, set agendas, establish and implement rules or programs and evaluate and/or adjudicate outcomes' (Avant et al., 2010: 2). Naturally, this stems from these bodies' ownership of the relevant event franchise and associated power to allocate (or strip) the hosting rights to/from a country.

In the 2010s, Brazil hosted the two largest global sport mega-events. First, the country hosted the 2014 Men's World Cup across 12 different host cities. Two years later, Rio de Janeiro staged the Olympics and Paralympic Games. For these mega-events, the interactions between FIFA or IOC/IPC, and the national government in Brazil, as set out in documentary form, have been analysed in earlier work. These interactions, as de Oliveira (2020) explored, were geared towards the production of an urban 'sporting spectacle' that was commercially viable and left a lasting impression on the World Cup's global audiences. The creation of a spectacle, however, takes years to prepare. Gaffney (2014) observed how the build-up to the 2014 World Cup involved 12 'FIFA standard' stadium projects at an overall cost of R\$8 billion. The ideas behind these stadium constructions, he notes, were imported from abroad and moulded by international 'best practice'. Furthermore, as part of the contracts signed between host cities and FIFA, each constructed stadium had to meet the FIFA's technical stadium requirements. It is, however, important to note that certain FIFA requirements were at odds with Brazilian law:

It was necessary, for example, to repeal the ban on the sale of alcohol in stadiums. On the other hand, due to the limitations of circulation, it was necessary to declare a holiday on match days in order to improve circulation (Vico et al., 2019: 818–819).

FIFA's demand regarding the right to sale alcohols in the stadia was 'recognized as an attempt to interfere with state sovereignty' (Wloch, 2013: 308; Petersen-Wagner, 2024). FIFA's demands and the government's guarantees, as well as the expensive infrastructure and stadium projects, meanwhile, were contested by protestors across Brazilian cities. As apparent, '[t]he initial euphoria that greeted the decision to award Brazil the right to host the 2014 event was followed

by a growing scepticism and systematic and widespread criticism across Brazilian society' (Schausteck de Almeida et al., 2015: 273). Large protests aimed at FIFA and wider social issues in Brazil took place during both the World Cup and the 2013 Confederations Cup which typically is staged in the World Cup stadiums one year before the main event. Here, some of the key messages of the protestors appeared on the banners reading 'FIFA Go Home' and 'World Cup of Corruption' (*The Guardian*, 2014).

Pauschinger (2020: 109) previously noted that 'because of the country's [Brazil] historically rooted racial and social inequalities, Brazil's World Cup edition and the Rio Olympics are exceptionally important to analyze'. This article concurs with such position and argues that Brazil's World Cup provides an intriguing context through which we may explore how host cities' spaces and social contexts are seen as a *tabula rasa* where sport governing bodies, official sponsors and licensees can enter, advertise and sell their products in monopolized spaces (Eick, 2011) and, beyond this, define sources of insecurity, set agendas and implement rules (cf. Avant et al., 2010). Building on our Beckian framework, the case of the World Cup may be deployed to empirically capture the dynamic and dialectic global-local relationship and how the two reinforce the existence of each other. However, although existing research predominantly focuses on either the relevant sport governing body or the relevant host city/nation (or their interactions) (De Oliveira, 2020), a research gap that remains intact – which we seek to fill – speaks to how these interactions are mediated through localized media formats.

METHODS AND APPROACH

The 2014 World Cup took place between 12 June and 13 July 2014. However, given that Brazil won the event's hosting rights and could embark upon the preparation phase in 2007, it is crucial to capture the responsive media discourses that intensified in the event's build-up and aftermath that far exceeds the 1-month long tournament. It is well-established that mega-events receive significant amounts of media coverage. In the case of Brazil, the World Cup was described in the build-up as 'the world's biggest media event' (Schausteck de Almeida et al., 2015: 275). Capturing the sociological importance of media discourses in the public framing of sport mega-events, this research relies on the analysis of newspaper articles.

For Foucault (1969), discourses create reality, whereas 'reality' frames the way discourses are formulated. As such, it is possible to conceive that those discourses presented in different media channels – whether they are based on words and/or images – create a certain 'reality' for audiences exposed to those stories. Hence, Luhmann (2000) posited that what we know about our social life and society to a wider extent we end up knowing through media as it has the potential to frame the understanding of the world we live in.

In terms of media theory, Graber (1989) asserted that when journalists and editors either consciously or unconsciously decide which story to cover and how it will be presented end up by constructing a reality, particularly when the subject topic is unfamiliar or very distant to its audiences' own lived experience. In a way, the media 'educates' audiences into perceiving the world in a certain frame. Or, as Lippmann (1922) argued a century ago in his study of public opinion, the collection of those stories acts as persuasive communication techniques in influencing audiences' attitudes and behaviours. Therefore, the media, for Lippmann, holds an important position in shaping the public's understanding of extraordinary and everyday issues. Indeed, as Lippmann (1922: 341) argued 'the news is not a mirror of social conditions, but the report of an aspect that has obtruded itself', emphasizing how certain positions – or frames – by becoming more salient through reporting end up shaping public reality. More recently, Entman (1993) postulated that the way media frames certain topics involves in the first place defining it as a problem, for subsequently pointing and diagnosing the causes that generated such problem, for in a final moment making moral judgements and suggesting possible solutions.

This article is concerned with how the encounters, clashes and interactions between the global (FIFA) and local forces (Brazilian Government, organizing committee and national football federation) were framed as a 'problem' by a local newspaper in Brazil. In order to capture this empirically, we selected the *Lei Geral da Copa* as a symbolic

representation of such encounter, and we analysed the way it developed from its initial step in the executive branch of the Brazilian Federal Government, to the approval by the legislative branch (Chamber of Federal Deputies and Senate) and promulgation by the then-President Dilma Rousseff was framed.

In July 2023, the first author accessed the *Biblioteca Nacional* digital freely accessible archive (Biblioteca Nacional Digital, 2023) and searched for the '*Lei Geral da Copa*' as a term between the 2010 and 2019 period in the *Correio Braziliense* newspaper. This daily newspaper is the ninth newspaper with the most circulation in Brazil (Statista, 2021), and it is produced in the Federal capital – Brasília – therefore being at the centre in the discussion concerning the *Lei Geral da Copa*. Our choice of this newspaper stems first from its positionality – and therefore access – by journalists to decision-makers in the three spheres of the Brazilian Federal Government (Executive, Legislative and Judiciary branches) who are based in Brasília, the third largest city in Brazil (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE], 2023), second because it was the one with the highest circulation available in the archive. Overall, this yielded 286 matches across 255 different pages between 2010 and 2019 in this newspaper. The digital archives from the 255 pages were stored by the first author who speaks Portuguese natively and read them for analyses. In the sampling process, to familiarize themselves with the dataset, during the collection and storing stage, the first author read all headlines and paragraphs in which '*Lei Geral da Copa*' was mentioned, as the search term was highlighted on the *Biblioteca Digital* archive platform, but not after storing the data in the first author's institution's cloud system. On the second stage, the first author closely read all the news stories featured on the 255 pages, which ranged from small commentaries and sarcastic notes to two-paged features. On average, a *Correio Braziliense* main edition (1^o caderno) contains 40 pages, meaning that those 255 pages would equate to around a week's worth of news.

We approached our frame analysis with the aim of understanding how the newspaper, particularly its editorial line through the collection of stories, sought to construct the global–local encounter as problematic for its readership. By following Entman's (1993) original frame analysis technique, we examined how, in the first instance, the *Lei Geral da Copa* was defined by journalists and editors as problematic, second, what were the causes that led to such problem, what were the moral judgements laid out by journalists and editors regarding it and finally the possible solutions to address the problem. Through this analysis, two mainframes were identified – regulating consumption and securing consumption – containing different elements which we unpack in the following sections.

REGULATING CONSUMPTION: FIFA EXCLUSIVE ZONES, ALCOHOL LAW AND TICKETING

The role of alcohol in international football contexts has been explored from various angles, including social activity, fandom and public health (Petersen-Wagner, 2024). In terms of football's securitization processes, alcohol is commonly seen by political and football authorities as linked to public disorder and supporter violence. Across various contexts, there are legal restrictions seeking to reduce alcohol consumption among fans in stadiums and pre-match, albeit such legislation's effectiveness remains contested.

FIFA's requirements concerning alcohol sale in the stadium were seen as interfering with Brazil's sovereignty (Włoch, 2013; Petersen-Wagner, 2024). Situated within a wider discourse of socio-legal control in football in Brazil, the sale of alcohol in stadiums had been nationally prohibited since 2010 when the then-President Lula promulgated the Law n° 12.229/2010 (Presidência da República, 2010a) that altered Law n° 10.671/2003 (Presidência da República, 2003), which is commonly known as *Estatuto do Torcedor*. The changes implemented by Law n° 12.229 provided measures of prevention and repression of violence during sport competitions as stated in its heading, which inter alia included in its Article 13-A item II the following regulation: 'not carry objects, beverages, or prohibited substances or substances susceptible to generating or enabling the practice of acts of violence' (translated by the first author). Although alcohol is not explicitly mentioned in item II as the word *bebidas* can denote both alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, because of prior State level prohibition in terms of alcohol commercialization and consumption in stadiums

– for instance the state of São Paulo explicitly prohibits it since 1996 (Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo, 1996) – it was commonly interpreted as a clear prohibition on a national level.

It is against this backdrop that *Correio Braziliense* started its coverage of the *Lei Geral da Copa* with a frame of reference that brought familiarity to its audience, whereby frames, following Goffman (1986), refer to how individuals organize their experiences to make sense of and define their reality. On 17 August 2011, political commentator, Luiz Carlos Azevedo, informed on the initial steps taken by the Minister of Sport, Attorney General and Chief of Staff in creating the *Lei Geral da Copa* and listing polemical points that they will find on their way by highlighting the sale of alcohol in stadiums as key issue (Azevedo, 2011). This polemical frame became more salient on 21 September 2011 cover page of the sports section with a headline that read ‘Stumbling Blocks’ (*Pedras no Caminho*), in which both alcohol commercialization and concession prices were highlighted as key contention points (Botão, 2011a). On a two-page feature story, the journalist Vagner Vargas listed all polemics surrounding the *Lei Geral da Copa*: holidays during game days; concession tickets; alcohol commercialization and consumption inside stadiums; commercial restrictions (FIFA exclusive zones) and visa exemptions (Vargas, 2011). Crucially, these polemical points all related to issues that involved *changing* – at the time – Brazilian and state/municipal laws to accommodate FIFA’s requirements.

This became an important frame for *Correio Braziliense*. In their first editorial piece on the *Lei Geral da Copa*, editors headline the story with ‘FIFA and national sovereignty’. There, the editors accepted that FIFA could establish some criteria for the World Cup and that the Brazilian government had given enough guarantees that they would comply with them. Nevertheless, certain demands went against local legislation and ‘therefore they should not – or better, must not – be admitted’ (Correio Braziliense, 2011a: 20). Between the different local legislations, the editors focused on the commercialization and consumption of alcohol in stadiums. For instance,

Other impertinences are no less authoritarian. FIFA, being sponsored by a certain beer brand, insists on getting approval for the sale of alcoholic drinks in the stadiums. Besides being detrimental to the safety of spectators, the consumption of such products is prohibited by CBF [Brazilian Football Federation] based on a conduct agreement made with the Public Prosecutor’s Office. In seven states, it is the law (Correio Braziliense, 2011a: 20).

The fact that FIFA was (and still is) sponsored by the Belgium-Brazilian drinks’ conglomerate AB InBev through its Budweiser brand, and FIFA wished to exclusively commercialize its partner’s drinks inside stadiums and within the exclusion zones (a 2 km radius around every stadium), reinforced the frame by the newspaper that this was an affront to Brazilian sovereignty. For Eick (2011: 89), FIFA typically set out ‘commercially driven preconditions of spatial control’. The aim of these processes is ‘clean’ ground-advertising areas where FIFA and its sponsors are granted ideal conditions for revenue streams.

This *spatial control* by revoking Brazil’s sovereignty continued to feature on the editorial pieces of *Correio Braziliense*. On 24 December, they headlined with ‘FIFA’s abuse and national sovereignty’ and argued that

There is an imposition for various legal provisions that have long been in effect in the country, such as the prohibition of the sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks in stadiums, to be revoked. Regarding making drugs available to spectators, the rapporteur expressed support. However, he emphasized that this leniency would only apply during the competition. This is equivalent to conveying to the international community that the legal order in Brazil is subject to suspension if external constraints, in this case, of a dubious nature, demand it. The unrestricted alcoholism in the arenas is just one example of FIFA officials’ arrogance (Correio Braziliense, 2011b: 14).

We must highlight that in this editorial, the word drug (*droga*) was used to describe alcohol, which emphasizes how the newspaper sought to frame the availability of alcohol inside stadiums in comparison to the availability of illegal

drugs in Brazil like cannabis or cocaine. Moreover, this frame was further emphasized when this potential availability – which was later confirmed when Dilma sanctioned the *Lei Geral da Copa* – would lead to abuse in the form of an addiction (alcoholism) and furthermore the editors decided to qualify it via the use of an adjective (*livre* in Portuguese was translated as unrestricted by the first author) to highlight potential negative effects of the availability of alcohol inside stadiums. Closer to the approval by the legislative branch, on 22 March 2012, journalist Vagner Vargas (2012) headlined his piece with ‘It became easy for FIFA’ with a sub-heading that affirms that only three states (São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul and Pernambuco) have specific laws banning the consumption and commercialization of alcohol in stadiums, whereas at the other, nine hosting games during the World Cup follow either the *Estatuto do Torcedor*, guidelines from CBF, or agreements with the Prosecutor’s Office. This led journalist Karla Correia (2012) to headline her article on 29 March 2012 with ‘In practice, alcoholic drinks are allowed’, as the bill sent by the executive to the legislative would suspend the article from the *Estatuto do Torcedor* that prohibited alcohol commercialization and consumption, and under the government understanding a Federal law would superimpose specific State-level laws.

Finally, following approval by the Chamber of Deputies, the *Lei Geral da Copa* had to be approved by the Senate. On 10 May 2012, *Correio Braziliense* reported that the Senate had approved and forwarded the bill back to the Executive branch – specifically the then-President Dilma Rousseff – to sanction it. The news was presented as ‘the way FIFA wants’ with a sub-heading ‘The Senate approves the *Lei Geral da Copa* with the suspension of the article from the *Estatuto do Torcedor* that prohibits the sale of alcoholic beverages in stadiums. Now, it is up to President Dilma Rousseff to sanction it’. In a feature box, *Correio Braziliense* highlighted other important aspects of *Lei Geral da Copa*, including concession tickets – a total of 300,000 tickets to be sold for half-price for individuals in the income distribution program (*Bolsa Família*), elderly and students – 1% of tickets reserved for people with disabilities, suspension of visa requirements, holidays during game days and the payments for former Men’s World Cup winners (*Correio Braziliense*, 2012). Although concession tickets were framed as a victory to the Brazilian government, on 7 June 2012, Felizola et al. (2012) headlined their article with ‘The public may end up at a disadvantage’ with a sub-heading stating that ‘FIFA will have a hard time securing the veto on half-price tickets because there is no standardization of laws across the host cities. Experts believe the organization will increase ticket prices if it fails in negotiations’. For the journalists, the then-President Dilma Rousseff, when vetoing paragraph 9 of Article 26 – which rendered state laws on concession and free admissions to sports, cultural and leisure activities invalid – passed the issue along to FIFA, states and municipal powers who would have to negotiate individually those arrangements.

Thus, although alcohol-related commercialization, and specifically the undisrupted, exclusive commercialization of Budweiser within the 2 km radius, holidays during game days and suspension of visa requirements were framed as a loss to Brazilian government who had to succumb to the interests of FIFA, the availability of concession tickets were framed as a *win* as they were able to keep current municipal, state and federal laws that specifically addressed such points. This dialectical embattlement and power game (cf. Beck, 2005) between the Brazilian government and FIFA continued to be addressed through other issues such as image rights, tax breaks and especially ad hoc courts. This, as discussed next, makes what we thematized as *securing consumption*.

SECURING CONSUMPTION: IMAGE RIGHTS, TAX BREAKS AND AD HOC COURTS

Although the first theme covered aspects of *controlling* (by whom, where, how and when) *consumption* of the World Cup, our second theme reflects the way in which the tournament was securitized; or how legal support was given for FIFA in controlling the consumption circuits. Following Beck (2005), globalization processes have led to legislative authority becoming both *privatized* and *transnationalized*. By extending this Beckian thinking, this section reveals how FIFA’s requirements demonstrate their assumed position as a ‘translegal’ powerful actor. However, within the ‘power

game; we also highlight how the state's power muted some of FIFA's requests and, subsequently, FIFA's translegal power in their ability to influence the outcome of state decisions (cf. Beck, 2005).

The sports editor – Alexandre Botão – started his coverage of the *Lei Geral da Copa* by stating that

if approved [by Congress], will guarantee FIFA all the rights to commercialize the World Cup during the event. It specifies the use of game images and official World Cup brands and ensures the entity's total control over such products [...] The union [Federal Government] also takes responsibility for all damages caused – by action or omission – to FIFA and its legal representatives, employees, or consultants. And it reaffirms commitments previously clarified, such as the tax exemption for the entity (Botão, 2011b: 2).

For Botão (2011b), the early formulations of the bill put 'FIFA in power' as he added as a headline to a feature box within the same story. This surrender of sovereignty as we alluded to earlier also has prominence when discussing *securing consumption*. As the journalist Grasielle Castro reported on 30 September 2011, FIFA was already irritating the Senate (*FIFA já irrita o Senado*) stating that was time for Brazil 'to deal with the negative side of the event [...] two law projects that alter the legal proceedings that the country is used to follow, the national congress [both Senate and Deputy Chamber] starts to complain about FIFA's impositions' (Castro, 2011: 10). She also reported that the then-Senator Álvaro Dias (Social-Democratic Party – PSDB) said that those changes only for a month-long tournament could cause significant harm to the country.

A direct quote from Dias is added to the news stating: 'we want to host this great football party, and obviously, we want it to be successful, but we cannot admit violence to the country's sovereignty'. This is further emphasized when reporting from Brussels (Belgium) during a state visit by the then-President Dilma Rousseff the special envoy headlines the news with 'at the orders of FIFA' (Pinto, 2011) and in a feature box highlighting six diverging points between what FIFA wanted and the current legislations in Brazil: concession price for elderly people and students; alcohol consumption in stadiums; piracy; TV rights and consumer rights. In terms of TV rights, the Brazilian government wanted to ensure that non-official broadcasters received within 2 h up to 6% of the total broadcasting to showcase highlights – thus preventing a monopoly – whereas, for consumer rights, there were concerns that the way FIFA commercializes tickets was incompatible with Brazilian consumer laws. These were issues against which the Brazilian government stood firm (Tarso Lyra & Jeronimo, 2011).

Nevertheless, it was not until 9 October 2011 that journalists Jeronimo and Tarso Lyra added a seventh diverging point. This point would become the most important issue for the newspaper: ad hoc courts. As reported, FIFA wanted the creation of a specific court to process various legal issues transpiring throughout the mega-event, whereas the government accepted the idea as long as it did not alter Brazilian laws 'too much'.

One headline read, 'An Exclusive Court to FIFA' with a subheading explaining that the idea is to not leave any pending lawsuits after the event is over. They began the reporting by saying that this temporary court model has caused polemics during the World Cup in South Africa, where there were some 'legal aberrations' (*aberrações jurídicas*). They reported that the vice-president of the special commission (Senator Zezé Perella from Democratic Labour Party – PDT) analysed the *Lei Geral da Copa* in the Senate that the government needs to learn not to behave as the 'lesser one' in relation to FIFA. The newspaper also quotes him stating that 'We cannot allow FIFA to come here and revoke our rights for a tournament that will last 30 days. If someone vandalizes a wall with a FIFA emblem, they could be imprisoned for three years. It's very subjective to create a different legal situation for a temporary event'. (quoted in Jeronimo & Tarso Lyra, 2011).

Importantly, this was not a view shared by all congress members. As Jeronimo (2011) interviewed Federal Congressman Vicente Cândido (Workers Party – PT) – the rapporteur of *Lei Geral da Copa* in the congress – who believed that all issues should not be seen as polemics because they were common practices in terms of sport mega-events including the F1 Grand Prix in Brazil, or with the special courts (*juizados especiais*) within stadiums during Brazilian football tournaments.

Nevertheless, it is through the editorial pieces in *Correio Braziliense* we witness the strongest opposition to FIFA's demands in particular concerning ad hoc courts. On 12 October 2011, one editorial headline read 'no, to the exception courts', and the editors of *Correio Braziliense* started their opinion piece with 'democracy is the rule of law. If the law is exposed to the suspension of its effects to serve the transient interests of third parties, anarchy is established' (Correio Braziliense, 2011c: 14) and argued that 'the interventionist arrogance of FIFA' is seen in the *Lei Geral da Copa* through this parallel judicial system that goes against Brazilian Federal constitution that states that there will not be exception courts. This editorial piece built from a frame constituted the day before through the report of journalist Vinicius Sassine who headlined with: 'Ministers of the STF [Supreme Federal Court] against the FIFA tribunal'. In his report, he quoted one of the Ministers (Marco Aurélio Mello) saying that 'As a judge and citizen, I see this as impossible. We already have a judicial organization. Citizens have their rights guaranteed in the constitution'. The journalist also interviews a retired Minister, Carlos Veloso, who was quoted in full saying: 'If the country complies with FIFA's request, we will be giving ourselves the label of a Banana Republic [*republicueta de banana*]. They didn't ask this of the United States [of America], France, or England' (quoted in Sassine, 2011: 2). This affront to Brazilian constitution frame found further support in the same issue. Here, under the headline 'Consumer rights in jeopardy', Erich Decat started his reporting noting that 'The possibility of bundling the sale of tickets for the 2014 FIFA World Cup matches has been the subject of criticism from various consumer protection organizations' (Decat, 2011: 3). In an interview with a consumer lawyer and organization representative, the interviewee commented that 'This practice is abusive and prohibited by the Consumer Protection Code [a Federal law in Brazil – Law 8.078 from 11 September 1990]. The spirit of the *Lei Geral da Copa* focuses on the suspension of certain consumer rights in favor of FIFA'.

Although the *Lei Geral da Copa* was sanctioned by Dilma Rousseff in 2012, 1 year before the Confederations Cup, it was only a few months before the 2014 World Cup that the bill was considered constitutional by the judiciary (the third branch in Brazilian federal powers). On 8 May 2014, *Correio Braziliense* (Abreu, 2014) reported that the Brazilian Supreme Federal Court (STF) had decided that the *Lei Geral da Copa* was constitutional; nevertheless, the newspaper headlined the news with 'Under criticism from [Joaquim] Barbosa [STF minister and President of the Court], the Supreme Court approves the *Lei Geral da Copa*' with a subheading that states that the STF minister complained about exceptions to FIFA. As Barbosa himself stated

with the potential for extraordinary income for both private entities and individuals, in the range of hundreds of millions of dollars, and even billions when we consider image rights charged to television and radio broadcasters worldwide, all to the benefit of FIFA, does it make sense in the context of an entity with such extraordinary capacity to generate private income to grant such extensive tax exemptions on the grounds that it will enhance the country's image? (quoted in Abreu, 2014: 7)

Overall, we argue that although FIFA pursued legal ways to enter the 'local doors' (Beck, 2010) and secure the World Cup's consumption in Brazil via ad hoc courts, tax breaks and control of image and commercial rights, not all of FIFA's full demands were met by the Brazilian government. Although the protection of FIFA commercial endeavour and tax breaks were given (see Presidência da República, 2010b), the Brazilian government managed to secure 3% of broadcasted games and up to 30s of non-game material to be distributed to non-official broadcasters for informative reasons (Chapter II, Section III of *Lei Geral da Copa*). In terms of ad hoc courts that were central to *Correio Braziliense* frame, these were not established. For instance, Brazil adopted similar special courts (*juizados especiais*) inside stadiums as the ones that existed since 2005 in the State of São Paulo (Secretaria de Segurança Pública, 2005) – first as *juizado especial criminal* (special criminal court) and more recently in 2011 as *juizado especial de defesa do torcedor* (special court for supporters defense) (Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo, 2011) – and in airports that also existed since 2007 (Conselho Nacional de Justiça, nd) around the country to deal with both complaints by consumers and offenses committed by them. However, in the *Lei Geral da Copa*, there were novel civil and penal cases that protected FIFA and its commercial partners and rendered them exempt from advance payment of costs/fees/expenses owed to any

part of the Brazilian judicial system and would not be ordered to pay court costs and procedural expenses. According to the *Conselho Nacional de Justiça* (2014), there were 5260 cases heard in stadiums and airports special courts during the period of the World Cup, with only 75 of those cases happening in stadiums or within the FIFA exclusive zones.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article advances a sociological understanding of how the commercial and regulatory-oriented demands of one global organization were reacted to within the local media context *impacted* by those same demands. The widespread, social, political, economic and cultural effects of globalization have been completely central to, and a defining feature of, sociological debates over the last three decades (Beck, 2000; Robertson, 1992; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007a). Despite this, Giulianotti and Robertson (2007b: 108) regretted that '[s]port has been a hitherto under-explored field of enquiry for mainstream social scientists and global studies specialists'. As such, this article seeks to contribute further towards an understanding of globalization using an exemplar found in sport.

Seeking to analyse how the 'global' and 'local' clash and dialectically reinforce each other in *one* important domain of society, this article deployed Beck's (2000, 2005, 2007, 2008) theories to explain how questions around alcohol laws, spatial control, ticketing, image rights, tax breaks and *ad hoc* courts, emanating from FIFA's requirements, were reacted to localized media contexts. Within a globalization framework, Beck's (2005) saw the rise of international organizations as a challenge to the state's traditional role, power and authority. Building on this, our analysis informs our main argument which is that FIFA sought to 'change the rules' by regulating and securing the Brazil World Cup's consumption. Yet, within the dialectical 'power game' (Beck, 2005), these rules remained heavily contested and eventually negotiated.

Thus, from a sociological point of view, such argument remains important because it gives us an insight into the dynamics of the politics of globalization. Ultimately, and drawing upon analytical relations found in Beck's (2005, 2008) work, the World Cup case study employed in this article reveals how 'power' is not specifically tied to *one* location and that sport mega-events like the World Cup are illuminating contexts where the 'boundaries between national and transnational contexts are blurred or altogether lost' (Beck, 2008: 798), and the global–local nexus, consequently, is characterized by dynamism rather than being binary.

Hence, the article addresses important questions relevant to mainstream sociology, concerning how 'local doors' are opened and entered by global actors; to what extent this formulates acts of local resistance and whether the global alters the local's character (Beck, 2010). Indeed, through mega-events, cities have, in contemporary societies, 'opened a *window of opportunity* for global players such as FIFA' but also broadcasters, sponsors and other private corporations (Eick, 2010: 292, original emphasis).

This article addressed such questions via the case of Brazil's 2014 World Cup. By employing the *Lei Geral da Copa* as a symbolic representation of the global–local interactions that emerged before this sport mega-event, this article remains particularly concerned with the ways in which FIFA's requirements, standards, norms and interests were framed in a local media discourse in the newspaper *Correio Braziliense* (2010–2019). In doing so, we seek to answer the above questions posed by Beck in a sport-focused context, by arguing first that the build-up to the World Cup, as mediated through local media journalists, reveals the ways in which global actors like FIFA seek to *regulate* and *secure* consumption circuits and the elements of resistance that emerge reflexively. Then, although the newspaper framed Brazil and FIFA as antagonist players in a competition to secure their own interests (*either/or*), the outcomes – through the sanctioned *Lei Geral da Copa* – ended up as a reflection of the co-existence of both FIFA and Brazil (*both/and*) (see Beck, 2005, 2010). Moreover, as revealed by the World Cup's *regulation* and *securing*, it becomes impossible to disentangle political, economic and social aspects in the final bill and news stories. In sum, because the outcome of this 'mega-event *meta-power game*' (cf. Beck, 2005) was an assemblage of FIFA *and* Brazil's interests, winning or losing this

'game' then became a matter of *staging* whereby both FIFA and Brazil could claim to have succeeded in maintaining their political–economical interests, stance and power.

This argument holds a special political–sociological significance because it underpins how globally assembled yet locally delivered sports are illuminating occasions through which researchers can (and should continue to) understand the negotiations and interactions of local and global players as demonstrated by this article's case. Thus, future work can build on this to explore other mega-events where external and domestic players interact.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available in Biblioteca Nacional Digital at <https://memoria.bn.br/hdb/periodico.aspx>. These data were derived from the following resources available in the public domain: - Correio Braziliense, <https://memoria.bn.br/hdb/periodico.aspx>

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