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Towards a More Enabling Representation: Framing an Emergent Conceptual Approach to Measure Social Conditions Following Mega-Event Transformation in Manaus, Brazil

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This paper presents a conceptual and methodological approach for researching a neighbourhood in Manaus by identifying a range of social conditions useful for better understanding how urban change and development affects a community and its residents. Manaus, in Brazil's Amazonia region, received much criticism from sceptics as a host city. Part of the issue was the US\$300 million was spent on a 40,000+ seat upgraded stadium in a city with no regular sporting tournaments. This paper positions the need to look beyond the tangible features and assess social impacts based on community perceptions to locate local meanings of change. The purpose of this paper is to develop and put forward a plan for conducting future research following the hosting of mega-events in Manaus by framing a conceptual approach and the use of ethnography.

Keywords: Mega-Events, urban transformation, social conditions, Manaus, periphery

Forde and Ayanda (2016: 1) state sport 'is invariably invoked as an object of hope and a vehicle for building a better world'. Brazil just hosted the world's two most publicised mega-events, and there remain unanswered questions immediately following these events. Currently, researchers are in a position to ask critical questions and outline research assessing how (and if) Brazil's population will benefit from the mega-events and recent development. In this neoliberal era, mega-events are merely profit-driven spectacles. Sporting events are an opportunity for emerging economies to display a 'modern' country with new urban amenities—thereby building infrastructures similar to those in the Global North (Maharaj, 2015; Schausteck de Almeida, Bolsmann, Júnior, and de Souza, 2015). What needs considered is *how does?*, or *how can?*, sport 'build a better world' for local residents who reside among the urban periphery away from the global spotlight of mass consumerism but in the shadow of modern infrastructural and venue developments. Whilst larger overseeing institutions and governing bodies seek to recognise the

inclusive potential of sport, there is a need for researchers to conduct work locally that assesses proposed change versus actual change.

Development all-to-often broadly implies added or new tangible infrastructures, or aesthetic enhancements to the landscape (Leary-Owhin, 2016; Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013). Tangible transformations are noticeable because they leave lasting images, remnant of an events legacy. Locals, tourists, event attendees and researchers can all see physical (infrastructural) change, but not always observed are underlying intangible impacts and social struggles (Cowen, 2016; Leary-Owhin, 2016; Smith, 2012). To understand if social transformation is achievable is to understand how new opportunities might emerge. However, these local understandings are not so widely publicised, because a new stadium or event spectacle is more likely to become synonymous with a place. This frames the need to uncover social impacts of change in line with the conceptual framework presented in this paper. For instance, training and education programmes are necessary to ensure that local residents gain necessary skills required for service industry employment. There is also the need to address enterprise or entrepreneurial opportunities that can result from new skills (and knowledge) acquired by locals. To begin, informing locals of opportunities represent social impact going forward. By understanding local wants/needs, researchers can transfer knowledge to inform social policy. There is room to critique social policy, but such approaches do not emerge voices from those most impacted or excluded (Holmes and Cavanagh, 2016; Peck, 2013).

The purpose of this paper is to present a framework to consider when assessing local social conditions. As such, this paper will discuss the potential for and outline an approach for work in the Alvorada neighbourhood of Manaus, Brazil. This paper will identify potential study areas and discuss of use of using ethnography as a method to understand impacts on communities in Manaus following mega-events.

Mega-Events, Brazil's Bid and the Case of Manaus

Until 2007, Brazil had not hosted any mega-international sporting events since the 1950 FIFA World Cup and the 1963 Pan American Games. Desires to showcase Brazil as an emerging economy resulted in a series of successful bids, with Brazil hosting the 2007 Pan American Games, the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics, referred to as Brazil's sporting decade (Gaffney, 2010; Reis, Sousa-Mast, and Vieira, 2013; Santos, 2014). The recent hosting of mega-events has attracted the attention of scholars who have critically assessed Brazil's role as a host nation (e.g. Bailey et al., 2017; de Menezes and de Souza, 2014; Gaffney, 2014, 2016; Millington and Darnell, 2014; Reis, Sousa-Mast, and Vieira, 2013; Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013; Santos, 2014; Ullian and Costa, 2015). The hosting of the 2014

FIFA World Cup and Rio 2016 has been highly contested due to recession, social protests and more recent political turbulence. Although work has assessed demonstrations observed through the media (Millington and Darnell, 2014), there is still a need to contextualise issues and change locally, away from the media spotlight, to get a sense of how impacts are perceived. Hosting mega-events in peripheral regions (such as Manaus in the state of Amazonas) represents a challenge. While events deliver on short-term demands (with longer-term intentions), there are concerns that mega-events will not achieve long-term impacts.

Past and on-going development initiatives in Brazil focus on developing inland areas as part of the country's attempt to modernise peripheral cities and regions (see Clawson, 2011; Holston, 2007; Wise and Hall, 2017). Manaus fits this criterion (nationally), an inland port about 1,500 kilometres from the Atlantic Ocean; however, regionally, Manaus is a major industrial zone in the state of Amazonas. Manaus immediately appears an outlier as a mega-event host destination because of its inland location; the majority of host cities were proximately located near the coast (the other exceptions being Brasilia and Cuiabá). The development of the Amazon has been integral to Brazil's modernisation agenda for decades (Clawson, 2011). Therefore, Manaus is a strategic city in terms of the nascent promotion of economic development in Amazonia.

Mega-events can benefit a city's image by exposing and introducing the destination to an international audience (Broudehoux, 2017). However, in remote places such as Manaus there is a need to consider if new facilities are necessary. The upgrading of Vivaldão Stadium (finished in 1970) proved a difficult task because building materials needed to be transported via the Amazon River—considering the new Arena da Amazônia would ultimately host ten 10 (mega-event) football matches (four for the FIFA World Cup, six for the 2016 Rio Olympics). The decision to upgrade Vivaldão Stadium to a 40,000+ seat venue was criticised surrounding arguments that local competitions do not require such a large venue. Building modern venues thus represents semblances of power given Brazil's position in Latin America, and satisfies FIFA's standards. Smith (2012) takes this further to critique the reason for such large venues is to 'show off' to meet supply-led development pressures.

When places bid to host mega-events, social impacts mentioned highlight (intended) societal benefits (see Stell, 2014). Whilst bids do emphasise social impacts and proposed transformation, results of such change are by no means inclusive (see Clark et al., 2015; Cowan, 2016; Rojek, 2013; Smith, 2012; Wise and Harris, 2017). In Brazil's case, it is important to consider Brazil's Bid Inspection Report (published 30 October 2007). The report summarises intentions and legacy initiatives that refer to Brazil in general, along with some insight on each host city; on Manaus, for instance:

Public transport consists principally of affordable buses, special buses, double-cabin buses and minibuses providing an extensive network of metropolitan and municipal public routes, as well as taxis. There are plans to improve access to the stadium which include the construction of a tram system with improved road infrastructure and traffic control/management. There is ample parking capacity within reasonable distance of the stadium (9,000+ spaces). (FIFA, 2007: 44)

This focus was strictly on access to the stadium in Manaus, and while road infrastructures were improved to allow for more efficient motor vehicle access, no tram system was constructed. Wider initiatives concerned safety and security:

To combat crime in certain areas of Brazil, on 20 August 2007 the government launched a national plan based on two main aspects: additional police forces and preventive social programmes. The government has launched a national campaign – and will invest more than USD 3.3 billion by 2012 – to reduce crime in the affected areas. This impressive programme will help to reduce the current difficulties in certain areas of Brazil. (FIFA, 2007: 30)

While reducing crime will improve everyday life locally, the purpose of this initiative was to reassure international visitor safety ahead of the World Cup. The report later mentions increased security at stadiums, media centres and (main) hotels, thus putting emphasis on *visitor* safety above conditions in local communities.

Mega-event attendance is often dominated by international visitors who travel to experience the spectacle. It is also important that locals have access and are not excluded based on high ticket prices:

a total ticket inventory consisting of a total of three million purchasable tickets and the need to give special consideration to ensure a proportion of the local fans can access the competitions at significantly lower than market value prices. (FIFA, 2007: 20)

Financing was another point of contention, with the Bid Inspection Report mentioning:

financing of the construction of the stadiums, which will be dealt with separately, it should be noted that the football clubs, the state governors, the city mayors and additional private

partners are fully committed to meeting any FIFA requirement regarding the building and renovation of stadiums. (FIFA, 2007: 25)

Taken from this is the involvement of private partners. As a neoliberalising country, corporate interest in FIFA 2014 was profit driven, and public services, it seemed, were not deemed priority.

Brazil is a football country (Gaffney, 2008), and given Brazil's 'strong football culture, there are numerous training centres and football stadiums belonging to local clubs that may be assigned to or used as team base camps' (FIFA, 2007: 26). As noted, the upgrading of venues and training grounds need to meet FIFA's requirements, and the Brazil Bid Inspection Report mentions that upgraded football facilities 'will leave a lasting legacy for local clubs and communities after the 2014 FIFA World Cup' (FIFA, 2007: 26). The report also suggests mega-events benefit the economy, transport, communication and public services, so while legacy is clearly intended in the report—it is very much controlled based on quality standards sufficient solely for international competition.

As outlined above, scholars are critical of mega-event bids because they are promoted on the ability to meet strenuous deadlines based often on under-estimated costs and promises of (often unrealistic) economic and social benefits (see Maharaj, 2017; Rojek, 2013). It is important to recognise that hosting events in emerging economies is understood and approached differently compared to developed economies. Developed (or post-industrial) economies use, or have used, sporting events to establish service oriented economic bases. Maharaj (2015) highlights emerging economies use sporting events and tourism to diversify (and/or plan), but the results of new infrastructures are not necessarily socially and economically inclusive (see Wise and Hall, 2017). New developments, modern amenities and state-of-the-art venues lead to further inclusion and exclusion based on who has the financial means of gaining access (Cowan, 2016). Cowan (2016) describes new amenity spaces as 'islands'—spatially barricaded and isolated places. Planning for mega-events is no exception because they are corporate driven, conforming to neoliberal development practices putting profit before people (Holmes and Cavanagh, 2016). Measuring impacts rarely are what an event can do for local residents, but what profits and returns key stakeholders and investors will receive (Smith, 2012; Rojek, 2013; Wise and Whittam, 2015).

Mapping Change in Manaus

As will be outlined below, ethnographic research can uncover how community residents are mobilising and responding to change. It is likewise important to understand how policies impact (contested) transformed spaces to understand community impacts. Looking at the Google Earth images in Figures 1

and 2, these aerial images show transformations of the Alvorada neighbourhood adjacent to the Arena da Amazônia in Manaus from mid-2005–mid-2015. There is a need to locate local discussions of social impacts and geo-reference local insight gained from the community to place contexts of change (see Wise, 2015b) Applying a qualitative Geographic Information Systems approach will allow for observational, interview and survey data to be geo-referenced to help us position themes and use this to develop arguments that will help inform social policy (see Cope and Elwood, 2009). Using Google Earth in this instance allows us to identify spaces, to later conduct ethnographies to ground truth these identified spaces to realise impacts of change locally (see Wise, 2015b).

Figure 1. Transformations around the Arena da Amazônia and Alvorada Neighbourhood in Manaus, Brazil. Top image, Google Earth, 21 June 2005; Bottom Left image, Google Earth, 25 July 2007; Bottom Right image, Google Earth, 28 December 2013.



Based on the aerial images around Vivaldão Stadium, it appears transformation focused on easing of access to the venue. Looking at the landscape in July 2007, several structural land-use change immediately adjacent to (north of) Vivaldão Stadium begin to appear. Also, some road redevelopment

leads to the sports facilities west of the stadium. This change matches (some of) the intended new development mentioned in the Brazil Bid Inspection Report (during this early stage). Figure 1 displays the area around the Arena da Amazônia grounds in undergoing extensive construction and preparation eight months before the FIFA World Cup. The identified areas in Figure 2 are merely observed in the aerial images, and more detailed observations, participatory approaches and interviews with residents in the future is essential to ground truth these changes to understand the full-extent of mega-event development in Alvorada. To move towards more enabling research approach both conceptually and methodologically, it is necessary to show how the stadium grounds have been fortified, and assess the true impact of tangible land-use developments in Alvorada.

Figure 2. Mega-Event Development (Source: Google Earth, 1 July 2015)



Towards a More Enabling Representation

Outlining Social Conditions

Organisations such as FIFA are drivers and promoters of sporting mega-event development. Branding and criteria associated with physical developments must meet FIFA's standards. However, following the hosting of such events, it is important that researchers consider not only organisational impacts, but

address how transformations affect people locally across the socio-economic spectrum since the scale of the impacts are oftentimes concentrated. Understanding how processes are structured is essential to understand notions of inclusion and exclusion when it comes to social and economic impacts (Herod, 2011; Smith, 1990). Van Der Merwe's (2007) research argues that tangible developments for mega-events typically outweigh considerations of intangible impacts on communities, because corporate interests are increasingly linked to the ability to attract investment (Smith 2012). But, how are local communities actually impacted by mega-event-led development? By what standards can researchers measure these impacts; and with what tools? Despite the recent proliferation of research on mega-events, these remain wholly unanswered questions within the literature, and speaking back to the purpose of this paper, there are various social conditions (outlined below) that can help conceptualise these points.

Critical scholars have noted that new (or upgraded) developments result in social exclusion if social policies and legacy initiatives are not in place to protect residents (Clark et al., 2016; Coakley and Souza, 2013; Smith, 2012). In neoliberalising countries, larger companies absorb economic benefits and little money retained locally is payment employees receive (in many cases jobs are unskilled) (Peck, 2013). Therefore, enterprise opportunities are especially important to build human capital (Deery et al., 2012; Wise and Harris, 2017). It is especially important that training programmes initiate and local skills enhanced. Establishing local enterprises not only brings together skillsets, but promote involvement through education, training and skills acquisition—both economically and socially sustainable in the long-term contributing to a greater sense of community and overall wellbeing. Moreover, increased employability and entrepreneurial activity can increase quality of life in transitioning areas (Christie and Gibb, 2015; Wise, 2016; Wood, 2005).

Research focusing on intangible benefits resulting (or not resulting) from new urban development cannot be generalised. Bottom-up approaches conducted through fieldwork and engagement in communities is necessary to emerge new knowledge. Chalip's (2006, 2014) work on social leveraging is evident in the need to consider social outcomes based on social concerns. Given the liminality of events, social impacts refer to social relations and social value. However, Chalip (2006) and Getz (2013) argue these various social elements (outcomes, concerns, relations and value) are often inadequately measured because desired outcomes are often merely proposed (such as in a bid document) and a framework to assess social impacts post event represents a challenge because they are overshadowed by the influence of economic impacts and the demand for more tangible evidence (see also, Smith, 2012). There needs to be a framework that brings together a number of, what this paper refers to as, social conditions to measure post event impacts. Thus, indicators of human, individual and social capital are valuable to this discussion because this helps reinforce the need to focus on how urban transformation and the event brought change

to a community or individuals in terms of social benefits or sustained legacy (Agha et al., 2012; Chalip, 2014; Smith, 2012). These ‘softer’ impacts or benefits can include collective reinforcements of sense of community and civic pride to renewed attitudes and behaviours, or emphasise involvement (Smith, 2014). Likewise, there needs to be clear policies, parallel relationships across stakeholders and inclusive involvement (through work, education, training, participation and understanding of legacy) if such outcomes are to be achieved, but as Smith (2012) and Peric et al. (2017) make clear, managing how such impacts are leveraged remains a persistent challenge.

The identified social conditions discussed here are seen as critical points outlined by scholars assessing social impacts—and therefore are considered as guiding frameworks for assessing social impacts in communities before entering the field (Kindon, 2010). The 14 social conditions outlined in Table 1 are grouped into four categories (each addressing a significant focus). It is important to note that these conditions are strictly conceptual guidance and should/will be amended during field-based research responding to emergent themes. Research needs informed based on local observations, so to assess critical directions (Watson and Till, 2010). A guiding conceptual approach can act as a starting point when conducting ethnographic interviews to confirm local observations to support truths and interpretations.

Table 1. An Overview of Social Conditions in Social Impact Research

Focus	Social Conditions	Positioning Observations
Assessing initial perceptions and general knowledge of policy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Clear policies on social benefits for local residents 2. Mutual understanding and tolerance between stakeholders 3. Local population is involved and supports sports tourism initiatives 	Who are the key stakeholders; What is the extent of local knowledge
Measuring experiences and involvement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Local population is benefitting from new infrastructure and venue development 5. Mentorship or educational programmes exist to train and involve locals 6. Encouragement of local enterprises 7. Establishment of volunteer programmes 	Who is involved; What programmes exist; Are experiences co-created
Overviewing new opportunities and insight on place and community	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Plans to minimise inclusion and exclusion 9. New opportunities for young people, students, elderly and disabled 10. Pride in place and satisfaction (civic pride) 11. Sense of community and identity 	Where are key community areas and social spaces; Why do people feel a particular way
Implementation of legacy and social impact strategies to ensure sustainable futures	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Venues and facilities are co-managed to support local resident use 13. Legacy training and participation incentives for locals 14. Local population is aware of legacy agendas and benefits 	Who is influencing legacy; What power relations exist and possible solutions

Table 1 is categorised into four ‘focus’ areas and suggests how researchers can position observations. Assessing initial perceptions and what local residents know about policy represents the initial focus, relevant to social conditions 1-3, i.e.: (i) Clear policies on social benefits for local residents, (ii) Mutual understanding and tolerance between stakeholders, and (iii) Local population is involved and supports sports tourism initiatives (see Table 1). Such insight considers how local residents understand policies and what opportunities they will gain (or not gain), from the event and venue developments. Although the community is identified as a key stakeholder, their voice is not specifically outlined in the Brazil bid report so there is no way of evidencing what extent public and private stakeholder relationships exist (which was not specifically outlined in the Brazil bid report). To confirm local resident insight, it is also essential that researchers conduct a thorough review of related policy documents locally, regionally and nationally. After gaining a comprehensive foundation of policies relationships and what support exists, the next focus considers experiences and involvement, outlined in social conditions 4-7, i.e.: (iv) Local population is benefitting from new infrastructure and venue development, (v) Mentorship or educational programmes exist to train and involve locals, (vi) Encouragement of local enterprises, and (vii) Establishment of volunteer programmes (see Table 1).

Social impacts are not fully understood until the researcher knows how people take advantage of opportunities and what experiences they gain. Again, notions of inclusion and exclusion are also important here as this will either allow for (or deter) involvement. In reality, there is much reliance on the private sector, resulting in profits not retained locally, and in such cases, over private investment can intimidate and deter local investment, involvement and interaction—thus taking away from the overall experience (Hall, 2006). Chalip (2006) and Deery et al. (2012) discuss social interactions and the involvement of people attending events, focusing on experience. Both studies argue more work assessing local communities is essential because events are liminal (but the local community will remain). The next focus on overviewing new opportunities and insight on place and community, considering social conditions 8-11, i.e.: (viii) Plans to minimise inclusion and exclusion, (ix) New opportunities for young people, students, elderly and disabled, (x) Pride in place and satisfaction (civic pride), and (xi) Sense of community and identity (see Table 1). The focus is to link social policy, involvement and opportunities to see if a greater sense of community and civic pride has been achieved (see Gaffney, 2016; Wise, 2015b). The bid document stated the 2014 FIFA World Cup will ‘leave Brazil’s footballers and football fans alike with an indelible monument to the country’s great sporting and cultural heritage’ (FIFA, 2007: 9). People continually strive for a sense of community, but depending on opportunities this can either positively or negatively influence peoples’ pride in place, connections and comradery (Cresswell, 2014; McMillan and Chavis, 1986). Satisfaction and pride in place can link well depending on the direction of development,

and how much social and political scrutiny emerges. Sociologically, sense of community refers to membership, influence, shared emotional connections and involvement (see McMillan and Chavis, 1986), whereas sense of place is a phrase used by geographers when focusing on the significance of places to individuals based on personal feelings and interactions (Cresswell, 2014).

Social legacy, strategies and sustainable futures are the defining themes of social conditions 12-14, i.e.: (xii) Venues and facilities are co-managed to support local resident use, (xiii) Legacy training and participation incentives for locals, and (xiv) Local population is aware of legacy agendas and benefits (see Table 1). Both Smith (2012) and Getz (2013) outlined legacy initiatives; both note that legacy is difficult to measure because they are often (merely) proposed. Legacies are especially difficult to measure and need to be periodically examined in years following the event or development activity (see Grix, 2017). The immediate post-event phase is a vulnerable time for communities because residents just experienced the spectacle of a mega-event and questions may be arising—so it is essential that researchers start connecting local perceptions of legacy to support the proceeding insight addressed across the noted social conditions. The notion of legacy involves understanding what plans or policies exist to inform and train locals to better understand benefits and impacts of development projects (Coakley and Souza, 2013). If events are to achieve sustainable legacies then residents as primary stakeholders need to be aware, informed and involved (see Agha, Fairley, and Gibson, 2012; Preuss, 2007; Quinn and Wilks, 2013).

Results will be an attempt to better identify community change, social conditions and social impacts (Edwards, 2015). Social impact research focuses on how lives and wellbeing of local residents are measured alongside planning for (and hosting) events. In terms of impacts on people and communities, positive socio-cultural benefits are based on education, local experiences, improvements to residential facilities, maintaining local cultural traditions and how change increases civic pride and sense of place (see Smith, 2012). In places that have recently hosted mega-events, understanding how local residents become involved and/or engaged will guide the research approach to measure social conditions.

In recognising scope and depth needed to consider social impacts, researching and understanding social conditions aims to gain peoples' outlook and attitudes, identifying what support exists, understanding how people perceive social cohesion, and uses of space (see Baller, 2008; Misener and Mason, 2006; Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013; Wise, 2014, 2015a, 2015b). Sociologically, this is about considering individual and social capital (Atherley, 2006; Misener and Mason, 2006). To manage creative capital and entrepreneurial opportunities, there is a need to recognise the role of training programmes . Referring back to individual and social capital, new enterprises are mutually beneficial in communities if they help form new (inclusive) networks that promote social and economic wellbeing (Quinn and Wilks,

2013). To achieve pride in place, or increased sense of community, bonding capital is necessary to help forge community ties to create a better sense of belonging (Putnam, 2000; Wise, 2015b).

The Need for Ethnography

Participatory and ethnographically informed inductive qualitative research critically highlights micro-scale change and impacts—allowing research to move beyond broader generalisations to understand what emerges (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Kindon, 2010). Chalip (2006) indicated that research puts too much emphasis on economic impacts, noting more work needs to address the social value of sports, events and leisure activities. Rojek (2013) adds, wider political agendas impact socio-cultural policies locally, arguing social impacts cannot be assessed deductively. This approach is in line with participatory action ethnographic research that challenges the researcher to gain insight into everyday problems impacting a community based on exclusion and uneven power relations (Kindon, 2010). In moving towards a more enabling representation of event-led transformation, measuring the true value of social impacts must be measured with and for community residents. Placing the researcher at the centre of the study represents an attempt to better uncover meanings specific to those most impacted by change. An ethnographic approach enables researchers to understand local needs and reactions in a setting. Brazil's sporting decade has resulted in much economic development and growth, which puts pressure on underrepresented and underprivileged groups in the urban periphery. It is important to identify particular spaces to commence the study, as indicated in the previous section using the Google Earth images—but once in the field, the focus shifts, directed by local observation to ground-truth land-use change. The Alvorada neighbourhood was identified because it is located near Arena da Amazônia. As noted, the building of this stadium was heavily criticised, because US\$300 million was spent on the grandiose venue.

Ethnographic research challenges us as scholars to explore social worlds by living in or working with a particular community. The ethnographer is 'gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the emerging focus of inquiry' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3). Ethnographic studies aim to understand everyday interactions by observing, participating, listening to what people say, asking questions, engaging in conversations, holding focus groups, looking at available documentation, and gathering and collecting memorabilia, materials (such as visuals or cultural artifacts), all with the intension of determining common occurrences and regular events about local residents interactions and everyday lives (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Ethnographies focus on what emerges, meaning that, as an inductive method, researchers must first examine all components and surroundings in a particular locale (even occurrences and details that may not seem directly related to the study's focus) to develop a

detailed sense of social reality. This is where the conceptual framework from the previous section offers some guidance. Whilst arguing the need to make sense of positional realities and experiences as they pertain, researchers must then critically reflect on how they relate to wider social, political, or economic forces and power relations. These wider forces shape people's narratives, behaviours and interactions in and around their surroundings and community.

While ethnographies are observational and participatory, it is difficult for us to tell the whole story because the time (and timing) in the field represents only a snapshot—and thus critical reflections and interpretations are narrated portraits of how people interact with their surroundings and socio-political encounters (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Watson and Till 2010; Wise, 2014). Bringing these points together, Harris (2006: 156) states 'research is best learnt by 'doing'— becoming familiar with the site, and subjects of the inquiry [...] where the aim is usually discovery – to find out more about how and why a particular social world is as it is'. Wise (2011) adds direct immersion, involvement, and observations of daily rituals we can reflect better on ordinary practices, interactions, and activities common to a particular group of people. Because such studies are by no means prescriptive, ethnographies represent a rigorous methodology that challenges researchers to avoid assumptions, and not just relate to generalisations from the literature. Researchers need to critically evaluate and write about social phenomena by inquiring about the perspectives of local communities concerning their everyday challenges and situations (Wise, 2014, 2015a). Results must therefore be assessed on locally informed merit.

Furthermore, in ethnographic research, less is more, so focusing on particular communities or micro-locals defines the study and its spatial parameters. However, influences and local histories will likely extend beyond the case area. To avoid repetition and generalisation across studies, ethnographic approaches challenge us to ask new questions in the field and understand what is distinct about a particular research locale (Harris, 2006). Andrews (2017) suggests the need to conduct a 'play-by-play' to look at the unfolding of events (over time). In this case, this is essential to address the transformation of spaces overtime (as observed in Google Earth). Andrews (2017) adds we must identify what meanings are embedded in these spaces since they are only captured images, but a community has since lived through the change. Because this work focuses on change associated to mega-event development, and sport impacts wellbeing, there have been a number of studies looking at the impact of sport using an ethnographic approach. Holt, Scherer and Koch (2013) looked at sport opportunities in inner-city Edmonton in Canada, and sought to uncover how sport transforms peoples' lives so that they could inform policy and sport-for-development programmes (see also, Edwards, 2015), which is along the lines of what future research in Manaus seeks to achieve. Marcén, Gimeno, Gutiérrez, Sáenz and Sánchez (2013: 760) note ethnographies are especially useful 'to keep the historical memory of different

populations in relation to facts or experiences from the past' and unfolding circumstances. Whilst tangible developments tell the story of the present and the future, local residents can further inform how transformation has resulted in exclusion or limited access. Ethnographies put research in motion, and participation in practice through mobility, timing, access and control. Perceptions and reflections of community informed impacts are grounded in different experiences—these being experiences of the local community and the researcher's ability to be critically reflective of local interactions.

Framing this Approach Going Forward

Mega-events can reinstate dominant discourses (often broad in scope) about culture and (national) identity (Giardina, 2005). Andrews and Silk (2012) argue the need to consider different trajectories framed around the context of sport and mega-events to understand wider neoliberal practices. It is true football in Brazil is placed alongside religion in terms of national significance (Gaffney, 2008); but football has local meaning, and trajectories forged by mega-events remove underlying fabrics of place, culture and identity. The power of sport as it shifts towards profit motives results in extensive infrastructural and land-use change transcend locally founded place meaning. Although stories and local narratives are mute in aerial images, new land-use changes are easily identifiable to assist the researcher with locating where to seek insight. Scholars have looked at how areas around stadiums help reinforce a sense of belonging socially and culturally (Gaffney, 2008, 2014), but when access to spaces is limited, it removes socio-cultural practices and replaces it with a profit driven modernisation projects that encourage consumerism above (past) cultural significance. Thus, the neoliberalisation of sporting spaces and upgraded venues can push out the very people who found meaning in such spaces through recreation and fandom (Dubal, 2010). Numerous scholars are highlighting the result of mega-event developments across Brazil, and the country's emerging economy status is increasing both wealth-gaps and competition—meaning disadvantaged communities in Brazil are further excluded from intended benefits and even access to new amenities (see Gaffney, 2010, 2016; Reis, Sousa-Mast, and Vieira, 2013). This is not to say the community adjacent to the Arena da Amazônia fits this trajectory exactly, but conducting research in an immediately adjacent community will offer valuable insight into how these broader trends are impacting how the new venue and surrounding spaces are used and consumed.

Smith (2012: 28) notes that 'neoliberalism is supposed to encourage innovation and progress through healthy competition'. Much of the critical events literature looks at wider policy initiatives and proposed plans, critiquing corporate interests, globalisation, and neoliberal competitiveness trends (e.g., Gaffney, 2010; Hall, 2006). From a methodological standpoint, most studies often lack 'on the ground' in-depth research in and with communities. Academics critique policy, but there is a need to substantiate

and illustrate how event-led development policies impact local residents, and to what extent do existing power relations result in inclusion and exclusion. Considering a peripheral host such as Manaus, the use of sporting infrastructures (especially venues) are limiting from the time of construction, given the sheer size of the Arena da Amazônia has little practical use post mega-events. Considering the spatial change around the stadium, as far back as seven years before a FIFA 2014 match was hosted, the stadium area was significantly transformed and access today is rather limited. What was a local stadium for local competition is now a neoliberal enclave, or an isolated island (see Cowan, 2016). An ethnographic approach does not stop at this simple economic and political critique, but seeks to incorporate local voices to trace altered social patterns and spatial meanings. Inductive research will give meaning to the very tangible transformations observed over time in the Google Earth Images of the Alvorada neighbourhood adjacent to the Arena da Amazônia in Manaus.

As noted, there are often claims that sport can produce social change. Castles (2001) argues understanding social change can only be understood bottom-up. As observed in Brazil's bid report, social and community benefits are mentioned but there lacks recognition of social benefits based on local voices. It is therefore essential to address wider intangible impacts (outlined as social conditions) beyond the tangible impacts (Smith, 2012). Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) add, it is widely assumed mega-events will bring positive social and economic impacts, but questions arise locally, regionally and nationally shortly after the spectacle wears off—and this is even more present in more peripheral cases such as Manaus. Therefore, the need to focus on associated intangible outcomes is necessary to understand the (full) impact of an event. This requires different conceptual and methodological rationales that cannot always be analysed deductively through quantitative statistical analyses, content analyses or general critiques of policy. This paper encourages scholars must get more involved in communities to help express local voices so the impact of our work can help inform (public) policies aligned with social change and transformation. Bottom-up initiatives are concerned with creating more inclusive futures, but as critical scholars have been quick to point out, perceived social impacts are difficult to manage in emerging economies (e.g. Alegi, 2007; Castles, 2001).

Conclusion

Recognising tangible changes as new features or amenities added to the landscape, it is essential to question who is impacted most and who benefits from development? There is need for more inductive research because Brazil is a vulnerable country following the hosting of two mega-events. Political turmoil, impacts of recession and social unrest have been present in headlines surrounding Brazil's role as a host nation (see Bailey et al., 2017; Millington and Darnell, 2014; Santos, 2014; see also Gaffney's

paper in this special issue). Therefore, researchers need to understand how legacies and social impacts are perceived (and being managed) based on the perspective of local residents who have witnessed change. Most importantly, research that contributes to understandings of local social impacts will construct local narratives of change, which can have significant policy implications in Brazil—and in future host countries and cities. Because development efforts are geared towards mega-events, such neoliberal induced change produces spaces of inclusion and exclusion. Such critical guidance will be central to explaining conjunctures of sport, power and place in Manaus. By conducting research in areas immediately impacted by mega-event developments, academic researchers put their work in a position to amplify local voices and advocate social policies that focus on inclusion and reclaiming (sporting) spaces for broader use.

It is clear that more research assessing inclusion, exclusion and the social impacts following now mega-events in Brazil is needed. Inductive ethnographic research can help understand from a local perspective if mega-events do create new opportunities and to highlight what is being done in (and for) communities to measuring and manage event impacts in underrepresented communities. Forde and Ayanda (2016: 1) note that there is often a sense of hope promoted by the various actors and institutions delivering sport and events, suggesting ‘the better world that they imagine is often left unexamined’. Change is ultimately an image and urban policy driver, but local residents who live through and see the magnitude of tangible transformation up close are immediately impacted by such changes. As argued in this paper it is intangible change that is often overlooked when a destination sits in the global spotlight. However, if sporting-events are indicators of change, then how sport influences and mobilises change locally in neighbourhoods can spatially pinpoint perceptions through inductive research. Latin America is a region characterised by social struggles, variably resulting from historic inequalities to contemporary wealth-gaps (Holston, 2007). Manaus, in Brazil, in Latin America, thus represents an ideal case to ethnographically explore inclusion, exclusion and social impacts following the hosting of mega-events.

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