

“Todo lo que nos une, nos separa”

Argentina versus Brazil as portrayed by Argentine print media
coverage of the 2014 World Cup

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>This thesis explores representations of Brazil in Argentine print media coverage of the 2014 World Cup. In Argentina, and generally throughout Latin America as a whole, the game of football transcends the boundary of sport and has a significant effect on a societal level. Therefore, what is said within the context of sport can be then analyzed as potentially having significance on a more expansive, profound level. This thesis analyzes statements and portrayals of Brazil made within the context of a sporting competition-the 2014 World Cup- and examines if and how these statements cast Brazil as an inferior Other to Argentina.</p> <p>Theoretically, this thesis uses Edward Said's <i>Orientalism</i> as a starting point with which to explore how an opposing group can be represented in such a way as to dominate it. Negatively stereotyping and essentializing an opposing group, as outlined by Said in <i>Orientalism</i> is applied to the Latin American context with the help of previous works by Latin American social scientists who have previously decontextualized Said's work from the Orient and applied it specifically to the case of Argentina and Brazil. With his concept of "banal nationalism", Michael Billig describes a type of nationalism which is almost constant and nearly undetectable. This proved highly relevant in relation to Argentine coverage of the World Cup, and also provides a theoretical basis for this thesis.</p> <p>Fieldwork was carried out in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 2014, where ethnographic field notes and print media articles were collected, and semi-structured interviews were conducted. Qualitative content analysis and the application of coding frames to the collected print articles allow for the content of hundreds of articles to be reduced to pertinent reoccurring themes, which are then analyzed in relation to the research questions of this thesis.</p> <p>Within the data several reoccurring trends are found which contribute to the identity of a dominant or superior Argentina and a weak Brazil. Dominant and militaristic language, referred to as "colonizing discourse" within this thesis, is employed to describe the interaction Argentine fans have with Brazilians and Brazilian space during the 2014 World Cup. The trend of speaking for the other by defining their mental state and applying negative emotional characteristics to the entire populations of Brazilian cities or even the entire country itself is also found, and it is argued that the assignation of negative emotions or a damaged psyche casts Brazil as weak, and thus, Argentina as strong.</p>			
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1. Introduction

In 1912, Argentina's President Roque Sáenz Peña coined the phrase, "Todo nos une, nada nos separa"¹ as an attempt to summarize the potential for future diplomatic relations between Argentina and Brazil. In English this translates to, "everything unites us and nothing divides us." Nine years later this phrase was echoed in the keynote speech of the inaugural South American Congress of Football by Brazilian delegate Coelho Neto.² By employing the phrase "todo nos une, nada nos separa", Neto and Peña attempt to minimize perceived differences between Argentina and Brazil by promoting the idea of shared similarities, including the passion both countries have for football. Brazilian anthropologist Simoni Guedes claims that a history rooted in similarity is the fountainhead of the footballistic rivalry between the two nations and he conveys this concept by appropriating and modifying the original quote and using "*Todo lo que nos une, nos separa*" (emphasis my own) as the subtitle within his essay "Las Naciones Argentina y Brasileña a Través del Fútbol" (Guedes 2009). This translates to, "everything that unites us, divides us." This play on words from the uniting discourse uttered ninety-seven years before the publication of Guedes' essay cleverly reiterates that within the world of international football, similarity breeds contempt for Argentina and Brazil.

The same phrase used by Guedes has been chosen as the title of this thesis, which explores how Argentine print media coverage of the 2014 World Cup portrays Brazil, and what definitions of Argentine-ness, if any, result from these portrayals. Having an enemy is important in identity formation; an enemy can serve as a device in which

¹ This quote is attributed to Peña by the following source: Roque Sáenz Peña" Accessed March 2nd, 2015.
http://www.presidencia.gob.ar/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1268&template=blank

² This quote is attributed to Neto in an article by Simoni Guedes. Guedes, S. 2009, "Las naciones argentina y brasileña a través del fútbol ", *Vibrant*, 6:2, July-December, 2009.

achievements, values and worth can be measured (Eco 2015, 2), and Argentina and Brazil share a long, storied history of competing against one another in many high stakes matches. Other factors contribute to how the rivalry between the two manifested itself during the 2014 World Cup. The geographical proximity of the two nations, the mobility of people from one country to the other, and the subsequent encounters between the two population groups that were brought on by football fandom helped form the articulations and representations of Brazil found not only in the print media to be studied in this thesis, but also in the words and actions of many of the Argentines that I met in Buenos Aires during the 2014 World Cup.

The initial spark of interest that led to this project can be traced back to a singular moment on Friday, June 16th, 2006. I was in Rosario, Argentina, studying Spanish in order to fulfil a foreign language requirement for my bachelor level studies. I remember sitting in a near deserted café in the middle of the city center in Rosario, passing the quiet evening slogging through various verb conjugations. Suddenly a low din could be heard that gradually turned into a clamor and then a roar. All at once dozens of people burst into view. They were enthusiastically chanting, yelling, banging on drums, and rallying each other with the cry of, "*al monumento!*", which my rudimentary grasp of the Spanish language enabled me to deduce that they were marching to the National Flag Memorial, a gathering place for concerts, political demonstrations, and celebrations.

This crowd was energized by the day's result from the World Cup, a six to nil thrashing of Serbia and Montenegro. I was aware of the storied footballing history of Argentina and I operated on the assumption that the game elicited strong passions and was 'important' in Argentina, but the crowd nevertheless surprised me. I had not witnessed such a reaction to sport before, and I wanted to learn more. Perhaps I was seeing the situation through the rose colored glasses that inexperienced and first time travelers often wear, but from that moment on I was fascinated with the significance that the men's national football team has in Argentine society.

In the years following the 2006 World Cup, football has continued to be at the heart of various news stories, movements, triumphs and controversies around the world. Mass protests were held before the 2014 World Cup in Brazil as concerned the disenfranchised protesting the financial strain that hosting the tournament would bring (Saad 2013). The non-profit group Kick It Out aims to “tackle racism and discrimination” that exists within football, and the newsfeed of incidents on their webpage shows that racism and xenophobia have repeatedly materialized during matches around South America and Europe, with vulgar dehumanizing chants towards minority players being shouted from the stands in Chile or Argentina, and bananas being chucked from the bleachers in Moscow or Valencia.³ Leading up to the 2014 World Cup, a string incidents where black players were abused by South American fans across the continent led to media speculating on how racist the crowds in Brazil would be when Brazil hosted the 2014 World Cup (Shaw 2013). Similar happenings can be projected for future games and tournaments, as the 2018 World Cup takes place in Russia, a country with an unfortunately rich history of xenophobia relating to football. Researcher Pavel Klymenko, from the organization “Football Against Racism in Europe” (FARE) is not concerned with Russia’s history, but also their future as World Cup hosts in 2018, stating to news outlets that Russia’s Football Federation underestimates, or even flat out denies that there is a problem with racism and football in Russia, as reported by Radio Liberty’s Tony Wesolosky.

And if one looks deeper into the future beyond the 2018 World Cup, even bigger problems appear. Qatar, which won the right to host the 2022 tournament, is surrounded by scandal and accusations that they won the bid to host by bribery. More concerning still are the astronomically high death tolls reported from Qatar as infrastructure for the 2022 event is being constructed. In June of 2014, BBC news estimated that death toll to be around 1,200, and they projected this already significant number to rise substantially more in the future.⁴ The protecting body of international football itself, The Fédération Internationale de Football Association

³ An updated list of incidents of racism within football can be found by visiting Kick It Out’s news section, which on average updates multiple times daily: <http://www.kickitout.org/news/> (Accessed 22 Feb 2016)

⁴ This information was cited from the online news source, accessed on October 23rd, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/14/qatar-admits-deaths-in-migrant-workers>

(FIFA), is enveloped in controversy as an FBI investigation into the organization resulted in multiple arrests and charges of corruption and racketeering for many top FIFA officials, including former FIFA president Sepp Blatter, who was forced to resign.⁵ Currently, FIFA officials are being arrested on a seemingly regular basis, with dozens of officials being arrested at the same Swiss hotel within a month long span, as reported on December 3rd, 2016, by Rebecca Ruiz, Matt Apuzzo, and Sam Borden of *The New York Times*.⁶ The reason for the arrests are corruption charges against the officials with evidence indicating that they accepting millions upon millions of dollars in exchange for their World Cup bid votes. Be it boisterous celebration, ugly discrimination and hate speech, or even death, football creates societal byproducts which demand interest and attention.

This study examines encounters between Argentina and Brazil as reported in Argentine press during coverage of the 2014 World Cup. Through the analysis of these encounters, a link binding Argentine media coverage of the World Cup and the construction of Brazil as an inferior "other" cast opposite of Argentina will be defined and explored. When the word "press" is mentioned, it is to refer to the Argentine daily print media, unless otherwise specified.

Fieldwork was carried out from May through July, 2014, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Being present in Buenos Aires for the duration of the 2014 World Cup made it very easy to see the literal effects that football has on Argentine society. The game of football itself has been effectively nationalized in Argentina, with games being broadcast for free on public television in an effort to make fandom accessible for all. Under the *Fútbol Para Todos* initiative, two giant screens were constructed in Buenos Aires in public parks, and anyone could go and watch world cup games for free. The attendance at the viewing parties varied from a few dozen during games of little or no consequence to Argentina, and the scope of the competition, to tens of thousands coming to support the Argentine national team during their games. The attending

⁵ As reported by ESPN.COM, in an article published in June, 2015. Accessed on February 21st, 2016: <http://www.espnfc.com/fifa-world-cup/story/2476671/sepp-blatter-resigns-as-fifa-president>

⁶ The full article, accessed on December 4th, 2015, can be found at the following address: http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/03/sports/fifa-scandal-arrests-in-switzerland.html?_r=0

crowds at these games did appear to live up to the “football for everyone” slogan in terms of being diversely composed. One of the parks where a screen was constructed was the Plaza San Martín, which is situated directly between the Buenos Aires financial and international business district, and a shantytown of 100,000 people, known as *Villa Miseria*.⁷ This location did result in a diverse crowd, with people coming into contact and coexisting briefly to take in a game, before returning to their respective worlds, with the usual class barriers snapping back into place. Watching games at the public *Fútbol Para Todos* events allowed me to buy into the idea of football in Argentina as a unifier of sorts, and I was briefly easy prey for the propaganda and message the event was selling.

During fieldwork there was no shortage of observable reactions to the World Cup within the city of Buenos Aires, which allowed for daily and almost constant opportunities to take field notes. Although the primary aim of the thesis project is not to gauge impact the World Cup had within the physical space of Buenos Aires, a narrative based on ethnographic field notes could be used as introductory and narrative content to better situate the reader and add depth to a relevant area of research. Observations recorded about the transformative effects the World Cup has on the city itself, and also on the behavior of people during the World Cup can be used in corroboration with research questions. In simple terms, people can mimic or live the portrayals of Argentine fans that are presented in the data to be studied, and it is fair to say that portrayals of fans presented in the media can actually determine how fans behave.

Apart from the public events provided by the Argentine Government under the *Fútbol Para Todos* banner, the cityscape was full of constant reminders of the national football team and their impending World Cup games. These reminders came in the form of advertising and propaganda from domestic Argentine brands and television networks. The Argentine national jersey seemed to be a substitute for the flag of the

⁷ As reported by Argentine newspaper *La Nación* in an article published on January 6th, 2014. The complete article, accessed on April 9th, 2017, can be found at the following address: <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1653114-la-poblacion-de-las-villas-crecio-un-523-entre-2001-y-2010>

country; the colors are the same and the usage of the jersey as a symbol in ads is akin to traditional usage of a nation's flag. The infrastructure also experienced changes in service, with public transportation being drastically reduced or unavailable during times when Argentina was playing. Lastly, the people themselves served as constant reminders; downtown areas of the city, usually filled with traffic and pedestrians were empty during times when Argentina was playing. The games, results, gossip and happenings surrounding the 2014 World Cup were extreme in frequency and penetration and the "reaction" from the city, meaning the inhabitants, government and businesses, confirmed why Buenos Aires was an ideal location to undertake this research project.

The primary method for data collection was collecting articles about the World Cup which appeared in Argentine daily newspapers. Around 500 articles were initially collected from six different newspapers which comprise the material to be analyzed. Descriptions of Brazil, which can mean either the men's national football team, cities where FIFA World Cup fan events and games were held, or of Brazilian fans all are of significance for this study. Argentines interacting with Brazilians and the Brazilian environment during the 2014 world cup are also of note. According to migration and visa statistics released by the Argentine government, 288,052 Argentines traveled to Brazil during the month long world cup tournament⁸, and a significant amount of attention was given to this group in the Argentine press coverage of the 2014 world cup. How Argentines in Brazil are portrayed in their interactions with Brazilians and Brazilian localities will also be focused on. The following research questions are the primary focus of this paper:

How is Brazil, meaning either the country, national football team, or Brazilian people, described by Argentine print media within the context of the 2014 World Cup?

How are Argentine football fans who traveled to Brazil described by national Argentine media within the context of the 2014 World Cup? How are their interactions with Brazilians portrayed?

⁸ This figure is according to the ministry of the interior and transport of Argentine. The official site can be accessed at the following address: <http://www.migraciones.gov.ar/accesible/indexN.php>. The article citing the specific number of fans traveling to Brazil during the World Cup comes from the online news site Terra.com.ar. The can be found at the following address: <http://deportes.terra.com.ar/futbol/mundial-2014/cuantos-argentinos-viajaron-a-brasil-para-el-mundial-2014,c1bdd5970d467410VgnCLD200000b1bf46d0RCRD.html>

These two questions will be the driving force when analyzing collected material, but what is most pertinent to this thesis are the representations of Brazil that can potentially create a divide or rivalry. The two research questions of this thesis open up the exploration of a third question to be addressed during the analytical stage of this thesis:

Do the descriptions of Brazil/Argentine fans in Brazil during the 2014 cup contribute to the construction of Brazil as an inferior *other*? If so, how?

Equally important for this paper is not only how Brazil is described, but also how these descriptions of Brazil contribute to the formation and promotion of a homogeneous Argentine national identity. The encounters of Brazil and Argentina found in the collected data will be treated as contributing to the formation of an Argentine national identity and promoting a form of nationalism. These representations of Brazil will be considered as a sort of national propaganda, considering the sources are national print media outlets. Because of that, this study will not be focusing on micro-level or individual analysis.

The study of football is firmly entrenched in the social sciences within Latin America and the importance of football in social scientific research has been stated in no uncertain terms. In the prologue for the compilation *Fútbol y Sociedad*, Argentine anthropologist José Garriga Zucal calls football a privileged vantage point for which to reflect on greater society (as cited in Godio and Uliana 2011, 13). The universality of football makes it relevant in popular culture on a different scale than other sports or forms of entertainment, at least within the Latin American context. The game can be treated almost as a 'common language', and similarly so, is capable of bridging cultural gaps and facilitating mediation or communication (2011, 11). Guedes goes even further by stating that football contains so much meaning that it is not possible to consider any aspect of it meaningless (Guedes 2009).

Operating under these statements, the research questions and propositions of this study are feasible in that dialogues and discourse about football can be said to have significance in broader contexts, for example in the formation of a national identity, in international relations, and how different nations and the people that inhabit them are viewed.

While the above highlights the viability and importance of the study of football, the specific context of the 2014 World Cup can be valuable as well from a researcher's perspective. The international football tournament brings together thirty two nations every four years to compete for the world championship. The competition is followed globally, and according to the website FIFA.com, the 2014 World Cup drew an excess of one billion visitors to FIFA's global stadium, an online hub where one can interact in online forums or watch highlights of the games.⁹ The interaction of people from all over the world and the media coverage of the event force FIFA to incorporate an anti-discriminatory policy in their official literature. Article 3 of the official FIFA statute reads:

Discrimination of any kind against a country, private person or group of people on account of race, skin colour, ethnic, national or social origin, gender, language, religion, political opinion or any other opinion, wealth, birth or any other status, sexual orientation or any other reason is strictly prohibited and punishable by suspension or expulsion.

Despite the best efforts of FIFA, the end result often falls short of the ideals stated in the FIFA statute, as previous research has shown a direct link between global sporting contests and national identity and politics, and what can be seen in a vacuum as "just a game" signifies much more for the nations competing, and the people who comprise those nations (Tomlinson and Young 2006, 13). The link between national identity and sport is one possible explanation as to why the World Cup often seems to breed stereotypes, racism, and even violence amongst the followers of the event. In the

⁹ Attendance in FIFA's Global Stadium exceeds 1 Billion fans'' Accessed March 4th, 2015
<http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2014/m=7/news=attendance-in-fifa-s-global-stadium-exceeds-1-billion-fans-2404624.html>

article "The Sporting Spirit" George Orwell claims to be amazed at the idea of sport creating goodwill between nations, and instead says that one can easily deduce from general principles that international sporting contests lead to orgies of hatred (Orwell 1945).

1.1 Previous research

This thesis treads a path formed by the notable works that precede it. Football has long been a subject of academic analysis within the field of Latin American studies, and the already ample amount of literature, journals, and study programs concerned with sport and society continues to grow. Noted British historian Eric Hobsbawm captures why football is important in relation to nationalism, identity formation and stereotyping in his book *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, stating that, "what has made the sport so uniquely effective a medium...is the ease with which even the least political or public individuals can identify with the nation as symbolized by young person's excelling at what practically every man wants to be good at. The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people (Hobsbawm 1992, 143)." Hobsbawm's words illustrate the formative power football has upon a large community of people, which is why and how football has been at the center of a variety of research projects. Argentine sociologist Eduardo Archetti used football to explore gender politics and formation, showing how participation in tango, polo and football have been key factors that construct masculine identities in Argentina (Archetti 2003).

Pablo Alabarces has shown in his work how football and Argentine politics are not-so-strange bedfellows, and are forever intertwined. He has compared the presence of football in the everyday life of an Argentine with the presence of neoconservative values of the Argentine state, which were also present in the day-to-day lives of Argentines at the time of his research (Alabarces 2002; 2004, 33-37).

And finally, Argentine sociologist Julio Frydenberg focused on the transformative effects that the pastime of football had on the developing city of Buenos Aires during

the turn of the twentieth century, with the demand for football pitches and places to practice the game not only affected how the cityscape developed, but also the formation of small neighborhood gangs, which were very protective of their own football pitch, and the reputation of their neighborhood (Frydenberg 2011).

Dozens, if not hundreds of other projects can continue to be mentioned here as the list goes on and on. Instead of continuing in that vein, only three additional previous research projects will be mentioned, due to their specific relevance to this thesis, be it topical, methodological, or due to ties with the theoretical framework put forth in this thesis.

Brazilian sociologist Ronaldo Helal has analyzed the portrayal of the styles of play that Brazil and Argentina have on the pitch in a comparative media study of newspaper articles from both of these countries (Helal 2007). Helal links the representation and ownership of an on the field style to the formation of a greater national identity (*ibid*, 349). A phrase which is repeatedly brought up and relevant to the analysis put forth by Helal is that Brazilians love to hate Argentines while Argentines hate to love Brazilians (*ibid*, 351). These contrasting viewpoints are based in different ways of defining oneself through a comparison with an external group. Helal concludes that the extensive defining of, and comparing to the football style of the other country is a means of defining self, but the footballistic rivalry does not form the basis for an Argentina-Brazil rivalry, it just expands on what existed prior to football competitions between the two countries (*ibid*, 379).

Brazilian anthropologist Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (2002) explores the representative terms 'europeísmo' and 'tropicalismo' in his article "'Tropicalismo y Europeísmo: Modos de representar a Brasil y Argentina'". These terms can be translated to the English equivalents of Tropicalist and Europeist (Alabarces 2006), and Ribeiro links Brazil with tropicalismo and Argentina with europeísmo. Ribeiro's terms tropicalismo and europeísmo and the relationship they have with Orientalism will be explored further in the theoretical framework section expanding on the place Orientalism occupies within this text.

In the article "Las naciones Argentina y Brasileña a través del fútbol", published in 2009, Simoni Guedes highlights that international football matches between Argentina and Brazil contribute to an "us versus them" comparison, where the comparison is with a simplified version of the 'other'. In this type of comparison between the two countries, similarities are ignored in the search for difference (Guedes 2009, 167). This search for difference in the 'other' can then result in the 'exotication' of cultural differences that may exist between Argentina and Brazil (Guedes 2009, 169). Guedes then expands on this potential 'exotication' of the Other by introducing on Gustavo Ribeiro's terms 'europeísmo' and 'tropicalismo' and bringing them into the world of football, which will be elaborated on in the theoretical section of this thesis.

2. Orgies of Hatred: The History of Football in Argentina

Even if one didn't know from concrete examples that international sporting contests lead to orgies of hatred, one could deduce it from general principles. -George Orwell (1945)

According to a survey published by FIFA.com, about 10% of the Argentine population identifies as being a football player, and there is a certified, registered football official, or referee for every 1000 inhabitants of the country. The game is also played in a more formal setting than just with friends or family, and there are almost 3,400 different football clubs in the country.¹⁰ Cheering for a team is a practice even more widespread than playing football, with almost 90% of the population claiming allegiance to a domestic football team.¹¹ The importance of football has permeated throughout different social sectors of Argentine society and now can be seen in pop culture, economics, and politics. The broadcast transcript from the 1986 World Cup victory has been treated like a sacred script of sorts, and has been reprinted word for word and released as a popular book (Morales and Magnus 2013).

Similar to the identification of a "patient 0" linked to a pandemic, the origins of football in Argentina can be traced back to one man; the Scottish schoolmaster Alejandro Watson Hutton. According to Argentine sociologist and football historian Julio Frydenberg (2013, 27), Hutton arrived to Buenos Aires in February 1882 to direct St. Andrews school, and as part of the curriculum, introduced the game of football to students. The game took off in popularity, and within a few decades a solid infrastructure of amateur players and professional teams existed in and around Buenos Aires. The game was slowly turning into something more, as more and more

¹⁰ The survey called "The Big Count" indexes the global popularity of football on a country by country basis, and can be found at the following address:

<http://www.fifa.com/worldfootball/bigcount/registeredplayers.html> (accessed 23.2.16)

¹¹ As reported by the webpage Visit Argentina: <http://visit-argentina.co.uk/argentina-guide/sport-in-argentina> (accessed 23.2.16)

people came out on Sundays to watch teams compete, and visiting teams began to travel to Buenos Aires, to play the best players that Argentina could offer. These international competitions began in 1912, when the English side Swindown Town traveled to Buenos Aires to play against an Argentine side. The Argentine public left disgusted by the brusque, physical game shown by the visiting side, and this distaste was reflected in the Argentine press as much as it was among the spectators (Frydenberg 2013, 41).

This game with Swindown was just the first of many football confrontations with England in which the on-field behaviors fluctuated along with the diplomatic relations between the two nations. It is of note that to many, the British Falkland Islands are a glaring exception to the general end of colonial rule (Alba 1968), and Argentina and England were engaged in the Falklands War less than 40 years ago. In 1986, England and Argentina were to make war once again, this time in the arena of sport, at the 1986 World Cup final. This meeting between the two was the first game since the Falklands War, which occurred just four years previous. Although the teams met under the pretense of a unifying global sporting competition, many Argentines, including super-star Diego Maradona, viewed the game as an opportunity to extract revenge on the British. Argentina won the game 2-1, with one of the goals being scored by Maradona, who used his hand to punch the ball into the English net. The use of the hand is the most blatant disregard to the rules of football possible, and violates one of the core principles of the game. Maradona insisted for years that he did not use his hand, denying, or giving coy answers, such as stating that the goal was scored by "the hand of god." In his autobiography, published 21 years later after the play, Maradona provides further insight into his thoughts on the play, stating that the illegal goal was a form of revenge for the perceived atrocities committed by the British during the Falkland Islands War (Moore 2014).

Intense footballistic rivalries are not always born out of colonial dynamics or a shared history of war to be brought into existence. Often, a shared history of competition and proximity between the two competing nations is enough, and Argentina has numerous football rivals within South America. The first international football tournament took

place in Argentina from May 29th to June 12th, 1910. The tournament was called the Copa Centenario Revolución de Mayo, and Argentina beat out Uruguay and Chile to be crowned champions (Frydenberg 2013). This tournament eventually expanded to include all South American football association members, also known as CONMEBOL members, and is now known as the Copa America, as explained by the football history blog All About Football.¹²

Another contributing factor to the intensity of the rivalry Argentina has with the neighboring countries in the region is due to the context in which these teams meet. Aside from the international friendly matches, the South American teams meet under circumstances where a lot is on the line. According to an article published on ESPN.COM called "the toughest qualifying stage in the world", the aforementioned Copa America is one of the most prestigious titles a national football team can win.¹³ Enter the CONMEBOL (South American) qualifying process for the World Cup. Only four out of the ten South American national football teams receive an automatic berth to play in the World Cup, and a two year long round robin tournament is used to decide which teams are granted automatic entry to the World Cup. This drawn out, high stakes process gives the players, fans and press plenty of time and opportunity to realize (and sometimes exaggerate and romanticize) what is at stake, and this breeds animosity and intensity surrounding the games, even more so off of the field than on it.

In 1937 Brazil and Argentina met in Buenos Aires in a Copa America match, won by Argentina. After the game, Brazilian fans were subjected to being referred to as "macaquitos" by Argentine fans upon exiting the stadium. They also were asked if there were telephones in Brazil.¹⁴ These types of insults and racist terminology also has been used on multiple occasions in the Argentine press, as we will see in an

¹² The information about CONMEBOL provided by this blog can be found at the following address: <http://hotfootballcorner.blogspot.fi/2010/01/history-of-conmebol.html> (accessed 23.2.16)

¹³ The complete article can be accessed on the following page: <http://espndeportes.espn.go.com/news/story?id=1395677&s=fut&type=column> (accessed 23.2.16)

¹⁴ From the article, "Um Duelo de Gigantes" by Carlos Maranhao, published in the magazine *Placer*, in 1979.

upcoming section. This same type of racism has been played out countless times in stadium bleachers, in the form of chants, songs, taunts, and insults. Sometimes Brazil can be the subject of hate speech even when they have nothing to do with the current football game taking place. During the 2014 World Cup, two Argentine fans were arrested and escorted from the Argentina-Bosnia game, taking place in Rio de Janeiro. The arrested Argentines were allegedly shouting racist insults at Brazilian fans and were reported by an elderly man and his grandson.¹⁵

A recent, controversial joint product between Argentine football and Argentine politics is the initiative *Fútbol Para Todos (FPT)*, which in English can be translated to “football for everyone.” FPT was the nationalization of the broadcast rights for Argentine football games, including all professional domestic leagues and major international tournaments featuring the national team. The ideology behind FPT is that no one should be excluded from participating in football fandom, something which is a cornerstone of Argentine positive identity and cultural relevance. The existing model prior to FPT priced a lot of potential viewers out, as games were played on premium channels or operated on the “pay-per-view” model. This occurred in 2009, when the Argentine government was permitted to purchase all broadcast rights for Argentine football, undercutting what was perceived to be fair market price for these rights, which caused conflict within the Argentine government, as reported by the newspaper *The Buenos Aires Herald* in their article, “Fútbol para todos exposes rift inside gov’t”, published on February 9th, 2014. During my time in Buenos Aires completing fieldwork, the presence of the *Fútbol Para Todos* program was felt in the city, as they organized large viewing parties in different parks around the city as they tried to make the option to view World Cup games available for anyone interested.

¹⁵ Report of Incident can be found at Reuters Online: <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/06/16/us-soccer-world-racism-idUKKBN0ER2WC20140616>

3. Theoretical Framework

10.6.2014

Two days remain until Brazil faces off with Croatia in the opening game of the World Cup. There is still a five day wait for Argentina's World Cup to begin, when they take on Bosnia and Herzegovina on the 15th. Yet large LED clocks are already installed in supermarkets throughout Buenos Aires, ticking backwards towards the start time of Argentina's first game. These form part of a Budweiser advertising campaign, and its message is not unique. Various national networks serenade the viewer with enthusiastic shouts that the World Cup is fast approaching with variants of the line, "ya estamos dentro de 48 horas hasta el Mundial," which is accompanied occasionally by the social message tag, "we are Argentina." World Cup themed advertising is impossible to avoid, with billboards showing business men lifting up their collared shirts to reveal an Argentine football jersey beneath it, appearing like a second skin. Less formal business ventures also seize the moment for World Cup capitalization and on large streets like Avenida Santa Fe or Avenida Corrientes, street vendor after street vendor are found hawking their wares, which generally consist of various blue and white colored horns, posters, jerseys, signs, or other assorted plastic trinkets. Within five blocks of where I am staying in the Palermo district, a pet shop appears to only carry dog food sold in bulk and Argentine football jerseys...for a range of domestic animals of varying sizes. Blue and white dominate the landscape, both in the clothes people wear and also in public advertising. People who are not seemingly invested in Argentina's 2014 World Cup campaign form the minority, and not being a devout follower of the fates of the national team becomes a counter-cultural position.

3.1 Banal nationalism and the formation of a homogeneous national identity

The concept of banal nationalism was introduced by Michael Billig, in his book by the same name (Billig 1995). The thesis of Billig's text is that relating to, or feeling a strong national identity is not a natural occurrence based on 'primordial ties', but rather a societal construct, and that looking inside an individual for the origins of such an identity would be an error (Billig 1995, 7). Instead, such an identity is used as a type of political and societal tool in which the individual is reminded of the formed national identity on a constant basis. The daily promotion of a national identity is what compelled Billig to use the word 'banal.' Banal does not mean unimportant or trivial, but constant, or normal. Billig calls this constant reminder of nationhood the "flagging" of the national identity (1995, 8), a term derived from the continual display of the United States flag in daily life and common ceremonies such as the pledge of allegiance. In discussing the formation of national identities for Brazil and Argentina, Gustavo Lins Ribeiro takes Billig's concepts of "flagging" an identity into the Latin American context, asserting that repeated consumption of cultural cues like popular songs or football chants-*himnos*-, help delineate an "us" and a "them" (Ribeiro 2000, 166-167). The "us" can be either micro or macro, ranging in size from a family unit, a neighborhood, or an allegiance to a specific team all the way up to the inhabitants of a specific city or nation-state, and in today's world, it is the nation-state which most commonly is used to claim pertinence or belonging to a group (2000, 168).

Frantz Fanon (1994), a pioneering figure in the field of post-colonial studies, highlights the political aspect of the daily flaggings of a homogeneous national identity in his essay titled "On National Culture", appearing in the anthology "Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory". Fanon writes that political parties can often speak in moving terms of the nation, but what is important is that the people who are listening understand the need to take part in the fight if they wish to continue to exist [...] (Fanon 1994, 36). Within the context of Argentina, national level narratives have

been constructed in large part via football, and these narratives historically have been received by the people within Argentina on a wide-scale (Alabarces 2002).

Banal nationalism is not to be confused with more extreme forms of nationalism often manifested during times of war, nor does it apply to groups which claim ethnic superiority in the name of the mother or fatherland. Within the scope of the footballing world, acts of overt racism like the throwing of a banana onto the field or fans performing the Nazi salute would not be examples of banal nationalism. The chief differentiating characteristic, at least within this thesis, is subtlety; language or comments that are open to multiple interpretations. If someone were to shout a racial slur, the interpretation is straight forward. Banal nationalism is not always detectable, or noticed by group members for whom the daily flaggings and promotion of a structured national identity are intended (Billig 1995, 8).

Ingrid Piller (2011, 60) describes how banal nationalism transfers from the nation to the population as a whole in her book *Intercultural Encounters: A critical Introduction*, writing that these constant flaggings of nationalism and nationhood usually originate from the state or state sponsored actors, but are taken up by non-state actors and mix with discourses and practices that seemingly have nothing to do with any form of nationalism at first glance. Large countdown clocks indicating the start of the World Cup, advertisements linking patriotism with Argentine football, and many of the selected texts to be used as data serve as examples of Piller's statement. Selected articles and texts from Argentine print media which issue adjectives to both the general Argentine public and the national football team will be relevant, as will articles that elaborate on the shared virtue or "Argentine-ness", which is described as being shared by the football team, and Argentine fans alike. During the World Cup, traits like 'determination' and 'grit' were often applied to both groups within the contexts of radio and television programs, print media, and advertisements of all sorts.¹⁶

¹⁶ One such ad, produced by the television network Cablevision, attributes a sense of collective unity and determination to exist within the Argentine football team, and also within Argentines in general. This ad can be viewed at the following address: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1hsLj9QJFSc> (Accessed on 22 Feb 2016)

The application of these positive national traits both create a sense of belonging to an Argentine national identity, which can be considered “flaggings” as defined by Billig. Billig adopts Social Identity Theory as one explanation as to why national identities are promoted and also why the promotion of said identities is often eagerly received and applied by groups. Originated and introduced by Henri Tajfel in 1974, Social Identity Theory links a person’s sense of self to various group memberships from which he or she derives identities, which can result in a positive self-comparison to out groups. Being a member of a group means the construction and existence of an out-group from which the in-group is distinct, as there can be no us, without them (Billig 1995, 66). This is later applied to nations as Billig states that nationalism is in fact international, meaning that a nation does not exist alone, but is a nation among nations (1995, 83), and within these nations, (imagined) attributes are applied to the inhabitants. Group membership resulting in a positive comparison to out groups is explained by “positive-negative asymmetry”, a term which states that in-group favoritism in the self-other dichotomy occurs only when the positive and negative comparisons occur using dimensions which are significant in defining the two groups being compared (Reynolds et al. 2000, 64). Many texts pulled from Argentine newspapers espouse the importance of the World Cup, footballing history between Argentina and Brazil and on-field supremacy as being very important, which make social identity theory applicable in this context.

The “deixis of little words” as Billig calls them (Billig 1995, 174) are to be considered as well. This refers to words like ‘here’, ‘us’, ‘the’ and ‘our’. These words may not be the first thing that comes to one’s mind when looking for the construction of the Other or national stereotypes, but they are instrumental in construction spaces conveying the ownership of space and defining hierarchies. These words also can function as the brick and mortar in differentiating groups and maintaining distinction between groups in a secondary way which is not always noticeable.

This section opened with the statement that banal nationalism and the accompanying “daily flaggings” which drive it should not be confused with a more extreme, wartime nationalism. The confusion between the World Cup and an actual war also would be

an unlikely error to make, even for the most fanatical of football fans. Parallels between sport and warfare do exist, and Billig states that sport can appear to be a benign reproduction of war (1995, 123). Parallels also can be drawn between the descriptions and language used to describe them in the press (1995, 124), which promotes a cohesive national identity, resulting in nationalism if and when consumed by the public. This use of a militaristic, dominating language is the basis for the second theoretical section of this research, "colonizing discourse."

3.2 Colonizing discourse: an introduction to the term and its usage

"Federal police, military police, and even the army will guard the area, but it still is maximum alert." – Artiz Gabilondo, writing for online Argentine news website AS.com¹⁷

The sentence above, supplied from an online news article about Argentines on holiday in Rio de Janeiro to watch the championship match of the 2014 World Cup, can feasibly be placed in news reports covering war zones or civil protests. The reader quite plausibly would not blink, as the description calling for heavy security and the restoration of order can logically be associated with a disaster scenario. Desperate times call for drastic responses and maximum alerts, as phrased above. Yet we know that this excerpt comes from a report of a group of football fans going abroad to watch a game. Moreover, they are traveling to a neighboring country that shares a strong history of political collaboration and generally supportive relations with their own. Why the maximum alert?

Brazil and Argentina do not share an extensive colonial history of colonizer and colonized, although they have had territorial disputes (Centeno 2002, 55-73). Although no history of colonialism between Brazil and Argentina exists, colonialism has had a profound effect on Latin America as a whole. The historical presence of

¹⁷ The entire article, which describes the potential of 100,000 Argentine fans travelling to Rio and the problems this presents, can be accessed at the following address:
http://futbol.as.com/futbol/2014/07/11/mundial/1405034671_940439.html

colonialism within Latin America has been shaping the region since its beginning, and the attempts made by the nation states within the region to move past colonial rule and build their own societies is disputed (Alba 1968, 32). Even today, it would be difficult to analyze its position on national and international levels without an understanding of its colonial and neocolonial history (Morana et al. 2008, 10). Even though colonialism has defined Latin America as a region, the lack of a shared colonial history leads to a needed justification for evoking the oft disputed and sometimes ambiguous term 'colonial', appearing in this research as *colonizing discourse*. The term colonial can be problematic and disputed in academia (Praxmarer 2013; Dervin et al. 2011; Dervin 2013), but a literal definition of the term is easily found. Over one hundred and fifty years ago French economist Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu defined colonialism as "the expansive force of a people...the subjection of the universe to that people's language, customs, ideas and laws" (Murphy 1948, 110, 136).

In her text *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Ania Loomba acknowledges that there are many forms of colonialism, but she eventually settles on the wide-reaching definition of, "the control of other people's land and goods" (Loomba 2015, 20). Within this text, colonialism is defined as the unwanted occupation of foreign lands, the unwanted imposition of foreign policies, ideas or value systems, and the forced dominance of one group over an opposing 'other'. This definition is not taken from a specific work, but rather it is a generality meant to be as simple as possible. Loomba's acknowledgement of many forms of colonialism is relevant because in this definition of colonialism, the agent perpetuating colonialization is not specified or relevant. This definition is not rooted in history and just serves as a reference point for what the word "colonizing" means in the term *colonizing discourse*.

With the term colonialism defined, we can now define discourse. A simplified definition can be communication practices and language that produces cultural and/ or historical meanings. Michel Foucault (1969, 2003) describes discourse as the peculiar ways of speaking that are (re)distributed throughout society, and that have the power not only to describe what future was coming, but rather the power to dictate or manifest what is coming (Foucault 1969, 9,16). One way that discourse can potentially

“dictate or manifest” reality is by perpetuating unequal comparisons between groups, placing one group as dominant over another, which creates positional superiority (Said 1991).

Relating to the thesis project “*Todo lo que Nos Une, Nos Separa*”, discourse is simply what is being said about the Other. What are Argentine newspapers saying about the World Cup event, about Brazil, about Argentine fans in Brazil, and about the dynamic between Argentines and Brazilians?

‘Discourse’ or discursive elements play a large part in perpetuating colonial dynamics. If “colonialism” can be defined as a forceful, literally violent domination of one group at the hands of another, then the words, images, texts, and representations that are made to dominate or subordinate another group are Orientalist in nature. Said himself defines Orientalism as such, saying that the term can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it...ruling over it...and that the term Orientalism cannot be properly understood without examining Foucauldian notions of discourse (Said 1991, 3). Relating these definitions of discourse to this research means that the material collected, along with the trends that emerge from the material during the coding process will not be viewed as accidental or coincidental. On the contrary, they will be viewed as calculated statements made with a larger goal in mind, be it stoking nationalism (Billig 1995), or defining the “other” in such a way to create a favorable dynamic or comparison between groups (Said 1991; Ribeiro 2002; Guedes 2009).

With these definitions as a starting point, the term colonizing discourse is then defined in this thesis as language, statements, or assertions that promote one group as forcefully dominating another, via occupation of space, imposition of value systems, cultural thievery, or domination. The term colonizing discourse differs from the similar term ‘colonial discourse’ in what it emphasizes. Colonial discourse is rooted in history, and colonial discourse theory often works with historical texts and dated representations of the colonizer-colonized dynamic. An example of such a writing is

found in *Orientalism*, which puts forth examples of 150 year old political speeches touting the virtuous effort of the civilized doing for the scheming Egyptians, perfidious Chinese, and half-naked Indians what they could not do for themselves (Said 1991, 91). Another example of the type of text to which colonial discourse could be applied to is Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, which was a fictional tale published in 1902 and documented the exploration of the "Dark Continent" at the hands of British imperialists during what was known as the "scramble for Africa" (Nogueira Diniz 2002, 127-129).

Contrary to the previous examples of texts relevant to colonial discourse, colonizing discourse is rooted in the now, which should be first evident by looking at the construction of the word. Colonizing discourse can be any type of language that dominates another group and perpetuates unequal power dynamics *similar* to those found in historical colonialism. *Colonizing* is formed by adding the present participle of -ing. The word itself functions as an adjective, modifying the word discourse, and indicating *what* type of discourse is at hand. In the term "colonial discourse" the word colonial referred to a time period and a subject matter, while *colonizing* is an action word, meaning a type of discourse that in itself perpetuates domination and unequal dynamics in the present time, without needing a specific historical context. Inter-group communication and "culture" are fluid, not static. There are never any fixed parameters or boundaries and they are always in flux (Praxmarer 2014). The term colonizing discourse hopes to capture this.

In the article "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991) explores the discursive aspects of colonialism within the context of representations of third world women in Western feminism. Mohanty proposes that using a specific language when referring to an outgroup causes implicit differences to take shape, in this case Western and non-Western. The existence of these groups also entails the implication of what is normal (Western) and what is not (1991, 52). The language used here creates a hierarchy between the two groups and implies normalcy for one, and strangeness for the Other. This exemplifies the definition of colonizing discourse in that the domination of one group over another is

promoted discursively via the created hierarchy. Edward Said states that discourse is undeniable powerful in differentiating groups, and he frames his concept of *Orientalism* in a discursive manner (Said 1991, 3):

My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possible understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage-and even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.

It must be clear by now that many ideas and principles from Said's *Orientalism* serve as important theoretical building blocks for this thesis. While managing the "other" by producing knowledge about them and engineering repeated favorable comparisons between groups can be applied in multiple contexts, the fact still remains that *Orientalism* deals with a dynamic between the Orient and the West while this thesis is firmly entrenched within the field of Latin American studies. This is not problematic because previous works inspired by Said and *Orientalism* have already bridged this contextual gap. In looking for an example of such works, we can return to Ribeiro's terms 'tropicalismo' and 'europeísmo' (Ribeiro 2002). These terms establish an east versus west unequal power dynamic between the two countries. Argentina is cast as the west, having European history on its side. This means that Brazil, being paired with the term tropicalismo, is the east; backwards, largely indigenous and not modern. The dualism illustrated by Ribeiro's terms mirrors the West and Orient comparison put forth by Said; a relationship between a strong and weak partner (Said 1991, 7, 40). As Ribeiro took concepts outlined by Said and applied them to Latin America, Guedes takes the same concepts and applies them to World Cup football (Guedes 2009). Guedes analyses the Argentine style of play and notes that Spanish and Italian influences are present (Guedes 2009, 178). This is in line with the "European-ness" that Ribeiro associates with Argentina. Then Guedes mentions an incident where the Argentine sporting press ran a headline calling the Brazilian team *macacos*, which is the Spanish word for a type of monkey. To Guedes, this type of racial epithet highlights the significant Negro roots that exist in Brazil, which differentiates them from Argentina, which is associated more with a homogeneous European background

(Guedes 2009, 180). The European background assigned to Argentina contributes to the construction of unequal comparisons and further study and analysis of this assigned 'whiteness' can help researchers understand better the processes of racism (Long and Hylton 2002, 87).

Ribeiro highlights that objectivity is not important in these classifications, and puts forth the example of Brazil being associated with a large indigenous population, despite having an indigenous population significantly smaller than that of Argentina, in both absolute and relative terms (Ribeiro 2002, 186). Said corroborates this by highlighting how facts are of minimal importance when describing the Other, stating that when speaking of the oriental, no merely asserted generality is denied the dignity of truth (Said 1991, 49).

As defined above, colonialism is outward expansion and dominance of a group over another group. During the World Cup, the thousands of Argentines who traveled to Brazil to take part in the festivities fit this definition. Regardless of their motives, Argentines traveled abroad to Brazil in the name of their country; to cheer, shout, literally wear their flag, and support their country. Add to this the media coverage of these fans and the textual evidence from collected data. This combination will compose the relevant arena in which the term colonizing discourse will function.

4. Methodology

During fieldwork, material was collected from multiple newspapers. Newspapers with a large daily readership were focused on, and after the completion of fieldwork, articles had been collected from a total of six different newspapers; Olé, with an estimated daily readership of 50,000, Clarín, with an estimated daily readership of almost 200,000, La Nación, with a daily readership of 160,000, Tiempo Argentino, with a daily readership of 40,000, Diario Popular with a daily readership of 113,000, and Crónica, with an estimated daily readership of 60,000.¹⁸

The qualifications for the articles collected were that they contained elements thought to be relevant to the research questions put forth by this thesis. During the data collection phase, the proposed focus of this thesis included the other neighboring countries of Argentina; Chile and Uruguay. Articles were collected with these countries in mind, but once the focus was narrowed to just Argentine fans in Brazil and representations of Brazil, the pool of around 500 articles was reduced to 262 that were deemed relevant, which have been catalogued and listed in appendix 1.

Articles that contained descriptions of Brazil or Argentina (in any sense, be it playing style, the national football team, uniforms, emotional state of fans, ect.) were collected, as were articles describing Argentine fan behavior, both domestically and also in Brazil.

The research questions open the door for a lot of data to be potentially relevant, so when conducting field work and data collection it was not known what specific type of articles would be most applicable. This led to a large number of collected articles that vary greatly in terms of content, length, tone, and subject matter. If an analysis of the collected data were to be attempted without first organizing the collected data and distinguishing relevant material from irrelevant material, then the analysis would be diluted, both lacking focus and proving to be problematic and ineffective. In order to

¹⁸ All estimates of the daily readership numbers comes from the webpage eldsd.com, which provides detailed analytics and analysis of newspaper consumption. Specific reports and numbers relating to Argentina can be found at the following address: <http://www.diariosobrediaros.com.ar/dsd/ahora.php> (accessed 23.2.16)

address this problem, qualitative content analysis was applied to the collected articles first, which was then followed by a generic analytical process. This structure has been used before with coherent results (Froude and Tambling 2014).

As outlined in the comprehensive book *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*, by Margrit Schreier, Qualitative content analysis (QCA) provides a way to describe subjective meaning or interpretations of material in a structured, scientific way (Schreier 2012, 3). The main attraction of QCA for this thesis is the reductive nature of the method. By categorizing data according to the relevancy of it in relation to an individual aspect of the research goal, for example a specific research question, data is discarded if it is not found relevant which leaves a smaller subsection of relevant data (Schreier 2012, 7). This made a large number of articles much more manageable.

Schreier elaborates on the usefulness of a coding frame in the organization of material by stating that it structures material and also differentiates between meanings *vis-à-vis* the research questions (Schreier 2012, 61). Utilizing QCA as a methodology is often portrayed as an eight step process (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009; Schreier 2012). First, the aims of the project need to be formed. These aims usually are articulated and take shape in the form of research questions. Then, the material to be analyzed needs to be selected. After the material has been selected and divided up into appropriate units for coding (i.e. breaking the material down into manageable chunks that can be analyzed, be it by page paragraph, or article), coding frames can be built and then tested. While coding frames are being tested, they should be modified and changed to better improve analysis; this is why they are applied and reapplied. The eight step process ends with drawing conclusions from the data, and then reporting the methods used and the findings produced by applying this process. When reporting the findings of a study, often numerical tables indicating frequency of certain phenomena are included, in the form of a chart or data-matrix (Schreier 2012, 219-230). In this thesis only the preliminary application of coding frames was used to generate key themes and trends that exist within the data. No attention was paid to the specific frequency of a textual marker or specific trend, and no charts or data-matrices were made to report any such numbers.

The application of a coding frame was to distinguish relevant material from non-relevant material. Coding frames designed to distinguish relevant material from non-relevant material are called selection frames (Schreier 2012, 82). There are two categories in a basic selection frame: *relevant* and *non-relevant*. Each of these categories was defined in relation to the research question for which the selection frame was applied. The category *relevant* should be quite broad as to include all material that could potentially relate to the research question in focus. It should include material in which the relevance is uncertain (Schreier 2012, 83). It is a much easier road to include material with debatable relevance than it is to recover from the mistake of discarding relevant material.

A selection frame was made for each research question. An example of this process can be provided in how relevant articles were chosen for the representations of Argentine fans in Brazil. One dimension was created, "representations of Argentine fans in Brazil". This dimension stemmed from the following research question (RQ2):

How are Argentine football fans who traveled to Brazil described by national Argentine media within the context of the 2014 World Cup? How are their interactions with Brazilians portrayed?

Below this dimension were two subcategories; relevant, and not relevant. In short, when defining the categories *relevant* and *not relevant*, articles discussing Argentines in Brazil during the 2014 world cup and Brazilians reacting to these groups were filed under relevant. Articles directly portraying Argentine fans traveling to, or being in Brazil for the World Cup were filed under relevant. Articles that portray the Argentine fan base in general without mentioning the specific group of fans in Brazil during the 2014 World Cup, for example the article from AS Online, which quotes famous Swiss tennis player Roger Federer stating that Argentine fans are the best,¹⁹ were also filed under relevant, and articles with no descriptions of the Argentine fan base or Brazilian-Argentine rivalry were filed under not relevant.

¹⁹ The article, titled, "Argentina tiene al mejor del mundo y a la mejor hinchada" (Title translates to: Argentina has the best (player) in the world and the best fans), can be accessed at the following URL: http://futbol.as.com/futbol/2014/06/27/mundial/1403896264_617262.html

After selection frames have distinguished relevant material from irrelevant material for the specific research questions, the relevant articles were read again with the intention of categorizing them thematically. The relevant research question will again serve as the dimension, and this time the reoccurring trends and themes from the relevant articles will be written down as subcategories as they are encountered. If an article was relevant to the dimension of "representations of Brazil", how was it relevant? What specific representation of Brazil was found in the article? As this process is repeated, reoccurring trends in the relevant data will emerge.

This process produces a complex coding frame like the example shown in figure 1, which was made for the dimension "essentialized portrayals of Brazil" (This dimension was based off of RQ1, and figure 1 is just a sample example, not to be confused with presented analytical results). Sub-categories for this dimension will be identified and determined by the content of the articles classified as relevant by the selection frame. The key consideration when generating sub-categories is that they are mutually exclusive (Schreier 2012, 75). That is, they need to be specific enough so that a fragment of text can only be filed under one. If this is not the case, then the subcategories are too broad, or the dimensions of the separate frames are too closely related and one textual example can apply to both. Textual examples pertaining to these subcategories will be identified within the articles and then analyzed. If one article contains multiple examples that apply to multiple research questions, or if the article applies to one research question, but has aspects and multiple examples that can be filed under multiple sub-categories, then it will be filed once under each category. This is perfectly acceptable within QCA, as one unit of analysis (in this thesis one article is one unit of analysis) can have several coded categories within it (Schreier 2012, 210).

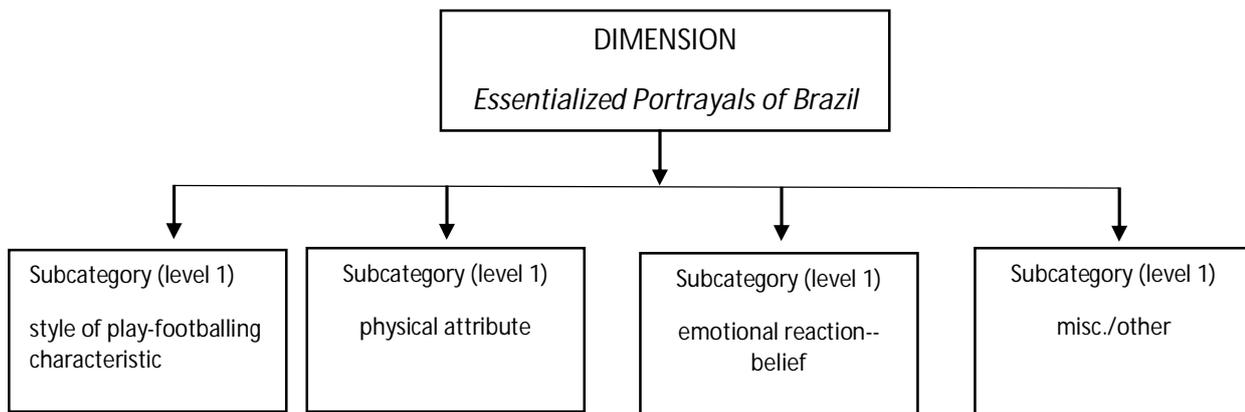


Figure 1: Sample structure of a coding frame showing dimension and subcategory layout.

To build on figure 1, an additional sub categorical level could stem from the category "physical attributes", in order to better file away all evidences of essentialized physical attributes found in data. Category 2 could further differentiate the classification system, with boxes for "positive attributes" and another box for "negative caricatures", for example.

At this point, the trends that emerge from the data and that are chosen as subcategories during the coding process will be explored in depth and in relation to the original research questions. In analyzing these trends, a *generic approach to coding* will be used. Marilyn Lichtman outlines how this method works in her book, *Qualitative Research in Education: A User's Guide*. This process consists of an initial coding of data to produce a list of reoccurring themes that come from the data. Then, a second round of coding is completed, in order to further modify these themes. Finally once the main themes along with smaller subcategories have been identified, they are then linked to broader concepts and theories (Lichtman 2013, 252). The *generic approach to coding* is quite similar to QCA, but QCA was chosen as a coding methodology so that the data could be reduced, and the most relevant data would be brought forward for further analysis.

A guiding question for this thesis is, " How do the descriptions of Brazil/Argentine fans in Brazil during the 2014 cup contribute to the construction of Brazil as an inferior *other*? This question will not be processed by using coding frames, but instead by

further analyzing the trends and concepts that emerge from an analysis of the previous the results of the application of coding frames and *generic approach to coding* to RQ1 and RQ2 will be used in conjunction with the theoretical framework of this study to formulate analysis and discussion for RQ3. In this sense, the coding process may appear to be biased in that coding of data for RQ1 and RQ2 is done with RQ3 in mind, but as mentioned before, QCA allows for subjective meanings to be injected into a structured analysis of material (Schreier 2012, 3). Previous projects have used the study of Argentine media to comment on larger trends in an unbalanced way, without using examples that run contrary to their hypothesis (Helal 2007; Guedes 2009).

When processing data during the analytical phase, some descriptions can be interpreted as objective. For instance, news reports concerning the opening match of the tournament describe the contest between two teams; Brazil and Croatia. All news outlets report the final score being 3 to 1, in Brazil's favor. All news outlets were also in agreement about the location of the match and the starting and ending times. Other assertions and descriptions are not to be taken as objective 'truth', as descriptions of fan behavior, styles of play and quality of play are of note, as they have the possibility to be reported on in a subjective manner.

Coupled with the print articles gathered during fieldwork, secondary sources were also collected and recorded. The secondary sources gathered during research are recorded conversations between myself and Argentines about the World Cup, and ethnographic field notes and observations made from watching World Cup games in public spaces. From May through July, while conducting fieldwork in Buenos Aires, the topic of the World Cup was on the forefront and conversations and interactions concerning this topic were abundant. On an almost daily basis I was able to discuss the tournament in some context with others, ranging from long conversations sometimes spanning an hour, to quick one liners like, "what a game!", or, "who do you like this afternoon?". Out of these interactions, I recorded twenty of them by transcribing what was said immediately after the conversation. All of the recorded conversations happened organically; that is to say, they were not manufactured under the pretense of me

conducting research. I was not diligent in structuring or organizing the context of these conversations, nor informing the informant of my project.

Because of this the recorded notes of these conversations will achieve two objectives. First, it will further educate the narrator and amplify the narrator's perspective by being exposed to some of the opinions held by locals about the World Cup. These opinions can be grounding as well and not just conform to assumptions and hypotheses outlined by the research project and the selected research questions. While conducting research which assumes an inherent cultural significance of the World Cup to Argentines, it was refreshing to hear voices that strongly stated that the tournament had little to no significance to them. In addition to amplifying the narrators' perspective, the conversations recorded during fieldwork will also be used to form narrative structures within the thesis document.

5. Analysis of Data and Results

11.7.14

The World Cup is drawing to a close, but the most important games are yet to be played; Holland versus Brazil to determine third place, and then Germany versus Argentina to crown the 2014 World Champion. It is about 10:00 in the morning, and I find myself in the middle of my morning routine; looking for a good cup of coffee, and finding an open newspaper kiosk to purchase the five dailies which have provided me hundreds of articles so far. The newspaper vendor is a friendly guy who looks to be in his mid-thirties, bald, and who cannot help himself from making a comment about how much I love to read after I pick out the five newspapers that I want. The conversation turns to football, and I ask him for his prognosis of who is going to win this weekend. "I'm confident that we (Argentina) can win this Sunday, but it's a difficult game. For third place, Holland will win."

I press him further on his predictions. I understand that obviously he is pulling for Argentina, and hence, is optimistic. But why Holland?

"Well, when it comes to football, we cheer against Brazil, and Brazilians cheer against us. Just wait and see how many extra fans Germany will have on Sunday. I think there are some bad feelings because of the footballing history we have between us (Brazil and Argentina)."

The conversation ends as the next customer walks up to the kiosk. She appears to be a regular judging by her friendly greeting, and rapid fire launch straight into a conversation detailing the plumbing problems she is experiencing in her apartment, and the obnoxiousness of her young niece. I relent the floor to this new customer, and continue on my way, looking for coffee.

(The above is written based off of ethnographic journal notes taken during fieldwork.)

Todo lo que nos une, nos separa. Everything that unites us, divides us. The World Cup can easily be the "everything" included in the previous quote. On a national level the tournament provided an opportunity to flaunt one's patriotism; in Buenos Aires, just wear something blue and white and take every opportunity to

watch, talk about, and curse the game. As a divider, take that same nationalistic identity and look outwards; scoff at the audacity of the opposing team, enjoy some good old fashioned schadenfreude at the expense of traditional football powerhouses who have fallen recently on hard times (this means you, Italy and England), and be sure to measure the success of your own country against the failures of your neighbors. Argentine print coverage of the World Cup painted a picture of a cavernous divide between Brazil and Argentina. The tournament was a "great big party" for Argentina, and a "funeral pyre" for Brazil. Argentina celebrated while Brazil mourned. Success and accolades are abundant for Argentina in the 2014 tournament and looking towards the future, while Brazil clings to the dying embers that are the distant memories of their past successes. All of these comparisons can be reduced into one broad statement; Argentina is strong, and Brazil is weak.

During the coding and analysis of data, it became clear that the examples from the collected data that contribute to the formation of a relationship between a "strong Argentina" and a "weak Brazil" can be filed into one of three thematic categories: *success versus failure*, *positive versus negative experience*, and *strong versus weak*. The above categories are born from the coding of collected data in relation to the two research questions of this thesis which look to examine how Brazil (RQ1), and how Argentine fans (RQ2) are represented in World Cup coverage. During coding, multiple categories and subcategories of trends within the data were found; five main categories and nine subcategories for RQ1, and five main categories and six subcategories for RQ2. For the sake of clarity, the coding results and an explanation of the resultant categories will be first presented, before a deeper thematic analysis incorporating examples and coding results from both RQ1 and RQ2 is presented.

5.1 Presentation of selection frames and coding results for RQ1

A selection frame was applied to the data for the research question (RQ1), "How is Brazil, meaning either the country, national football team, or Brazilian people, represented by Argentine print media within the context of the 2014 World

Cup?”. This application followed the format of the previous example (given in section 4.1, page 27), with “representations of Brazil” serving as the dimension, and “relevant” and “irrelevant” serving as the only categories. Articles that contain one or more descriptions of Brazil are classified as relevant. A description of Brazil can be of the State, country, city, football team, style of football played, Brazilian people, or collective emotions or a shared mindset that may or may not exist among the Brazilian team, or Brazilians in general. In this stage, it was not important which aspect of Brazil was being described or if the description was either positive, negative, or neutral in nature, but rather if a description was present in the unit of coding or not. Articles absent of any description of Brazil were filed as irrelevant.

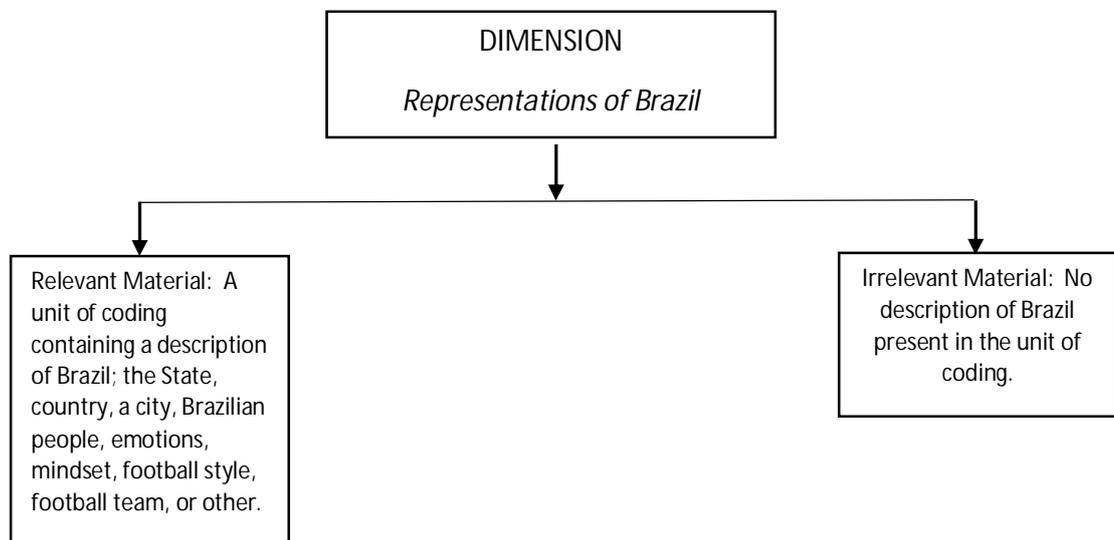


Figure 2: The selection frame used for RQ1.

When applying the selection frame made for RQ1 to the entirety of the collected data, 66 articles were classified as relevant, and 196 articles were classified as irrelevant material.

The following articles (numbered here as they appear on the appendix) were classified as relevant: 5, 8, 38, 41, 97, 101, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150,

151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 173, 176, 182, 197, 198, 202, 204, 220, 223, 233, 241, 248, 249, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262.

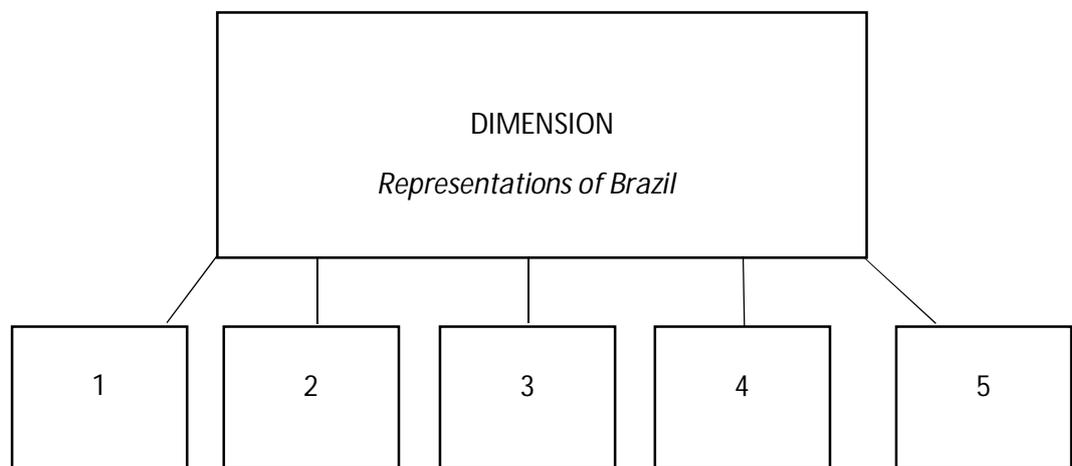
The frequency of representations of Brazil within the 66 relevant articles varies. In some articles there is just a single sentence or a word that qualifies as a description of Brazil. Other articles can have upwards of 10 or more distinct descriptions of Brazil in it, with both positive and negative descriptions present within the same text. After applying the original selection frame, new selection frame was applied to the 66 articles to separate articles based on what types of descriptions they contain. Two categories were created; *positive/neutral* descriptions of Brazil, and *negative* descriptions of Brazil. These categories are straight forward in meaning, but for clarity's sake, they will be defined here. A positive description is a form of praise or compliment, for example the use of adjectives that describe an aspect of Brazil in favorable terms. The sentence, "Rio de Janeiro, the city of pretty beaches and even prettier people" would be classified as a positive description.

A neutral description is something factual, devoid of subjectivity. An example of a neutral representation is found in the phrase, "...and then the teams traveled to Amazonas, an expansive region located in the north of the country."

Negative representations are exemplified by the theoretical framework of this thesis; statements that differentiate, essentializing or colonizing discourse, examples of (banal) nationalism, and the application of adjectives or descriptions that create a weak, undesirable other. An example of a negative representation is the phrase, "Brazil is unable to wake up from the nightmare that has been their World Cup so far."

Within the 66 articles containing at least one representation of Brazil, 10 articles contained only neutral or positive representations of Brazil, 38 articles contained only negative representations of Brazil, and 18 articles contained both positive/neutral *and* negative representations of Brazil.

Taking these results into consideration, it is unfair to construe Argentine media coverage of Brazil as strictly positive or negative. This would be a generalization that does not accurately account for the varied descriptions present in collected data. Because fewer examples of positive and neutral representations of Brazil were found in the data, there was less variance in their content. Instead of applying further coding frames to these examples, they were not coded further and left to serve as counterpoints to the trends that emerged in the negative representations of Brazil.



1. Living/experiencing a negative situation.
2. Negative emotions and feelings.
3. Attitudes, opinions and thoughts about Argentina.
4. Lacking traditionally 'Brazilian' qualities.
5. Social Problems.

Figure 3: The complex coding frame produced for RQ1.

When coding the selected relevant articles for themes and reoccurring ways that Brazil is portrayed, the following categories emerged, as illustrated by the complex coding frame shown in figure 3.

The first category is “experiencing a negative situation”. A negative situation is defined as one that causes emotional, physical, or psychological stress, or is portrayed in the articles as undesirable. Within this category of experiencing a negative situation, fifteen articles were found to have examples that qualify, which have been further categorized into subcategories shown in figure 4. The most frequent trend was an undesirable history; be it one from past football competitions, the current World Cup being a failure to be remembered, or the fear of a yet-to-occur failure which could potentially be undesirable. Repeated instances of describing the climate in Brazil by using strong negative nouns and adjectives, usually by employing the word *pesadilla*, which means nightmare, forms another subcategory. The final subcategory is made up of articles which report on the violence that has occurred as a direct result to the World Cup.

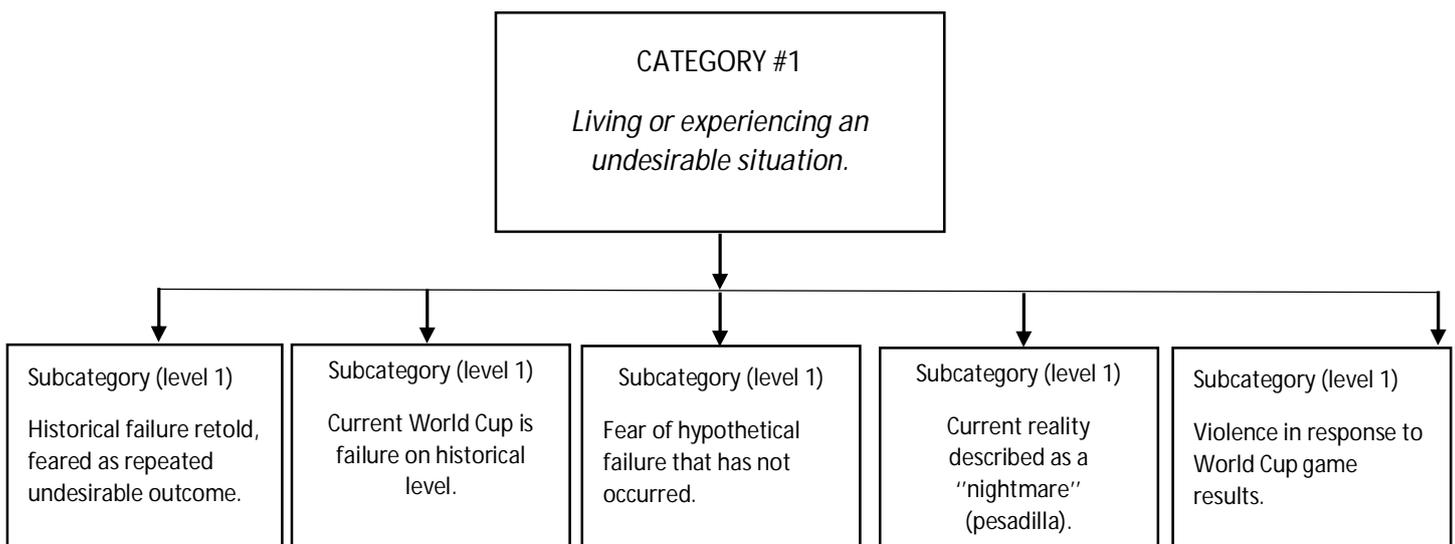


Figure 4: The subcategories found within category one of the complex coding frame for RQ1.

The second category is “negative emotions and feelings.” Articles that reported on the emotional state of Brazil, be it the fans, players, or even an abstract, undefined Brazil, qualify. A negative emotion can simply be defined as something undesirable to experience during a global celebration of sport, such as World Cup. Within this project, the following emotions and their synonyms were deemed negative and qualify; fear, sadness, anger, pain, humiliation, pressure, and tension. Eighteen units

of coding were found to have examples fitting this category. The most common examples that fit this category are the Brazilian team being humiliated, and the team and fans feeling pain and sadness. Unlike the previous category, sub-categories were not made as the varying emotions were not viewed as being so different from one another to require sub-categories.

The third category is called "Anti-Argentine sentiment". This category is composed of any example of a point of view, belief, idea, or other generalization reported to be held by Brazilians about an aspect of Argentina such as the football team, the Argentine state, or Argentine fans. These can either be positive or negative, although the majority of the examples found from the data fall under the definition of Anti-Argentine sentiment. Twenty-one articles were found to contain one or more examples of the above criteria. The twenty-one examples that fit this category can be broken down into reoccurring subcategories. The subcategories of "Anti-Argentine sentiment" are: Brazilian fans actively cheering against the Argentine team, Brazilian fans and the Brazilian press celebrating Argentina's loss in the championship game, imagined hypothetical situations of Argentina beating Brazil in the final and the potentially dangerous Brazilian reaction, and portrayals of Argentina and Brazil as "natural" enemies.

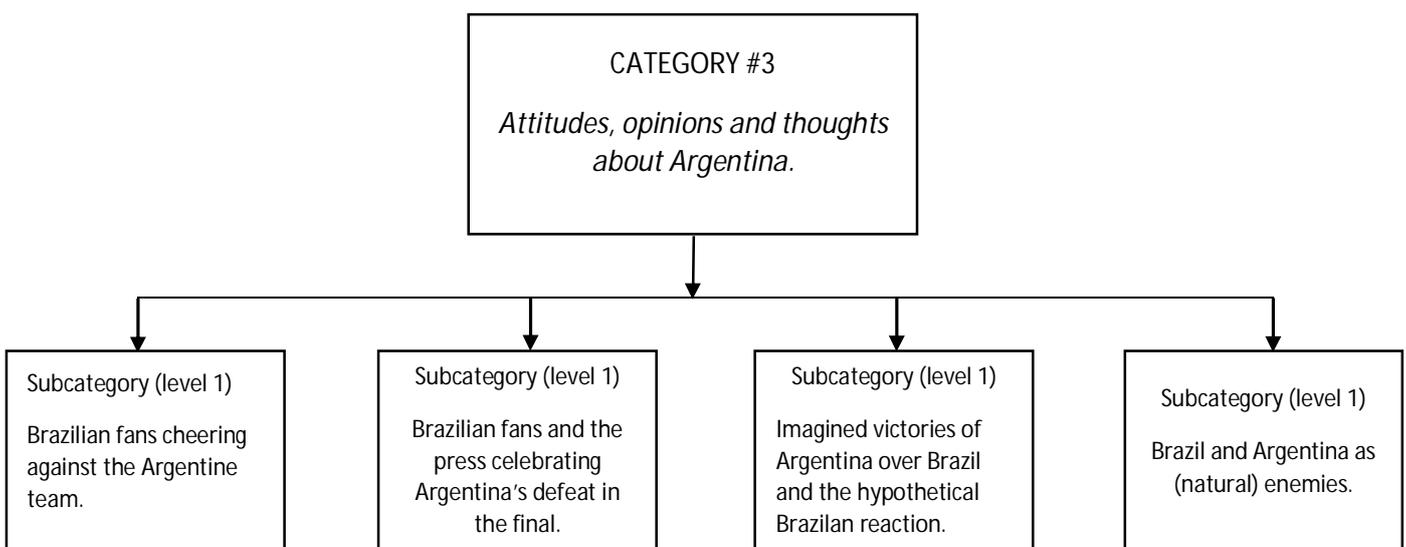


Figure 5: The subcategories found within category three of RQ1.

The fourth category is "lack of traditional Brazilian qualities." These qualities can either be football related (ie. the quality of play), or they can be generalized traits that apply to a broader, vague Brazil; like happiness or rhythm. Examples of these lacking attributes are equally valid no matter which incarnation of Brazil they are applied to, be it the Brazilian team, cities, or people. Fourteen articles were found to have examples that fit this category, and thematically the examples were similar enough as to not require additional fragmentation in the form of subcategories. Most examples refer to a quality that is missing from Brazilian players, or the general style of play, but there is some variation within these examples, for instance the delivery: some are implied while others are stated as an explicit shortcoming.

Finally, a fifth category was created, initially for all other topics that were reoccurring or appearing with any frequency in any of the previous categories. When coding articles, it was found that six articles were classified in this category, and they all shared a similar trait in that they highlighted a social shortcoming or problem within Brazilian society, such as high levels of poverty, life in ghettos in Brazilian cities, also known as favelas, or widespread drug usage. The category was then retroactively changed from "other" to "social problems."

5.2 Presentation of selection frames and coding results for RQ2

When applying a selection frame to find relevant material relating to portrayals of Argentine fans in Brazil (RQ2), 41 articles were classified as relevant, and 221 articles were classified as irrelevant material.

The following articles (numbered here as they appear on the appendix) were classified as relevant: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 218, 220, 221, 226, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 242.

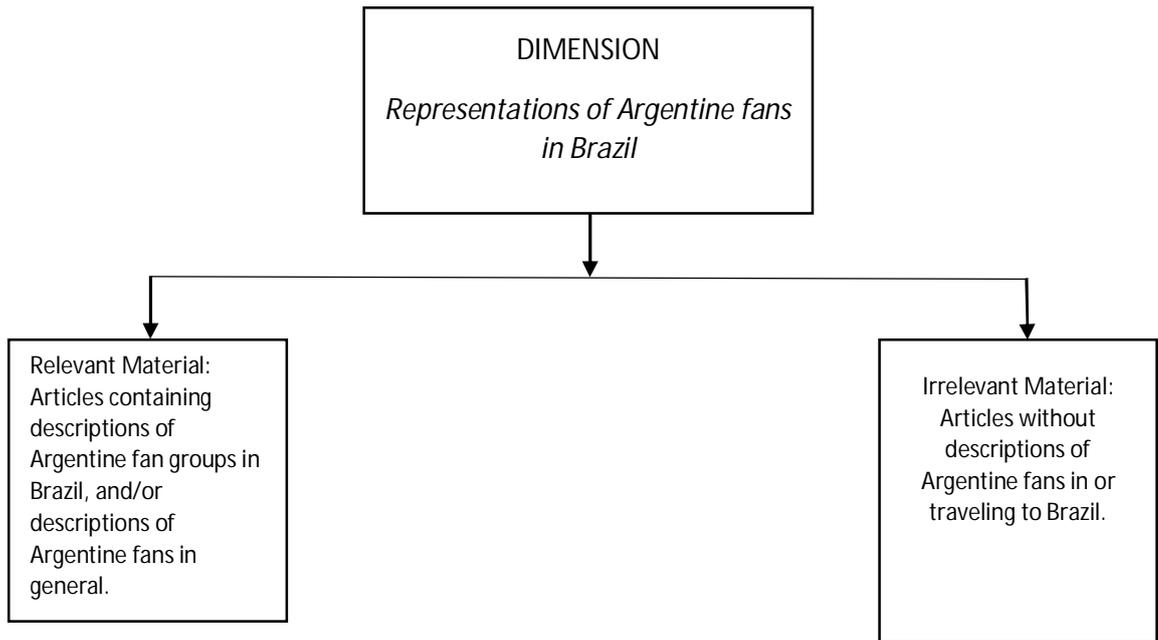


Figure 6: The selection frame used for RQ2.

When coding the 41 articles a second time in order to identify key themes, a complex frame was produced with five different categories in which the emergent themes were placed. Neutral or positive representations of Argentine fans were filed within either category 1: reported conflict, or category 5: other. There were not sufficient neutral or positive representations found within collected data to require additional subcategories.



1. reported conflict (either potential or actual)
2. ownership/transformation of BRA space
3. colonizing/militaristic language
4. essentialization of BRA reaction, emotions, thoughts
5. Other

Figure 7: The complex coding frame produced for RQ2.

The first category was 'reported conflict'. This encompassed any example of violence or tension that existed between Argentine fans in Brazil and Brazilians. 14 articles were found to contain examples which could be filed into this category. As seen with other categorical themes, some examples were short, for example a sentence mentioned as an afterthought to an article thematically unrelated. Contrarily other examples could be much longer, such as an article hundreds of words long describing a conflictual situation. Several reoccurring themes were found within this group of articles, so additional subcategories within the category of "reported conflict" were created.

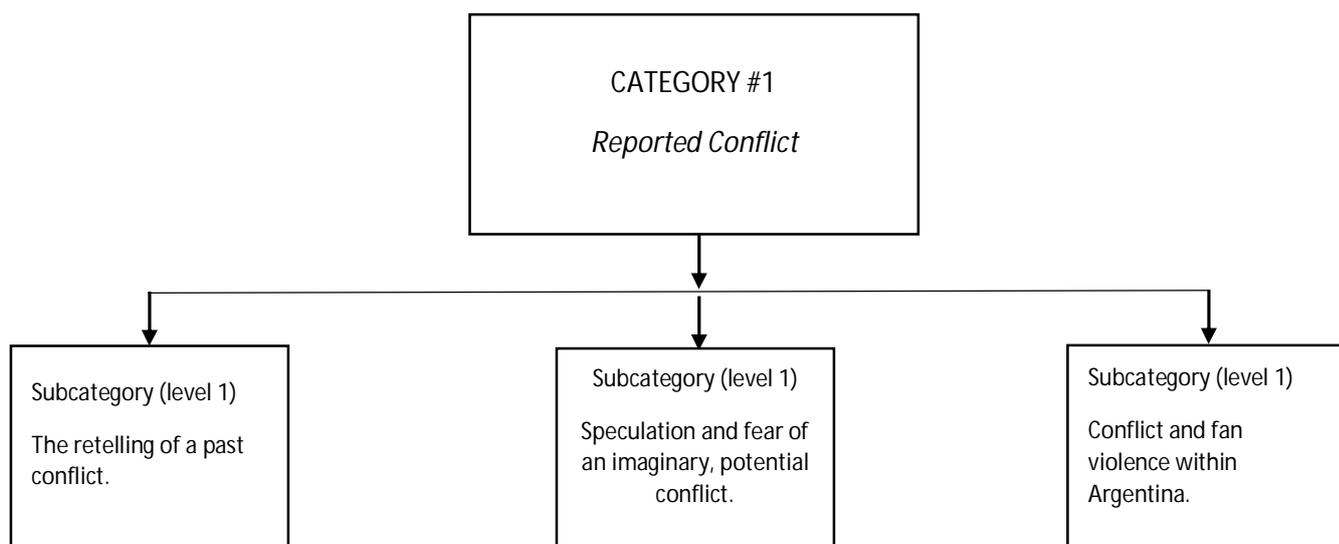


Figure 8: The three subcategories found within category one of the complex coding frame for RQ2.

The first subcategory are reports on a conflictual event that has already happened, usually a fight or disturbance between Argentines and Brazilians that happened in stadiums, beach fan events, and around stadiums, either before or after games.

The second subcategory is imagining, speculating about, or fear related to a potential, yet to occur conflict involving Argentine fans. This included articles which referenced the measures Brazilian police were taking in order to pre-empt violent encounters, as well as generalizations and vague fears about the dangers Argentines faced in Brazil due to the potential for violence between the Argentine and Brazilian fan groups, or any danger or complications resulting from Brazilian police interacting with Argentine fans.

The third subcategory of category one is slightly different, as it deals with Argentine fans not in Brazil. Articles which detailed fan rioting occurring in Argentina, primarily in Buenos Aires, and to a lesser extent in other major cities, following the team's loss to Germany in the final were collected. These articles were collected and deemed relevant due to the fact that they can serve as a way to compare Argentine fan behavior that occurred domestically, and also abroad. The numerous accounts of

violence and destruction at the hands of Brazilians following their World Cup exit can also benefit by having a point of reference, provided by accounts of similar behaviors at the hands of Argentines.

The second category is the "ownership and transformation of Brazilian space". Brazilian space can either be the city that is hosting a game or fan event, or it can refer to the inside of a stadium where a game is being played. What 'ownership and transformation' refers to are reports and examples from selected data where Argentine fans have either transformed the visual landscape by wearing their colors or waving flags, or by singing songs and vocalizing their support for their team. While it is true that these types of behaviors can exist without "owning or transforming" the space of another group, many articles reported this type of fan behavior as the dominant feature of the area. Much like the previous category, reoccurring themes and trends were found within the 13 articles selected for this dimension, meaning that subcategories were also needed. The first emergent subcategory for the dimension "Ownership and transformation of Brazilian space" is called "locales otra vez", named for the wording used in articles filed to this category. "Locales otra vez" translates to *home again*.

The second subcategory is called "sentir protagonista." This is closely related to the first, but it has a slightly different meaning than the first, and substantially different significance within the context of this study. "Sentir protagonista" translates to *feeling like the star (protagonist)*, and this subcategory, like the previous, is named for the exact term found within articles filed to this subcategory. The general idea behind this term is that Argentine fans were so unwavering and strong in their support of their team, that this, along with the on field success of the Argentine team, lead them to feel like the star of the show, even if that show is supposed to belong to Brazil.

The third subcategory created is simply called "transformed physical spaces". Examples filed into this category refer to beaches, stadiums, or cities that were changed in some way due to the Argentine fans in those spaces, always located in, or forming some part of Brazil. The change or transformation can be measured in the pervasive presence of colors, blue or white, associated with the Argentine team and

flag, or it can be also due to the sounds of Argentine Spanish and football songs, which are a constant travel companion to Argentine fans. The overwhelming presence of something distinctly Argentine, be it a type of food, drink, song, or an actual Argentine person also qualifies as an example filed within this subcategory.

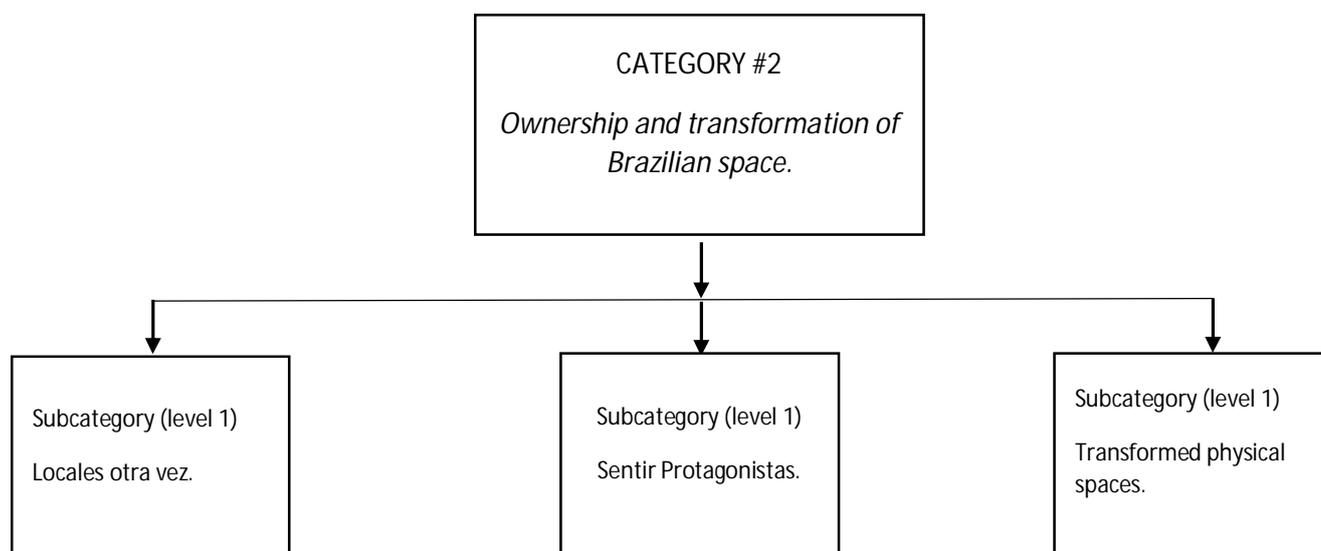


Figure 9: The three subcategories found within category two of the complex coding frame for RQ2.

The third category consists of examples where a type of colonizing or militaristic language is used. This can include descriptions of Argentine fan groups “colonizing”, “invading”, “taking over” or “dominating” something. 16 articles were found to have examples filed into this category. Examples that fit this category can be classified as one of two types. The first type is the usage of language that literally translates to “colonize”, “dominate”, “invade” and so on. The second are articles which report on the usage of the Argentine *himno nacional*, introduced in this text in section 2. The aggressive nature of this taunt, and the reportedly profound affect it has on the Brazilian psyche, allow for it to be treated as a form of dominating, aggressive language, best categorized in this section, with militaristic and colonizing language.

The fourth category is comprised of examples of essentialized thoughts, emotions, and reactions that Brazilians reportedly have in regards to the Argentine fans. 6 articles

were filed into this category. For a piece of text to be classified here, it needs to be an assumed thought, emotion, or reaction, and it cannot be a direct quote attributed to one person, but rather something attributed to a group of people, often times portrayed in the data as a vaguely defined "Brazil." Also, these emotions, thoughts, and reactions have to explicitly be in response to Argentine fans. A similar category for essentialized Brazilian thoughts and emotions exists in the complex coding frame made for RQ1, but in that context, the reactions refer to events that happened on the field, in the actual matches during the World Cup. Often times the reactions and emotions reported to have been experienced by Brazilian fans are the same, regardless if they are in response to the Argentine fans, or if they are in response to on-field results and events. In the analysis section, both of these reactions may be treated and discussed together, but the distinction has nevertheless been made during the coding process.

The fifth and final category is called "other", and it is for classifying representations of Argentine fans in Brazil that are relevant, but also not reoccurring. While the previous four categories all have multiple examples of similar representations, items in this category were more or less unique, and were not present in the data more than once or twice. Four articles were filed to this category, and thematically contained descriptions of Argentine fans in Brazil being "the best", "deserving of recognition", or something rare and special.

5.3 Win a place in history: success versus failure

After the completion of the coding process, it became evident that the performance of Argentina or Brazil in the World Cup tournament served as the starting point for how those teams and their fans were discussed and represented in the Argentine press. This is not a surprise, as international sporting competitions are high stakes affairs where a clear winner and a clear loser are determined. This gives football its appeal; legacies can be built and rivalries are born, both of which can appear to be much more serious than perhaps the context merits. When Argentine football was in its infancy, the games that generated the most interest were those which featured an all Argentine side versus an elite European club, like Everton from

England, or Torino de Italia (Frydenberg 2011, 40-41). The interest that these games sparked did not die out with the referee's final whistle at their conclusion. Instead, the most famous, or infamous football games can simply be referred to by their nickname. Argentina has the 1986 World Cup final, which is most commonly referred to as, "the hand of god." For Brazil, they have the *Maracanazo*; the championship game of the 1950 World Cup. Referring to these games by their nicknames allows one to contextualize instantly into a moment of past success or past failure. The importance of past performance is so important within the world of football that if a team is talented and fortunate enough to win a World Cup championship, their jersey will have a star embroidered above their national crest...forever. The men's national team of Brazil, the international side with the most World Cup success, has five stars above the crest of their jersey and these stars will be a part of their uniform forever. The team is even known commonly as the *Pentacampeões*, Portuguese for "five time champions." Past success and historical football triumphs were present in coverage of the 2014 World Cup, often being used to serve as a starting point for differentiation between Argentina and Brazil. The failure of Brazil to win the World Cup in 1950 allegedly was still looming large in the psyche of Brazilian fans. The newspaper *Olé* ran an interview with Carlos Bilardo, the former manager of the Argentine 1986 World Cup champion team. The article containing the interview was titled, "Ojala Brasil pierda antes de la Final" (appendix number: 253). The title was a direct quote from Bilardo, which translates to "God, please let it be that Brazil loses before the final game!" Why such a strong statement from Bilardo? He is attributed the following two quotes:

"Los brasileños tienen en la cabeza Maracanazo, Maracanazo..."

(Translated to: The Maracanazo is stuck in the heads of Brazilians)

"No sé cómo podrían reaccionar ante otro Maracanazo"

(I don't know how they would react if another Maracanazo were to happen.)

The *Maracanazo* is a Spanish word, derived from the name of Brazil's most famous soccer stadium, the Maracanã, located in Rio de Janeiro. The stadium opened in 1950, for the World Cup. *Maracanazo* refers to the final game of the 1950 World Cup, which Brazil lost 1-2 to Uruguay. The webpage for the Guinness Book of World records cites

the attendance for the game at almost 200,000 people.²⁰ By explicitly stating that the Maracanazo defeat, which took place a lifetime ago, is still stuck in the heads of Brazilians and that if Brazil were to be defeated in such a fashion again, then their reaction could be unpredictable and potentially dangerous, he is implying a lingering psychological damage that still remains from that defeat, despite the fact that Brazil is the most successful nation in terms of World Cup championships won with five. This implied psychological damage leads us back to the title of the article, stating in strong terms that Brazil ought to lose before the final game, to save the country from further psychological damage. It is true that these statements and innuendos about the damaged national psyche of Brazil are not made by a writer of the newspaper *Olé*, but rather they come from the subject of an interview.

What does have merit is the manner in which the newspaper decides to present the quotations. One of them serves as the title of the article and is placed directly in the middle of the page. The other two quotes are presented in bold, and used as *pull quotes*, defined by Merriam-Webster's online dictionary as quotes presented in larger or special font, designed to catch the eye and garner reader interest. The manner in which a newspaper presents information, along with the location of the information within the paper, and if it is highlighted to draw attention or not is significant as it shows what the paper prioritizes as important and 'serious' (Billig 1995, 13).

The newspaper *Olé* printed an interview (appendix number: 155) conducted with Marcos Evangelista de Moras, a former captain of the Brazilian national football team, and who holds the distinguished record of having the most CAPS (appearances in international games) ever for Brazil. The headline of the article is, "the ghost of the Maracanazo will always be around", a direct quote from Moras. Decontextualized and used as a headline, it is a blanket statement about how the "Maracanazo" still defines Brazilian football, and lingers. But within the context of the interview, the quote plays

²⁰ The article citing this figure, checked on December 5th, 2014, can be found at the following address: <http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/news/2014/6/world-cup-rewind-world-cup-rewind-largest-attendance-at-a-match-in-the-1950-brazil-final-57952>

a minor role. Responding to the question, "Can Brazil take another defeat like the Maracanazo?", Moras replies that:

"El fantasma siempre está rondando. Y si Brasil no gana la Copa...Nuestro pueblo no gustaría de otro golpe así. En principio, hay que jugar bien y luego todo puede pasar."
(The ghost of the Maracanazo will always be around and if Brazil does not win the World Cup...the public would not like that. But actually, we just have to play well and then whatever happens, happens.)

Used alone, without context, the headline appears to be much more than it is. Both times the phrase is used, Moras' words are the same; he does say that the ghost of the Maracanazo is around, but *Olé* robs these words of their context by using them alone as a headline, creating another statement which defines Brazilian football by a singular failure, and not their excess of successes.

The implication that the mindset of Brazil, be it the football players themselves or the fans, is a controlling mechanism. When explaining the process of how the West established dominance over the Orient, Said writes that in order to overcome difference, the Orient first needs to be known, then invaded and possessed, then re-created by scholars, soldiers, and judges who disinterred forgotten languages and histories...so that this formed *classical Orient* can be used to judge and rule the modern Orient (Said 1991, 92). It does not matter if the Maracanazo actually is on the mind of Brazilian players and fans. By promoting the idea that it does in fact play a large role in current Brazilian football, the Argentine press is drawing attention to the blemishes on Brazil's legacy, and creating the image of a weakened, psychologically fragile Brazil. Gustavo Lins Ribeiro applies Said's *Orientalism* directly to the context of Brazil and Argentina, writing that (Ribeiro 2002, 177):

El Orientalismo es, al mismo tiempo, "un cierto *deseo o intención* de entender, en algunos casos de controlar, manipular o hasta de incorporar, lo que es manifiestamente un mundo diferente...y en America Latina, Brasil y Argentina encarnan ejemplarmente estas dos modalidades de representaciones sobre el Otro.
(Orientalism is, at the same time, a certain desire or intention to understand, and in some cases, control, manipulate or even incorporate a manifestly different world...in

Latin America, Brazil and Argentina embody this representation of the Other in an exemplary way.)

In recounting Brazil's footballing history and how it affects the present, not all interpretations are negative. *Clarín* published an article by Claudio Gurmino headlined, "Una mochilla de 77 kilos" (appendix number: 159) in which Gurmino states that within the world of football, "Brazil still has more success than Argentina" and that this success "makes it so that the word 'fear' does not exist in the Brazilian vocabulary." Equating previous Brazilian success to current confidence is a complete contrast to the previous examples linking past failure to a current fearful mindset.

The newspaper *Crónica* also published an interview with a headline speculating on the Brazilian state of mind days before the game against Germany. This time the interviewee was Argentine diplomat Luis Maria Kreckler, who worked in the Argentine embassy in Brasilia Brazil at the time of the 2014 World Cup. The article (appendix number: 249) was published on July 5th, and used the following quote from Kreckler as a headline:

"Si le ganamos la final a Brasil, nos tenemos que ir todos..."

(If we beat Brazil in the final, we all would have to leave the country...)

Crónica also uses the quote as a *pull quote*, placing it in a prominent position within the page, and using a larger font. Kreckler, in saying that all Argentines would have to leave the country if Argentina beat Brazil is similar to the quotes attributed to Bilardo. And like Bilardo, Kreckler's quote is implying a degree of instability or a damaged Brazilian psyche. Kreckler is imagining a hypothetical Brazilian reaction to an imaginary situation. For this hypothetical Brazilian reaction to exist, first a hypothetical, unstable, damaged Brazil is brought into existence, a Brazil capable of such a strong, homogeneous reaction to a football loss that said reaction would require all Argentines to leave the country.

Also of note are the pronouns used by Kreckler. "If we beat Brazil..." is used with, "we all would have to leave..." Obviously Kreckler and the readership of the *Crónica* are

not competing against Brazil. The only Argentines that can literally use that phrase in this context are the players and coaches of the Argentine team. But by using the word *we*, Kreckler is including himself in the competition, and inviting the audience to do the same. He is effectively expanding the group of competitors from the 30 or so people associated with Argentina's World Cup team to include the entire country. In this way the quote serves to unite Argentines against a common enemy. This is what is referred to by Billig as *homeland deixis*, which is a type of rhetoric, which can serve to unite a group, expanding membership for who qualifies as "we" (Billig 1995, 105-106). Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases offer constant, but barely conscious reminders of the homeland, making 'our' national identity unforgettable (1995, 93). This is a subtle way to reinforce national allegiance, and the use of the *homeland deixis* is frequent, and often unnoticed. It is a subtle way of reminding a group who they are and within whom they belong (1995, 107).

Brazil's performance in the 2014 World Cup would have been considered a success for many of the 32 teams participating in the tournament; they did not lose a single game until arriving to the semifinals. Against Germany in the semifinal they lost 1-7. This historically bad result was followed up by another defeat in the game determining the 3rd place team in which they lost 0-3 to the Netherlands. These two losses made for a bitter end to their 2014 World Cup. The 1-7 loss to Germany was nicknamed the "Mineirazo" in the Argentine press, the nickname derived from the stadium in which the game was played, the Mineirão stadium. In the days following the Mineirazo, attempts to quantify the magnitude of this defeat were made. The *Diario Popular* ran the following headline, which was printed large enough so that it spanned over two pages (appendix number: 260):

"El Mineirazo, peor dolor que el Maracanazo."
(The Mineirazo, worse pain than the Maracanazo.)

Firstly, article 260 from the *Diario Popular* claims that the pain of this loss surpasses that of the Maracanazo. It is a dubious claim, and most likely one that is not based on sound scientific devices or methodologies. Instead of attempting to quantify said pain

or provide logic explaining why (or even how) the pain of this loss is “worse” than the pain of the Maracanazo, the article instead proclaims the pain of the Mineirazo worse. What is known about the effects and pain caused by the Maracanazo defeat? It was being referenced by Argentine newspapers before the Mineirazo game, and references to potential psychological effects stemming from that defeat were found multiple times in the data, as seen in the examples above. Considering this, then to claim that the Mineirazo caused worse pain and is somehow bigger than the Maracanazo is to imply that the Mineirazo will linger in the national psyche of Brazil for the next one hundred years, considering that the Maracanazo was still cited as relevant and “in the heads of Brazilians” as Bilardo was quoted as saying in article 253.

La Nación ran two separate articles the day after the game, with one article headlined (appendix number: 120), “the beating that won a place in history.” The other article equated the magnitude of the defeat to that of a natural disaster by using the headline, “Earthquake: Brazil collapses with a defeat for eternity.” The examples from articles numbered 120 and 121 position the loss in such a way that it will never be forgotten, something that is now a part of history, a defeat of such epic proportions that it will live on in eternity, a shameful legacy so to speak. These examples are not pure hyperbole, as the 1-7 loss to Germany does tie Brazil’s largest margin of defeat in international play, at 6 goals.²¹ While the statements are based in reality, they still do call attention to the lingering effects of this loss for Brazil and the potential for this loss to define Brazil in an adverse or challenging way going forward.

A key feature of orientalism is illustrated by the above examples. Orientalism does not just represent the “other” in such a light as to create an unequal power dynamic, but also to maintain an unequal comparison or dynamic (Said 1991, 12). By comparing the two games, the Maracanazo with the Mineirazo, a bridge from what happened in the 2014 World Cup is erected and spanned back seventy years to the 1954 World Cup, a bridge linking past failure to present failure. This placement of the games in “history”

²¹ Brazil also lost by 6 goals to Uruguay in the 1920 edition of the South American Championships, as mentioned on the blog *This Day in Football History*. Available at the following address: <http://tdifh.blogspot.fi/2010/09/18-september-1920-uruguay-gets-record.html>

and "eternity" is purely fiction, and a made-up construct according to Said. The objectivity of time, that is, the events as they occurred are less important than the qualities associated with the time period, whether they be positive or negative. It is through this application of qualities that emotional and rational constructs of time are constructed (1991, 55).

The Maracanazo was an objective event in that it was an ugly loss for Brazil on the grand stage that is a World Cup final game in their own country. The Mineirazo was an objective event in that it was a shockingly bad loss on the Grand stage that is a World Cup semi-final held in their own country. Also to be classified as objective events in the footballing history of Brazil are the five World Cup championships that they won, the most all time, more than twice as many as the two that Argentina won. Instead of celebrating Brazil's past successes, they are mentioned to serve as a stark contrast to the current state of affairs (appendix number: 137):

"Sigue siendo el mas grande. Sigue siendo el mayor. El que acumula la historia más rica, el que conserva en su esencia el sello de la distinción. Más títulos que nadie, mas ídolos que ningún otro. Pero algo, definitivamente, se rompió. Es, de algún modo, un antes y un después en la historia de Brazil."

(They continue being the biggest. They continue being the best. The one with the most decorated history, distinct from the rest. More titles than the rest, more superstars than anyone else. But something, most definitely broke. Now, somehow, there is a before and an after in the history of Brazil.)

Here the past successes of Brazilian football, the championships, the celebrated greats of the game, are acknowledged, but they are categorized in such a way as to imply that the lineage of greatness has ended and no longer is relevant. Those events were a part of what happened "before", and today's world is composed of the "after." The failures of Brazil, be it the current Mineirazo, or the Maracanazo of 70 years ago, are remembered, and the past successes are compartmentalized, disregarded, and forgotten. In doing so, Argentine football shines in comparison to Brazilian football. This favorable comparison, this identity of being the owner of "better" football is possible by altering, or selectively remembering Brazil's past. The existence of a

national identity requires agreeing upon a historical narrative, collectively remembering and forgetting (Billig 1995, 37).

5.4 Our party and their nightmare

*Brasil tell me how it feels/To have your daddy in your house
I swear that although the years pass by/We will never ever forget....That
Diego tricked you/And Cani screwed you/ and you are crying since (that
day in) Italy until today.
Messi will show you/And we will take the cup/Maradona is greater than
Pelé.*

The lyrics presented above form what was known by Argentines during the 2014 World Cup as the *hymno nacional*, their "national song." Newspaper articles (appendix numbers: 6, 8, 247) also referred to the song by the first two words, "Brasil, decime." On Argentine television, on internet forums and media sharing sites and in public spaces around Buenos Aires, "Brasil Decime" became a constant, ever-present feature, either in the background or forefront. In spaces like supermarkets or lines of various sorts, the melody could usually be heard whistled out by someone or drummed out in idle boredom. Videos on YouTube show children barely old enough to walk singing the lyrics of this song under the proud watchful eye of their parent's video camera or smartphone.²² On match days when Argentina or Brazil was playing, this song changed to a group performance, with one or two people singing the opening lines and then being joined by dozens more. I saw this firsthand in Buenos Aires, and per newspaper reports, this song was used widely as a taunt by Argentines in Brazil during the 2014 World Cup. Reporting on a public viewing party in Copacabana that was attended by thousands, Luis Moranelli writes for *Clarín* that (appendix number: 31) "a few fans tried to heat up the atmosphere by shouting 'Brasil decime que se siente', which has been an infallible success during the tournament."

²² As of 20.3.2016, a search for "child sings decime song" yielded multiple results of young children singing this song. One of these results can be watched at the following address: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W2wv46-yKb4>

The song itself begins with the insulting, rhetorical question that asks Brazil how it feels to have your daddy in your house, which is akin to asking how it feels to be dominated or in a subservient position. The song then refers to the historical shortcomings of Brazil with the line, "We will never let you forget....that Diego tricked you/and Cani screwed you/and you were crying since Italy until today." "Italy" is a reference to a 1990 World Cup game in which Argentina beat Brazil 1-0 in the round of 16, with the deciding goal coming on an assist from Diego Maradona to Claudio "Cani" Caniggia. Why was this song even relevant, let alone present and widely used as a taunt by Argentines in the 2016 World Cup? Simply put, the song was a reminder about a past in which Argentina bested Brazil; Argentina and its fans were experiencing pleasure and success, and Brazil, pain and failure. This dynamic was portrayed in the data as playing out once again in the 2016 World Cup.

The previous analytical section covered on the field success and failure as represented in the data, and this section will cover the experience of the fan groups and the ambiguous "Argentina" and "Brazil" during the 2016 World Cup, and if you are to take into account how the 2014 World Cup is portrayed by the Argentine press, it was a nightmarish experience for Brazil. Similar to how the *homeland deixis* expands membership to an in-group with the usage of a collective "us", examples from the data expanding to whom the suffrage of the 2014 World Cup applied to were common in the days following the defeat of the Brazilian team to Germany. *La Nación* published a large two-page article (appendix number: 122) with the headline, "the defeat that shocked an entire country." Inside the article were several quotes that insinuated that the negative feelings caused by the defeat were applicable to all Brazilians:

"El gesto de tristeza como el del niño en el FanFest de Copacabana se reprodujo por millones en todo Brasil; la dureza del golpe tendrá un largo efecto."

(This gesture of sadness like the one worn on this child's face in the Copacabana FanFest event was reproduced by millions in all of Brazil; the difficulty of this defeat will have a huge effect.)

The above excerpt, used as a caption underneath a picture of a crying child who is wearing a Brazilian jersey, manages to insinuate a state of sadness and pain that Brazil experienced collectively after the defeat, and also extends this weakened state into the future with the claim that the footballing defeat will “have a large effect.” Similar examples were found in other articles published after the loss to Germany. The *Diario Popular* (appendix number: 260) ran captions calling the loss “a huge blow to the heart for Brazil”, and another caption with the phrase, “Tristeza nao tem fim”, which is Portuguese for “sadness has no end.” In a separate article, also published in the *Diario Popular* (appendix number: 131), the following headline is used:

“Brazil sofre por un Mundial que le parece eterno.”

(Brazil is tormented by a seemingly never-ending World Cup.)

The above examples describing the 2014 World Cup as an extremely negative experience for Brazilians describes the Argentine experience as well by calling attention to the vast difference between the World Cup experiences of the two nations. At the same time that Brazil was living through its “seemingly never-ending World Cup”, engulfed in its “sadness that has no end”, the Argentine team, and the tens of thousands of Argentine fans in Brazil, Argentina, and around the world were experiencing the opposite side of the spectrum, as can be deduced by the on field results, which were that Argentina kept winning and winning, making their way to the final game of the tournament.

Olé ran an article that reported on Argentine fans in Copacabana watching the Argentina-Nigeria game at a FanFest public viewing (appendix number: 28) where the celebrations and energy of the fans “looked just like a beer commercial”, meaning it looked exaggerated and unreal. In another article also printed in *Olé* that reported on Argentine fan behavior in São Paulo, the fans were described as being ‘joyous’. So joyous in fact, that they alone were the sole possessors of that trait (appendix number: 21):

“Argentina copó Brasil para que quede claro que la alegría, es toda y sola, nuestra. Decime qué se siente...”

(Argentina blanketed Brazil in such a way that it is clear that happiness and joy is, completely and only, ours. Tell us how it feels...)

By calling attention to the suffrage of Brazil, Argentina is implied as being in a more favorable situation, a position of superiority. This type of comparison is an example of *positional* superiority, a building block of Orientalism, according to Said. Positional superiority puts the Westerner in a series of favorable comparisons against the “other”, without ever having the Westerner lose the upper hand, which confirms the superiority of the Westerner over the “other” (Said 1991, 7).

The claim made in the previous example that now happiness belongs only to Argentines is specifically personal within the context of Argentina and Brazil. The word *alegría* has long been associated with Brazilian football, and has been a constant in defining Brazil in previous World Cup coverage (Helal 2007, 356). The fact that the trait of “happiness” is assigned to the Brazilian football team has a significant effect on a societal level, as the identity of a team can form the building blocks for nationalism or a national identity, and conversely, an entire nation can be reimagined as a single team, or competitor (Hobsbawn 1992).

Now the *alegría* is just Argentina’s. This statement transcends the present moment and can be interpreted as a type of identity theft. *Alegría*, a traditional positive attribute synonymous with Brazilian football and even the nation of Brazil as claimed from a historical-sociological perspective (Ribeiro 2002, 172), now belongs to Argentina, and is only Argentina’s.

Also within article numbered 122 on the appendix was a dramatic analogy to what the entire city of Copacabana became after the game, showing that the blanket application of an emotion does not have to be used with just people, but that it can be employed by using physical spaces as well:

“Copacabana se volvió un inmenso velatorio en el que nadie quería estar.”
(Copacabana became a huge funeral wake where no one wanted to be.)

By calling the city of Copacabana a funeral wake, the usual feelings and emotions associated with attending a funeral wake like loss, pain, mourning, and sadness, are blanketed over the city of Copacabana, and effectively the whole country of Brazil. These emotions, and the imagery of a funeral wake are a stark contrast to what the World Cup is marketed to be: a global celebration of sport that is one of the most important events in the world, with the power to unify people.²³ The contrast is made even more abrupt when the historical associations that Brazil has with happiness and joy are accounted for (Alabarces 2006; Frigerio 2002). What replaced the historical joy, happiness and pleasure that comes with football for Brazil was commonly described by Argentine newspapers as a ‘pesadilla’, translated to nightmare. On Sunday, June 13th, the day after Brazil lost their final game of the World Cup against Holland 3-0, solidifying their fourth place finish, *La Nación* ran the following headline (appendix number: 137):

“Se acabó la pesadilla para Brasil, con un cachetazo adicional.”
(The nightmare ended for Brazil, with a final slap in the face.)

The same day, *Clarín* ran an article using an almost identical phrase, this time as the opening line for their article:

“La pesadilla terminó para el pentacampeón.”
(The nightmare ended for the five-time champion.)

The negativity did not stop with descriptions of the event and experience for Brazil, but was extended to the collective thoughts, feelings and emotions felt by a collective Brazil. The application of these emotions to the Brazilian mindset, as represented in

²³ This description comes from Jean-Alain Boumsong, a French footballer who played in the World Cup. This quote was promoted on FIFA.COM, with the entire article available at the following address: <http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2015/m=8/news=boumsong-world-cup-is-a-unifying-force-2671799.html> checked on: December 6th, 2014.

the sampled data, leads to a weak, vulnerable Brazil, which in turn defines Argentina as having the opposite characteristics. In defining what a nation is, and who 'we' are, an Other is needed so that we can be who they are not (Billig 1995, 78-79). As Said puts forth, comparisons between the West and the Orient are ones between a strong and a weak partner. (If) the orient is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different", then the West is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal" (Said 1991, 40).

As evidenced by the collected data, there were two chief groups in Brazil during the 2014 World Cup; boisterous, celebratory Argentines, and downcast, suffering Brazilians. These groups were not isolated from one another, but rather had a high degree of contact with each other, and engaged with, and reacted to each other. One reoccurring represented behavior attributed to Brazil is an active interest against the success of Argentina. *Diario Popular* ran multiple articles which featured photos of the front pages of multiple Brazilian newspapers that featured anti-Argentine content. It was stated that Brazil "puffed up its chest after Argentina's loss in the final game" (appendix number: 133). Another article published just a few days prior to appendix number 133 was headlined with the statement that "...all of Brazil is united against us" (appendix number: 132). A picture of the Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff allegedly cheering a German goal during the final game was also shown, with the headline, "what an ugly attitude, Dilma" (appendix number: 118).

The representation that Brazil is biased against Argentina was backed partially by research, in the form of social media surveys that were printed in *Tiempo Argentino* (appendix number: 135) and *Clarín* (appendix number: 140). These surveys found that up to 65% of Brazilians preferred that Germany beat Argentina in the championship game of the World Cup. This preference was explicitly manifested during the 2014 World Cup when it was reported in an article printed by *Olé* (appendix number: 38) that Brazilians were repeatedly buying tickets and attending games in which Argentina was playing so that they could cheer support the team playing against Argentina. This anti-Argentine preference is accounted for in previous research exploring the footballistic relationship between Argentina and Brazil, with Helal noting that Argentine news outlets covering the 1998 World Cup France noticed Brazilian fans

openly cheering goals scored against Argentina by Holland (Helal 2007, 7-8). Helal continues that (*ibid*, 8) such behavior is an open invitation for a rivalry, and that Argentines are invited to participate in the rivalry by the newspaper articles informing Argentine readers about Brazilians cheering an Argentine defeat. Pablo Alabarces sums up the attitudes held by each side in this rivalry in a phrase he made in passing to Helal (Helal 2007, 3); "Brazilians love to hate Argentines, while Argentines hate to love Brazilians."

An opposing representation which is contrary to the rivalry and oft portrayed antagonistic relationship between Brazil and Argentina is found in the idea of a "shared Latin American brotherhood" which exists between the two countries. During the quarterfinal match between Brazil and Colombia, Brazilian superstar striker Neymar collided violently with Juan Camilo Zúñiga of Colombia. Brazil won the game and advanced in the tournament, but Neymar did not; he fractured his back in the collision, ending his 2014 World Cup campaign. Neymar is often considered one of the best players in the world, and is placed in endless comparisons with Lionel Messi, Maradona, and Pelé in an effort to rate him among the legends of the game (appendix numbers: 1, 150, 176). In covering the injury, *La Nación* published an article by Alberto Armendáriz, with the headline, "Disbelief and sadness for Neymar" (appendix number: 138). The article highlights the incredulous reaction of Brazilian fans to the injury, and it also paints Argentines as sympathetic because of the bond shared between Argentina and Brazil:

"...Incluso, durante el partido de ayer entre la Argentina y Bélgica, en el Estadio Nacional de Brasilia, muchos hinchas argentinos agitaron banderas de la Argentina con la leyenda 'Fuerza Neymar-Hermanos en el dolor', detalle que fue muy bien recibido por los tradicionales rivales brasileños."

(During yesterday's game between Argentina and Belgium in Brasilia National Stadium, a lot of argentine fans raised argentine flags with the phrase "strength Neymar-Brothers in pain" written on them. This was very well received the Brazilians, our traditional rivals.)

The example of Argentines writing on their own national flags messages of support for Neymar and calling the relationship between Argentina and Brazil a "brotherhood" is a sharp contrast to the negative representations found in data, and this example also is a contrast to theoretical frame work of this thesis which focuses on differentiation, constructing unequal comparisons with the "other", and Billig's banal nationalism. Billig treated the national flag as a sacred reminder of nationhood, and called the frequent daily reminders of national membership "daily flaggings" (Billig 1995, 93). What would Billig have to say about a person, or even better, a collected group of people defacing the sacred national symbol that is the flag by writing messages of support to a traditional enemy?

The idea of an Argentine-Brazilian brotherhood comes up once again in a four page article headlined, "a friendship that is key for the region" (appendix number: 129). This article consists of multiple stories which detail political relations and collaborative projects between Argentina and Brazil. The usage of the word friendship in the headline evokes the idea of a peaceful, mutually beneficial relationship between the two, but the article is careful to state that this friendship does not extend into the world of football. After speculating that thousands of Brazilian fans will go to the stadium for the World Cup final dressed in German jerseys and shirts to cheer against Argentina, the article concludes with:

"Cosas del fútbol que, a veces, nada tienen que ver con la hermandad latinoamericana."
(Things about the game of football sometimes, have nothing to do with the brotherhood that exists between Latin American countries.)

This statement provides a good alternate perspective to the discourse of "the enemy" found within articles talking about the footballistic relationship between the two countries. It has been seen again and again that competition breeds contempt and within sport, rivalries are created. But acknowledging this also requires the remembrance that sport is just that: sport. It is not life or death, and if the relationship between Argentina and Brazil within the world of football is adversarial, a parallel

relationship of collaboration and brotherhood in the form of political joint projects can exist at the same time.

The idea of *hermandad latinoamericana* is quickly forgotten when analyzing data from the coding category "reported conflict" in relation to Argentine fans in Brazil.

Brazilian security forces were described to be in "high alert" in a headline used for an article by Alberto Armendáriz which was published by *La Nación* (appendix number: 233). The same article reports that in response to the estimated 100,000 Argentine fans that were in Rio de Janeiro to watch the final game, Brazilian police forces were authorized to use tear gas to disperse them and to "clear streets that were blocked by Argentines."

Clarín hypothesized that São Paulo was a dangerous place for Argentines to travel, claiming that local São Paulo police forces were "a threat" to Argentines that were traveling to the city (appendix number: 13). The article, written by Eleonora Gosman, claims that the "rabid Argentine fans will provoke the "naturally hostile inhabitants of São Paulo to react strongly, and potentially violently:

"Hostiles por naturaleza a todo lo que se interponga en su penoso trajinar diario, los paulistanos no brindarán la recepción amable y calurosa que ofrecieron en Rio...Por esas horas, en la capital se habla de la "invasión porteña" con una mezcla de intriga y mucho de prevención."

(Naturally hostile to anything that gets in the way of their mundane daily routines, the people of São Paulo will not provide the warm and friendly reception that was offered in Rio de Janeiro...Now in the capital of Brazil there is talk of the "invasion from Buenos Aires", talk that is a mix of intrigue and a lot of precaution.)

These reports of the potential for conflict came to fruition after Argentina lost to Germany in the final game of the 2014 World Cup. Fights between Argentines and Brazilians were reported by multiple sources (appendix numbers: 236, 238, 31, 18). In a report published by *La Nación* (appendix number: 236), Brazilians were the provocateurs:

“Las peleas se generaron por las provocaciones de los brasileños que se burlaban de los argentinos. ‘Don’t cry for me, Argentina’, cantaban algunos; otros cambiaron la letra del hit del mundial por ‘Argentina, decime qué se siente, perder en casa de tu papá.’ Frustrados, algunos argentinos quemaron banderas brasileñas en las calles de Copacabana. ”

(The fights were caused by the provocations of Brazilians that laughed at Argentines. Some sang “Don’t cry for me, Argentina”, while others changed the words from the hit song of the World Cup to “Argentina, tell me how it feels, to lose in your Daddy’s house.” Frustrated, some Argentines burned Brazilian flags in the streets of Copacabana.)

These reports again offer clues about the identity of each group. Argentines have to be cautious in Brazilian territory, simply because the people of São Paulo are unfriendly, and Brazilian security forces are on edge. Argentines are in Brazil to celebrate their own success, while all Brazilians can cling to is mocking Argentine failure, “puffing out their chests at Argentine defeat”. The songs sang and the behavior in this specific context helps to contrast between the two groups, and further define what “our” values are and how “we” behave, by comparing it to the comportment of the “other” (Ribeiro 2000, 166-167).

Not all articles report on the conflict between the two groups in a skewed, unbalanced way; there are examples that report on conflict in a neutral, seemingly objective way. In an article published in *Clarín* headlined, “Tension and fights in the Copacabana FanFest” (appendix number: 238), a picture of a man in an Argentine jersey accompanies the text. He appears to be walking from the FanFest, and he wears a serious expression. He is not alone in the picture. Directly in front of him is a woman who is being restrained. She is looking angrily at the man and may be in the process of spitting on him. Despite the man appearing calm, and the woman looking the part of the aggressor, the text below the picture remains neutral:

“En la calle. Cruce de un argentino y una joven brasileña.”

(In the Street. An encounter between an Argentine man and a Young Brazilian woman.)

The previous example aside, neutrality is hard to find among the data reporting on encounters between Argentine fans and Brazilians; this is expected. The data comes from sources which target an Argentine audience, so naturally the reporting will lack a specific objectivity.

When reporting on a series of international football games played between the Dynamo from Russia, and various teams from the U.K, George Orwell observes in the article "The sporting spirit" that (Orwell 1945):

At the international level sport is frankly mimic warfare. But the significant thing is not the behaviour of the players but the attitude of the spectators: and, behind the spectators, of the nations who work themselves into furies over these absurd contests, and seriously believe — at any rate for short periods — that running, jumping and kicking a ball are tests of national virtue.

Orwell was spot on in describing the fan behavior of Argentines and Brazilians during the 2014 World Cup, even though he wrote this description 59 years before the tournament took place. Generalizations were made about one country and the other, and the opponent was reduced using simplified stereotypes and assigned essentialized attributes. In other words, it was just another ordinary World Cup.

5.5 An army of passionate invaders: a dominant Argentina

11.7.2014

Argentina had stamped their passport into the final game, and were due to play for the championship against Germany in just 48 hours. The atmosphere in Buenos Aires was tinged with excitement, and walking around the city I bore witness to countless conversations that seemed to consist of equal parts pride, nerves, and excitement. On this night I was walking from my rented apartment in Palermo to pick up the night's dinner: take away pizza. Not many people were out at this time, and the streets were relatively empty. In front of me a man and a young teenage boy were walking next to each other, accompanied by a small white poodle that sniffed enthusiastically at the

rich scents of the night. They were engaged in a conversation with one another and I, as I am prone to do, wanted to test my Spanish, so I tried my best to understand what they were saying.

"Next time, you need to let me know sooner and we can do something about it," the older man, presumably the boy's father said.

The boy looked a bit downcast, and paused before responding. "Yeah, of course I want to be there, don't you?"

"I do, yes, and we could have made it happen if we planned ahead of time," the father replied.

"I know...I just wanted to be a part of it, it only comes once in a life time. We won't know when they will make the final again."

The dog stopped, and the boy and the man waited patiently while their canine friend examined a particularly interesting stain on the sidewalk. I passed by them, and my window from which I could eavesdrop into their world closed. I naturally assumed that they were talking about going to Brazil for the championship game. The boy could have been talking about going to a friend's rugby match, or any other sort of competition that involves a finale, but, I am confident that he was telling his father that he wanted to go to Brazil and "be a part of it", whatever that might mean.

If I was correct in assuming that the father and son from the conversation I observed were in fact talking about going to Brazil for the World Cup, what atmosphere did they expect to find in Rio de Janeiro if in fact they were to make the trip up North for the final game? What would they have been able to take part in? A reply to this question begins to take shape with an examination of how the Argentine press portrayed the 2014 World Cup as an event dominated by Argentina and the hundreds of thousands of its fans that traveled to Brazil for the event. Objectively, all of the games that constituted the 2014 World Cup took place in Brazil. This is not open for interpretation. Yet, many words and significant space in Argentine newspapers were devoted to explaining that the Argentine fans in Brazil had a significant effect on Brazilian space.

In Argentine newspapers, constant figures detailing the high numbers of Argentines in Brazil were given. *Clarín* reported (appendix number: 14) that between 25,000 and 35,000 Argentines were in attendance at the stadiums for the games in which Argentina was playing. Jonathan Wiktor, writing for *La Nación* (appendix number: 12) wrote that “over 30,000 Argentines blanket the Mineirao stadium full of questions for a Brazil that did not have answers for the Argentine invasion.” The sports themed newspaper *Olé* (appendix number: 10) reported that in Belo Horizonte, over 2,000 Argentines united in a nightclub district called Savassi:

“Es el Obelisco? No! Es Savassi, en Belo Horizonte. Pero ahí suena cumbia. Suena el himno (Decime que se siente). Somos locales otra vez.”

(Is this the Obelisk of Buenos Aires? No! This is Savassi, in Belo Horizonte. But there you hear cumbia, you hear the national hymn. We are at home again.)

The above statement goes beyond just reporting on a large number of fans in Belo Horizonte, it also assigns Argentine characteristics. By captioning a photo by asking, “Is this the Obelisk?”, a distinctive landmark of Buenos Aires, the article is implying that the photo, while taken in Belo Horizonte, may as well have been taken in Buenos Aires. The people are behaving the same as they would in their own home. Argentine music (cumbia) is being played, and Argentine songs are sang.

Other examples from the data (appendix numbers: 221, 28) describe Argentine fans taking over famous and recognizable landmarks in Brazil; Argentines were described as parading down the famous beaches of Rio de Janeiro waving giant flags (appendix number: 221). The *Diario Popular* describes a similar scene, mentioning that before “10,000 Argentine fans stained the emblematic beaches of Rio blue and white, they planted a large flag near the Cristo Redentor”, a famous statue that overlooks Rio (appendix number: 28). The phrase, “locales otra vez” is reoccurring in the collected data (appendix numbers: 10, 12, 22, 97). The word “locales” in this context refers to a team that plays a game on their own field, enjoying the sense of familiarity that comes with that, and even more importantly, the support of their fans. This term served to illustrate to how large of an extent the Argentine fans were showing up and supporting

their team in Brazil, so much so, that the Argentine team may have been enjoying a home field advantage-*locales otra vez*.

This behavior on the behalf of Argentine fans may be considered standard within the context of a global sporting competition like the World cup, but it has to be noted that the behavior is being portrayed as being dominant over the local Brazilian environment; famous areas traditionally associated with Brazil are being transformed. The Cristo Redentor has an Argentine flag planted by it. Famous Brazilian beaches are being "dyed blue and white" by the clothes and flags of Argentines, and if you were to go out in Belo Horizonte on a specific night, you would hear cumbia instead of Brazilian music and hear people singing songs extolling the virtues of Argentina, instead of songs praising Pelé and other Brazilian legends. French economist Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu defined colonialism as "the expansive force of a people...the subjection of the universe to that people's language, customs, ideas and laws" (Murphy 1948, 189, 110, 136), and the behavior of the Argentine fans as represented in the previous examples fit this definition. The impact that Argentine fans had on Brazil is in no way being compared to colonialism. The fans were not sent to Brazil on behalf of their Government, and undoubtedly the Argentine fans attending the 2014 World Cup in Brazil had already made return travel arrangements back to Argentina; they were not planning on staying for an extended period of time. The relevant point is that their behavior in Brazil, as represented in the Argentine press, does share some similarities with Leroy-Beaulieu's definition of colonialism.

Many examples from the collected data go beyond just reporting on Argentine fan behavior; they use colonizing discourse; statements or assertions that promote one group as forcefully dominating another, via occupation of space, imposition of value systems, cultural thievery, or domination. This comes in the form of certain words that explicitly describe an aggressive act against another group, outright dominance, or verbs and phrases that are militaristic or violent in nature.

The examples of colonizing discourse found in collected data can be simplified into two categories: "big statements" and "little words". Big statements are explicit, and

require no interpretation. They are words or phrases that describe the domination of another group. The majority these kinds of examples found in data are related to accounts of Argentine fans traveling to Brazil. Many newspaper articles used specific words that were colonial in nature. One article included a picture of Argentine fans in Rio de Janeiro, with the headline (appendix number: 4), "A city colonized by passion." Another article also reporting on Argentine fans in Brazil offered this as a headline (appendix number: 14); "A blue and white tide took Porto Alegre by assault." The blue and white mentioned in the headline refers to the colors of the Argentine flag, and also the Argentine football jersey. The tide, a sea of humanity made up of Argentine football fans.

Both of the headlines mentioned above are examples of colonizing discourse because they portray the domination of the Other, in this case, Brazilian cities. One example literally uses a word derived from colonialism while the other talks of people forcefully taking over a city. Other examples found within the data portray Argentine fan groups as (appendix numbers: 4, 9, 8, 12, 14, 17, 32, 33, 28, 98, 104, 119, 221) "colonizing", "invading", "taking over" or "dominating" Brazilian people, space, or culture. Less literal examples of "big statements" are also found, illustrated by the following newspaper headlines:

1. "Brazil, tell me how it feels to have Daddy in your house" (appendix number: 6)
2. "We are the home team once again" (appendix number: 98)

The first headline creates an unequal power structure of father and child. The father is the one who instructs, gives orders, and, if needed, physically dominates. The child is powerless. The second headline implies the Argentine ownership of space, or of the Brazilian-hosted World Cup event. The headline implies that despite taking place in Brazil, Argentina enjoys a home-field advantage, due to the high number of Argentines that traveled to Brazil for the event. By implying that Argentina has such an advantage, they are robbing Brazil of the benefits that only are afforded to the host of a global sporting event.

The examples of these “big statements” create an unequal power-structure between Argentina and Brazil. Argentina invades, and Brazil is “taken by assault.” Argentina is the father and Brazil the child. Argentina enjoys the benefits of being at home even in other countries. This language is an example of speaking beyond boundaries for the Other, which creates a national identity of superiority by casting the Other in an powerless, inferior position (Billig 1995, 83).

It is a reasonable assumption to believe that no one takes these words at face value. It is understood that when someone reads the sports section and sees the phrase, “Argentina invaded Brazil and took Rio de Janeiro by force”, they are aware that it is not a literal account. The colonizing discourse found in the data is relevant due to the fact that it is being used at all. Football is a symbolic space, and what happens in that space, and how that space is talked about contributes significantly to national narratives of identity, especially in the case of Argentina and Brazil (Guedes 2009, 180). By describing Argentine fans “invading”, “colonizing”, and “taking Brazil by force”, the reader is invited to subscribe to an idea that Argentina is dominant over Brazil, and that Argentines are able to behave (and are behaving) in any way they please while in Brazil.

5.6 “We feel like we are the protagonists”

The reports of Argentina dominating Brazilian space goes beyond cities and landmarks; it extends to the 2014 World Cup event. As is the norm for global sporting events like the World Cup and Olympic games, the event is flavored and influenced by the host country, and the 2014 manifestation of the World Cup proved to be no exception. During the pre-tournament build-up and promotion, FIFA promoted various Brazilians as official FIFA ambassadors for the 2014 tournament. Sculptor and painter Romero Britto was one of the Brazilians honored by being named an ambassador, and in an interview with FIFA.com, he touched on the importance to Brazil of hosting the tournament:

“It is almost even more than a religion. I really think only sport and in particular football can unify a nation, and especially one like Brazil where football is the common ground for everyone. It does not matter where you come from or what you do, everybody loves sport.”²⁴

The unifying effects mentioned by Britto were felt across the country as the 2014 World Cup was held in twelve different venues in Brazil. Although five of the twelve venues were located in or south of Belo Horizonte, all major regions of Brazil were represented.²⁵ From the opening ceremony, the event was structured in such a way so that the global audience and the attending fans received some sort of promotion of Brazilian culture. The thirty-two day event began with an opening ceremony featuring indigenous Brazilian dance, and drawing attention to the vast nature of the country. Hosting a global sporting event, like the Olympic Games or a World Cup is commonly viewed as a celebratory event that is a desirable privilege for the selected host. Fierce competition and bidding wars, complete with bribery have often served as the appetizer to the main course of a global sporting event, as countries have vied for the privilege to host such an event.

The buildup to the 2014 Cup was mixed, with some protests in Brazil preceding the start of the event. Many labor unions went on strike, using the increased visibility that the tournament gave Brazil in the world’s eye as a platform to get their message or grievances heard, as reported by Jonathon Watts of *The Guardian*, on May 16th, 2014²⁶. Excitement, enthusiasm, and the feeling of an emerging opportunity also were associated with the 2014 World Cup, and Brazilian footballing legend Ronaldo Luís Nazário de Lima, known better simply as Ronaldo, summed up the positive pre-cup feelings in an opinion piece he wrote which was published on March 4th, 2014, in *The Guardian*²⁷:

²⁴ The complete interview can be found at the following address:

<http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2012/m=6/news=britto-football-brazil-art-and-culture-1657273.html>

²⁵ The nation of Brazil is commonly broken down into five regions; the North, the Northeast, the West Central, the South, and the Southeast. The Southeast is by far the largest in terms of population, and also in terms of 2014 World Cup activities and event hosting.

²⁶ The full article, accessed on December 4th, 2015, can be found at the following address: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/16/anti-world-cup-protests-across-brazil>

²⁷ The full article, accessed on December 4th, 2015, can be found at the following address: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/mar/04/ronaldo-world-cup-2014-brazil-final>

Even though I won't be out there on the field, I am starting to get the same butterflies in my stomach as I used to when a big game was coming up. After all, the World Cup will be a kind of "final" for Brazil in terms of the country establishing itself on the global stage. The spotlight will be on us, and it's a great chance to show the world just what is so special about Brazil and the Brazilian people.

With the World Cup and the 2016 Olympics taking place here, we will prove to the world not just how much we love sport – but also how strong we are economically. Thousands of tourists and foreign journalists will soon arrive on our doorstep, anxious to discover the real Brazil.

The 2014 World Cup was a huge opportunity for the host nation. Hosting the event was important for Brazil, a country in which football played a major role in bringing the concept of the Brazilian nation to life (Helal 2007, 32). Instead, as reported by some Argentine papers, it was not even a Brazilian show by the end. Variants of the phrase, "sentir protagonista" began appearing in Argentine newspaper articles (appendix numbers: 218, 224, 33, 17, 4, 32, 36, 23) as the tournament reached its end stages, and Argentine success was well established. The phrase can be translated to "feeling like the protagonist". By claiming such a feeling, Argentina lays claim to the event itself; it is not Brazil's World Cup, but rather it is Argentina's World Cup, which is being held in Brazil. This representation of being the protagonist of the World cup is a form of aggression in that it implies the forced control of what should have been a Brazilian event, and it can be compared to the control of another people's land or goods, a definition of colonialism (Loomba 2015, 20).

6. Conclusion: Stand-alone Statements or a Product of Circumstance?

Returning back to the conversation that opened the previous analysis section; what did the boy mean when he told his father that "he just wanted to be a part of it?"

To summarize, as represented in Argentine press, the World Cup event was a huge positive for Argentine fans. Their team did not win the championship, but that almost seemed secondary. The fans had something for which they could "inflate their chests with pride" for, and Argentina its fans were "champions of pride" (appendix number: 239). The event was portrayed as a show of strength for Argentina; they dominated Brazilian localities and its fans showed up in such large numbers that the host nation was put on alert and prompted to take extra security measures. Although Brazil and Argentina did not share the same football field in a match against one another, the Argentine press was portraying a battle of sorts between the two sides, and it was a battle in which Argentina was winning; their music was being played, they were "taking over" Brazilian spaces and what should have been a Brazilian event, and the only recourse that Brazil had was to cheer in the opponents of Argentina in the hopes that Argentina would lose. Argentina was portrayed as strong, and Brazil as weak, and the representations of Brazil found in the Argentine press during the World cup showed a traditional rival that was vulnerable. This represented vulnerability was taken full advantage of by the Argentine fans as they were portrayed in 2014 World Cup coverage. This is what I think the boy wanted to be a part of when he was presumably lamenting to his father that he was in Brazil to share the moment, he wanted to be there so he too could lay claim first hand to an identity that presumes superiority and power.

Questions do remain. Objectively, Argentina performed admirably during the World Cup. As a team, they came in second place, and only lost one game, the final against Germany. Lionel Messi, Argentine superstar, was awarded the Golden Ball trophy by

FIFA, a prestigious honor given to the player who was considered to have the best performance over the course of the tournament. Conversely, Brazil disappointed, and was on the wrong end of an ugly 7-1 loss to Germany. How would the Argentine press portray Brazil and Argentina if the roles were reversed? What would have been said about the Argentine fans in Brazil if Argentina was struggling, and Brazil was exceeding expectations? Research about the adjectives and playstyles assigned to Argentina and Brazil during various World Cups shows that descriptions of styles of play change with a team's performance (Helal 2007). But what about how Argentines interact with the Brazilian environment? Would they still be described as "invading" or "colonizing by passion"? Research examining portrayals of Argentina and Brazil in future tournaments like the 2018 World Cup in Russia would be compelling to see what consistency, if any, exists in the representations identified in this thesis.

Argentina and Brazil will continue to compete in international football, and also a plethora of other sports. While football is far and away the most popular sport for both of those countries, there are other shared passions between them too; both countries regularly compete in international volleyball, handball, and athletic competitions. While the amount of attention these other sports receive is a fraction of that given to a World Cup, it would be compelling to examine media coverage of those other sporting competitions between the two countries to see if the trends identified in this thesis just pertain to the world of football, or if they carry over into other sporting domains.

As long as Argentina and Brazil continue to compete, and as long as both countries have passionate fan groups who find value and meaning in these competitions, new representations will be formed, old representations will return, and the representations found in the present will fade away. It unreasonable to predict what will be said, but it is impossible to think that no one will have anything to say.

Because of the subjective nature of qualitative content analysis, in that the coding frame and phenomena emerging from the data is derived to a degree from preliminary research questions and the initial purpose of the study, the objectivity of findings must

be questioned. To quote Desiderius Erasmus from his classic work, *The Complaint of Peace*:

“The hostile distinction of different nations as natural enemies, because they are separated by place and diversified by name....such is the depravity of their minds, that they seek accusations of difference when none is afforded either by nature or institution.”

This is to say that similar to how Nation forming propaganda and discourse invents or seeks difference, the researcher or design of a specific project can do the same. Throughout the course of this project, the question of why difference or othering is found in the data has been asked in hopes of achieving objectivity. While this may not be completely possible, the goal of objectivity hopefully led to some form of accountability. While reliability and validity of the coding frame were considered, additional researchers were not consulted to code data or test the coding frame, making the lens through which the data was viewed the product of a singular point of view. Many experts in qualitative content analysis (Schreier 2010; Berger 1998) advise against this and view consultation and testing of a coding frame with others a key part of the analytic process.

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