

HOMELESSNESS AND THE WORLD CUP

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ABSTRACT

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Homelessness and the World Cup is a thesis about how the planning of the 2014 World Cup soccer tournament affected the lives of the homeless in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It is an ethnographic study that looks into the presence, use, and destruction of informal settlements near the Maracanã stadium. Maracanã was the sight of some of the matches in the 2014 World Cup soccer tournament. The study relied on observational data regarding before and after uses of informal settlements as well as the phenomenological approach to ethnography. That approach to ethnography aims to understand the subject's experience of their day-to-day lives. The thesis argues that the policies of mega event planning often directly contradict the needs of homeless individuals exercising their rights to inhabit public places.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This introduction will briefly discuss components of mega event planning and the problems associated with it. In addition, the reader will learn the importance of solving those problems as well as this thesis' aim. Furthermore, this introduction covers the scope and overview of the study. However, before the reader can understand the aim, the reader must first understand the problem that needs to be solved.

Mega events and the homeless have different needs. In order to plan a successful mega event like the World Cup or the Olympics, planners believe they need to present the city as clean and tidy to planning committees and tourists. In contrast, the homeless need a safe and predictable environment to provide for their basic needs. Accordingly, problems manifest themselves when the homeless occupy public spaces selected for transformation and cleaning. Historically, this has resulted in displacement, illegal arrest, forced removals, and threats of violence against the homeless and their property. This thesis posits that this does not have to be the case. The planning of mega event does not require a *per se* reaction that pushes poor and vulnerable residents from the festivities. It is possible to provide for the needs of the mega event while observing the needs and rights of the economically vulnerable.

Because of watchdog groups, there has been a push by human rights organizations to protect the interests of the most vulnerable during the planning of mega events. Likewise, mega event planners have responded by creating initiatives and agendas that take into account the needs of the homeless. But, the success of such initiatives and continuation of the agendas needs further determination. The need for further assessment of these new movements is because homelessness in this context is not yet very well understood. Indeed, the abundance of literature on homelessness focuses on youth homelessness. There is not much literature involving adult

homelessness in Latin America. Typically, the homeless are disregarded as the lowest members of society with no significant interests, when they actually have routines and position themselves in areas that provide for their needs. Furthermore, the homeless grow accustomed to familiar faces and supporters who know and offer them benefits that can be quantified. With that being said, when the planning of mega events involves systemic displacement and forced removals of the homeless, the planners separate them from the assets they learned to rely on. Therefore, the aim of this study is to utilize land surveys of informal homeless settlements and a phenomenological approach to ethnography to understand how the homeless were treated during the 2014 World Cup soccer tournament in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

To achieve the above aim, the literature review lays the foundation of the study by discussing the body of literature around the Brazilian homeless and the homeless' intersection with mega events. I will demonstrate that homeless youth are the focus of most of the research regarding Brazilian homelessness. Due to the plethora of research on youth homelessness in Brazil, I also introduce the reader to the major theoretical concepts surrounding youth homelessness. The literature review further discusses how the homeless have historically been treated during mega events and what some municipalities have tried to do about the problem. Lastly, I will discuss what is missing from the literature on homelessness and mega events.

Next, chapter 3 discusses the method of the research. Here, the reader will first be introduced to my hypothesis that grew from the literature. Furthermore, this chapter will explain why I selected observational data collection and ethnographic research methods over others. Here, the reader will learn how those research methods helped me further achieve my aim.

The fourth chapter includes the analysis of the results. Here, I will make a claim using the data and the reader will understand if and how my hypothesis was correct. Chapter 5 is the

discussion chapter, which will delve deeper into the analysis. This chapter links the information from the literature review with that of the analysis chapter. In the discussion, I will challenge existing theories and key concepts while suggesting ways to expand understanding on the issue. Then finally, in Chapter 6 I conclude by reflecting on my experience as a witness to injustice and violence against a vulnerable population.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Homelessness and mega-events are two disjointed issues. The former is treated as a noxious burden while the latter is viewed as an opportunity to project the city's prosperity. As a result, planning and legal conflicts arise when the two issues meet.

This literature review will cover the issue of "homelessness and mega events." It will focus on homelessness in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, because the city hosted the 2014 World Cup soccer tournament and will host the 2016 Summer Olympic games. Research on homelessness and mega events has received little attention in academia. Also, research on homelessness in Rio de Janeiro is predominated by the plight of homeless youth. Thus, this literature review will attempt to cover the body of literature on youth homelessness and merge it with the body of literature on "homelessness and mega events."¹ I will begin by discussing homelessness during the 1970's.

A. Explanation of the Literature on Homelessness in Brazil

The body of knowledge on homelessness evolved from the 1970's to present day. During the seventies, the knowledge was mostly assumptions and stereotypes. Today, it has evolved to a sophisticated understanding about poverty. Scholars' perceptions of homelessness can be categorized by the decades: the 1970's, the 1980's, and the 1990's. Starting with the 1970's, the homelessness discussion in Brazil was framed as the problem of abandoned minors. Writers believed the children were abandoned on the streets. To the contrary 40-50 percent of the population under the age of 19 on the streets lived in households that earned less than \$40 a month (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). The popular depiction of these youth is comparable to

¹ A child is someone under the age of 14 while a youth is someone between the ages of 14 and 18. I will attempt to avoid getting caught up in jargon and will only refer to youth. When I refer to youth, I mean anyone who is under the age of 18 years old.

Disney's beloved *Aladdin* who would steal a loaf of bread and cleverly escape through the crowd. Accordingly, the youth were dismissed as charming thieves. Research has shown, however, that many youth of that era worked odd jobs in exchange for a place to sleep. This era ended as Brazil became less feudal and more industrial (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998).

There are two salient reasons why researchers departed from the myth of the "abandoned minors" during the 1980's. The report *O Trabalho e a Rua: Crianças e adolescentes no Brasil urbano dos anos 80s* was the first reason. It revealed that the abandoned youth were not simply abandoned; rather, inequality and poverty urged families to supplement their family income by sending their children to the streets to work. Fifty percent of the childhood population in Brazil lived like that (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). Brazil's transition to a democracy was a second reason. The military regime hid inequality from the elites by containing the poor in the shantytowns. When the regime was replaced in 1988, the poor had access to the urban core and were in the public eye (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998).

During the 1990's the conversation noticeably split in two directions. This time the division was between academia and society. On one hand, academia tried to understand the homeless youth by analyzing their circumstances. Society, on the other hand, generalized the youth as dangerous nuisances (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998).

Mark Lusk conducted the seminal research of this era. It shed new light on the diversity of circumstances involving homeless youth. He surveyed and interviewed hundreds of youth to create four categories of youth homelessness. The first category is Family Based Street Worker. Twenty-one percent of his sample identified with this category. These youth worked on the streets: as shoeshine boys, as candy vendors, as beggars, and as car watchmen. Lusk's second category is the largest: Independent Street Worker. Fifty percent of his sample identified with

this group. These youth worked and slept on the street periodically. Their family structure was not as strong as the former. Consequently, they experienced physical abuse and participated in illegal activities more prevalently. His third category is Children of the Streets. These youth have ended contact with their parental households. They are most likely to participate in illegal activities and use drugs. Over two-thirds of these children reported being physically or sexually abused. These youth rarely attend school. Lusk's last category of homeless youth is Children of Street Families. These children spend their days on the streets with a working parent. They return to their distant home at night or on the weekend (Lusk, 1992).

Most researchers use a form of Lusk's grouping when distinguishing types of youth homelessness. For example, in Rosenberg's 2000 piece, she categorizes street youth in two categories. Her first category is "children/adolescents of the street." She states these are youth "for whom the street is their home and fundamental site of socialization"(Rosenberg, 2000 p. 124). Her second category is children/adolescents on the streets. These are youth "for whom the street was merely a place to generate income, while maintaining family ties and returning routinely to their homes (Rosenberg, 2000 p. 124)." Regardless of their category, these youth are viewed as illegitimate occupiers of public space (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998).

There are also legal perspectives. Some researchers used the United Nations' definition of street children to understand their circumstances. According to the U.N, street children are "any girl or boy...for whom the street has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood; and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults" (Lusk, 1992). In Moulin and Vilma's 2000 piece, *Families, Schools, and Socialization of Brazilian Children: Contemporary Dilemmas That Create Street Children*, the authors analyze

how laws should be used to support youth development. They point out the Brazilian Constitution establishes that

It is the duty of the family, of society, and of the state to assure the child and adolescent, as a matter of absolute priority, the right to life, health, nutrition, education, leisure, time, vocational training, culture, dignity, respect, liberty, and the fellowship of the family and community, in addition to making them safe from any form of neglect, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty and oppression (Klees, 2000 p. 86).

Moulin and Vilma also pointed out that the 1990 Child Adolescent Statute provides “equality of treatment, universal service, special priority attention to individuals who are still developing as people, and insistence on holding the family, society, and government responsible for observing the rights of children and adolescents (Moulin, 2000 p. 50). By the same token, the statute grants:

Free movement and the right to use public spaces, free expression; freedom of religious beliefs; the right to play, practice sports, and engage in leisure activities, to participate in family and community life, to participate in political life, and to find refuge and assistance; and physical inviolability (Moulin and Vilma, 2000 p. 50).

In essence, the statute makes youths the highest-priority group in any social policy, not deviants (Moulin and Vilma, 2000).

B. What It Means To Be Homeless During A Mega Event

Mega events are advertising opportunities for municipalities to promote their city’s prosperity and modernity to tourists and potential investors. Mega events place municipalities under the world’s spotlight. Governments are encouraged to improve their city’s image (Greene, 2003). The homeless are affected during this beautification process. This literature review will focus on four areas of mega-event planning: clean image policy, redevelopment, red zoning, and

changing policies. All of these policy changes negatively affect those for whom the streets have become the habitual abode and/or source of livelihood.

What does it mean to be homeless during mega-event planning? Once on the street, the homeless must work to feed themselves (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). Formal work requires a birth certificate, a work permit, or a voter ID and many street youth lack formal identification. As a consequence, they work informal jobs like selling snacks, guarding cars, or carrying groceries (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998). Furthermore, youth adopt behaviors and habits of street culture by formulating street gangs, finding work, taking drugs, and stealing. When it is possible, the youth will sleep in groups to protect themselves (Butler and Rizzini, 2003; Oliveira, 1997). Such an outward, proactive presence on the streets is dubious for mega-event planners when it is their aim to welcome tourist to their clean city.

1. Cleaning Up the Streets

The first planning policy discussed in the literature is the clean streets policy. Hosting mega events like the World Cup soccer tournament and the Olympic games are opportunities for city planners and officials to highlight the city's prosperity. It is difficult to achieve when the homeless, also known as "walking poverty," are dominating the high-profile areas (Greene, 2003). Planners want visitors to view their city in the same light as New York or Chicago (Beaty, 2007). Accordingly, hiding and covering up the city's noxious personalities like the homeless, low-income residents, and minorities from high profile areas is a common renewal scheme (Greene, 2003). Their hope is not only to ensure that visitors and tourists enjoy themselves, but also to encourage investors to relocate to their community (Beaty, 2007).

Beijing's preparation for their Olympic bid demonstrated the pressure municipalities feel to hide and cover up what some consider to be impurities. When the Olympic committee visited,

Beijing had the homeless removed from the streets. They also turned off their coal-fire furnaces. Often, when urban aesthetics is a concern, the homeless are displaced (Price and Dayan, 2008). Similarly, the Brazilian community of Vila Autódromo is facing evictions. It is the site planners selected to have removed for the 2016 Olympic games in Rio de Janeiro. In 2011, a judge ordered that the houses within 25 meters of the lagoon be removed. Since then a public fight to protect the community has ensued. Nonetheless, it does not look good for the current residents because it is attractive real estate and an informal settlement. Therefore, the 3,000 residents will likely be removed (Vale and Gray, 2013).

Cleaning the city by removing the homeless can be an enormous and unrealistic challenge considering the scale of the homeless population. How many people live and work on the streets? There is not a reliable estimation. Irene Rizzini opted to use the numbers from *At Home in the Street: Street Children in Northeast Brazil* by T. Hecht who claimed for every 1 million urban residents there are 115 street children (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). Other studies and news articles project higher numbers, but Rizzini is critical of over-estimated numbers because it creates bad social policy and restricts knowledge. Therefore, researchers are suspicious of data like UNCEF's 1984 report that there were an estimated 30 million street children in Brazil. (Rosemberg, 2000).

However the question of population is resolved, the reality remains clear: 47 percent of Brazil's population is under the age of 18 and more than half of those youth live in absolute poverty. Those youth work to supplement their family income. Ninety percent of those youth return home while only a small fraction sleep on the street (Lusk, 1992). How can a municipality effectively clean the street of the homelessness when they do not know the magnitude and when the homeless and non-homeless both have similar behaviors?

2. Redevelopment and Displacement

Hosting mega events creates opportunities for city's to pursue ambitious redevelopment projects (Shin and Li, 2013). Low-income renters carry the intended and unintended effect of displacement (Lenskyj, 2002); displacement can cause homelessness, and homelessness can lead to illegal squatting (Beaty, 2007; and Lenskyj, 2002). Accordingly, it has been estimated that the Olympics have displaced 2 million people over the last 20 years. Furthermore, displacement targets the homeless, the poor, and the ethnic minorities (COHRE). Municipalities offer little compensation; therefore, the displaced are at higher risk of becoming homeless (De Plessis, 2007). The World Cup exaggerates this trend. FIFA's site policies encouraged evictions and removals of the homeless and other social outcast in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban during the 2010 World Cup (Nyar, 2014). Therefore, redevelopment needs policy measures that protect against the negative impacts on low-income housing (Lenskyj, 2002).

As an illustration of the role redevelopment plays in mega event planning, consider the 1996 Olympics. Planners deemed the oncoming event as an opportunity to reverse the effects of white flight of the 1960's. Since that time, 20% of Atlanta's populations moved to the suburbs. The exodus resulted in a 70% poor, black population in the city (Beaty, 2007). Consequently, one of their development goals was to attract white residents to Atlanta (Gustafson, 2013). As a result, the city demolished 13 housing projects that housed thousands of poor minority individuals. The redevelopment project displaced 30,000 low-income residents, 1,000 homeless, 4 shelters, and over 70 businesses within the city (Beaty, 2007; Whitelegg, 2000). Nationally, it had been estimated that African Americans were 12% of the population, yet five times more likely to be displaced (Fullilove, 2009). By 2000, only 78 families or 7% of those displaced were re-housed (Vale and Gray, 2013).

Beijing similarly used public funds to transform deteriorating neighborhoods into prosperous communities for the wealthy. Thousands of people were dislocated and pushed to the outer edges of the city. The rate of homelessness, prostitution, and petty crimes increased (Price and Dayan, 2008). Above all, according to COHRE's survey, 1.5 million or 14 percent of Beijing's residents were displaced due to Olympic redevelopment. The residents were forced to leave with little warning and little compensation (COHRE). Rio de Janeiro's redevelopment plan is gaining similar attention.

The city planned to demolish the Friedenreich municipal school, the Célio de Baros track-and-field stadium, and the historical Museo do Indio (Adboriginal Museum) to create a safety perimeter and a parking lot for the Maracanã entertainment and shopping center. In March 2013, a riot erupted when police removed the indigenous from the abandoned museum. It had been used as a safe haven for natives when visiting the city (Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013). Redevelopment threatens the community of Vila Autódromo. Three thousand residents are facing eviction to support Olympic redevelopment (Vale and Gray, 2013). Another example is underway at Porto Maravilha. The redevelopment project depends on turning devalued property into upscale offices and residential towers. The residents of the area are mostly poor renters. (Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013). It is doubtful that redevelopment of this type is the proper answer to the social issues facing low-income families and communities in Brazil. More importantly, municipalities should be answering questions that affect the daily lives of vulnerable families and their youth who are on the streets.

3. From Home to the Street

Regardless of mega event planning, low-income families live in crowded, unstable environments. As a result, youth are driven to the streets. Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman wrote,

“hunger, neglect, and ‘physical and sexual abuse’ are the main drivers that sends children to the street (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998). Irene Butler similarly wrote about how family experiences fail to create tight bonds when a parent either is abusive, antagonizing, died, or went to prison. Accordingly, the children of these families develop financial, leisure, and social bonds on the streets (Butler, 2009). Donna Goldstein chronicled narratives of painful ruptures in her ethnographic study, *Laughter Out of Place*. She described Mirelli’s story: her mother died from a combination of alcohol dependency and domestic violence. Her father was also an alcoholic and was deemed unfit to raise her and her sister. Hence, the two spent most of their life on the streets, digging through trash, and avoiding sexual exploitation (Goldstein, 2003).

There are two seminal theories that attempt to explain why children leave their homes. The first theory, called “social toxic environment,” is attributed to James Garbrino and posits that systemic forces lead to conflicts within the family. The second is the “support base” theory, attributed to Irene Rizzini. Support base theory looks to the support networks in the community and the family that secure a healthy environment for the children to develop friendships and effective ties that contribute to children emotionally, cognitively, and culturally (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). Support bases counteract social toxicity. Failing to provide such an environment might result in the child gravitating toward places where their needs are met (Butler, 2009). In Butler’s research, he only found rare instances where a definite rupture sent a child from their home to the street (Butler, 2009).

Moving to the streets is a gradual process and is the result of repetitive episodes of ruptures at home (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). First, the youth begins to visit the streets and establish relationships and routines. Then, the child spends the night on the street and it becomes habitual (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). Further, another factor is pop culture; it attracts youth to the

urban core. Youth compare their lives to those on television and become convinced they would be better off somewhere else. Children with weak parental figures or domestic violence in the home are more likely to move to the streets than children who live in affectionate households (Butler and Rizzini, 2003).

4. Special Privileges

Mega event sponsors are awarded special privileges at the expense of economically vulnerable populations. Major investors are given exclusive commercial space and identification cards for their guests. Tourists are encouraged to shop at their locations (Whitelegg, 2000). Tourists are also encouraged to avoid the minority-owned businesses (Beaty, 2007). Brazil's circumstances were similar in preparation for the 2014 World Cup Soccer tournament. The federal government passed special legislation to create brand exclusive zones around Maracanã (Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013). Federal laws originally banned alcohol sales around the stadium. Those laws were lifted for exclusive sponsors. Laws also prohibited the advertisements and the sale of competing products in commercially exclusive zones. Furthermore, traditional vendors were prohibited from selling around Maracanã even though they had had that privilege for years (Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013). This is very similar to the 2010 World Cup. Host cities also passed ordinances that regulated advertising and street vending. They, therefore, created exclusive World Cup zones. In addition, in some 2010 World Cup host cities special zoning was focused around gentrified, leisure areas away from poorer locations. As a result of the ordinances, urban governments were able to remove the homeless and informal vendors (Cornelissen, 2011).

5. Red Zoning

Red zoning is the process of discouraging a person or group from traveling to a specific area using ordinances, changing landscape, and making the person or group feel uncomfortable or intimidated (Kennely and Watt, 2011). The purpose of red zoning is not only to hide the person or group, but also to make the city's issues with those people appear minimal (Lensky, 2002). It is a form of street cleaning, and the goal is to remove the "impure" group from the sight of the visitors (Wood and Abe, 2011).

Atlanta is the seminal case of red zoning in mega-event planning. Now, subsequent planners try to avoid being compared to Atlanta. The clean city agenda encouraged Atlanta planners to hide the homeless from the sight of tourists. The city enacted ordinances against entering abandoned buildings and crossing a parking lot without owning a car in it. Other prohibitions included blocking the sidewalk, panhandling, reclining in particular places, and public urinations (Lenskyj, 2000). The police's involvement in arresting homeless people led to the mass production of arrest citations that said, African American, Male, Homeless (Beaty, 2007 p. 32). It has been estimated that over 9,000 arrest citations were issued to homeless persons (Vale and Gray, 2013). Some have come to know them as "quality of life" ordinances. Some homeless individuals were given one-way bus tickets out of Atlanta (Beaty, 2007). Subsequently, Sydney Olympic planners learned from the poor publicity Atlanta received and enacted the policy measures to curb negative publicity and harassment.

Sydney Olympic planners enacted the Homeless Protocol in the central business district (CBD). The law said that police would not move the homeless against their will unless they were a danger to themselves or others. If the police were to move someone, the police would first contact the city council outreach team; in addition, the homeless had support from a team of

advocates at the Redfern Legal Center. Despite the protocol and legal assistance, hundreds of homeless suffered increased harassment from the police and white-collar residents (Lenskyj, 2002).

Like Atlanta, Sydney passed laws to discourage the homeless from entering the Olympic area. Lenskyj referred to the laws as “move on” laws. One example was the 1998 Crime Legislation Act. The act allowed an electronic or pat down search of a person if the officer had reasonable grounds to believe they had a weapon. Another tactic was to replace public benches with newer, inconvenient shaped public furniture that discouraged the homeless from using it. The program also rerouted food trucks and placed bright lights in places where the homeless frequently slept (Lenskyj, 2002).

The homeless reported being red zoned from mega event areas during the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver. The homeless reported their safe spaces filled, transformed, and made unavailable during the Olympics. In conclusion, social outcasts like the homeless are criminalized and separated from the public during mega event preparations and execution (Kennelly and Watt, 2011).

6. Violence

Violence is another significant reality for homeless youth. Violence against the poor is a fearful reaction from the elites who view the poor as threats (Goldstein, 2003). The fall of the military regime has accompanied and exacerbated the violence toward the homeless. The seminal instances of violence occurred on July 23, 1993, when off-duty police officers arrived at the Candelaria Church Square and opened fire on a group of forty homeless children. Eight children died; two of those children were executed on the beach. At the time of the massacre, 20 percent of the public chose the side of the police (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998). Huggins

and Mesquita pointed out in their study that the murder rate increased during the transition from military rule to formal democracy. In Rio de Janeiro, the murder rate increased by 50 percent (Huggins and Mesquita, 2000 p. 259).

Brazilian society looked at the violence two ways: one point of view saw the youth as victims of a society that has failed them; while on the other hand, society views the youth as dangerous nuisances (Goldstein, 2003). Fear of the lower class causes the violent reactions. The most common threat of violence on the streets comes from “public and private guards” and extermination groups (Butler and Rizzini, 2003; Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998; Goldstein, 2003). From the elite’s point of view, the violence is necessary because the homeless youth are the problem in society. Therefore, society is not responsible for the violence (Huggins and Mesquita, 2000). More accurately, the murder victims are, generally, poor, but they also worked full-time and had families. Further, the killer is almost always a stranger, while the victims are dark skinned 52 percent of the time and between the ages of 15-17 eighty percent of the time. Thus, elites are ignoring how poverty drives children to the violent streets. Social ties such as educational opportunities, food, social space, and “clean and safe” housing are all limited in poor households (Huggins and Mesquita, 2000). Therefore, youth pursue street life, where danger waits, and few needs are actually met.

C. Discussion of Topics in the Literature Review

This literature review is an attempt to combine the literature on Brazilian homelessness with the literature on “homelessness and mega events.” There is an unequal amount of research into each subject. The first topic was Brazilian homelessness. The data ranged from stereotypes pre-1970s era to its scholarly and legal perspectives today. It appears that homelessness has received less attention since 2009. Perhaps research uncovered as much as possible and then time

needed to pass before returning. However, the body of literature devoted to homelessness in Brazil gives researchers a strong impression of what it means to be a homeless youth in Brazil. The theories and perspectives have changed as the country evolved and became more democratic. Researchers learned that street youth are not simply abandoned, they are not deviant, and they are not all homeless. Most youth on the streets are working to support their families.

Researchers utilized different methods to identify and label street youth. The best research relied heavily on either survey or interview data. Other researchers relied on Brazilian or international law perspectives. Some researchers used secondary sources to develop their arguments. Lusk's four categories of the street children helped readers paint a picture of what street life is about. His research was one of the few to mention adult homelessness. His category, Families on the Street, introduced adult homelessness to the literature. There is not much research on adult homelessness in Brazil otherwise. My experience and common sense leads me to believe that there should be research on the subject. What do these researchers think happens when these children turn 18?

Rosemberg distinguished between children on the street and of the street. To rephrase, one group is using the streets for leisure while the other is using the streets for survival. Her method is very black and white. Her definition also allows her to conclude that there is less homelessness. Considering Mark Lusk and Rosemberg, I do not understand why distinguishing types of youth homelessness is so critical. Regardless of their situation, there are a lot of hungry, unsupervised youth on the streets who are not going to school. I think investing substantial resources to distinguish labels is beside the point.

Irene Rizzini and James Garbino had different theories as to what causes ruptures in families. Rizzini looked to the children's support base while Garbino looked to systemic forces

that affect the family. I found Rizzini's method more helpful because it is more direct. The researcher can easily follow, or imagine, how a family member being killed can disrupt the family structure. Additionally, if a parent must sleep on the street during the week then the child's support base is directly affected because the child has one less caregiver at home. On the contrary, systemic forces are not always so direct. It is hard to identify the proximate effect a systemic change has on a family. I think systemic forces are more appropriate when studying the effect of mega events on homelessness, but not causes of homelessness in Brazil. The changing landscape of development and policy are systemic, not personal.

Irene Rizzini appears to be the leading scholar on homelessness in Brazil. Most of the articles that I have read cite at least one of her articles, such as *Life Trajectories of Children and Adolescents Living on the Streets of Rio de Janeiro*. Rizzini and Udi Butler relied on interview data. The problem with relying on interview data from youth is that researchers only get their perspective. The researchers are missing how systemic forces such as laws, policy, and development patterns affect their life. Thus, relying on interviews ignores what the interviewed does not know.

Mark Lusk's work changed the literature on street children in Latin America. Street children are no longer considered one and the same. There are themes and categories that distinguish their lives. Yet, while relying too heavily on survey data, he came to a conclusion that was debunked later by Irene Rizzini. His article implied a single rupture is what sends children to the streets, while Rizzini found children's move to the streets is actually a gradual process.

The most well rounded article belonged to Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Daniel Hoffman: *Brazilian Apartheid: Street Kids and the Struggle for Urban Space*. The article referenced

Federal and State law, interview data, and secondary sources. Their method was more appropriate because they made macro arguments about how a group fits into Brazilian society. Rizzini and Lusk on the other hand made descriptive arguments about how certain groups live.

The second topic covered was homelessness and mega events. This portion of research was difficult for three main reasons. First, most of the research about Brazil is in Portuguese, and I do not read Portuguese. The second reason is there is not a lot of research dedicated to homelessness and mega event. It was difficult for a third reason: Lenskyj and the Center on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) conducted the seminal research pieces. A lot of researchers utilized their research, therefore saturating the field. Beaty's 2007 piece was another popular article, but it did not cause as much trouble. COHRE conducted the most expansive study on displacement and homelessness related to mega event planning. That study was often the reason articles were dismissed. Essentially, researchers echoed Lenskyj's observation while using COHRE to make fundamental arguments regarding displacement and redevelopment. One example occurred in Udesch Pillay and Orli Bass' article, *Mega-events as a Response to Poverty Reduction: The 2010 FIFA World Cup and its Urban Development Implications*. The authors echo Lenskyj by observing, "[Lenskyj] contends 'that homelessness and housing social problems increase in the run-up to the Olympics.... There was indisputable evidence that the staging of the Olympics served the interest of global capitalism first and foremost while exacerbating existing social problems (Pillay and Orli, 2008).'" Another example comes from Kamilla Swart and Urmilla Bob's article, *Venue selection and the 2010 World Cup: A case study of Cape Town*. The authors noted, "COHRE in particular illustrates how 'clean up' programs associated with World Cup events have led to the displacement of homeless people, especially near stadium venues."

Consequently, those articles and others like it reeked of saturation. If the research did not offer a new take on the data, then it was dismissed.

One article I valued was by Kennelly and Watt. The article discussed the Vancouver Winter Olympics and relied on interview and secondary sources. The reader, therefore, was able to complement the statistical data with perspectives from the subjects. The subjects had interesting points of view and experiences that one does not learn when solely reading secondary sources. One example involved the homeless losing a safe place to do drugs while another involved their loitering rights being protected because a television.

Of the seven articles I found referencing “homelessness and the World Cup,” I cited two. Four other articles cited the works of Lenskyj or COHRE. Those articles were dismissed.² That does not discount the quality of their research. I simply do not believe it is necessary to use pieces that reference data already included in my literature review unless those articles either have a contrary perspective or further enhance my research.

An example of a contrary perspective is developed in Lynn Minnaert’s piece, *An Olympic legacy for all? The non-infrastructural outcomes of the Olympic Games for socially excluded groups (Atlanta 1996—Beijing 2008)*. She relies on Lenskyj’s work, *The Best Olympic Ever?*.

² The list of dismissed articles discussing homelessness and the World Cup:

(1) Cornelissen, Scarlett. “‘Our struggles are bigger than the World Cup’: civic activism, state-society relations and the socio-political legacies of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *The British journal of sociology* 63.2 (2012): 328-348

(2) Eick, Volker. “Lack of Legacy? Shadow of surveillance after the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany.” *Urban Studies* 48.15 (2011): 3329-3345

(3) Pillay, Udesb, and Orli Bass. “Mega-events as a response to poverty reduction: The 2010 FIFA World Cup and its Urban Development Implications.” *Urban Forum*. Vol. 19. No. 3. Springer Netherlands, 2008

(4) Czeglédy, André P. “Urban Dreams: The 2010 Football World Cup and expectations of benefit in Johannesburg.” *Development and Dreams* (2009): 225

Lensky argued that the Homeless Protocol was a sham and pointed out that many homeless were continuously harassed despite the protocol. She pointed out that outside of the CBD the homeless protocol was not adopted. Minnaert, on the other hand, was less critical. She looked at the lasting legacy and less at the immediate impact. She found that the Homeless Protocol strengthened the awareness of the rights of socially excluded groups. Therefore, on the community level it was a success, but on the individual level the effect was less noticeable (Minnaert, 2012).

Hyun Bang Shin and Bingqin Li wrote *Whose game? The costs of being Olympic Citizens* while Mary Ann Glynn wrote *Configuring the Field of Play: How Hosting the Olympic Game Impact Civic Community*. The articles relied on COHRE's research so they both had the same numbers. However, Glynn relied on a comparative and historical approach and utilized newspaper and press accounts. Thus, her research led her to mix feelings from the residents. She also used Beaty's 2007 dissent because Beaty was also very historical and critical of Atlanta's Olympic legacy. Therefore, Glynn echoed Beaty's points. Bang Shin and Li on the other hand used the COHRE data to conduct a comparative study. They found what was happening to social outcasts in Atlanta was also happening to social outcasts in Athens, Sydney, and other Olympic cities. Seth Gustafson also relied on Beaty 2007. He also echoed a lot of the same facts about displacement and targeting. He looked specifically at race, class, and gender to conclude that Atlanta acted like a racial state to produce a global image of the city.

III. METHOD

A. *Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the data collection and analysis method of this thesis. The data collection process for this thesis includes two methods. The first one involved observations of before and after uses of informal settlements. This also involved observing conflicts in the use of these settlements. I refer to this as the Inventory Phase. The second data collect method included informal conversations. A phenomenological perspective is used to interpret the data. In this chapter, I will identify ideas and themes from the background chapters that are worth further review. I will also identify the research hypothesis and aim. Lastly, I will explain why these methods were chosen over other available methods. By the end of this section, the reader will have a clear understanding of the research design of this thesis project.

The first data collection method was observation of informal settlements. The aim of this phase was to find a reliable settlement to observe the homeless before and after the start of the World Cup soccer tournament. Finding a reliable location was critical: if I did not have a reliable location, then I would not be able to make observations of conflicting uses of such spaces.

This phase was inspired by two Kim Hopper projects. The first project is *Counting the Homeless: S-Night in New York* (Hopper, 1992) and the second is *Counting the New York Homeless an Ethnographic Perspective* (Hopper, 1992).

B. *Ideas and Themes*

Homelessness takes many forms and is difficult to calculate. Many people living in absolute poverty spend a significant amount of time on the streets earning money and returning home at night (Lusk, 1992). Those individuals eventually learn to rely and sleep on the streets as

a source of sustenance. (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). Therefore, it was necessary to conduct an inventory to evaluate the frequency, characteristics, and signs of homelessness in Rio de Janeiro.

One problem Hopper addressed is the difficulty of collecting an accurate population count of an informal settlement. The main issue with this research is that researchers often treat informal settlements as if they are home addresses when, to the contrary, their functions are much different in reality. An address and an informal settlement are not comparable because the homeless are mobile and try to avoid being detected. She recommended adopting a statistical technique used by animal ecologists and prescribed a two-staged approach (Hopper, 1992). The first stage recommended: “[a] team of field-workers first establish the universe of sites at a time close to that of the subsequent count and, preferably, stratify that universe into classes according to expected number of occupants per site.” Hopper then further explained, “[t]he field staff would draw up detailed map of sites and the order in which they are to be visited” (Hopper, 1992).

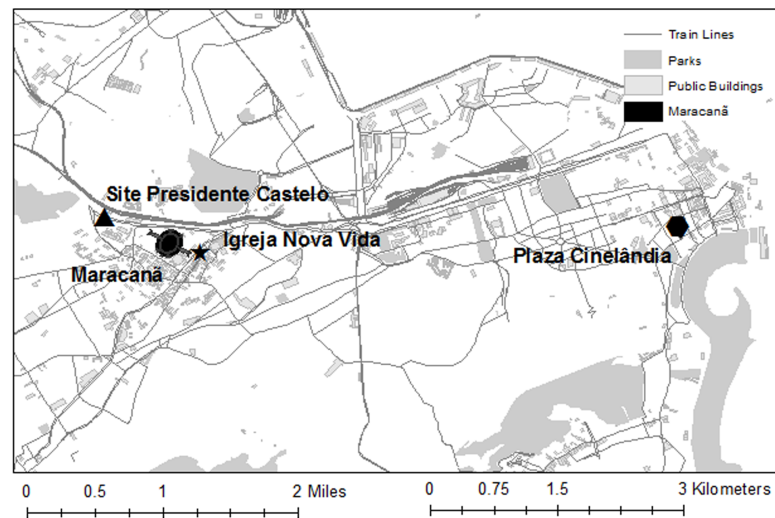
I did not have the benefit of knowing the location of the informal settlements of the homeless people before I began phase one of the research. I had to narrow my universe of sites to reliable informal settlements near the Maracanã stadium and its surrounding neighborhood. Therefore, I acquired a map and walked the streets of the Maracanã neighborhoods from June 7th to June 9th on three-hour shifts until I found the best locations or “the universe of sites.” I was able to review behaviors like sleeping on the street, selling small items, and documenting the use of space along with such space’s population count.

Inventory Phase: Why I chose this method

This project differed from Hopper’s because I was not interested in estimating the homeless population. Rather, I was using her method to find a reliable site. Nonetheless, I

decided on two locations in the Maracanã neighborhood. The first location was an avenue and adjacent praça outside of the Maracanã metro station. It ran along the Avenida Presidente Castelo Branco. The second location was outside of a church called Igreja Nova Vida, which is located on an avenue called Avenida Paula Sousa.

Figure 3.1 Universe of Sites



The second Kim Hopper study that inspired this research project was *Counting the Homeless an Ethnographic Perspective* (Hopper, 1992). In this study, her research team designed a “brief ethnographic” inquiry into some of the informal settlements used by the homeless in public spaces. Her team observed seven sites over five nights while passing as if they were homeless themselves. Her observers’ objective was to describe uses and competing uses of space occupied by the homeless. This method was reliable. Similarly, I observed and documented the homeless sleeping, selling, and socializing in public spaces. Therefore, my aim was to observe and document the homeless’ use and conflicting uses of public space in informal settlements near the Maracanã stadium before and during the World Cup soccer tournament (Hopper, 1992).

A difficulty I encountered was identification of the homeless. I relied heavily on Mark Lusk's 1992 work *Street Children of Rio de Janeiro* (Lusk, 1992). Some people were easy to identify such as adults who slept on the streets. Those adults would fit properly into Mark Lusk's fourth group as individuals and or families who sleep on the streets. They also fit into a definition articulated by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development as "individuals who live in...a place not meant for human habitation, such as a car, abandoned buildings, or on the streets (HUD, 2007)."

Other groups, like youths selling snacks, were a bit more problematic to identify. They could be earning money during the day and then return home in the evening. If that were the case then they would fit properly into Lusk's first category of street children of Family Based Street Worker (Lusk, 1992). I counted them as homeless because Irene Rizzini found that the process of children moving to the streets is gradual. First, children visit the street. The next step is creating relationships and routines on the streets. Afterwards, they spend the night on the street, and then it becomes habitual (Butler and Rizzini, 2003). The same group of children could also be Mark Lusk's second or third group: Independent Street Workers and or Child of the Street. These are children who work and sleep on the street with varying amounts of contact with their family (Lusk, 1992). Regardless of their category, those children were not selected in either of my universe of sites.

1. Hypothesis

I settled on two reliable locations in the Maracanã stadium neighborhood, and my hypothesis of the inventory phase of research was that the homeless would be forcibly removed from informal settlements during the World Cup soccer tournament.

The report *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China* (Price and Dayan, 2008) demonstrated that the cleaning process for mega events begins well before the start of such mega-event ceremony. Therefore, I was sure if I could find an informal settlement in close proximity to the soccer tournament, then I could observe their removals. I was convinced because the Maracanã stadium is the main tourist attraction during the World Cup soccer tournament. Therefore, planners want the stadium and its surrounding areas to highlight the city's prosperity. Planners also want visitors to see the city in the same light as New York or Chicago. Accordingly, removing the homeless would be a necessary step (Beaty, 2007).

2. Justification

This research method requires me to locate the best informal settlement closest to the World Cup action. Relying on observable data, I can successfully test my hypothesis. If the homeless in these sites were removed, then I could discuss why and how.

3. Conclusion

Conducting the inventory stage confirmed the difficulty of establishing a population count. Hopper's method helped me find a reliable location. Some locations were not reliable because the homeless adjusted their behaviors frequently. For example, one day in my notes a homeless individual was drying his clothes on park equipment, the next day they were not. Another day, homeless children were selling candy outside a school, another day they were not. Thus, her method helped me find consistently occupied locations and it helped me document conflicting use. I believe it will also help me test my hypothesis.

C. Phenomenological/Informal Conversation Phase

The second phase of data collection involved informal conversation with representatives of an NGO called Project Ester. I also had conversations with homeless adults on the street and at the NGO. In addition, I conducted other conversations with advocates of the homeless and Good Samaritans. The aim of this phase was to understand how the homeless and people close to the homeless viewed the effects of the World Cup soccer tournament. The problem with mere observation is that the data collected only involves what you see and do not see. However, there is more to the experience than what an observation offers. Mere observation, as articulated in phase 1, cannot document the psychological challenges, such as the threat of physical harm. Therefore, to better understand how the homeless are being treated, I needed more contact. I needed to ask the homeless and those close to the homeless what was going on.

1. Implementing Ideas from the Literature

Patterns of mega-event planning that affect the homeless are red zoning, beautification, and exclusionary zones. It was established that hosting mega events encourages cities to improve their image. At the same time, countries hosting mega-events have public policies that enshrine dignity, respect, and fellowship, and the right to use public space. This causes a conflict between the mega-event planners and the rights of the homeless. On one hand, mega-event planners want things to look beautiful while, on the other hand, beautification intrudes on the rights of the seemingly noxious, unattractive members of the community. I needed to do further research into how the homeless are treated during mega-event planning and whether their rights as citizens are waived as “noxious.”

2. Why I chose this method

Mega-events like the World Cup soccer tournament and the Olympic games are continuous processes that occur every four years. It is important to continuously update the literature as policy measures change and cities claim to evolve to meet the humanitarian needs of the vulnerable.

The informal conversation process included informal conversations at the Project Ester, an NGO dedicated to reaching out to the homeless. Project Ester's director is named Ms. Esdriane Cohen. Also, a pastor, volunteers, and the homeless involved with Project Ester shared their insight. Other participants were met casually and, therefore, were not associated with Project Ester. They included other homeless individuals, members of Igreja Nova Vida, and advocates for the homeless from Rio de Janeiro.

Each participant was interviewed once over the course of two visits to Project Ester. Other participants not associated with Project Ester were also questioned once. However, given it was Ms. Cohen's organization, she was always around to give helpful insight and to mediate through communication issues. Each participant understood I was a student from the United States and conducting informal conversations as part of my master's thesis. They also understood they could choose not to answer a question and opt to end the discussion at anytime.

Participating in conversations with the homeless and those close to the homeless was important because mere observation was not telling the entire story. Observing the before and after use along with the conflict did not tell the observer (myself) why certain participants chose to position themselves in certain locations. The informal conversation informed me as to the participants reasoning, e.g. they had a job nearby, they had access to water, and the police are more aggressive because of the World Cup.

3. Hypothesis

The research hypothesis in this phase was: the homeless would be forcibly removed from tourist areas in order to present a clean image of the city. Kennelly and Watt demonstrated how sharing one's experiences can uncover the negative effects of mega-events. The reader learned through the phenomenological process that homeless children had their safe spaces transformed into something unusable. Also, those very same homeless children found themselves excluded from traveling in certain areas. Those shared experiences provided powerful insight into planning process of the 2010 Vancouver Olympics. It also reflected common themes that were reported in previous mega-events such as the 1996 Atlanta and the 2000 Sydney Olympics. Therefore, it is my hypothesis that the trend will remain for the 2014 World Cup soccer tournament.

4. Justification of the method

The appropriate method for understanding the informal conversation requires implementing a qualitative (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984) and phenomenological approach to those conversations (Oliveira, 1997).

As a phenomenological study, my aim is to understand the subject's experience by continually referencing the original experience. More specifically, my aim is to understand how the homeless and people close to the homeless viewed the effects of the World Cup soccer tournament on the lives of the homeless. In this case, the original experience is the planning of the World Cup. Rather than relying on my observations, focusing on the personal experiences of the homeless and their supporters will allow me to do what ethnographers refer to as reflecting on each perspective and appropriately representing the participants (Scott-Jones and Watt, 2010). Therefore, I can better separate myself from my own prejudices and biases. I can more

realistically represent the participants in the writing process by relying on their lived experiences (Oliveira, 1997).

Informal conversation was the most realistic method of data collection. With only two weeks to collect data, I needed to find the best location, the correct circumstances and/or timing where the World Cup and homelessness will collide. Therefore, immersive ethnography was less promising than the phenomenological approach utilized by Tania Chalhub de Oliveira in her ethnographic study, *Homeless Children in Rio de Janeiro: Exploring the meaning of street life* (Oliveira, 1997). Her study aimed at “understanding how homeless children saw their everyday life on the street.” Likewise, my research sought to understand how the homeless and people close to the homeless viewed the World Cup soccer tournament generally. This was strategically better than total immersion. Total immersion would require that I select one site and gain the trust of the homeless, then hope the World Cup and the lives of those homeless people would collide during my observation period. Looking back, opting for total immersion would have caused me to opt out of informal conversations at Project Ester, and, therefore, to lose Site 3.

Using the phenomenological approach will give us a better understanding of their lives and therefore how mega-event planning affects vulnerable people such as the homeless (Van Manen, 1990).

5. Conclusion

Issues such as red zoning, beautification, and exclusionary zones from the literature on homelessness and the mega events were worth observing. The question I want to understand as a researcher is whether the injustices of the past are accelerating or improving. Using informal conversation to understand the lives of the homeless adds to the body of knowledge because I, the researcher, can get closer to understanding how they view their lives in the light of the

upcoming World Cup. Informal conversation along with the phenomenological approach will allow me to learn whether the homeless were forcibly removed or removed by the imminent threat of physical violence.

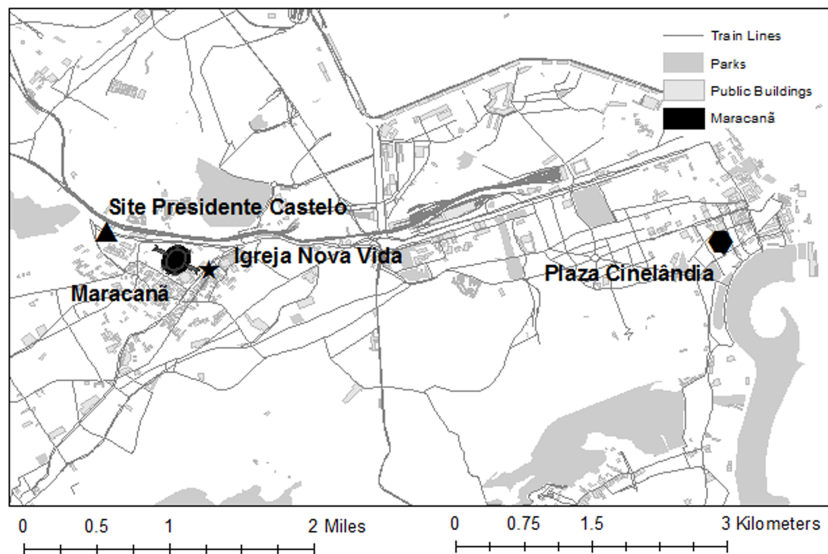
The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the reader to the data collection and methods for this thesis. To summarize, there are two data collection phases. The first phase involved observation while the second included informal conversations. Those two methods will help me test ideas and themes from the homelessness literature, such as, red zoning and informal vending. Those methods will help me test my hypothesis about removals by observing before and after behavior and learning from the perspective of those living in such homeless circumstances.

IV. ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the observational data and informal conversations from my research to make a claim on the hypothesis that the homeless were forcibly removed from tourist areas in order to present a clean image of the city. This chapter will include an analysis of the data collected at the universe of sites. The analysis will begin at the stadium and then follow to sites one, two, and three. Afterwards, I will analysis the data from the informal conversations. Likewise, I will use that data to make a claim on the hypothesis. Finally, I will make a single claim using both sets of data. The reader will come to understand that the homeless were indeed removed from the tourist areas with force and intimidation. As will be explained this chapter, the removals were the results of the conflicting need between the homeless and those looking to take advantage of the financial gains created by the World Cup. The reader will come to understand why the surveyed spaces are important to the homeless and the informal vendors who occupy them.

A. Inventory Phase: The Universe of Sites

Figure 4.1 Universe of Sites



1. The Stadium

From June 7th to the 9th, and throughout the entire research period, there was not a single informal vendor or homeless person selling or sleeping within close proximity of the Maracanã stadium. Armed law enforcement heavily guarded the stadium during the entire research period. Participant #8, an informal vendor, reported he had been told to leave the tourist areas, including the stadium. This participant was not the only one told to leave; before the research period, in 2012, Aldeia Maracanã was closed and the indigenous occupiers were forcibly removed (Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013). Knowledge of the indigenous removal and the heavy presence of armed guards amounted enough to red zone the homeless from the stadium. Red zoning is the process of discouraging a person or group from traveling to specific areas by making them feel uncomfortable or intimidated (Kennely and Watt, 2011).

There was an uncountable number of police surrounding the stadium. At the same time, there were pedestrians and tourists traveling to and from bus stops and the metro plaza. Similar to other mega event reports, the location of the Maracanã stadium caused the areas that were in close proximity to the stadium to be cleaned up (Wood and Abe, 2011). Around Maracanã, the area was highly decorated with World Cup banners. There were banners along the entrance gates and up the walls. In addition, the groundkeepers were laying grass in areas where no grass has grown. The stadium looked presentable. There were also kiosks positioned to help travelers. The workers at the kiosks spoke Portuguese, Spanish, and English. Any tourist who visited the Maracanã stadium likely left with a good impression of Rio de Janeiro.

There were plenty of economic and social reasons for the homeless and informal vendors to occupy the stadium in order to be near people. The stadium had a fitness track that pedestrians use for exercise. It is also a major thoroughfare; if people are transferring from buses they will

likely walk around the stadium. For those reasons, the homeless and informal vendors would have had a greater opportunity to take advantage of the good will of a larger number of pedestrians around Maracanã. There were more people to donate money and more people to buy their crafts. Looking at all of the facts it is unreasonable to conclude that the homeless and informal vendors are not occupying the stadium because they choose not to do so. On the contrary, the homeless had likely been displaced and the stadium was subsequently decorated to present a clean image of the city.

2. Site 1

The hypothesis of this research is that the homeless would have been forcibly removed from this site because it is a tourist area and the city wanted to present a clean image of the city. Specifically, I believed that the homeless would be forcibly removed from the street Rua Paula Sousa, near Igreja Nova Vida, because of the June 16th soccer match. The first site is an informal settlement utilized by the homeless. However, tourists needed the road to gain access to the stadium. The homeless were sighted sleeping on the street Rua Paula Sousa, an access point to the stadium, every visit prior to the match. In addition to sleeping there, the site was a place where the homeless could find access to potable water.

As the day of the match approached, the government put the city on notice that certain streets would close for the World Cup. Rua Paula Sousa was one of the streets scheduled to close. Not only were the homeless displaced from the street, the church attenders were displaced as well. The removal was not discriminatorily enacted against the homeless in this circumstance. Any person who did not have a ticket for the match was forbidden to proceed to or through the location. Though the nature of displacement was not discriminatory, the effect of displacement was. The church attenders could simply opt to stay home or go somewhere else that evening. On

the other hand, the homeless did not have another choice. The homeless relied on the church to provide certain amenities and without the church the homeless lost access to food, potable water, a safe place to sleep, and charity.

Site one had conflicts with the direct needs of the World Cup soccer tournament, and those conflicts led to displacement. Under typical circumstances, the universe of sites would be used by pedestrians, entrepreneurs, religious institutions, and the homeless, because these sites provide an amenities such as access to public transportation, patronage, or abundant customers. The first site, Rua Paulo Sousa, was used as an access point to the church, Igreja Nova Vida. Churchgoers needed access to their religious institution. And, those attenders developed close relationships with the homeless who also occupied the street. Those close social relationships were expressed with patronage and good will. For example, churchgoers offered many of the homeless basic amenities such as water and money. One attendant, Participant #9, offered to use her skills as a social worker to help Participant #7, a homeless man, transition into stable housing. The homeless, likewise, enjoyed access to the streets because they could sleep in groups and of course enjoy the good will they receive from the attenders of the church. Thus, the street, Rua Paulo Sousa, served many purposes such as providing access to a religious institution, providing opportunities for good will, providing a safer sleeping settlement, and providing access amenities like potable water. Those advantages came into conflict with the need of the World Cup to present the city as clean for tourists, and as a result, people were displaced.

On June 15, 2014, Argentina played a match against Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Maracanã stadium. Flashing signs signaled that some roads, including Rua Paulo Sousa, would close at 15:00 hours. Participant #7 was displaced four blocks away. He usually positioned himself near the church entrance. He informed me, through my interpreter, that there were many

guards closer to the stadium. That explained why he relocated far away from the church. Indeed, he was correct; the police blocked the church's access streets. As a result, Participant #7 and the other homeless were displaced. Likewise, the non-homeless churchgoers were also displaced, and that evening the regular church service had to be rescheduled. Similarly, Avenida Presidente Castelo Branco, the second site, demonstrated comparable conflicts to those found at Site One, Rua Paulo Sousa.

3. Site 2

The informal occupants at Site 2 also experienced displacement. However, the nature of displacement differed from Site One. Here, pedestrians still maintained access to the area, however, it went under transformation similar to what was reported in Kennelly and Watts article, *Sanitizing Public Space in Olympic Host Cities: The Spatial Experiences of Marginalized Youth in 2010 Vancouver and 2012 London*. In that article, the homeless reported that their safe spaces had been filled, transformed, and, consequently, made unavailable during the Olympics (Kennelly and Watt, 2011). That was also the case at site two.

Before the start of the World Cup tournament, Avenida Presidente Castelo Branco, site two, was predominately used as a sleeping settlement. In addition, it fulfilled the needs of other informal users such as informal vendors who sold junk foods and crafts. Other occupiers kept warm by a small fire kindled in a metal canister. One occupier's favorite sleeping spot was under the bridge that connects the Maracanã metro station to the main plaza. Similarly, a couple huddled together in the avenue's grassy area. Thus, before the tournament the homeless and informal vendors could utilize the area as a familiar place to sleep and to sell their goods. However, the site was changed greatly in preparation for Maracanã's first match. The site was subjected to a substantial transformation. As a result, the homeless had to find somewhere else to

sleep, and the informal vendors had to find somewhere else to sell their goods. Moreover, the grass in the praça had been raked and the homeless' blankets, feces, and cardboard boxes, had disposed. Not to mention, a play area was erected and guarded by police on horseback. Likewise to Rua Paulo Sousa, the World Cup conflicted with the settlements established patterns of use. The informal occupiers were displaced and its advantage was forfeited. The reasoning is because the area needed to look clean and tidy for the tourist.

In addition, the informal vendors were competing the vendors inside the stadium and within the stadium's close proximity. Therefore, the site became unavailable to them and they had to go (Sánchez and Broudehoux, 2013).

Police on horseback heavily guarded the site, thus making it unavailable. The site normally hosted people sleeping in groups, keeping warm by a fire, and vending. That was not permitted during the matches.

Figure 4.2 Photograph of Police Site 2



On the contrary, the area was turned into a playground. Thus, the area went from an informal sleeping settlement to an impromptu play area for tourists and pedestrians overnight. The change in landscape and the presence of police on horseback intimidated the informal occupiers from the area. The results was, in essence, red zoning the homeless and vendors. Similar to the first site, the second site shared conflicts between the needs of informal occupiers and the World Cup that resulted in the informal occupier's displacement.

Sites one and two both demonstrate how the World Cup preparations displace informal occupiers and causes such occupiers to lose the benefits to which they took advantage. The homeless positioned themselves at locations that provided certain amenities. The most common advantage was the ability to sleep in groups with other homeless. Nonetheless others used the settlements to sell their goods while others enjoyed the good will of others. These occupations conflicted with the needs of the World Cup and so the homeless people were subsequently displaced. Moreover, their settlements at site two were transformed into a playground so passing visitors would never know they were walking on someone's home. The displacement of these occupiers suggest a non-physical removal. It suggests that when the World Cup arrived, the homeless simply step out of the way. The third location in the universe of site will demonstrate how homeless removals operate.

4. Site 3

The two former locations demonstrated the conflict between the informal occupation of public space and needs of the World Cup. However, those locations did not illustrate the nature of the act of displacement itself. The third location depicts that process. The third location was Praça dos Profesores, in Cinêlandia neighborhood. On one hand, the homeless designated certain

areas of the location for sleeping, socializing, begging, and sleeping in groups. On the other hand, non-homeless similarly designated the area for socializing, eating, shopping, and work.

Accordingly, businesses had an interest in the public space's success. Like entrepreneurs, the pedestrians want the praça to be safe and free of unnecessary commotion while they commute back and forth from home, lunch, and work. As a result, conflicts manifested when one party, the homeless, did not have a home or money, yet they need a place to eat, sleep, and socialize. At the same time the other party preferred the area to be attractive to customers.

On June 15, 2014, the conflict between the homeless and the business elites became clear during the Brazilian team's first World Cup match. An outdoor restaurant broadcasted the match on several high definition televisions to attract customers. As a result there was not an empty seat in the restaurant. The restaurant was in a position to make a lot of money. However, because the restaurant was an indoor and outdoor café, a large number of homeless people surrounded it. They, too, wanted to watch Brazil's opening match. At the same time, a man in blue, who acted like the owner of the cafe, took exception to the large number of homeless people, including street children, in close proximity to the restaurant. He signaled to the police for the homeless peoples' removal.

Figure 4.3 Photograph of Street Children at Site 3



Abruptly, two police officers drew their batons and chased the street children away into their apparent sleeping area. When the police returned, they laughed and joked with their comrades about the incident. A few moments later, the children returned, and the police noticed. The police chased the children again, but this time they caught one young boy. Then the police performed a search on the child, perhaps for stolen items or weapons. They were approximately 50 feet from the café at that time. The officers did not find anything, but before they let the child go, they punched him.

In this violent display, the conflict between the needs of homeless and the needs of the business community became manifest during the airing of a major World Cup match in an upscale area for Brazilians and tourists alike. On one hand, the homeless wanted to socialize and enjoy the same privileges as the rest of society. On the other hand, the business community wanted to profit from the World Cup and be free of “noxious” environments. My first trip to Praça dos Professores demonstrated the conflict between the needs of businesses with the needs of the homeless and validated an assumption of homeless removals: if the homeless fail to move before the police arrive, then the police will remove such individuals violently.

My second trip to Site 3, Praça dos Professores was on June 17th. This time there were less homeless and less police and their behavior dramatically changed. The police did, however, station their vehicle next to the informal settlement where the homeless slept. During this trip the homeless were not interested in the World Cup matching being displayed from the street. Their eagerness to participate in the leisure activity was sterilized. The children still begged, but they did not come near the restaurant. Later during the match a pedestrian walked by pulling a cart with a portable television or radio playing the match. It caught the attention of the crowd

(including the homeless children) and they gathered around it until the police dispersed the crowd. During my third visit, the praça was completely empty. Looking back and considering all of the facts, the homeless were removed by the police. The homeless unjust removal was the result conflict of the needs of the homeless and the needs of the business community to taken advantage of the World Cup's benefits.

Site 3 provided a unique opportunity to observe a large number of homeless people interacting with the non-homeless and the police. Unlike the other locations, the homeless youths were actively participating in the festivities. In addition to some homeless people being lively, all the elements were gathered around one location: the homeless, the state police, the business elites, and the World Cup soccer tournament, was aired on the television. Site 3 provided the opportunity to witness firsthand whether the homeless would be removed to present a clean image of the city, even in the presence of patrons of the World Cup festivities. In addition, this site provided an opportunity for me to witness the difference in the treatment of homeless adults and children.

Figure 4.4 Photograph of Police at Site 3



While the children were selected for violence, the homeless adults did not receive the initial violent treatment. In fact, one homeless adult fell asleep on a police officer.

But why were the children targeted for violence and not the adults? Participant #10 argued the children were targeted because they are deviants and thieves. She mentioned a time when street children robbed her. However, it seemed that her position was unsubstantiated and framed by a prejudice she developed as a victim of crime. The State's reaction demonstrated Participant #10's prejudice and, as a result, the police reacted illegally and contrary to the laws established in the Brazilian Constitution. The Brazilian Constitution says:

It is the duty of the family, of society, and of the state to assure the child and adolescent, as a matter of absolute priority, the right to life, health, nutrition, education, leisure, time, vocational training, culture, dignity, respect, liberty, and the fellowship of the family and community, in addition to making them safe from any form of neglect, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty and oppression.

(Constituição Federal [C.F.] [Constitution] art. 227 (Braz.)). Under the Brazilian Constitution, it is the society's and the State's priority to assure the children's fellowship of family and community. Furthermore, it is the society's and the State's priority to keep the children safe from discrimination, violence, and cruelty. It is clear that, in this circumstance, both society and the State acted contrary to these constitutional provisions.

The State discriminated against the children by selecting them for violent removal. The police violated the children's right to peacefully occupy public space (leisure) and fellowship of community. The children were within their rights to watch the World Cup soccer tournament on a television from the street with their fellow Brazilian countrymen. On the contrary, the police were not within their rights by selecting those children.

There was a mountain of people in the praça that day – some of those people were homeless. Most were gathered around the restaurant and watching the World Cup action from the street. By selecting the children without procedural safeguards, such as indiscriminately frisking the one child, the police violently discriminated against those children in violation of their privilege to be protected from violence and discrimination.

The Brazilian Constitution also establishes that those children are to be made a priority and protected from oppression (Constituição Federal [C.F.] [Constitution] art. 227 (Braz.)). Above all, the literature demonstrates that these children need protection from oppression. Irene Rizzini would say that if these children are not homeless, then they are establishing and developing routines and habits that would gradually transfer them to the street (Rizzini, 2003). Oliveira would say the presence of children sleeping in groups demonstrates their need to find safety on the street and utilizing a form of collective action (Oliveira, 1997). Irene Rizzini would also say that the children are developing routines for living on the street because the children have a weak support base in their home, in essence, their home is likely toxic and consequently the children are gravitating to the streets to have their needs met in places that are not their home. Children gathering in small groups, begging, playing, and sleeping near informal settlements should signal to society and the State that the children's needs are not being met. Clearly, when children organize in small or large groups, beg, and sleep on the streets that they are not safe from neglect, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty, and oppression (Oliveira, 1997; Rizzini, 2003). Again, based on these rights in light of the display of force, the police violated their duty to protect these children.

The man in blue's gesture to the State resembled Glodstien's perspective. On the one hand, the elites view youths as victims of society, while on the other hand; the children are

considered dangerous nuisances (Goldstein, 2003). The man in blue represents society; therefore, it is also the man in blue's priority to take reasonable steps to protect the children from discrimination, violence, and cruelty. Under the standard established in the constitution, the man in blue should have relied on State created tools to see the children's needs are being met, such as reporting that children are sleeping on the streets to an agency that has the ability to help. But, the owner did not do that; the owner took the more immediate route. The man in blue's gesture did not mean, "help these children"; rather, his gesture meant "get rid of these rats because they are infecting my clean environment." The State police reacted as if they were not responsible for the *deviants* (Huggins and Mesquita, 2000). Accordingly, by beating and chasing the children away, the man in blue and the police violated the principles of the Brazilian Constitution, the supreme law of the land, and were acting in direct opposition of public policy.

The 1990 Child and Adolescent Statute was also violated when the owner and the State police selected the children out of the mountain of people in the crowd (watching World Cup action) and saw to it that they should be removed from the area. The 1990 Statute ensure "equality of treatment, universal service, special priority attention to individuals who are still developing as people (Klees, 2000 p. 87)." In addition, the statute grants the privilege to freely move about the country and the right to use public spaces (Klees, 2000).

Under the Child and Adolescent Statute, the children were within their rights to watch the World Cup match in a public forum. Since the general public was within their rights to watch the soccer match from a public side street, the children were also within their rights to watch the soccer match from the same side street. The statute ensures that children are not to be discriminated against. To pluck the children from a mountain of people and treat them differently

is offensive to the laws of the land and reflects poorly on the public policy established in the Constitution and the 1990 Child and Adolescent Statute.

Under the statute, children have freedom of movement and the right to use public spaces. In essence, the children have the right to be there at Site 3 to view the game. The statute also grants the right of free expression and to engage in leisure activities (Klees, 2000). There is not an activity more expressive and leisurely than cheering for one's favorite sports team while they compete in the World Cup. On the face of the activity, the children were within their rights.

The man in blue and the State's actions resemble the illegal reaction to crime discussed by Teresa Caldeira, in *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. The State demonstrated a common perception about violence: the biggest threat of violence to these children comes from public, private guards, and extermination groups. Hence, it was not a pedestrian, a drug dealer, or another homeless individual who was the threat, but rather, the biggest threat was from the State police acting on behalf of the business elite (Caldeira, 2000).

This section concludes my analysis of the "universe of sites" in Rio de Janeiro. I observed the homeless peoples' use of the sites before and after the start of the World Cup. I was able to conclude that the homeless were displaced from those sites because of conflicting needs those who expect to profit from the World Cup and those who have more fundamental needs in the spaces. Each site (the stadium and sites one, two, and three), positioned the police in areas that the homeless have or could find advantageous. But, the homeless were red zoned from those areas because such areas needed to appear clean and tidy for tourists and potential customers. The second part of this analysis will involve the use of data collected from informal conversations. Like the previous section, it aims to answer the same hypothesis that the homeless were being forcibly removed from tourist areas in order to present a clean image of the city.

B. Informal Conversation

As explained above, the homeless people in Brazil developed strategic lifestyle choices and positioned themselves in locations where they could take advantage of financial opportunity and charity. At the same time, the places where they positioned themselves conflict with the entities that looked to take advantage of the benefits of the World Cup. Thus, it is clear that the efforts of the police are focused on encouraging the homeless to stay away from the World Cup festivities in order to promote the economic advantages of the World Cup for the more powerful entities. I learned by interviewing the homeless, non-governmental workers, church attendants, and homeless support groups that World Cup-related efforts by the police have disrupted the homeless peoples' and street vendors' lifestyles, causing them to become more transient, aggressive, and elusive in an attempt to avoid physical violence by the police.

Participant #6 and Participant #7 chose to sleep on the streets. It was their preferred lifestyle and they had established habits and routines within that lifestyle. One such routine consisted of sleeping in groups. They also frequented locations where they were likely to find financial charity, like churches. Furthermore, Participant #6 explained that he sells bread near his sleeping settlement as one of his jobs. Over the years these participants, and likely other homeless people like them, learned where and how to earn money for food.

Yet, all the while safety was a concern for them. Participant #6 explained that he is constantly under attack from the police. Ms. Cohen, an advocate for the homeless, has experienced an increased aggressiveness in the homeless since the planning of the World Cup soccer tournament. She has witnessed physical removals and experienced the homeless becoming more aggressive towards her in return. It is her belief that the homeless are becoming more violent because the police are acting more violent towards them. Participant #6 also

explained that, on the one hand, he might feel safer because of the increased security while, on the other hand, the police tried to remove and attack him late at night. Therefore, the homeless people try to avoid being seen by the police because of the threat of violence. Thus, when the police are around, the homeless are nowhere to be found. Participant #7 demonstrated this by staying four blocks away from the nearest police on the night of a World Cup match at Maracanã stadium. An explanation came from Participant #8, an informal vendor. He said he was told not to be around during the games, and he acknowledged, through my interpreter, “it is very dangerous when they force people to leave.” Participant #4 shared that sentiment. She admitted to sleeping on the street from time to time and said that she has witnessed the police beating other homeless people and burning their property. The result of the police targeting the homeless has been a massive shifting around of their movement to avoid being targeted.

Participant #5 recalled that the process started two years ago. Consequently, disrupting the reliability of their established routine over such a long period of time must be extremely frustrating. Participant #9 is a social worker and attends the church that supports Participant #7. She said that members of the church bring him and other homeless people potable drinking water. They also give them money from time to time. According to Participant #9, Participant #7 has a reputation of getting upset if members of the church do not give money. Considering how upsetting it is to have a link in his established routine fail to live up to expectations, it is reasonable to understand how other homeless are highly frustrated and becoming aggressive in return when state police intentionally target and disrupt their lifestyles. Because of those accounts it is highly likely that the homeless became more aggressive at times and elusive at other times to avoid the threat of physical violence and having their reliable routine disrupted. In summary, my research shows that, in order to avoid being targeted and physically removed from

their support system, the homeless people in Rio de Janeiro became more elusive and stayed away from the World Cup.

Now I will return to the observational analysis and pair it with the informal conversation to bring it all together. Looking at all the facts together, the reader will be able to conclude that the homeless are definitely being red zoned and the reader will have a clear understanding of how red zoning during the 2014 World Cup Operated.

C. Observational Analysis Revisited

Mere observation is not always enough to establish physical removals. The only circumstance that provide such a *per se* demonstration of intimidation came at Site 3. The other sites required more corroboration to establish a stronger conclusion. I will attempt to revisit the analysis of the Stadium, Site 1, and Site 2, with supplemental data from the informal conversations.

The primary question is *why would informal vendors and the homeless avoid the stadium when its heavy population provided an abundant amount of potential customers and charitable givers?* It makes most sense to occupy those areas and take advantage of the densely populated area.

At the outset, the Stadium was undergoing beautification. Grounds keepers were decorating the stadium with World Cup banners. Groundkeepers were also laying grass in areas where no grass has grown. In essence, the crew was making the stadium look presentable. Thus, the Stadium was a very busy location and officials were very concerned about it appearing clean, festive, and presentable.

Secondly, the stadium was heavily guarded. The homeless and their supporters made clear that the police are very dangerous. Through my interpreter, Participant #8 said, “it is very

dangerous when [the police] force people to leave.” In addition, Participant #4 said she has witnessed the police beating other homeless people and burning their property. My own personal observation included seeing the police beat a child. Moreover, the indigenous were already removed from Aldeia Maracanã two years ago at the beginning of the World Cup preparations. Furthermore, the homeless understand the threat of violence they face when the police are around. Therefore, when the police are around, people like Participant #7 and Participant #8 know not to be there. Thus, the police did not need to physically remove anyone from the stadium or Sites 1 and 2. The homeless understood the consequences of venturing to the stadium and the threat of physical violence kept the homeless away.

D. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to make a final claim on the data by analyzing it. Using observational data and informal conversation, I was able to conclude that the four sites (the stadium, site one, site two, and site three) used police intimidation and violence to encourage the homeless and informal occupiers from using the area. It worked because the police had a reputation of being violent and businesses that looked to benefit from the World Cup festivities encouraged such intimidation. However, such use of police intimidation is contrary to the needs of the homeless and informal occupiers. Over the years, the homeless people have established routines and lifestyles that position them to take advantage of certain amenities like charity and informal jobs. Moreover, specific acts of police intimidation against children are contrary to Brazilian law. The Brazilian Constitution and the Child and Adolescent statute provide certain safeguards and privileges for children who want to freely and peacefully move about the city and enjoy its social atmosphere. The acts of intimidation and violence were the results of conflicts

between the needs of the homeless and the needs of those who look to benefit from the World Cup.

V. DISCUSSION

Here I would like to introduce the discussion chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to link the information from the literature review to the results in the analysis. I will demonstrate how the research advances the knowledge established in the literature. Accordingly, I will compare the results of my work with the existing theories. As a result new ideas will emerge and the knowledge will therefore be advanced. In order to fulfill this goal, I will first review and compare the current theories and practices with the conduct of my own study. I will also suggest ways to expand the theories and their points of view while questioning the literature's key concepts. Following those steps, the reader should have an understanding of how the data connects to the literature and how I fulfilled my goal as a researcher. But first, to understand if I fulfilled my goals as a researcher, one needs to understand the aim of the research. This project aimed to understand how the homeless are treated during the 2014 Fifa World Cup soccer tournament in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The hypothesis was that the homeless would be forcibly removed from tourist areas in order to present a clean image of the city. I was able to come to this conclusion because of what the literature said regarding homelessness and mega events, so I will start there.

A. Review of Existing Theories

I will start this discussion with a review on homelessness in Rio de Janeiro. The literature regarding homelessness in Brazil is focused on the experience of youths. A significant body of research is dedicated to understanding what it means to be a youth on the street. Mark Lusk explained the diversity of street situations involving youths. He found that 21 percent work on the streets and return home while 50 percent work on the streets and sleep there only periodically. An even smaller group sleeps on the street full time and rarely goes to school, while

a fourth group works and sleeps on the street with their parents and returns to their distant home on the weekend. Other researchers, such as Rosemberg, were simpler. She distinguished between “children of the street” and “children on the street.” Children of the street are those children who made the streets their home. The other group spends time on the street to make money. Afterwards, those children return home to their families. As one can see, researchers spent a significant amount of time understanding the nature and experience of youth homelessness.

Understanding that there are numerous ways to describe homeless youths, two things are clear from the literature. First, once one is on the streets one must work in order to be fed, and the second is youths are treated like illegal occupiers of public space. The literature points out that street life requires the homeless to work informal jobs like selling food and guarding cars. The homeless learn these habits gradually as they slowly transition from domestic life to street life. Even though the literature said that the overwhelming reason why people are on the streets is to earn money, they are treated like illegal occupiers of space and met with violence. The homeless opt to sleep in groups as a defense against such violence. Violence comes mainly from public and private guards and extermination groups. Thus violence is a scary reality to their life.

The data I collected reflected what the literature said. I saw groups of people occupying public space in different ways. I saw adults doing their laundry (drying their clothes) on children’s park equipment. I saw youths working odd jobs such as juggling and selling snacks. I also saw youths sleeping on the streets with their parents. A theme from my data was the homeless sleeping in groups. The places the homeless slept typically included other homeless people. The data also echoed the theme regarding the threat of violence towards the homeless. I observed acts and reactions to violence in addition to hearing their stories. When my wife and I were at the Cinenlandia praça we saw children harassed and physically abused by public and

private guards on behalf of a restaurant owner. A subsequent visit demonstrated the effect the police's presence had on the homeless. The police positioned themselves near the homeless sleeping settlements and monitored their behaviors. The homeless consequently pretended to be uninterested in the World Cup festivities. Eventually, the homeless were pushed from the praça and forced to start over somewhere else in the city.

B. Second Fundamental Principle Reviewed

Another fundamental principle of mega event planning is the effort to beautify the city for the visitors. The purpose of the beautification processes is to attract “desirable” people to visit and relocate to the host city. As a result, host cities enact policies that encourage cleanliness. The policies involve red zoning, brand exclusive zoning, and redevelopment.

Red zoning is the process of discouraging a person or group from traveling to a specific area using ordinances, changing landscapes, and/or intimidation. Other policies create monopolies for major investors, like Budweiser. These policies prohibited the advertisement and the sale of competing products in such zones i.e creating brand exclusive zones. And consequently, traditional/informal vendors are also prohibited from selling near the zones even though, they otherwise would have the privilege. Redevelopment often depends on government using public funds to transform deteriorating neighborhoods into newer residential and commercial spaces that will attract a wealthier population. In order to achieve such an objective, thousands are displaced and pushed away therefore causing more homelessness.

The data collection during the trip reflected the themes associated with beautification by demonstrating elements of red zoning and exclusive brand zones. The areas in close proximity to the Maracanã stadium were constantly being cleaned and decorated by a grounds crew while public guards patrolled the stadium. However, there were not informal pedestrians such as

beggars, street vendors, or street performers looking to take advantage of the highly populated area. The stadium was likely one of busiest places on the planet, yet no informal vendors were selling goods like candy, arts and crafts, nor beggars seeking charity. Participant #8, usually sold his crafts around the stadium, but was told he was forbidden during the World Cup events. In essence, he was told he could not benefit from the World Cup festivities. Participant #8 also expressed his fear for the police and said it is very dangerous when they force people to leave. Therefore, the threat of force proved to be enough to push people away from the festivities. Site 1 acted as an informal sleeping settlement and Participant #7 used it and fled from it when the police entered the scene. His responses to my questions implied that he did not need to be told to leave. The sight and the reputation of public or private guards was enough to send him fleeing from the protected World Cup action. The public and private guards also demonstrated red zoning at Site 3 when the site transformed into a World Cup location. The settlement was used for multiple purposes. It was part informal and the other formal with businesses and restaurants. Consequently, once a restaurant displayed the World Cup match, it caught the attention of both the homeless and non-homeless. Those interested approached the outdoor restaurant and watched the match from the street. The owner of the restaurant didn't like the homeless around his place of business and had the police scare them away. The homeless children were chased, frisked, and assaulted. My follow up visit to the site showed the homeless' interest in the subsequent Brazil match had been sterilized by the police. As a result, the homeless stayed away from the restaurant and its television.

I found beautification similar to the literature at Site 2. The site experienced a complete transformation of public space. The areas were informal sleeping settlement. However, by the time the World Cup fans arrived, they would have never known. The entire area was swept

clean. The sleep trails like the human feces, newspapers, and cardboard boxes were removed. The grass was raked, and a play area was erected. Therefore, similar to that of the Kennelly and Watts article, the homeless had their safe places filled and made unavailable.

C. Third Fundamental Principle reviewed: Displacement.

The third fundamental principle of mega-event planning involved displacement caused by redevelopment. When host cities are awarded rights to host such events, they conduct massive redevelopment projects to prepare for and accommodate tourists. Such cities undergo expensive makeovers. According to the Center of Housing Rights and Evictions, over 2 million people have been displaced over the last 20 years. As a result, those displaced are at high risk of becoming homeless. Moreover, cities are known for using these redevelopment agendas to relocate undesired ethnic groups out of the city to attract a wealthier demographic to settle in the region all the while, accommodating the needs of the mega event and tourists. One example from the literature included Rio de Janeiro's historic Adboriginal Museum. It was used as a place of refuge for natives when they visited the city. Because of its close proximity to the Maracanã stadium it was determined to be demolished and its inhabitants evicted to make space for a parking lot.

The data did not validate nor disprove the literature on redevelopment and displacement because of the nature of my research. The redevelopment and displacement efforts took place years before the start of the mega event. Meanwhile, I conducted my research during the event. In essence, a significant portion of the redevelopment and displacement efforts for the World Cup had run its course before my arrival. That does not mean the redevelopment effort had come to an end. In Atlanta the efforts continued after the 1996 Olympics. Nonetheless, my research effort involved observations of "before and after use" and informal conversation. To successfully

observe redevelopment in my universe of sites I would have needed to be in the city before the indigenous were removed from the Adboriginal Museum and/or before the Maracanã metro station was built. Unfortunately that was not the case; my research method involved observation and informal conversation with people who experience long term or habitual homelessness. Therefore, my research method did not position me to collect data on redevelopment and displacement.

D. Differences between principles and results

Indeed, there are many similarities with the literature and the data results; nonetheless, there are differences as well. We've already seen that the results do not affirm the literature's discussion on redevelopment and displacement because of the nature of the research. However, there are other differences with the literature and results. The literature's discussion on "homelessness in Rio de Janeiro" and mega events is heavily youth centered. Scholars who study homelessness in Brazil could essentially be called "youth homeless scholars" because the foundation of the body of knowledge is about youths. But that leave open a question, don't homeless youths grow to become homeless adults, or do things miraculously work out when they become adult age? The literature has not answered that question. Similarly, my results do not fill those holes. They do, however, provide hints to the strategic lives of the homeless adults in Rio de Janeiro. Secondly, the results pay closer attention to the legitimate role homeless adults plays in the economy. And third, it demonstrates how brand exclusive zones inhibit their participation in the economy during the World Cup tournament.

The literature discusses one of the paths to youth homelessness through continuous learned routines on the streets that slowly transition them to life on the street. The literature establishes that life on the street requires the homeless to find work in order to feed themselves.

Consequently, the homeless youths find work as shoeshine boys, as candy vendors, as beggars, and as car watchmen. The literature frames those behaviors as learned routines. This implies, *the youths go out and do the same or similar thing and see what happens*. The data, on the other hand, establishes something different for adults. The adults are more strategic rather than habitual. Adults position themselves in locations that provide certain amenities. Participant #7 lived outside of the church because the churchgoers provided water and money. He would then use the money to buy food. Similarly, Participant #8 sold his crafts outside of the stadium. He likely saved his money or spent it in the formal economy as well. He also suggests he would have continued doing it during the World Cup but for the instruction from the police to leave the area. Furthermore, Participant #6 explained that he opts to sleep on the street. He sleeps in a location near to where he works selling bread, parking cars, and receives charity. Therefore, their behaviors are not mere routines *like walking one's dog in the morning*; they are strategic life choices. These observations are relevant because most developed countries have passed child labor laws.

Because of child labor laws the behaviors, whether routine or strategic, might be the difference between having legally recognized right to compensation. For example, if a country's law does not recognize a youth below a certain age's right to work, then that youth may not have the legally recognized right to earn money near the Maracanã stadium regardless of the mega event. On the other hand, since homeless adults do not have the same limitation they could calculate their expected benefit from the time they are red zoned from the World Cup locations. For instance, Participant #6 could calculate every Saturday he receives 50 reais. He also sells bread and earns 200 reais a week (I'm making these numbers up, now). He also parks cars and

makes 200 reais a week as well. If the government wants to red zone him from the area, then he should be compensated his expected profit.

E. Suggestions for literature on homelessness and mega events

The literature on homelessness and mega events needs to move forward in two ways. First it should be less focused on lives of homeless youths and more so on homeless adults. Second, while focusing on homeless adults consider their financial interests.

Homeless youths and homeless adults are treated differently. An example from the data resulted in Cinelandia. On June 12th, I took note of a homeless adult who fell asleep on the police. Later those police chased and harassed homeless youths watching the World Cup match on a public street. The police harassed the children, but not the adults. Another difference is that the majority of homeless youths sleep on the street periodically to return to their parent's home. This truth may not follow for adults.

While we spend more time understanding adult homelessness, we should consider their participation in the economy. Once we understand their earning and spending habits, we can then compensate them for their financial losses resulting from red zoning. The cost might be so nominal that investors and planners will gladly pay it to avoid bad publicity and human rights complaints. With that in mind, I acknowledge that financial payouts cannot cure a system that lack respect and tolerance for the less fortunate members of its society. And, I believe the aim of society should be one that strives to eliminate favoritism and inequality.

F. Conclusion

The project aimed at understanding how the homeless would be treated during the World Cup soccer tournament and I hypothesized they would be forcibly removed from tourist areas to present a clean image of the city. I found strong similarities with my results and literature, yet

differences and unanswered questions. Similarities involved, the homeless' behaviors such as sleeping in groups, trying to earn money for food, and avoiding acts of violence. On the other hand, I found that the research method did not position me to collect data on redevelopment and displacement. Nonetheless, I still found subtle differences with the lives of the adult and youth homeless. Such difference needs to be explored further or justified for being ignored. Thus, I was able to suggest focusing on adults and their financial interests as ways to move the body of knowledge forward and perhaps find a solution to these issues of exclusionary zoning.

VI. CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the experience of injustice through this research sparked fundamental feelings of fairness. I witnessed children being harassed and assaulted by police in order to secure a clean and tidy place for elites to conduct business. Being a witness did many things to me: scared me, confused me, and changed the way I would conduct research during the second phase of the research trip. As a result, being a witness was problematic because it changed my posture as a researcher. In some sense, it created a bias for the vulnerable. Furthermore, witnessing injustice made me question Brazil's cultural values and their intolerance of children, who are the drivers of Brazil's future.

My preeminent feeling after witnessing injustice is confusion. Certainly, the literature provides answers as to why such acts of violence occur, but they are never sufficient. The literature indicates that the police's reaction was typical for Brazil. The acts of injustice demonstrated a well-known truth about the lives of homeless youths – the greatest threat to their lives comes from extermination groups, such as the police.

The police have a known reputation of violence that survived the 1988 democratic revolution. As a result, on July 23rd, 1993, hooded gunmen traveled in private vehicles and opened fired on 45 children and killed eight of them. In spite of the apparent tragedy, the public sided with the police. Similarly, during my research trip, the spectators at the café were able to ignore the violence against the children in the same way. How could an evident act of injustice against an outcast group be met with a blind eye? Participant 10 summed up the motivation of the spectators: "They were probably stealing." Even if the children were stealing, I would not want my local police beating my children.

I will never know if the children were stealing or planning to rob someone, but, regardless, the encounter was a form of intimidation from the police. Lensky, in her 2002 book, *The Best Olympics Ever?: Social Impacts of Sydney 2000*, wrote that forms of intimidation, like the injustice I witness in the plaza, had the intended purpose of hiding the “impure” groups of people from the tourist areas in order to protect the restaurant’s financial interest. The implication was that the business elites need a clean place to conduct business. As a result, the right of the homeless children to use and occupy public space was ignored. As Kennely and Watt wrote in their 2011 piece, *Sanitizing Public Space*, the injustice served to discourage the children from returning and considering the plaza as a potential location that could provide certain amenities.

From the proprietor’s point of view, he simply did not want a mountain of homeless people surrounding his restaurant. It follows that he believed it was unjust for the homeless to occupy the same location as his restaurant. When he gestured to the police, he was demonstrating his privilege. As a result, the leisure area became regulated away from the homeless. Nevertheless, the process was unjust. The police’s first reaction should never be violence; to the contrary, it should be peaceful dialogue.

It is clear that, in a society that respects the orderly rule of law, the first problem-solving mechanism for the police should not be violence. The police should have – at the least – given the children an opportunity to explain or demonstrate that they are not a threat. The children should have been informed that they were being watched.

The officer’s reaction did not bring about justice, nor did the support of the officer’s comrades. The fellow officers laughed and shook each others’ hands, as if it were ‘all in a days work.’ If that is the case, then I worry that Brazil is not a society that can be trusted with the

needs of the vulnerable. In addition to the police finding pleasure in injustice, I was at a loss to see the lack of a reaction from the patrons. The patrons are people with children (and with experience of being children). How could one pretend to be blind to acts of violence and injustice against helpless children?

I am disappointed at what the acts of violence and the lack of response from the patrons said about the culture and attitudes in Brazil. First, I did not expect any patrons to get up and physically stop the police or get into a shouting match with the police. I was looking for a basic recognition from the patrons that an act of violence occurred. I did not witness any reaction at all. The act of violence might as well have not happened because the patrons acted blind to it. The lack of recognition from the patrons connoted a lack of empathy and tolerance for those different from themselves. On the other hand, it could demonstrate a societal inability to speak out.

I believe that the patrons did not notice the injustice because such an act by the police is expected; yet it could also be true that the Brazilian society is not used to speaking out against the government. Brazil is a relatively young democracy that earned its freedom from a military dictatorship in 1988. However, recently the news in Brazil has been littered with many stories of street protests for the 2014 World Cup. Such protests are unusual in Brazil. I remember being told that the World Cup protests were the first since Brazil won its freedom from the dictatorship. Perhaps the patrons at the restaurant did notice, but are not as familiar with speaking out as other societies are, such as the United States.

I was scared for the children's safety. I knew the greatest threat to their wellbeing was the police. The police's chests were puffed and their weapons were drawn. The officer's posture reminded me of that of professional boxers standing toe to toe before a fight, and the children

knew to run. Everything happened fast; there was not much time to think, only react. I remember hoping that the children would escape. And, I remember being afraid for the child who was caught. Afterwards, I knew that this type of activity by police was precisely why there were no homeless people at the Maracanã stadium.

Because the act of violence was quick and brief, it is understandable that some people could miss it. Consequently, if the researcher (myself) were not looking in the correct direction at the right time, then he would miss the collision between the homeless, the World Cup, and the police. Because the acts of injustice were brief, I did not have much time to think. I remember seeing the police approach the children with an aggressive posture, and knowing what was next. I therefore did not know what to think or do. The first time the children ran and escaped. The first chase started and ended so fast, I did not think much of it until one child was caught minutes later and assaulted.

The act of violence created a problem. Because I witnessed injustice I felt convicted both practically and ethically. Practically, it caused trouble in the research. It was problematic because I worried that the homeless would react defensively or aggressively to me, another masculine figure. Therefore, I was unable to interview those homeless children. Consequently, I was not able to create dialogue with, arguably, the most important group of people in my research. While opening dialogue, I felt ethical pressure from myself to have a solution or to make a contribution to the participants who were suffering injustice from the government and their agents. It felt superficial approaching homeless youths with questions about police violence when I did not have anything to offer them in return. I therefore contributed alms either by purchasing whatever they may have been selling or offering money.

However, those actions did not help them with the police brutality. I wanted to know why they assaulted the children. But I was uncomfortable and scared to approach them. The act of violence corroborated the stories and warnings I received about the aggressive reputation of the police. Moreover, as I had been warned, the police are not friendly. I worried that my behavior could have been confused for a crime. If the police confused my posture as a possible or imminent threat, I could be arrested for assault or another crime. If the police checked my bag and camera they would have found pages of notes and pictures of police, and they properly could arrest me as a spy (stranger things have happened). More importantly, when one travels abroad they do so at the relative submission of the rights and privileges they enjoyed in their home country. Thus, if I were arrested for any reason, the Brazilian government could treat me however they wanted and my status as an American may not help me.

Tolerance and empathy are fundamental principles of democratic civil societies that embrace the rule of law. These principles demonstrate the society's ability to treat people of different races and economic classes equally. Here, the actions of the police demonstrated the perspective that homeless children are not equal members of the Brazilian society and such children do not enjoy fundamental protections against violence. The lack of protest or even acknowledgement by the public demonstrates that Brazilian society does not see the acts of violence against children from the government as objectionable or deplorable.

Tolerance is an important value for society and, especially, for development because the world is becoming more global. One brief way to look at the value of tolerance is to consider Richard Florida's "Creative Class." In short, he demonstrates that communities that prosper are those that are tolerant of populations outside of mainstream society. In short, the implications are clear: people want to live where they are treated as equal members of society. If the homeless are

not being treated equally, then it likely follows that women, homosexuals, people with disabilities, and ethnic minorities are also not being treated equally.

There is an underlying issue with research that requires witnessing injustice: the researcher must witness the injustice. It is a problematic issue because injustice is often suggestive rather than proactive. The children being assaulted at the Plaza at Cinelandia is a good example of injustice because it was obvious. On the contrary, other acts of injustice were not obvious. My first trip to Maracanã stadium demonstrated an act of injustice that was very suggestive, rather than proactive or obvious. During the World Cup soccer tournament, Maracanã stadium and its immediate surrounding area did not host one homeless individual. Instead, the surrounding areas of the stadium remained heavily guarded by police. The police allowed non-homeless individuals the privilege of using the area, but not the homeless. One needed to leave the stadium and its immediate neighborhoods to find the homeless occupying space. The implications were clear- the homeless were not allowed near the stadium without suffering discipline from the police.

That was problematic because, if I did not have the skill to identify subtle segregations, then the data would have been lost. In addition, the homeless' position in society is fundamental. They know or will learn the areas they are allowed to occupy. Thus, physical removals were not always necessary. The homeless often drifted to wherever the police were not. If the police did not want the homeless at the stadium, then the police's presence was enough to keep them away. Consequently, it was difficult for me as a researcher to confirm suggestive behavior. I chose to corroborate it with open dialogue with the participants. Hearing the participant say, the police told him not sell his crafts during the matches helped corroborate is required to confirm behaviors that were otherwise suggestive.

Witnessing injustice affected the choices I would make as a researcher. The most obvious demonstration is how it changed my focus from finding the collisions of homeless, the police, and the World Cup to understanding why such collision are violent and understanding people's reaction to them. Witnessing injustice changed subsequent interview questions from those about people's perceptions of the World Cup to their perceptions of violence. Naturally, when I met other homeless people, I wanted to know whether they, too, had been victims of violence.

Witnessing injustice also corroborated warnings I had received about the dangers of traveling at night. I had been told not to approach the homeless at night and I was told to stay away from the police because they are aggressive. I realized the warning that the homeless are more aggressive because of the police is also true. Therefore, I was more cautious of the time and place that I approached the homeless and avoided the police.

Injustice created problems for me as a researcher, but I can image that injustice also was problematic for spectators and planners, as well. The main problem that arose for me as a researcher and a witness to injustice is that it caused me to second guess my choices. I knew the children had been abused; I did not know how to approach the children as another adult. I worried that they would not participate or take their frustration with adult males out on me. In addition, the consequences of injustice created problems. The homeless were swept around the city and difficult to find. My opportunities to observe and to reach out to the homeless were sharply reduced. In some instances I had help, but the homeless still could not be found.

During my research trip, a Brazilian court issued a court order prohibiting the forced removals of the homeless from tourist areas. Brazilian prosecutors found that the police were not complying with the court order. This places planners in the awkward position of being represented as the party who is issuing or advocating the removals when actually it is the police

or agents of the police who are conducting the removals. Planners might be represented as the ones conducting the removals when that might not be the case. As a result, planners and government officials were put in a situation where they needed to establish a form of “consumer trust” with the public or media who might share the stories of human rights injustices. Planners and other legitimate governmental bodies might, therefore, be in a position where they were forced to apologize for the behaviors of the police and their agents who were acting in defiance of a court order.

Another societal challenge related the police injustice is the financial burden it created. There is a price attached to the excessive number of police guarding the stadium and other tourist areas. At the same time, residents of Brazil were protesting the price increase of public transportation and the reduction of funding for public health services to fund the World Cup. Since funds were limited and public unrest was growing, the excessive cost attached to paying police and government agents to guard the stadium and tourist areas was an economic and ethical dilemma that faced Brazilian society. Should the government pay police and their agents for excessive measures to guard tourist areas when funds and public dissent are an issue?

There are problems associated with the relationship between tourism and injustice. The high number of police circulating in the tourist areas created a tension that caused such areas to feel like I was walking through a crime scene or war zone. At the Plaza at Cinelandia, there was a mountain of police occupying the streets and tourist areas. The police surrounded the Municipal Theatre and the statue in the center of the plaza as if they were protecting the area from being contaminated. In addition, the police’s positioning around Maracanã stadium also created a tension that caused a tourist like me to not want to spend too much time around the stadium because I did not like being surround by violent armed guards.

Being a witness of injustice changed me as a researcher and I can imagine it caused problems for planners, as well. The injustice was the result of police violating court orders against removal of the homeless. Did planners want the homeless removed from the tourist areas? Did they learn from the human rights violations from the past? Like other mega events, the homeless were intimidated and scared away from tourist areas.

Being a witness to injustice scared me. It confused me and changed my intentions. I worried for the lives of those in danger and I wondered why so many people acted like they did not notice. How can the city of Rio de Janeiro justify such extreme measures? The country of Brazil was in a situation where residents and spectators were protesting the high cost of public transportation to pay for the event while at the same time they were paying a large number of police and their agents' salaries to guard tourist areas. This paradox, and the conclusion of my research, ultimately demonstrates the Brazilian society's intolerance for ethnic groups and social classes different than their own.

APPENDIX

Figure A.1 Photograph from the inside of the Project Ester building. It is the logo of their sponsor, Word Made Flesh Brasil



Figure A.2 Photograph of the Maracanã stadium at night



Figure A.3 Photograph of Participant #5 wearing the yellow polo, Participant #6 wearing the dark blue sweater, and also myself wearing the light blue t-shirt and research assistant wearing the purple tank-top



Figure A.4 Photograph of Participant #6



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