REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL COALITION OF LOCAL COMMITTEES FOR A PEOPLE’S WORLD CUP AND OLYMPICS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Mega-Events and Human Rights Violations in Brazil


June 2012
The people of Brazil, like people around the world, practice and love sports. And perhaps even more than other people, Brazilians have a tremendous passion for football (soccer). Brazilians also love their cities and welcome visitors from all parts of the world with great hospitality and joy. People from other countries come to visit and experience our rich culture, our music, our heritage, our extraordinary environmental diversity, our joys, and also our problems – the greatest of which is the dramatic social and environmental injustice that has marked the history and shaped the current realities of this immense country.

This is the Executive Summary of our Report on the 2014 FIFA World Cup, which will be hosted by 12 Brazilian cities\(^1\) and the 2016 Summer Olympics, which will take place in the city of Rio de Janeiro. A dossier on major sporting events must have as a central theme the practice of sports, and of the peaceful cultural and athletic relations among all of the people on planet Earth. It should speak to our joy at having been selected to host these two important events.

But that is not what this report is about. Written by the National Coalition of Local Committees for a Peoples’ World Cup and Olympics, this Report and Summary speak of the lesser-known side of these mega-events. It highlights the 170,000 people whose right to housing is either being violated or threatened. It speaks of the millions of citizens whose rights to information and participation in public decision-making processes have been trampled by elected authorities, and by private entities (the International Olympic Committee, the Brazilian Olympic Committee, and local organizing committees for these major events), and large corporations, to whom governments are delegating public responsibilities. It speaks of the systematic disregard for the law, and for environmental rights, workers’ rights and the right to work, and consumers’ rights.

The report also highlights the wastefulness of public resources, which should be dedicated to the needs of our population: a national housing deficit of 5,500,000 homes, with another 15,000,000 urban households lacking minimum conditions for habitability. And this is without even mentioning the precariousness of our health and public education systems.

Equally or more troubling than the hosting of this private party with public funds has been the progressive establishment of what has come to be called the “city of exception.” Decrees, provisional measures, and pieces of legislation are passed in disregard of existing laws and far from the eyes of citizens, as well as a tangled collection of lower-level legislation consisting of endless decrees, ordinances and resolutions that, together, create a system of institutionalized exception. Through the imposition of the-

\(^1\) In a contract of adhesion, the signing party is presented with a document that they must accept or reject in its entirety; it does not allow for negotiation of specific terms.
These documents aim to call together social movements, unions, civil society organizations, human rights advocates, and men and women concerned with social and environmental justice, urging them to add their voices to the National Coalition of Local Committees for a Peoples’ World Cup and Olympics. We hope that these committees will multiply, in the cities that will host the games, but also in other cities. In every neighborhood, school, university, workplace, trade union, social movement, cultural group and association, we invite citizens to discuss how to create the World Cup and Olympics that we want.

We do not seek to stop the events from happening. But we want the ball to roll onto
Despite the tragic realities they describe and the violence they denounce, this Report and Summary are not only a lamentation but also an invitation, a summons to fight, and to resist. The World Cup and the Olympics do not justify human rights violations. No right can be violated under the pretext of interests and emergencies imposed on the Brazilian people, in particular in the cities hosting the mega-events. The National Coalition of Local Committees for a Peoples’ World Cup and Olympics invites all citizens to participate in the struggle to ensure a WORLD CUP AND OLYMPICS THAT RESPECT CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN RIGHTS!
“Modern totalitarianism can be defined, in this sense, as the introduction, by means of the state of exception, of a legal civil war that allows the physical elimination not only of political opponents, but also of entire categories of citizens who, for some reason cannot be integrated into the political system.”


Known as the “Olympic Act”, Law 12.035/2009 is the first in a long list of legal and normative measures that establish a foundation for an institutional system that can only be understood as a violation of the existing rule of law. This law guarantees, inter alia, exceptional and privileged conditions for obtaining visas, the right to engage in professional activities for people credentialed by the International Olympic Committee and its official sponsors, disposal of public real estate assets, the protection of brands and symbols related to the Games, and concessions to the Organizing Committee that guarantee the exclusive use of public spaces (including for commerce) and the provision of various services such as security and transportation at no cost whatsoever. Furthermore, in this capitalist venture from which private risk has been completely abolished, the law broadly authorizes “use of (public) resources to cover the eventual operational deficits of the Organizing Committee of the 2016 Rio Games.”

From there, it continues at the federal, state, and municipal levels, with an endless list of laws, provisional measures, decrees, resolutions, ordinances, and administrative acts of various types that establish what has come to be called the “city of exception.” All of the fiscal and tax exemptions are offered to organizing bodies, but also to a plethora of “more-than-equal citizens” that are exempt from paying national taxes, local taxes or customs fees. Master plans and other legislation, many of which are the result of long and rich debates within society, fall at a dizzying speed before the appetites of construction companies, real estate speculators, investors from the hotel and tourism industries, and, evidently, sponsors of mega-events.

At the same time, enormous stretches of well-located public lands are being eagerly handed over to large corporations, even though Federal Law 11.124/2005 clearly requires that the “priority use of lands belonging to the Government for the implementation of social interest housing (for low-income populations).” In flagrant violation of the law, donations, concessions, and urban operations are approved even though they have nothing to do with public concerns or social priorities. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, Municipal Decree 30.379/2009 establishes that the Executive “will make all the necessary efforts to ensure that properties belonging to the municipal government are available for use if they are essential for the 2016 Rio Games, even if they are (currently) occupied by third parties.” We therefore see the government mobilized toward “cleansing” public properties of popular housing settlements and delivering these properties to real estate developers, all in the name of “viability” of the events.

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In a sad echo of the grim days of the military dictatorship, the government has created a special security apparatus for the mega-events (Secretaria Extraordinária de Segurança para Grandes Eventos [Special Secretary for Major Events Security], Decree 7.536/2011). And to complete the landscape of exceptions, the General Law of the World Cup (Lei Geral da Copa) provides for a new categorization of criminalized activities and special tribunals.

For a country that only 30 years ago suffered under a dictatorship, the systematic violation of our laws and the implementation of a city of exception constitute an unacceptable legacy.

**Government Guarantees for a Private Cup**

The year 2007 marked an important moment in this process: it is when then-president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, accompanied by eleven ministers and the Attorney General of Brazil, signed the Document of Governmental Guarantees (Documento de Garantias Governamentais), a private contract of adhesion established with the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), through which Brazil committed to unconditionally comply with all of the organization's demands, in a relationship of severe political subservience. In practice, these “guarantees” took the form of demands from companies, investors’ groups, and financial institutions for more legal certainty in their transactions and investments. In a technical analysis, these promises could be considered invalid, as they were never published as official government documents and they did not follow the procedures outlined in Article 49, Clause I, of the Federal Constitution. It is also important to note that all of the host cities assumed similar obligations via instruments called “Host City Agreements.”

The main consequence of this, at the federal level, was the May 2012 adoption of the General Law of the World Cup. During the nine months in which this project went through the National Congress, its original text suffered various changes, largely the result of civil society mobilization and advocacy against the easing, suspension, and dismantling of social rights and principles that constituted a considerable political setback. There was a presidential veto of only four items, not all of them positive. Among them was the question of “popular admission prices” and special visa procedures for foreigners. In addition to authorizing the use of “volunteer work” by FIFA for the games, President Dilma also accepted the suspension of local norms for consumer protection. Despite this, there was no opportunity for broader discussion about critical aspects of the General Law or for formal participation by the main groups affected by the new rules, resulting in legislation riddled with contradictions and unconstitutional provisions, which can be synthesized along seven major axes (see image).

The General Law of the World Cup is actually not so “general”. First, far from protecting the public interest, it is based on commercial commitments to very specific private interests. Furthermore, it is not the first and may not be the last of the laws enacted on the subject. Numerous forms of fiscal exemptions, for example, have been granted in laws like Decree 7.578/2011, along with changes to limits on the debt burdens that municipalities may bear for activities related to the World Cup and the Olympics (Law 12.348/2010).

Equally important to the judicial engineering of mega-events is Law 12.462/2011, which instituted a Differential System for Public Contracts (Regime Diferenciado de Contratações Públicas, or RDC), a true attack on the existing Law for Public Tenders (Lei de Licitações). The RDC allows substantial sums of public funds to be transferred to private enterprises, and it was enacted, not by chance, through a provisional measure.

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2 In a contract of adhesion, the signing party is presented with a document that they must accept or reject in its entirety; it does not allow for negotiation of specific terms.

3 In Brazilian law, a provisional measure, or medida provisória, is an executive decree enacted without legislative consultation; it is brought to the legislative branch for debate and approval only after it has been initially enacted. Under Brazilian consti-
Looking forward, it is possible to identify at least two other bills pending in the Senate that include threats of a similar nature. While Senate Bill (Projeto de Lei do Senado, or PNS) 394/2009 proposes that symbols, expressions, and nicknames like “Brazilian National Football Team” (Seleção Brasileira de Futebol) and “Seleção Canarinha” (a nickname for the Brazilian national team meaning “Little Canary Team”) may be used only by the Brazilian Football Confederation, Senate Bill 728/2011 restricts the right to strike beginning three months before the beginning of the World Cup and allows for the possibility of administrative prohibition of entry of fans into the stadiums for up to 120 days; it also establishes a series of new crimes – including the criminal offense of “terrorism”, which today does not exist in Brazil, carrying a fine of up to 30 days of imprisonment – and provides for special tribunals and expedited procedures for judging said crimes.

Touted as temporary measures, these instruments nevertheless carry the risk of being incorporated definitively into Brazilian law after being tested in the legal laboratory offered by the mega-events. The broadness, severity, and speed of these transformations has allowed the configuration of a framework of exception, “the legal form of that which cannot have legal form”, in the words of philosopher Giorgio Agambem.

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<td>FIFA’s Demands, Outlined in the General Law of the World Cup</td>
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<td>Permission for the creation of Exclusion Zones, with restriction on street vending and the circulation of people within 2 kilometers of stadiums designated for games and training, FIFA “Fan Fests”, and other areas (Ch. 2, Sec. II)</td>
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THE GENERAL LAW OF THE WORLD CUP IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL!
The right to housing has been systematically violated in the twelve 2014 World Cup host cities and in preparation for the 2016 Rio Olympics. According to estimates, mass forced evictions to make way for large-scale urban projects related to the games will displace approximately 170,000 people. Communities located in regions once ignored by the market, and that over time became enormously valuable, ultimately became the object of real estate speculators’ greed. Now, in the name of mega-events, they have come to be threatened by forced evictions.

Evictions fail to respect the right to land, guaranteed by international treaties signed by Brazil, by the Federal Constitution of 1988, by the Statute of the City (federal law 10.257/2001) and also by various state and municipal laws. Insecurity and fear are the common fate of the populations in jeopardy of eviction, thanks to the lack of information, the dissemination of false and contradictory information, threats, misleading advertisements, and rumors, coming from the media as well as from the government itself. Political and psychological pressure, suspension of public services, and extrajudicial and physical restraints on residents combine to form a daily experience marked by permanent violence.

The cases outlined in the Report, and summarized here, reveal various combinations of human rights violations – violations of the rights to information, to participation, and to housing.

Misinformation and Threats

In numerous cases, residents learned their houses were going to be demolished not through official communications from the government, but through the media. When questioned, governmental bodies dodge the question or offer short responses with dubious information. The uncertainty remains, and the lack of information and advance notification generate fear and instability in relation to the future, directly harming the right to housing.

In Curitiba, large construction projects in eight municipalities in the metropolitan region, the expansion of the airport, and renovations to the Joaquim Américo Guimarães Stadium, which will host World Cup games, threaten between 2,000 and 2,500 families, the majority of which are low-income. The projects were not presented to the public, and the government agencies responsible for the projects confirmed that the budgets did not include funds to cover reparations for the losses imposed on residents the communities of Jardim Suissa, Vila Quissana, Nova Costeira, Costeira, Rio Pequeno and Barrio Jurema.

Highway construction projects in Belo Horizonte will result in the eviction of 2,600 families in order to make way for a widening of the Anel Viário, a beltway encircling the city. In 2010, these households received a notice requiring families to leave their homes within 15 days. In 2011, after resistance from the community, the families were offered inclu-
have been fighting for regularization of their homes for 50 years, are threatened by another World Cup-related project. The 300 residents of the Twin Towers (Torres Gêmeas) occupation, in the neighborhood of Santa Teresa since 1995, were prevented from returning to their homes, even in order to gather their personal belongings, after an apartment fire in 2010, under the pretext that the neighborhood was going to undergo upgrades for the World Cup.

“If because of the 2014 World Cup, they are going to build here in Santa Teresa a sports center, have a shopping mall … This is one of the reasons [for] which they want to kick the poor out to the peripheries”.

Former resident of the Twin Towers.

The real estate project in Granja Werneck (or Isodoro Forest) includes the construction of 75,000 apartments on 10 million square meters that will serve as accommodation for delegations, journalists, and tourists – the World Cup Village. It threatens the quilombo (slave
descendant) community of Mangueiras, whose fate was ignored throughout the environmental licensing phase of the project.

In Fortaleza, construction on the Via Expressa expressway will impact 3,500 homes, and construction of a light-rail project (Veículo Leve sobre Trilhos, or VLT) will affect an area of 381,592.87 square meters. The families did not have access to the project and were not consulted. Through community mobilization, they managed to get a suspension of the registration of families (for future eviction) and a temporary halt to construction until an alternative project, which upheld the families’ right to housing, could be presented. In the neighborhood of Mucuripe, coveted by real estate speculators, communities with more than 70 years of history have been threatened and harassed, with homes of those reluctant to leave being marked by authorities for removal. Compensation ranges from R$4,000 to R$10,000 (just under US$2,000-$5,000), reaching up to R$30,000 for residents with official deeds for their homes. And along the path of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system, 1,500 families in the community of Lagamar, founded in the 1970s, are also threatened with eviction.

“So far, we know nothing officially. Some say that we’ll be leaving here next year, others, that it will still take some time. Nobody from the government has come to explain anything to me.”

**Resident of the Mucuripe neighborhood in Fortaleza.**

Another 15,000 families in Fortaleza have not received any official information, but are being threatened under the pretext of urbanization, regularization of land titles, and housing improvements related to the 2014 World Cup. Affected families include residents of the communities of Rio Cocó – Boa Vista, São Sebastião, Gavião, Do Cal, TBA; and in Rio Maranguapinho – Barrio Bom Sucesso, Lumes, Santa Edwiges, Pedreiras, Chui, Bairro Granja Portugal, Belem, Parque Olivândia I e II, Menino Deus, Dr. Seixas, Pirambu, Cristo Redentor and Barra do Ceará. Some will be resettled in distant housing complexes in the Metropolitan Region, and some will be compensated financially without the guarantee of another home.

In Rio de Janeiro, a large part of evictions are related to highway constructions. The highway project for the BRT Transcarioca (a project designed to link parts of the greater Rio area through the Bus Rapid Transit system) threatens residents of Rua Domingos Lopes, in Madureira. When they sought help from the Public Defender, residents were advised not to protest, even as the city continued to evict them. One resident received a notice that she would have to vacate without any compensation because she did not have a legal deed to her property.

The threat of eviction reached one community, Vila Autódromo, via a front-page report in the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *O Globo* on October 4, 2011. The article announced the establishment of a public-private partnership that included the removal of the community in order to create a space for the Olympic Park. These 500 families, many of whom possess legal property titles to their homes, have been under threat since the 2007 Pan-American Games in Rio. Situated in the midst of an area undergoing rapid real estate expansion in Rio de Janeiro, they have resisted through community mobilization and a popular movement (see Box page 28).

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2 Quilombo communities were originally settled by Brazilians of African origin, often escaped slaves, and became important places for providing shelter and support to other marginalized groups throughout the years.

3 “Após o rock, Rio removerá favela para as Olimpiadas”. *O Globo*, 04.10.2011
Another argument frequently used to threaten residents is the allegation of geotechnical or structural risk. In the community of Pavão-Pavãozinho, more than 300 homes were marked for demolition for this reason, but since July of 2011, residents have been waiting for the city to offer proof of the risk. In the Port region of Rio de Janeiro, the mega-projects associated with the “Porto Maravilha” project (Marvelous Port) and “Morar Carioca Morro da Providência” also threaten families with evictions. In 2009, the Urban Consortium Project of the Port Region (Operação Urbana Consorciada da Região do Porto) was created with the objective of “revitalizing” the region. When Rio de Janeiro was chosen to host the Olympics, the Porto Maravilha project was integrated into the Olympic City (Cidade Olimpica) project in order to speed up construction. The residents of the nearby favelas and settlements did not have access to information about the project, and they began to have their homes marked for demolition. In the Morro da Providencia, 832 houses were marked for removal. The community was divided into areas that received different types of political pressure. One part of the community, where the homes of 515 families were marked and deemed as being located in an area of “geotechnical, structural, and health” risk, despite the inexistence of an official technical report. Another 317 homes were designated as part of an area marked for “de-densification.” The residents are approached by (government) technicians without identification, who pressure them to complete the registration for removal.

In Porto Alegre, the 4,000 families that have lived for over 50 years on the Santa Teresa Hill, next to the Beira Rio Stadium, had been in negotiations with the government to regularize the community. In 2011, the State Governor signed a decree that guaranteed the right to housing to the families, but not their right to stay in the same homes. Two construction companies have already demonstrated interest in privatizing the area for the construction of luxury condos.

Another 36 families suffer daily risks of accidents and flooding created by the ongoing renovation work on the Beira Rio stadium. The families were resettled there in 2007 after being evicted from the November 20 Occupation (which itself had begun in 2006 as a claim of the right to housing in the central area of the city). The only alternative now offered is the city’s “social rent” (aluguel social) program, which offers monthly rent assistance to affected families. This assistance is inadequate to maintain families in central regions of the city.

In Recife, as part of the expansion of the Cosme e Damião Bus Terminal, 200 houses were marked for demolition and families were registered, without a clear explanation of the reason.

In Manaus, roadway construction for the BRT is expected to impact 900 families in three neighborhoods in the western part of the city: São José, Tancredo Neves and Mutirão. The project’s final details are being concluded; despite receiving challenges from the Federal Auditors’ Court (Tribunal de Contas da União), the municipal government, which is responsible for construction, has not publicly released the relevant information, creating an environment of uncertainty among residents of the communities. Another transportation project for the city is a light-rail train (Veículo Leve sobre Trilhos, or VLT) that will also cause evictions, although no official information is available. The Manaus Committee for a People’s World Cup and the Attorney General for

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In the 21 documented cases, evictions were conducted by public authorities using force, war-like strategies and persecution. Homes are marked with graffiti for demolition without any clarification, households are invaded without proper judicial mandates, residents’ belongings are improperly confiscated and destroyed, residents suffer verbal violence, threats to the physical integrity and fundamental rights of families, and the suspension of public services is accompanied with demolition and abandonment of debris in homes that are still inhabited.

Residents of communities and slums in the cities of Belo Horizonte, Curitiba, Fortaleza, Porto Alegre, Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo have been forced to leave their homes, kicked out by new real estate endeavors that have been opened up by the State to serve private interests. Families are displaced to peripheral areas, distant from their networks of economic, social and cultural integration. These peripheries generally lack public services and have lower access to health care and schools. In other cases,

the state of Amazonas have requested information from the relevant public agencies, and they plan to bring legal action against the start of construction if the fate of the families still remains uncertain.

**Completed or ongoing removals**

“Ensure that the urban redevelopment for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics is appropriately regulated to avoid forced evictions and removals and make all effort to ensure that future events will bring lasting benefits to the poorest and most marginalized urban dwellers”

**Recommendation from the UN’s Council on Human Rights to the government of Brazil during the Universal Periodic Review process in May 2012**
they receive ludicrously low financial compensations or rent assistance for short periods of time.

In São Paulo, on the trajectory between the future stadium of the Corinthians soccer team (which will host the opening of the 2014 World Cup), and the city's International Airport in Guarulhos, 4,000 families have already been evicted for the construction of the Avenue Parque Linear Várzeas do Tietê. Yet another 6000 are threatened. In the adjacent area of Chacara Tres Meninas, six families were forcibly removed in a violent action by the military police without prior warning: “People were sleeping when they were surprised by the Police”, said Maria Zélia Andrade from the Movimento Terra Livre.

The Operação Urbana Rio Verde-Jacu in the Eastern Zone of São Paulo is included as part of the urban improvements for the 2014 World Cup. Among the plans is a transportation complex that cuts through one of the biggest favelas of the city – Jardim Sao Francisco. In this project 2,000 residents are being removed without any housing assistance. The local government's operations take place without judicial mandates and bring together the metropolitan environmental and civil forces and outsourced security agents, including the already well-known agent Evandro.

Francisco Evandro Ferreira Figueiredo is an employee of BST Transportadora, which has been hired by São Paulo’s local government to do the “cleansing”, a term used when referring to the eviction of residents of poor communities in the peripheries of São Paulo. Evandro – as he is known – has already been seen in at least two violent forced evictions that were carried out without judicial mandates. In the Favela do Sapo, located in the Western Zone of Sao Paulo, residents complained that he presented himself toting a gun, saying he was an employee of the local government, and intimidating families to leave their homes. In February 2012, at Evandro’s command, officials of the municipal government, accompanied by the military police and the municipal civil agents, demolished 17 homes in the community without presenting a judicial mandate of eminent domain or any other official document legalizing the action.

In Belo Horizonte in the Vila Recando UFMG, 65 families that lived in the area since 1990 have been removed only receiving the value of their constructions (which doesn't include, for example, the price of the land). Because of the low amounts paid they were left with the only option of moving to peripheral areas.

In Fortaleza 22 families are being removed from the Avenue Dede Brasil as well as 200 families from the Barroso community for the construction of the BRT, both cases have been marked by extremely low compensation levels. In the region of Poço da Draga, a historic settlement of more than 100 years is being removed from the Praia de Iracema despite it having been declared a Special Social Interest Zone in the city’s Master Plan.

Residents of the waterfront of Guaiba, near the stadium Beira-Rio in Porto Alegre, are being removed to the peripheries of the city more than 30 km away from their original location. The expansion of the airport of Porto Alegre affects 1,470 families from the Vila Dique community. Residents have been registered for a housing project in the federal government’s Program for Acceleration of Growth (PAC). With less than half of the new housing units completed and part of the resettlement area compromised by geotechnical risks, the community began to be removed for the beginning of construction. Families had to obtain financing for their new housing, and they now suffer from the lack of health services and education in the new loca-
Some families were moved to distant temporary houses, and those who remain are suffering from irregularities and loss of basic public services such as trash collection, electric power, and access to water.

In Rio de Janeiro, 700 families from the community Metro Mangueira, who have lived in the area for more than 40 years, were subjected to grave housing and human rights violations. Residents were divided and made to negotiate individually: part of the residents received an official notification with a “maximum deadline of 0 day(s)” for evacuating their homes. Others were offered homes in the vicinity, and others in areas as far as 50 km away. Vacated houses were demolished, but rubble, debris, dirt and trash were left behind. Those who resisted were subjected to verbal aggressions and exposed to disease.

With high investments in infrastructure going towards Barra da Tijuca, the region of Recreio dos Bandeirantes is currently the most dynamic real estate expansion front in Rio de Janeiro. In that region, the communities Restinga, Vila Harmonia and Vila Recreio II, which were home to roughly 500 families, were already removed to make way for a transport corridor for the BRT Transoeste. Additional removals are still planned for construction of the BRTs Transcarioca and Transolimpica. The projects are carried out without considering alternative routes, without public debate, and evictions are usually presented as a foregone conclusion. It is a true “cleansing” of areas for the real estate market.

The residents of Estradinha, in the Botafogo district of Rio de Janeiro, have also been threatened with eviction due to an alleged risk of landslide (risco geotécnico). The area started being built in the 1950s and has since been consolidated, including containment of hillsides and urbanization projects done by the local government. In 2009 contradictory technical reports were presented and residents were pressured to leave. The remaining houses were demolished, leaving behind a similar situation as in the Metrô Mangueira community. The local government, though ordered to do so by local courts, refuses to remove the rubble. Residents who remain are threatened by sanitary and health risks. There are many cases in which there was already prior pressure for “social cleansing”, and these are now sped up in the name of the major sporting events, along with newly opened fronts for construction presented as urgent and bypassing several rights and protections.
SOCCER: FROM POPULAR PASSION TO BUSINESS

Debates about the impacts of the World Cup happen away from the field of play. When we evaluate the negative consequences of the transformations carried out for the event, left in the background are the effects on the activity that serves as a pretext for all this: football itself. The cultural constraints that accompany the reforms of the stadiums cannot be disregarded, since they have inestimable and immeasurable consequences that are difficult to repair. The culture, customs, and creativity of the Brazilian soccer fan to organize and manifest itself are also being violently impacted and transformed. The sport—a national passion and a symbol of popular participation—is at risk of, on the way to 2014, of being reduced to a profitable business for its “owners” and an entertainment service for its “consumers”.

In 1950, when Brazil hosted its first World Cup, soccer was already a true passion among Brazilians. Constructed for this tournament with an official capacity of 179,000 people, the Maracanã stadium (then called Municipal Stadium of Rio de Janeiro) was one of the main construction projects in the country. The “Biggest in the World” had an internal seat division that was characteristic of stadiums in Brazil: general admission, grandstand, numbered seats, cabins and tribunes of honor, the latter reserved for authorities and personalities. If, on the one hand, this design was a representation of economic, social and political segregation, it guaranteed, on the other hand, the participation of all social sectors. In the final match of the World Cup in 1950, records show that 203,000 Brazilians (around 8.5% of the population of the city of Rio de Janeiro) watched Uruguay defeat Brazil.

It is important to note also that the internal architectural division of the Maracanã privileged the lower and middle economic classes: 93,500 spaces were reserved on the grandstand and 30,000 to geraldinos (a standing only area close to the field), and only 1,500 seats were available for the “VIP area” (Palco de Honor) and the seating section on either side of it. Together, general and grandstand accommodated more than 80% of the total capacity.

For decades, stadiums like the Maracanã and many others in Brazil became mythical places where Brazilians of all social classes gathered. Grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren and (now) great grandchildren were joined by their passion for football as well as by the festive, musical and cathartic experience of being in a stadium. More than that, every region and city shaped and developed its own fan cultures, identities that mark us as Brazilians. These identities are rooted in the stadiums that brought us together as a people. In the name of the World Cup, these places are being destroyed.

The process of elitization, privatization and ‘Europeanization’ of soccer. In the 1990s, in the name of ‘order’ and ‘development’ and of adapting Brazilian stadiums to European standards of ‘safety’, ‘comfort’ and ‘consumption’, a campaign for the elitization and privatization of football stadia started being carried out by clubs, federations, the CBF and FIFA in partnership with corporate sponsors, mainstream media and the government.

By the end of the twentieth century, the price of tickets to matches had increased at rates much higher than inflation, and today they are out of the reach of lower and middle income families. This is also how the capacity of the stadiums continues decreasing as a result of millionaire reforms of the country’s biggest stadiums. If before more than 100,000 people safely attended games in stadiums like the Castelão, Maracanã or the Mineirão, the capacity has now decreased by almost half, leaving more people out of the party. As a part of this process, the popular seating areas are being eliminated.
The 2014 World Cup has been taken as an opportunity for deepening and accelerating this process of elitization. FIFA’s inflexible stadium requirements, along with the greed and political and economic influence of large companies and the complicity of government agencies, have given way to a complete reconfiguration of the biggest stadiums of the cities that will host games. The “stages” for the games are being constructed in the European and North American models of “consumerist fandom”. The marketing approach transforms the old “temples” of football into “multi-purpose arenas” with VIP “enclosures”, padded seats and sponsorships from major brands and corporations. The reason is obvious: these endeavors generate enormous profits for the contractors responsible for construction as well as corporations that will take over the operation of the stadiums without having had to invest in their construction.

Again, the case of the Maracanã is emblematic. From 1999 to 2006, the Rio de Janeiro State government spent approximately R$400 million on renovations that promised to leave the stadium at “FIFA standard” so that it could host games in the 2014 World Cup. In mid-2010, however, the Maracanã closed for the second time in three years for “renovations”. In fact, the stadium was practically imploded with only its skeletal structure kept intact. This construction was in violation of the stadium’s status as a historical and architectural site. The new reconstruction is budgeted at R$790,000,000, but is likely to cost even more. Not content with demolishing the old Maracanã – where so many laughed and cried together – and throwing away the public money invested in the earlier reforms, the government has already announced that the “New Maracanã” will be given over to the private sector to manage.

The elimination of the geral and the open arquibancadas will irrevocably change Rio’s soccer culture. In the spaces of the geral, where fans could literally chase the game in the low, open space, or the grandstands where organized fan bases create collective rhythms and cheers, there will now be comfortable numbered seats with cup holders as well as a ban on watching the game standing up. Other playful elements and creative expressions that were only possible with mobility in stadiums, like the choreographies, the flags dancing on bamboo poles, “bandeirões” and percussive musical bands and drum sections will likely cease to exist. The result of this process, observed similarly in all the World Cup’s cities, is not just the elimination of the lower economic classes from the matches, but also the violent suffocation of one of the richest and most authentic manifestations of Brazilian popular culture.

São Paulo’s Local Committee in Protest: “Maraca is Ours”. Photo by: Fernanda Rabele.

Maracanã Stadium Disfigured by Reconstruction. Photo by: Genilson Araújo.
If it is true that mega events offer an opportunity for social inclusion of workers through job creation and the expansion of labor rights, this has not been the Brazilian reality. Whether they are workers employed or under-employed in large constructions like stadiums and highways, or informal workers that have had their economic activity suppressed, there is an observable pattern towards increased precariousness of labor, a process directed both the government as well as by large companies and consortiums that count on the omission of regulatory agencies.

Despite the conventions of the International Labor Organization, and the guarantees to the workers’ rights and the right to work in the national legal framework (Federal Constitution of 1988 and the Consolidation of Labor Laws - CLT), grave violations of workers’ rights in the name of the World Cup and Olympics are accumulating and evolving into the persecution of union leaders, the disrespect of the freedoms to organize, assemble, strike, and protest.

Workers’ rights: working conditions on World Cup projects

All of the cities chosen as hosts for the 2014 World Cup already possessed stadiums with spectator capacities greater than 35,000. Notwithstanding, practically all of the stadiums for the World Cup derive from completely new construction projects. The enormous demand for stadium projects attends to FIFA’s deadlines and its intense pressure to accelerate construction, which includes threats published in the media about the possibility of transferring the World Cup to another country should the deadlines not be met.

“It is absurd to say that the stadiums won’t be ready in time. In South Africa, some of the stadiums were completed four months ahead of what was planned. All this fuss that FIFA is making about infrastructure is actually a way of pressuring the construction companies. This way, FIFA guarantees it can get whatever changes it wants when it wants them” said Eddie Cottle in an interview to Le Monde Diplomatique Brasil.

In Brazil, this pressure has favored the large construction companies that have been hired, with judicial missteps, the allocation of more public resources, and the violations of workers’ rights. These are large construction works financed with public money (at least 97% of the total) where we have observed precarious working conditions and super-exploitation of laborers.

Though April of 2012, there were 18 registered work stoppages in 8 of the 12 stadiums that will be used for the World Cup: Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Cuiabá, Fortaleza, Recife, Rio de Janeiro and a threat of strike in Salvador.

In all of these protests, the list of demands included at least some of the following aspects: wage increases, improvement of working conditions (especially in areas of security and safety, health and food), increase in over-time pay, an end to the over-accumulation of tasks and inhumanely extended working shifts, and the concession of benefits such as health care, meal provision, transportation and others.
Among workers, there are recurring expressions of indignation regarding below-average wages for projects with immense and often loosely supervised budgets.

In Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and the Federal District (Brasília), companies have begun legal proceedings in an attempt to criminalize workers’ unions. In Brasilia and Pernambuco, union members that went on strike were summarily, arbitrarily and illegally fired. And in Pernambuco workers have denounced truculent police actions that attempted to block union mobilizations. On construction of the Arena de Manaus project in Amazonas state, the Attorney General’s office is currently investigating reports of moral harassment from more than 500 workers.

In this context, the then Minister of Sport, Orlando Silva, declared that the strikes would not delay the stadium projects, saying he counted on the “patriotism of the workers.”

In November 2011, the International Construction and Woodworkers Federation (ICM) and representatives of five of the major union movements in Brazil (CUT, Força Sindical, CGBT, UGT and Nova Central) consolidated a unified national agenda for the creation of an Articulated National Agreement for World Cup and Olympic projects. The agenda was officially submitted to the President of the Republic, the Ministry of Jobs and Labor, The National Industrial Confederation (CNI) and relevant trade unions.

Right to Work

It is clear that the World Cup is seen by certain groups as a money making possibility. The visibility and circulation of capital offered by the event guarantee that large companies and corporations reap enormous profits with the realization of mega events. With the approval and participation of local, state and federal governments, FIFA and transnational corporations have no intentions of allowing small to medium size companies and family businesses to benefit from the emerging opportunities.
survival strategies for lower income populations, finds itself under even greater threat. These workers, instead of being recognized and valued through the realization of mega events, are subjected to the intensification of persecution, aggression, criminalization and to being prohibited from working by the public authorities. And not just in the exclusion zones around the stadiums and main access routes. Many local governments are already implementing mechanisms to repress informal labor through a perspective that criminalizes poverty under discourses about “incentivizing tourism” by “organizing” and “cleaning” the expensive parts of the city.

In Belo Horizonte, with the closing of the Minerão stadium for renovations, 150 families used a public meeting held by the Federal Prosecutor’s office to denounce the difficulties that are being experienced by members of the Minerão Venders’ Association (vendors that used to work around the Minerão before it was closed). The families are asking for a government subsidy to carry them through the period of the construction project as they have lost their livelihoods as a result, as well as for protection of their right to work in the area, especially during the World Cup.

Commerce inside World Cup stadiums will be defined and organized by FIFA, guaranteeing the monopoly to their business affiliates and sponsors. Outside of the stadiums – in public spaces and on public access routes, FIFA demands from governments control over both public and private spaces in order to guarantee their profits. Existing establishments and informal commerce will be prohibited from showing advertisements or selling products that are competitors to those of FIFA’s sponsors.

Considering the legislation recently passed by the Federal Government (Lei Geral da Copa), we can anticipate that a two-kilometer exclusion zone will be created around each of the World Cup stadia. Within these zones, to be controlled by FIFA, only FIFA-associated products will be allowed and the series of extraordinary punitive measures contained in the World Cup legislation will be in effect.

The President of the National Confederation of Shop Directors (CNDL), Roque Pellizzaro Junior, criticized the Lei Geral da Copa saying, “You can’t take away, just like that, a family’s means of subsistence. What they are proposing is a temporary disappropriation.”

Informal commerce, a traditional manifestation of culture and urban vivacity and one of the principal survival strategies for lower income populations, finds itself under even greater threat. These workers, instead of being recognized and valued through the realization of mega events, are subjected to the intensification of persecution, aggression, criminalization and to being prohibited from working by the public authorities. And not just in the exclusion zones around the stadiums and main access routes.

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Artisans, mobile vendors, street fair workers and other traditional public spaces in Belo Horizonte are also at risk by initiatives of the city government that aim to “reorganize” commercial activity in the city including the traditional “Hippy Fair”, in existence since 1969. They have gone about this through unilateral and truculent actions such as the confiscation of works, materials, tools and personal belongings of workers (as seen in the Praça Sete case, in downtown Belo Horizonte).

Also in Belo Horizonte, a representative of the Prostitutes Association of Minas Gerais (Aspromig) reports growing insecurity faced by sex workers due partially to the revitalization projects, with rumors that real estate investors want to increase property values by removing prostitutes. Aspromig has expressed concern with a possible increase in sexual trafficking of women during the World Cup.

In the Federal District, in September 2011, during a R$1.6 million party held to celebrate 1,000 days until the World Cup, mobile vendors were forced to stay at least 300 meters away from the main entrance to the concerts. Additionally, renovations planned for Brasilia’s international airport are slated to remove the central taxi dispatch center, where drivers gather when not on duty.

In São Paulo, licenses for legalized mobile vending are being revoked. In some regions of the city where there is a tradition of street trading and informal markets, all of the licenses have been revoked. This is especially true of the Itaquera region, where the World Cup stadium is under construction. The mobile vendors are being denied the “right to self-defense”, a period of time stipulated by municipal law that allows for an administrative appeal against the license revocation. There have been at least 370 cases in which formerly legal documents were altered in order to justify their cancelation, and sub-district city administration offices are not allowing collective negotiation.

In the neighborhood of Brás, the large popular market (Ferinha da Madrugada) that brings together hundreds of small mobile vendors suffered intense repression in October 2011, at start the season of peak sales. This resulted in a confrontation between police and informal vendors the following month.

During the 2014 World Cup in the city of Salvador, mobile vendors will be relocated to new spaces that will be determined by the city government, with almost no participation on the part of the vendors and certainly to a part of town with less visibility and fewer potential clients.

In Curitiba the scores of mobile vendors that sell food and drink around the Arena de Baixada stadium will also be affected. Their level of organization is still relatively low and the majority holds great expectations for business during the World Cup, demonstrating a lack of knowledge about the restrictions imposed by FIFA (and enforced by city governments).

In Rio de Janeiro, the city government used its “Shock of Order” program to force weekly farmers’ markets to close at 1pm, well before their traditional closing time. This has virtually ended the “xepa” (the last hour of the market when remaining fruits and vegetables are sold at lower prices to liquidate products), which led to protests from those who utilize the farmers’ market for their weekly purchases and members of the Rio Committee for a Peoples’ World Cup and Olympics.

In the World Cup host cities, there has been an increase in restrictions on informal commerce through legislation, enforcement of excessive regulations and abusive or inappropriate demands. With this, mobile vendors, artisans, street artists, fruit and vegetable sellers, sex workers and others are having their activities harmed or made unfeasible, a clear violation of the right to work.
The literature and experience from both national and international law indicate unequivocally that the full enjoyment of human rights is guaranteed principally by the presence of a well-organized, informed, and vigilant civil society. Citizen participation in monitoring, evaluation, and control of government activities provides mechanisms for the promotion of social justice and equality.

Member-states of the UN must "(...) ensure full transparency of the planning and implementation process and the meaningful participation of the affected local communities therein." (Resolution A/HRC.RES/13/10 of the United Nations Human Rights Council, in the context of the implementation of sporting mega-events.)

Recommendation No. 07/2011 of the Federal Attorney’s Office for Citizens’ Rights (Procuradoria Federal dos Direitos do Cidadão) also indicates that:

"IV – popular participation must be considered in all phases of eviction, displacement, and resettlement of the population (children, elderly persons, persons with disabilities); mediation must be provided before lawsuits are filed, and even once suits are brought; and the use of police force is to be avoided, but when necessary, conducted by troops trained to deal with the population in question."

A considerable portion of the population is affected by current and planned mega-event-related activities in Brazil, especially so when we take into account the perverse effects of these events on cities. The affected populations, however, are excluded from decision-making bodies and lack access to the basic information necessary to defend their rights – despite numerous actions on behalf of their rights and public demonstrations.

Meanwhile, an assortment of new bodies has been and is continuing to be instituted at all levels of government, creating a parallel government of exception, where decisions are exempt from any social control.

This situation becomes more concerning when the various instances of human rights violations are revealed. An urban impresario model is being adopted, a type of "direct democracy for capital", based on the constant interference of the market without any form of direct social participation.

Information about the processes and preparations for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics are kept secret even from the oversight bodies of the government itself, like the Federal Attorney General’s office (Ministério Público). The meager data provided in the federal government’s Responsibility Matrix is out-of-date. Throughout this Report, documented cases reveal:

- Urgency in carrying out construction projects due to commitments signed with private entities (like the IOC and FIFA) and used as justification for running roughshod over processes of participation and social oversight;
- Negotiations and dialogues undertaken with private companies and representatives of special interests, like civil construction firms and the real estate market, while the population at large is denied its right to information and participation;
Supported by a twisted notion of “public interest”, the Brazilian state has systematically refused to establish horizontal dialogues with civil society groups and threatened communities;

- Restriction of affected communities’ access to judicial resources, and even the provision of contradictory or false information with respect to the means by which to protect their rights;

- Willful ignorance and omission regarding socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds of the affected parties and of the impact of large-scale projects on complex social processes.

Extraordinary Federal Governance Structure for the World Cup

The preparation of sporting mega-events in Brazil is being carried out by a set of agencies, bodies and structures that exist parallel to, and in a state of exception from, normal government.

The advisory and participatory bodies that had previously existed were simply ignored and deprived of any role in the structure created to monitor new urban projects. The National Council of Cities (Conselho Nacional das Cidades), for example, with ample participation of civil society organizations involved in the right to housing, demanded the creation of a Working Group specifically to deal with the World Cup, which, once created, remained practically inoperative.

There are no provisions for civil society participation in the newly-created governance structures.

Social movements were only allowed to participate in a Working Group on the World Cup created by the Council on the Defense of Human Rights (Conselho de Defesa dos Direitos da Pessoa) in the President’s Secretary of Human Rights Office (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República). This was only after pressure and complaints by those movements. Even so, this body has only a consultative function, without any direct formal relationship with the relevant decision-making and executive bodies. And, as of the publication of this Summary (September 2012), the groups still had not met since its creation in October of 2011.

The rare spaces created for participation were offered to the corporate sector under privileged conditions, always to the detriment of the civil society. And when NGOs are called to participate, the invited organizations are almost always formed or financed by private companies with direct interests in the mega-events, as in the cases of the Instituto Ethos (an industry-run “corporate social responsibility” group) and the “Brasil 2014” Consortium.

Three new governmental bodies were created as the coordinating agencies for major state deliberations on mega-events. Created by decree or contract, they exclude any civil society presence:

- Committee Responsible for Host Cities (Comité de Responsabilidade das cidades-sede): carries out monitoring of planned construction projects, providing a space for dialogue between the federal government and the host cities.
- Public Olympic Authority (APO – Autoridade Pública Olímpica): public consortium responsible for the coordination of activities for the Olympic Games.
According to our research, over 90% of the 2014 World Cup costs will be financed with public funds, a contrast to the significantly lower figure that was originally reported. The direct role of BNDES, the Brazilian National Bank for Social and Economic Development (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social), was initially restricted to approximately R$5 billion (20.8% of the total costs). Stadium construction depends on BNDES financing of up to R$400 million (per stadium), and the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system of highways designed to cut across the greater Rio de Janeiro area, is slated to receive R$1,179 billion out of a total cost of R$1,883 billion from the bank.

### BNDES Investments in the 2014 World Cup – Estimated totals in millions of Brazilian reais

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investments</th>
<th>R$ (mi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Host city stadiums</td>
<td>4,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcarioca roadway</td>
<td>1,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airports</td>
<td>10,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ports</td>
<td>741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal and state governments</td>
<td>5,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector (including hotels)</td>
<td>2,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,926</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the loans granted by BNDES to third parties illustrate a much broader role for the bank. In January of 2012, basic conditions for financial support (limited to 80% of total investment) were approved for the international airports of Brasilia, Campinas (SP), and Guarulhos (SP), with minimum investments estimated at R$2.21 billion, R$6.27 billion, and R$4.71 billion, respectively. Furthermore, the information provided by government transparency portals does not take into account the likely role of the Bank in financing the expansion of ports (R$741 million), preparations by state governments (R$4 billion) and municipal governments (R$1.55 billion), private sector support (R$336 million), and contributions to hospitality companies in the tourism industry in host cities, which could reach R$2 billion.

With some basic calculations, we reach a possible total public investment on the order of R$27 billion, far exceeding the investments from the groups thought to be the primary investors, like the federal savings bank, Caixa Econômica Federal (R$6.65 billion), and the national airport authority, Infraero (with R$5.15 billion).

It is also worth noting that BNDES is violating a number of principles, such as transparency in its accounts, economy and probity in the use of public funds, joint liability for the risks associated with the economic activity financed by the bank, and defense and preservation of the environment. Developments like the decision by the Brazilian Audit Court (Tribunal de Contas da União) to suspend financing for the Manaus Arena and Rio de Janeiro’s Maracanã Stadium because of overspending; the freeze on funds for construction of the Transcarioca due to the lack of the required environmental impact assessment report; and complaints about various irregularities in Mané Garrincha Stadium (DF) by the Federal District Audit Court demonstrate how poorly public funds are being managed, despite the astonishing volume of the investments.

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The non-governmental entities created to discuss preparations for the World Cup are linked directly to the sponsoring institution, FIFA, and have a direct line to the federal government: the Local Organizing Committee (COL – Comitê Organizador Local), and the Advisory Board, comprised of representatives from FIFA and the Local Organizing Committee.

The advisory bodies are made up of thematic chambers in the World Cup Steering Committee, and Working Groups in the Ministries and Departments that comprise them. The only organization representing civil society that was invited to assist the federal government in its decision-making is the 2014 World Cup Consortium (Consórcio Copa 2014), which is formed by private companies.

The 2014 World Cup Consortium was also called to “provide management support services for the organization and implementation of the World Cup” under a two-year contract, and was formed by the companies Empresa Brasileira de Engenharia de Infraestrutura Ltda. (EBEI, an infrastructure engineering firm), Galo Publicidade, Produção e Marketing Ltda. (advertising/publicity), Value Partners Brasil Ltda., Value Partners Management Consulting Ltda., e Enerconsult S.A. (an infrastructure development consulting firm).

In the legislature, representatives who receive financial contributions from the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF) and from representatives of football clubs have a significant presence the committees created to oversee mega-events-related decisions, increasing the representation of the “business” interests of football.

**Autoritarismo, Sonegação de Informações e Vedação à Participação Popular**

In Recife, repeated requests for public presentation and discussion of proposed projects met with no success.

In Belo Horizonte, the project to turn the Cruzeiro District Market into a commercial complex containing a shopping mall, hotels,
and parking structures was rejected by local residents and businesspeople, who, together with the Brazilian Institute of Architects (IAB), proposed a revitalization of the market through a public competition. The city government refused to attend the presentation of their proposal. The City Council approved the privatization of part of the public roadway (Rua Musas) for the construction of a hotel complex, a project that encountered strong resistance from local residents.

Curitiba’s City Council granted R$90 million toward “special building potential” for the private construction project of the João Américo Guimarães Stadium, despite the unanimous opposition of citizens, civil society organizations, and social movements present in the two public hearings organized to discuss the project. Requests for information and participation in the process went unanswered.

In Natal, 429 properties, including 269 residences, are being expropriated for the construction of urban transportation projects undertaken by the municipal government without any prior public debate. No possible alternatives for minimizing the social and environmental impacts were presented, and legally constituted social oversight bodies, like the Municipal Council of Cities (Concidade) and the Boards of Housing, Transportation, and Urban Transit, were not consulted. Faced with the threat of expulsion from the city due to the low compensation values, insufficient for acquiring new homes with comparable living conditions, residents are relying on legal advice from the Legal Aid Office of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte.

In Rio de Janeiro, residents from the Vila Harmonia and Metrô Mangueira communities not only lacked access to the city’s proposal, but also received legal notices with the absurd deadline of “zero days” to vacate their homes and places of business.

In São Paulo, faced with a total lack of information and many uncertainties, residents are being coerced into accepting agreements that are detrimental to their rights.

“They came here and gave me a paper saying the house was condemned. They did not say if we were going to have the right to anything or if they were going to take us someplace else.”

Adriano Evangelista, resident of Itaquera, São Paulo

In Porto Alegre, residents of the Bairro Cristal neighborhood only became aware of a project to widen the Tronco Avenue (Avenida Tronco) and remove about 1,800 families after the plan had already been fully finalized. The neighborhood is currently undergoing a large real estate rush due to its privileged location, and there were no opportunities to question the resettlement plan or discuss alternative plans or mitigation strategies. The affected residents of Divisa and Cristal suggested 13 nearby areas for resettlement of the families, but their proposal was not considered.

“We don’t know when construction will begin, who will actually be affected, [or] where families will be removed to. We want the right to discuss our future. We support the World Cup, but with respect for the rights of the population.”

José Renato Maia, resident affected by the Avenida Tronco project in Porto Alegre

This situation is in contrast to what happens when middle class properties are expropriated, and all legal procedures are followed, including proper individual notifications, possibility for negotiation of compensation values, and formalization of agreements.
The 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics Games are being used to evade legal procedures designed to protect the natural environment and guarantee the environmental rights of the population.

Besides being submitted to political pressures to approve projects, environmental protection agencies also claim they lack qualified professionals and adequate infrastructure. When large urban projects that involve copious public resources and the interests of large construction firms are at stake, the necessary procedures and social impact studies are cast aside. All is justified in the name of urgency.

In an attempt to ease the environmental licensing process for construction projects associated with the World Cup and Olympics, the federal government created the Environmental Working Group, theoretically with the function of proposing and coordinating “environmentally sustainable” policies. In practice, the group has tried to simplify and accelerate legal procedures, creating exceptions for the licensing of projects related to the mega-events and considered to be of “critical public interest”.

Another frequently deployed mechanism of creating exceptions is the substitution of the EIA-RIMAs (comprehensive impact assessment studies) for Simplified Environmental Reports (RAS). In so far as the EIA-RIMA requires analyses of alternatives and a detailed exam of physical, biotic and social (urban, socio-economic, cultural, etc.) impacts, the RAS was created to simplify studies and diagnostics and to reduce the time that it takes to grant permits for smaller projects. Now, this process is also being used to license larger and more complex projects with significant impacts like the BRT Transcarioca transport line in Rio de Janeiro. This is an obvious way of getting around environmental legislation.

In spite of public protests against these measures, city councils in several cities are trying to alter urban indices and redefine the limits of Permanent Preservation Areas (APPs).

In Porto Alegre, the City Master Plan, which resulted from intensive public participation, was altered to permit densification for hotel construction, sports facilities and tourism sites associated with the 2014 World Cup. An extensive area near the Jockey Club will undergo a process of privatization via concession that will allow for the construction of residential towers and commercial enterprises, without proper prior presentation of environmental or urban impact studies.

According to Raquel Rolink (UN’s Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing) in an interview with the magazine Carta Capital, “what’s happening in Porto Alegre shows that the 2014 World Cup is being used as an excuse to modify the urban plans of Brazilian cities without criteria, without impact studies and without the necessary procedures of public discussion and participation.”

In Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, the limits for hotel construction were increased without first consulting the technical organs of the city government and without any kind of impact study. Civil society manifestations against the-
se projects are simply disregarded. In Salvador, a study undertaken by the hotel sector shows that there is already a 33% vacancy rate, which makes the increase in hotel construction even more problematic. In Belo Horizonte, there is bill making its way through City Council to occupy the last remaining green area of the city (Mata do Isidoro), an area of 10 square kilometers that will potentially house 300,000 people. This is happening without the legally required EIA-RIMA study.

**Simplification of environmental licensing procedures for “public interest” projects**

In Natal, construction of the Arena das Dunás Stadium began a few days after the EIA-RIMA analysis had been submitted to the competent authorities - before any public hearings and without a proper license having been issued by authorities. The existing stadium was demolished without any kind of public solicitation or chartering – a process that can frequently take up to one year. In this same intervention, the Attorney General’s office opened an investigation into the irregularities found in the environmental licensing process for the drainage projects, which were conducted through the simplified RAS assessment processes.

The impacts of the urban mobility projects for the 2014 World Cup spearheaded by the Natal city government and the State Government of Rio Grande do Norte affect two major environmental protection areas: the Estuário de Potengi and the Park of the Dunes. These construction projects do not provide an answer to the grave mobility problems in the city and, to date, have not had their environmental or urban impacts discussed publicly. Amidst these omissions, the Popular Committee of the 2014 World Cup in Natal filed a complaint with the State Public Defender’s office to seek remedy for these irregularities.

In Cuiabá, the controversial construction of the Chapada dos Guimarães tramline will destroy vegetation in an Area of Permanent Environmental Protection (APP). The environmental license was granted based on a Simplified Environmental Report (RAS). This R$6 million project was classified as an “equipment purchase” in order to get around the law for public bidding of contracts and accelerate its inauguration. The Attorney General’s office ruled to suspend the bidding process, which in turn caused the city government to lose the R$580,000 they had already paid as an advance to the contracted company.

In contrast to this flexibility in issuing environmental licenses for large scale construction projects, the Popular Committee of the 2014 World Cup in Pernambuco found that the rural settlement of Chico Mendes, located 5 km from where the World Cup stadium (and a massive real estate project) will be built, has been waiting for an environmental license to install electricity without any forecast of how long the process will take. Because of this, the community continues to deal with the lack of basic social services and the youth have to study in distant schools.

**Green Economy vs. Urban Sprawl**

The significant investments in stadiums and associated construction projects come with a discourse of environmental sustainability and green economy, which heavily advertises the best use of “sustainable” components in constructions or the reuse of residual materials and reduction of waste.

The “green” discourse masks the disregard of the impacts caused by the projects, as in the case of the above cited Arena das Dunás in Na-
Vila Autódromo: 
A COMMUNITY DESTINED TO LIVE

Vila Autódromo is a community in Rio de Janeiro with over 20 years of existence. Established originally by fishermen who used the nearby lake to make a living, the community increased along with its neighborhoods. The growth of public investments associated with real estate enterprises for high-income residents led to intense changes in the urban landscape and environment.

The public administration, in past years, recognized the legitimacy of the community. In the 1990’s, the residents acquired from the state government legal property titles to stay in their homes, and in 2005 the city council established the land as priority for social housing (Área de Especial Interesse Social). However, since 1992, under the administration of Mayor Cesar Maia and subsequent mayors, the people of Vila Autódromo have been living with the constant threat of forced eviction.

Many excuses have been used to try to evict residents of the community, and the most recent is for the construction of the 2016 Olympic Park, linked to environmental arguments. To demonstrate that such justification is technically fragile, the community has brought together a large mobilization including Public Defenders and experts from two public universities (Institute of Urban and Regional planning at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro - IPPUR-UFRJ and the Urban and Housing Projects and Studies Nucleus at the Fluminense Federal University -UFF). The result was a plan for the community’s future development, including urbanization with environmental quality.

The municipal government argued also for the removal as demand from the International Olympic Committee - IOC. As response, the community with support from Public Defenders, sent a notification to IOC president in 2011, claiming that human rights were being violated. Yet, the winning British project for the 2016 Olympic Park, result of an international competition promoted by Brazilian Institute of Architects (IAB), proposes the urbanization of Vila Autódromo.

The uncertainty of the future of the community remains, with the lack of information, as the municipal government goes on with the attempts for removal. The justifications oscillate between environmental arguments, infrastructure projects required to host the 2016 Olympics, public security, among others.

And moreover, the land being acquired to resettle the residents of the vila used to serve as a site for mining and most of the area is qualified as presenting high or medium risk according to the Map of Susceptibility for Landslides, created by GeoRio (Rio’s Geotechnical Institute).

Vila Autodromo’s plan for community development and urbanization, a result of the community’s mobilization and organization, demonstrates that there is no incompatibility between the construction of the future Rio Olympic Park, the community’s existence, and the environmental preservation of Barra da Tijuca, where the community is located. The plan shows that it is technically and financially possible to leave the community where it is, and that it is even cheaper than the resettlement proposed by the city.

Vila Autódromo Lives Campaign: http://www.por talpopulardacopa.org.br/vivaavila
The National Stadium in Brasilia, a substitute for the Mane Garrincha stadium, received a “Green Stadium” seal from the mega-corporation Leed Platinum (associated with the US building council), but the project did not have an environmental license and is being investigated by the Attorney General’s office for violating a federal law that prohibits the modification of use parameters after failing to conduct a traffic and neighborhood impact study and not consulting the National Institute for Historical and Artistic Patrimony (IPHAN), a requirement for any construction project in the city. Despite the clear irregularities and legal violations, a judge from the Federal District and Territories Justice Tribunal ruled that the project could continue in order to avoid wasting public resources and “anticipated damages to the Brazilian national reputation in the eyes of the international community in relation to a fiasco that is desirable to prevent”.

In Recife, the World Cup City, which will occupy a vast, greenfield area and open a new front for real-estate speculation, did not have adequate pre-planning and is still undergoing impact studies. The environmental licensing is still making its way through the State Water Resources Agency (CPRH). The fact that construction on the stadium has already begun, however, sets a dangerous precedent and makes the construction of the World Cup City a near-certainty, regardless of the impacts identified in the licensing process or other questions around of the multi-million dollar public investments in the project.

Regarding this case, a local paper has drawn attention to the risks, noting that “planned cities” without social housing components (like Brasilia, Goiânia, and Palmas), and as is the case of the World Cup City in Pernambuco, tend to generate satellite “cities of exclusion” occupied by the very workers that help maintain the “planned cities”.

VILA AUTÓDROMO'S RESIDENTS PROPOSES THEIR PLAN TO SHOW URBANIZATION IS POSSIBLE AND TECHNICALLY VIABLE AGAINST EVICTION.
Access to services, public goods, and urban mobility are linked to the fundamental rights of freedom of movement and the right to social services necessary for life. They are also directly related to the right to adequate housing, necessarily originating from adequate infrastructure and public provision of environmental sanitation, and with access to employment options, healthcare, schools, childcare and other social services.

Access to public services

Among the various strategies used by public authorities to pressure entire communities, some already shattered or divided, is the disruption of, or the imposition of barriers to access services essential to adequate housing, such as garbage collection, electricity supply, clean water, sewage and communications.

A forced eviction carried out in stages, demolishing homes and forcing residents who continue to resist to live amid the resulting rubble, is a means of threatening families and spreading error, disease and risk of landslides. This has been a systematic practice in Rio de Janeiro (seen in communities like Estradinha, Restinga e Metrô Mangueira) and Porto Alegre (in Vila Dique and Bairro Cristal).

In Belo Horizonte, the Dandara community denounced in a September 2010 public hearing the absence of several public services, including lack of electricity, mail, basic sanitation, health, fire department assistance, among others. The suspension of public services as a means of applying pressure for removal has also occurred in the Vila Dique and Vila Arroio Cavalhada communities in Porto Alegre.

The right to legal aid was denied to threatened populations in at least two cities. In Rio de Janeiro, the State Public Defender's Unit for Land and Housing (NUTH) was severely weakened by the state governor's office. Similarly, the Frei Tito de Alencar Office of Human Rights and Popular Legal Aid, which operated in the Ceará state legislature, was closed. Both were punished for their role in offering legal aid to residents threatened and affected by construction for the World Cup and Olympics.

The danger, in these cases, is that the government agencies created to defend the human rights of Brazil's poorest populations have also become targets of the coalition of interests and forces that attack their constituents. In other words, victims' advocates become themselves victims of violence, either physical or, in this particular case, institutional.

Access to public goods

Restriction of access to public spaces and of the right to come and go and move around the city can only be described as social and ethnic cleansing carried out in the name of "public order". These actions are concentrated in prime areas that have the greatest wealth and are cho-
sen to serve as a privileged setting for events related to the sporting mega-events. This makes evident the contempt for social problems on the part of the government. The poorest are only remembered when it comes to policing and repressive policies that further criminalize and penalize poverty.

In Rio de Janeiro, the municipal policy of “Shock of Order” has the stated goal, since 2009, of conducting operations to crackdown on street vendors, “squeegee men”, the homeless, irregular constructions, and unauthorized advertising. This violates the right to work and to freedom of movement.

Worse still, Rio de Janeiro’s Municipal Secretary of Social Welfare has instituted the compulsory detention of children and adolescents living on the streets for institutional care. The National Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents, a deliberative body within the system of ensuring rights to children and adolescents in Brazil, issued a technical statement repudiating the measures, invoking the International Convention on the Rights of Children, in the Federal Constitution of 1988, ECA (Statute of Children and Adolescents) and Law 10.216 (on the in-patient protocols for the chemically dependent).

In Belo Horizonte, the National Center for the Defense of Human Rights of the Homeless and of Collectors of Recyclable Materials reported that the homeless have suffered increased hostility and aggression when approached by city agents in the middle of the night.

Urban Mobility

Urban mobility is a defining condition of life in the city. It is known that more democratic cities are those with more access to mobility, providing means of accessing different segments of urban space. A significant portion of the resources for the World Cup and Olympics are designated for urban mobility projects, but without favoring the areas of greatest demand.

On the one hand, people are being evicted from central urban areas to poor and outlying regions; on the other hand, investments are giving priority to corridors destined for certain groups already favored among the population. In general, the intended transport corridors open up new fronts for real estate development, as is the case in Fortaleza, Recife–São Lourenço da Mata (World Cup City), Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

In Rio de Janeiro, experts point out that instead of addressing areas of concentrated demand for public transportation—Baixada Fluminense, Zonas Norte e Suburbana, Grande Niterói—the investments favor low-density areas on the city’s expansion frontier, promoting real estate speculation and an irrational expansion of the urban grid.

“This city of Rio de Janeiro wants a metro for the next 20 years, not only for the 20 days of the Olympic Games...The time pressures to execute the Zona Sul – Barra connection... should not serve as justification for deploying shortcuts that may undermine the metro plan provided for the city and the perfect integration of the original Line 4 with lines 1 and 2.”

The Metro that Rio Needs» movement (http://www.metroqueorioprecisa.com.br)

In Fortaleza, the investments in public transportation corridors are substantial, but they have driven out nearly 5,000 families to remote areas without adequate conditions for mobility or proper infrastructure.
Brazil is currently experiencing a resurgence of repressive public security policies, as media campaigns promote a climate of insecurity and call for violent police repression. Denounced by various sectors of society, a progressive militarization of State-societal relations is taking place. Human rights advocates are concerned by the constitution of Special Forces and structures outside of the state’s security bodies.

In 2011, the Department of Security for Major Events was created within the Ministry of Justice, with a separate budget, to coordinate security actions during the events. In this context, Secretary José Ricardo Botelho de Queiroz stated that the Army will be on standby to intervene when police forces are unable to contain conflicts.

Additionally, new repressive structures are being created: the Thematic Chamber for the 2014 World Cup Steering Committee and the 2014 World Cup Working Group for the National Department of Public Security, with the purpose of guaranteeing the assurances presented to FIFA by the Federal Government, and finally the Special Commission for Public Security of the Ministry of Justice.

The public security model currently being implemented is based on integrating all levels of public security in the country through Command and Control Integration Centers. Integration is sought in order to guarantee the specific needs of the mega-events and the assurances given to FIFA by the Federal Government.

All of these actions are justified under the pretext of improving control of civil unrest and strengthening ostensive police patrolling near sporting equipment and facilities, tourist areas and “critical public security areas.” Preventive patrolling and repressive actions are expected as monitoring of these sectors is intensified.

In accordance to the rules imposed by FIFA, which have already led to specific legislation for security, private forces will be used in stadiums. Why should public security in facilities and public spaces be entrusted to private companies that are paid with public funds?

There are concerns that this model could continue well after the mega-events are over. Some fear that the mega-events are a mere pretext for constructing a parallel state in which policies and special agencies, outside of public control, could impose themselves categorically and incontestably on urban space.

Repression and Criminalization of Civil Society

In the Federal District, two members of the Local Committee for a People’s World Cup were detained for carrying out a peaceful demonstration (baring a banner questioning the legacy of the games) during a public hearing in the Senate. In the “Thousand Day countdown to the World Cup” Celebration, more than 30 police cars showed up in the low-income area known as the satellite-city, where residents were harshly repressed by the police force and more than 3,000 people were questioned.
In Rio de Janeiro, the well-known Pacifying Police Units (UPP) are being established primarily in communities located in touristic areas such as those near Maracanã, Rio’s Southern Zone and sectors en route to airports. Even though they are not explicitly linked to the World Cup and the Olympics, the mega-events are used as part of the basis and justification for their implementation.

Public security is selectively activated, with military occupation in poor areas securing strategic regions for financial and tourist flows. Practices such as the invasion of residences for searches without warrants, humiliating body searches, curfews and special arbitrary rules violating residents’ rights to come and go, free expression, and assembly, are denounced by the residents of the affected communities. More than just a discursive strategy, the impact is felt up close and personally by the residents themselves.

Cleonice Dias, a community leader in the Cidade de Deus, which has been “pacified” with the establishment of a UPP, complains: “Those of us who are from the community know that the UPP is linked to satisfying the people of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil, and showing that the State has control over the communities. They want to say that there will be security because we, the poor, will be controlled, and all the investments for the mega-events can come freely.”

This elitist and repressive public security model that is being implemented in Rio de Janeiro is even being exported to other Brazilian states that will also receive sporting mega-events. UPPs like those in Rio have already been set up in Salvador, and Curitiba has set up two “Safe Paraná Units” (UPS) so far in regions of the city that are considered “dangerous” - the first, not coincidentally, is situated precisely on the main road from the airport to the downtown area. Yet the main investment is not in the safety of the population, but in the implementation of a sanitary barrier protecting the stadiums and areas of expansion/renovation, as well as the creation and dissemination of a new desired image of control of criminal violence.

Also linked to this entire program are speeches on the alleged war on drugs, which have encouraged host-cities to use highly repressive means to approach the homeless and drug-addicted populations, at times using their own national force, as was the case with the Santo Amaro community of Rio de Janeiro in May 2012. After Rio de Janeiro, similar occupations in other cities have already been announced, making the “compulsory confinement” method a national standard.
REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL COALITION OF LOCAL COMMITTEES FOR A PEOPLE’S WORLD CUP AND OLYMPICS
Rio de Janeiro, June 2012

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