

## **WORLD CUP LEGACY AND PERTAINING IMPACTS ON SÃO PAULO CITY´S FUTURE**

**Marcos Vinicius Cardoso**

Faculdade de Economia, Administração e Contabilidade  
University of São Paulo, Brazil  
mvcardoso@gmail.com

**Fernando A Fleury**

Nove de Julho University, Brazil  
mvcardoso@gmail.com

**João Manuel Malaia**

Nove de Julho University, Brazil  
jmalaia@gmail.com

### **ABSTRACT**

Legacies – structures that are built for events and which remain after the same - are one of the major positive aspects paraded by mega sporting events organizers. This study´s purpose is to analyze the current situation of legacies promised by the many governmental instances for the city of São Paulo - host city of Fifa´s 2014 World Cup – and prospect which legacies will become effective in the city. Preliminary assessments may raise construction concerns, alert the public to keep an eye on undertaken obligations and encourage official actions (Mangan, 2008, p. 1,871). Data was obtained from National Audit Court (*TCU*) reports, Ministry and United Nations documents, in addition to testimonials and information gathered from some of Brazil´s major press media. Data analysis was conducted by classifying legacies according to tangible and intangible legacy concepts (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010) followed by an analysis of promised legacies *versus* current status during the period of analysis. Finally, discussions as to most probable to come about legacies were presented. Results indicate that a portion of promised legacies stand a fair chance of achievement. On the other hand, other projects lag behind schedule or have been cancelled. Preliminary surveys suggest full completion of promised legacies is not possible, there has

been an overuse of public resources as opposed to that planned, and provide indicatives as to the investment's high opportunity cost.

**Key-words:** Legacy. 2014 World Soccer Cup. São Paulo

## RESUMO

Os legados, estruturas criadas para o evento e que permanecem após o mesmo, são um dos principais aspectos positivos alardeados pelos organizadores de megaeventos esportivos. O objetivo desta pesquisa é analisar a situação atual dos legados prometidos pelas diversas instâncias do governo para a cidade de São Paulo, cidade-sede da Copa do Mundo de Futebol de 2014, e projetar quais são os legados que se efetivarão na cidade. Avaliações preliminares podem levantar preocupações construtivas, alertar o público para observar as obrigações assumidas e estimular ações oficiais (Mangan, 2008, p. 1.871). Os dados foram obtidos de relatórios do Tribunal de Contas da União, documentos ministeriais e da Organização das Nações Unidas, além de depoimentos e informações conseguidas em alguns veículos da grande imprensa brasileira. A análise de dados se deu com a classificação dos legados de acordo com os conceitos de legados tangíveis e intangíveis (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2012) e com uma análise sobre o legado prometido *versus* o *status* no período da análise. Por fim, foi realizada uma discussão das projeções dos legados mais prováveis de se concretizarem. Os resultados apontam que parte das promessas de legado tem boas chances de concretizar-se. No entanto, outros projetos estão com cronogramas atrasados, ou foram cancelados. O levantamento preliminar aponta a impossibilidade da completa realização dos legados prometidos, a utilização de mais recursos públicos do que o planejado e o alto custo de oportunidade do investimento.

**Palavras-chave:** Legado. Copa do Mundo de Futebol 2014. São Paulo.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Brazil's sporting industry transacts approximately U.S. \$ 67 billion per annum (Pluri, 2012) and is being increasingly spruced by the holding of two of the planet's largest sporting events: the World Soccer Cup (2014) and the Summer Olympic Games (2016). Within this context, both the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) - World Cup organizer - and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) - organizer of the Olympic Games - persuade applicant host countries by employing a notion involving awesome legacies bestowed as of sporting events. On the other hand, governments take on responsibilities based on the belief that mega-events may truly shape a good opportunity to present the world with a renovated host country image:

I want to reassure FIFA's leadership. This is the current President's responsibility given that I shall no longer be in office by 2014, it is not merely the Confederation's President responsibility, it is not solely a responsibility of those Governors present. In truth, truly, we are herein taking on a responsibility as a nation, as the Brazilian State to prove to the world that we have a growing, stable economy, that we are one of the countries that has conquered its own stability. Yes, we are a country that presents numerous problems but we are a country of men who are determined to solve these problems. (Lula, 2007)

On October 30, 2007, Brazil was chosen to host the 2014 World Soccer Cup. Before Brazil was chosen to host 2014's soccer cup, Ricardo Teixeira - then president of Brazil's Soccer Confederation (CBF) - at the time claimed that a well-organized World Cup was that primarily organized with resources that derived from the private sector. Nevertheless, shortly after the official announcement, Brazil's prime soccer leader changed his speech: "Ricardo Teixeira - President of CBF - pleaded the government to support the organization of the 2014 World Cup. The leader stated that the public sector will be important to the holding of the event." (Canônico 2007).

Most often, for most countries, hosting one of the existing mega sporting events is more of a dream. To home, within no more than two years, both events is something that only happened a single time, in Mexico, when Mexico City hosted the 1968 Olympic Games and, two years later, hosted the World Soccer Cup.

Nevertheless, Brazil decided to take the risk and will receive in the coming years the World Cup and the Olympic Games. The Cup, which was meant to be funded by the private sector, ended up belonging to the public sector, which currently accounts for 98.5% of costs (Rangel, 2011).

Brazil is not the only country to have been ensured of the promise of fabulous legacies once hosting a World Cup. Swart, Bob, Knotte Salie (2011) demonstrated that in the African government's business plan, the same stated that the Cup was perceived as being a great opportunity for the country that at the time was opening itself to the world and shedding off *apartheid*. The event would thus bring about tremendous development, support the economy, health and safety, in addition to social and infrastructure legacies. No wonder that as far as FIFA was concerned, Africa's 2010 World Soccer Cup motto would be that of social development (Cornelissen, 2011).

This research's objectives are to analyse the current standing of legacies promised by the many governmental levels, via official documents and news reported by the media, and to forecast which legacies will become effective in the city of São Paulo - home of the World Cup opening event - once the games are held.

To this effect, following Kaplanidou and Karadakis (2010) and Gratton and Preuss's (2008) stepping stones, this study shall introduce a definition for mega events and legacies, the latter being subdivided into tangible and intangible legacies.

Furthermore, information gathered from academic papers, newspapers and magazines that study World Soccer Cups and other Olympic Games at most varied cities shall enable the indication of the most likely possibilities of obtaining advantages from holding the World Cup, for the city of São Paulo.

This study does intend to pinpoint whether the holding the games is, in itself, valid or not valid for the city, but supply subsidies so people may shape their opinion as to this mega event.

**Table 1: Variation of amounts invested in the 2014 World Cup**

	Jan. 2012 (in billions)	Dez. 2012 (in billions)
Stadium Constructions and Urban Mobility	R\$11,5	R\$18,6
Airports and Ports Renovation and Expansions	R\$5,8	R\$8,2
Public Safety	Not reported	R\$2,5
Telecommunications	Not reported	R\$0,4

Source: TCU Reports (2012a, 2012b)

According to Horne (2007), academics must critically scrutinize often suppressed assumptions, beliefs and representations in as much as mega sporting events are concerned. Therefore, before June 2013, this research already presented solid justifications for being undertaken.

For starters, given its novelty since, inclusively abroad, there are only a handful of studies that seek to upfront present impacts on cities when holding games. Another important factor lies in the high amounts invested and respective alterations during the course of pulling the event together (Table 1), a fact that consistently gave rise to suspicions involving misappropriation of public funds.

Furthermore, this study was deemed of increased importance to the Brazilian society as a whole, once popular outrage sprung from social street manifestations throughout Brazil during the course of the Confederations Cup - also perceived as being a test event for the World Soccer Cup. Given society's perceptions before disproportionate expenditures involving the very hosting of the 2014 World Soccer Cup, the responsibility of authors is herein spruced, in as much as the possible influence of results presented at the end of this study, is concerned.

Henceforth our understanding of concepts involving mega events, legacies, tangible and intangible legacies and opportunity cost shall be presented. Concepts of the kind are of core relevance to the questioning of this study's object.

In addition, a brief review of other studies conducted in the field of legacies resulting from other mega sporting events throughout the world is presented.

## **2 MEGA EVENTS AND THE LEGACY OF THE WORLD CUP**

Holding mega sporting events such as the Olympic Games and FIFA's World Cup pose major challenges for applicant countries. Application costs and the considerable investments in infrastructure promised by cities seeking to host such events, raise a number of issues within various sectors of society, as to the need to stage the same, *versus* results remaining once the event is over. Therefore, no unanimity rests achieved as to opportunity benefits and losses for a given city or country to host a mega sporting event.

This section shall discuss mega event, legacies, tangible and intangible legacies and opportunity cost concepts, arisen from choices made by public entities that host international sporting events. Subsequently, these concepts shall be matched against promises made by the many governmental bodies involved in undertaking the World Cup at the city of Sao Paulo.

### **2.1 MEGA EVENTS**

In the coming years, Brazil shall host two of the largest world mega sporting events. Roche (2000) initiates his standing as to mega events stating that "everyone loves a parade" - a popular American saying - whereby within modern society, large parades effectively are the so-called "mega events". Thus, the author defines the term as being "major cultural events (inclusively commercial and sporting) that portray dramatic character, popular mass appeal and international significance" (Roche, 2000, p. 1). These are typically organized by a combination of local governments and international non-governmental entities, such as Fifa and the IOC - International Olympic Committee.

According to Horne (2007) to qualify an event as being one of "mega" stature, it must comprise two important characteristics, namely: significant consequences for the city, region or hosting nation and the attraction of

considerable media coverage. On the other hand, as far as Roberts (2004) is concerned, a sporting event may be defined as a mega event given the fact that it is not continuous, yet uncommon, international and in terms of composition, extensive. According to this author, events of the kind enable the transmission of promotional messages to billions of people via both television and other modes of communication.

Proponents claim to rest on number of reasons to host a major event. Reasoning is usually ground on sporting benefits and also on those of economic and social nature. Nevertheless, there is a certain level of academic consensus that suggests that results may consist in both positive and negative impacts. (Horne, 2007)

For various different reasons, organizers watch or attend and governments support, mega sporting events. Governments justify holding the same as a means of promoting development, through sports. One of the most common motivations mentioned by governments to justify national investments in events of the kind lies in the fact that these would encourage the local population to become more physically active by taking on sporting activities (Frawley and Cush, 2011; Girginov and Hills, 2008).

Alternatively, mega events would spruce the implementation of programs such as that of South Africa at the time of the 2010 World Soccer Cup - *Sport for Development and Peace* – (Cornelissen, 2011; Burnett, 2010). This entire notion not only finds support in governments but also is backed by the United Nations that deems sports as being a viable and practical tool towards the achievement of duly coined by the entity, millennium development goals (UN, 2010).

There are disparate standings as to whether mega events effectively generate development. Levermore (2009) believes that development brought about by events is associated with modernization and neoliberalism objectives, which focus on the physical infrastructure and the creation of a strong economic and social environment. Nevertheless, according to the author, these same events may accentuate existing differences between power relations, to the extent of marginalizing certain groups and communities.

According to the UN's International Sport for Development and Peace Work Group, a mega event's priority lies in the same's sound development and planning. This not only enables improved control over activities but also embeds such concept-driven activities within planned tasks, something that hardly ever is taken into account in the case of case in high performance sports (SDP IWG, 2008).

Furthermore, changes imposed on legislators - often forced to create a protective "bubble" during the course of mega events - shape yet another point of controversy (Horne, 2007). To this effect, take for instance the liberalization of liquor during World Cup matches in Brazil and rules to mitigate ambush marketing. Measures of the kind illustrate how both entities and mega sports sponsors protect themselves and influence the day-to-day life of host countries before, during and after the same are held.

## 2.2 THE LEGACY: TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE LEGACIES

As of a symposium held in 2002, the International Olympic Committee defined as mandatory, the inclusion of positive legacies to the benefit of life quality at countries applying to hold the Olympic Games (Chappelet, 2008).

The 2014 World Cup's legacy for the city of São Paulo is the core point of this study, thus calling for a pinpointed understanding of the very concept of legacy in itself and of its many diverse aspects. Gratton and Preuss (2008, p. 1924) define legacy as "structures, planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible, created given a sporting event, that remain after the event." This definition demonstrates that organizers promised and expected results are not under their full control but rather, subject to externalities that inflow from the diverse set of stakeholders involved in the execution of match pertaining constructions and activities.

The very concept of legacies is linked to positive impacts that relate to the matches (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010; Roberts, 2007). In turn, these may qualify as being economic, social, cultural, environmental (Solberg and Preuss, 2007; Fredline, 2005), physical, political and psychological (Fredline,

2005), in addition to those associated with tourism (Ritchie and Smith, 1991; Hodur and Leistritz, 2006; Lockstone and Baum, 2008; Spronk and Fourie, 2011; Turkish and Dinu, 2008). Hiller (2006) understands that legacies qualify as a multidimensional phenomenon since it involves various stages - from event proposal to the after use event plan. Dlamini (2008) demonstrates that at the time of the 2010 World Cup, South Africa's Organizing Committee, in addition to committing to requirements suggested by FIFA, further focused on legacies associated with economic, health and safety, social and infrastructural aspects.

Mega event's legacies impact hosting cities in a several respects (Preuss, 2007) and may in turn be qualified as "tangible" or "intangible". Tangible structures are aspects that can easily be measured and are classified as primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary structures relate to sporting activities that take place during the event (sporting infrastructure and training sites) whilst typical secondary structures are those that play a role in supporting the event (athletes' village). Tertiary structures are those that surround the event (cultural attractions) and the urban infrastructure that is required to host the event (public transportation, security and so forth).

According to Preuss (2007), intangible structures comprise knowledge, networks and cultural assets. In their studies, Kaplanidou and Karadakis (2010) offer as examples of intangible legacies urban restoration, increased international reputation, the generation of cultural values, emotional experiences and more extensive, comprehensive knowledge. These authors point out that aspects of the kind are more difficult to both identify and measure, thus corroborating the understanding of others who research the same subject matter (Gratton and Press, 2008; Mangan, 2008; Solberg and Preuss, 2007).

Kaplanidou and Karadakis (2010) also highlight the fact that existing literature presents more examples of legacies resulting in positive impacts as opposed to negative ones. In addition to the overall positive aspects introduced by Gratton and Preuss (2008) and Solberg and Preuss (2007), Kaplanidou and Karadakis's (2010) own article presents tangible and intangible legacies - from the standpoint of those stakeholders involved in the event's ideation and

management - which effectively remained at the city as a result of hosting the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver.

On the other hand, negative impacts might comprise debts or uncontrolled expenses that derive from the construction of sports arenas with no future use - as was notably the case of the 2007 Pan American Games held in Rio de Janeiro - when an estimated R\$ 414 million worth of investments effectively surpassed 3.7 billion (Motta, 2012). High opportunity costs, unnecessary infrastructure, temporary overbooking, permanent tourists loss, increases in real estate rentals and resident relocations may also be deemed as negative impacts (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010; Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Mangan, 2008; Solberg and Preuss, 2007). Other negative impacts that may be taken into consideration include limited access to the venue of games (Nash and Johnstone, 2001) given the mode of sale or price of tickets, and impacts on those that are thus set aside, i.e., effectively marginalized (Waite, 2003).

Evidence has also been identified that suggests the existence of limited or even harmful outreach of mega events on local communities and economies. Such was reportedly the case of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games that negatively impacted the city's finances during no less than 25 years (Levine, 2003).

Authors such as Balsas (2004), despite not mentioning a specific mega sporting event, do state that urban restoration is not necessarily ensured when a given city hosts a mega event. This was the case of the city of Porto, in Portugal, when it was deemed the European Capital of Culture and thus hosted a series of cultural mega events in 2001.

Cashman (2006) and Searle (2002), upon analysis of Sydney's 2000 Olympic Games, demonstrated that sporting legacies may become short of "white elephants" in view of the consequent improper use of sporting arenas.

### 2.3 OPPORTUNITY COST

The term "opportunity cost" is employed when one wants to identify the cost of a choice that could have been made instead of a decision taken. In other

words, upon deciding in favour of an investment project such as hosting a World Cup, what would the costs of other outflanked projects be? Besanko, Dranove, Shanley and Schaefer (2012, p. 47) define the opportunity cost as: "The economic cost of allotting resources to a given activity is the value of the best alternative use waived of the same." Thus, companies use the concept of opportunity cost to compare projects that would generate greater or lesser profit.

Usually one does not compare profits that arise from mega events but rather evaluates investments of this kind in terms of the legacy that will remain for society *versus* other investment alternatives. When discussing tangible legacies, one can precisely measure investment costs in infrastructure and stadiums, amongst others, in comparison to costs of investing in education, public health or other cultural structures such as museums.

On the other hand, in the case of intangible legacies, studying opportunity costs is far more complicated. The feeling of national unity or that of community engagement might eventually be measured against the same kind of feeling before other kinds of actions, such as free art exhibitions or even local sporting events.

Whatever investment comes to be allotted to mega events, opportunity costs will automatically spring for those who are directly involved in funding the event. Both public and private sectors should analyse returns they'd obtain if rather investments were allotted to other options, before deciding to support events or even sponsor them. Kaplanidou and Karadakis (2010) demonstrated that, despite not having identified negative legacy stakeholders, the loss of opportunities or of opportunity costs was clearly evidenced. To this effect, the latter were associated with the non-use of resources to improve education, to reduce the number of homeless people in the city of Vancouver and improvements in healthcare.

Recently, a portion of the local population began to question opportunity costs involving the hosting of the World Cup in Brazil. The series of manifestations that have increasingly taken the streets of several cities in Brazil express doubts of significant portions of the population as to government mismanagement of the country's resources, which, so far, has allotted no less

than R\$ 7.5 billion, solely for the construction of stadiums for the World Cup (Costas, 2013).

## 2.4 MEGA EVENTS LEGACY CASES

Studying published cases is one of the ways of presenting and better understanding mega events legacies. Henceforth, cases involving the 2010 Vancouver Winter Games (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010), South Africa's 2010 World Cup (Swart et al., 2011) and - Manchester, England's 2002 (Gratton and Preuss, 2008), New Delhi, India's 2012 (Majumdar, 2011) and Glasgow, Scotland's to be held in 2014 - Commonwealth Games (Matheson, 2010) are presented. These studies reveal the increasing need for in-depth studies concerning legacies and the both positive and negative impacts of mega sporting events. Furthermore, they support the identification of an appropriate methodology and suggest analytical perspectives for studies involving this kind of social phenomenon.

When interviewing key stakeholders involved in the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games, Kaplanidou and Karadakis (2010) identified and classified legacies into four subcategories: infrastructure, programs and initiatives, technological and environmental improvements and the expansion of business networks.

The first category revealed that the building of a direct line between the airport and downtown Vancouver was more highlighted as a legacy for the city as a whole in comparison to the sporting arenas. Programs and initiatives that focused on community engagement for instance, were likewise more emphasized than the inclusion program- designed and applied throughout the entire province of British Columbia – which aimed to provide improved access to disabled people and remained in operation after the games were over.

In terms of technology, emphasizes was placed on the creation of a website that collected volunteer data and sought to link their skills to the organization needs of the Games. The environmental aspect was hardly mentioned by respondents. Nevertheless, according to the representative of

Vancouver's Hotel Association, event sites were built in a sustainable manner thus conveying an environmentally positive message to the rest of the world.

The last tangible aspect relates to increase in business activities. Measurements were conducted relating business conducted by local companies during and after the event, as compared to that prior to the homing of the Winter Olympic Games. In addition to business in itself, respondents deemed as positive factors investments made by event sponsoring companies - such as Coca-Cola and McDonald's - in the local community or in the setting up of sports centers featuring their own corporate brand names (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010).

As far as intangible legacies are concerned, 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games presented results in four different fields: knowledge dissemination and governance reform, emotional capital, social change and image improvement. Knowledge dissemination amongst diverse organizations held accountable for the implementation of programs and initiatives and also amongst their employees, shaped a new mind-set and the development of skills. This knowledge was relayed by people - whether employees or volunteers - once they returned to work at their original organizations.

In turn, reforms in terms of governance were evidenced both in the public and private sectors, which arose from relations established between these two agents and also in light of requirements demanded by the event.

The second field which focuses on emotional capital and comprises pride, inspiration, "can do" attitudes and a sense of belonging, amongst others, was also mentioned by respondents as a positive result of the event.

As far as social change is concerned, most findings mostly revealed a new mind-set in dealing with disabled people and also mentioned the participation of the Aboriginal population.

In the fourth aspect, positive impacts were noted in terms of local and international acknowledgement of the region as a touristic destination.

Nevertheless, organizers were required to devote their best efforts to adopt a communication strategy capable of mitigating the negative impacts

involving the malfunctioning of the Olympic Torch and also the death of an athlete shortly before the Games started (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010).

Swart et al. (2011) introduce a positive legacy case involving the 2010 South Africa World Soccer Cup. Most stadiums built for the event are currently deemed "white elephants" given the fact that they are not used for sporting events. However, the study conducted by these authors demonstrates that actions taken by the Football Foundation of South Africa (FFSA) – founded in 2008 to enhance the impacts of holding the Cup in areas beyond the host cities – did result in positive legacies in terms of both sports and social development.

For instance, in the case of the region of Gansbaai - where FFSA set up a sports centre focused on soccer – results demonstrate that even once the World Cup was over, there was an increase in the use of the sporting centre and that the community perceived the fact as a positive development inductor. In addition to this tangible legacy, findings also reveal increased integration between different groups of the communities that live in and around the sporting centre. In this case, this result is of great value given the existence of racial divisions that still remain as a trace of the *apartheid* segregation policy. Other positive results include the development of the community in itself and the impact on the development of youngsters.

Grattone and Preuss (2008) presented Manchester's case study, discussing matters pertaining to the time this city hosted the 2002 Commonwealth Games. According to the authors, the event called for an investment of 200 million pounds in sporting facilities and more than 470 million pounds worth of investments in transportation and other urban infrastructure matters. With the exception of the 2012 London Olympic Games, figures of this kind place this investment as the largest ever made, in a sporting event, in the entire UK.

This event was also a landmark given that this was the first time in the country's history that the planning of a sporting event was integrated with a strategic plan to restore the city of Manchester, particularly as to its eastern side. The objective was to ensure that the benefits of hosting the event would not disappear once the competition were over and, much on the contrary, result in a

long term legacy, especially to the eastern portion of the city of Manchester's local economy. Nevertheless, according Grattone and Preuss (2008), no studies as to economic impacts during the event were conducted, thus impairing assessments as to the economic benefits of the competition.

After New Delhi hosted the 2010 Commonwealth Games, Majumdar (2011) examines legacies bestowed to India and to its capital, in particular. The author understands that, far more than tangible sporting legacies such as sporting infrastructure (sports venues and athletes' village), other legacies of greater importance remained. According to the author, matters related to urban infrastructure, to community integration and, most importantly, athlete performance – shaping the possibility of India finally embracing Olympic sports – are effectively the long-term legacies which have most benefitted the country.

As far as the 2010 Commonwealth Games are concerned, Majumdar (2011) states that the event's Organizing Committee reported possible impacts the competition might bring about to the country, to India's Prime Minister. According to the organizers, six aspects deserved emphasis, although sports in itself is but mentioned in only one, amongst those pinpointed. The remaining five items demonstrate how the competition was primarily perceived as a growth opportunity for the country in other fields, namely: improve the country's image and status; project New Delhi as a global touristic destination, catalyse the sustainable development of infrastructure; shape a favourable economic environment for India's economy; and generate new opportunities for commercial trade, business and investments for both New Delhi and India. According to Majumdar (2011), the event did not achieve these objectives.

In addition to the fact that the above mentioned aspects were not attained by India via the 2010 Commonwealth Games, Majumdar (2011) also indicates yet another set of problems involving the event. According to official government data, event expenditures surpassed US\$ 15 billion, approximately 114 times more than the initial 2002 project value presented. For the sake of comparison, the author further presents the case of Melbourne's Olympic Games, an event that totalled US\$ 2.9 billion in costs, i.e., slightly more than 0.6% above initial estimates (Majumdar, 2011, p. 248).

Matheson (2010) set out to conduct a preliminary evaluation of the 2014 Commonwealth Games to be hosted by Glasgow, in Scotland. The author analyses progress in as much as urban restoration legacy proposals for the city, are concerned. 2014 Commonwealth Games legacy plans include far-reaching matters such as improving inhabitant physical activity levels, benefits in terms of education, sustainable development and social and economic regeneration and development.

Matheson (2010) emphasizes that Glasgow's case presents several best practice indicatives in terms of conducting the 2014 Commonwealth Games' legacy planning. Amongst positive aspects, special mention is made as to compliance with the proposed schedule of legacies, the physical transformation of game sites, employability strategies and the acquisition of materials and equipment for the event, in addition to the fact that it is embedded within more comprehensive city and country restoration strategies. Nevertheless, the author alerts readers as to certain risks that threaten the delivery of some of the proposed legacies, in good time. Amongst the same, emphasis is placed on continued community support and of governmental partnerships, impacts on the development policy and existing impairments in as much as shaping a favourable economic environment - in light of the global economic crisis - is concerned.

### **3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND TECHNIQUES**

When should a realistic analysis of sporting event's legacies be conducted? The intent to analyse a sporting event's legacy of doesn't necessarily imply in the fact that no analysis whatsoever is feasible prior to the event itself. Preliminary assessments can certainly identify eventual successful actions, but might also result in mistakes given that evidence at the time, is incomplete. However, preliminary assessments can raise constructive concerns, alert the public to keep an eye on committed obligations and encourage official actions (Mangan, 2008, p. 1,871).

Kaplanidou and Karadakis (2010) reason that the ideation and management of a plan which includes legacies are important, enabling involved

stakeholders to both implement and evaluate programs that host cities have designed. Pre-event assessment may thus be applied to legacy planning so as to monitor that promised along execution stages and identify potential legacy plan implementation challenges. Although this is still deemed as an emerging field of study, some authors offered themselves to conduct a pre-event assessment study, for the 2012 London Olympic Games.

Gold and Gold (2008, p. 312-313) analyse reported 2012 London Olympic Games legacies, in particular as to the Lower Lea Valley region, site that would harbour the city's most relevant sporting infrastructure works. According to the authors, previous events to that of London experience revealed gaps between that promised as legacy within proposals and what ends up being effectively delivered. Improvements in both infrastructure and in the environment might be experience a reduction in maintenance costs or even end up being abandoned, as was the case of events involving the 2000 Sydney and 2004 Athens Olympic Games.

Gold and Gold (2009) evaluated London's 2012 Games legacy promises and the project's challenges and progress, years before they were held. Authors emphasize that London's Olympic Park permanent structures are very similar to those originally planned. Thus, they'd qualify this work as a tangible legacy, at least as far as so-called high performance sports are concerned. On the other hand, retraction in investments which came to embed country's officers' speech shortly before the Games, might downgrade works of the kind to an expendable category. According to the authors, even though the local population might come to make recreational use of the Olympic Park's space, inhabitants wouldn't necessarily be qualified to fully make best use of such sporting facilities, unless investments were allotted to adjust sporting equipment for the specific use of local communities.

The same approach was used by Matheson (2010) when conducting a preliminary assessment of the stage of evolution of promised legacies involving the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games. The author examines progress before urban restoration legacy proposals, given that to his understanding, legacies

become core grounding for both proposals and the organization of international sporting competitions.

Data obtained from the Brazilian government's programs and legacies for the city of São Paulo involving the 2014 World Soccer Cup, reports from the National Court of Audit, United Nation documents, in addition to testimonials and information obtained at some of Brazil's leading press media such as the *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* newspapers, the *Veja* magazine and the *UOL* site, was employed to define which were the legacies that would be projected to remain once the is over. The year 2012 was chosen as the starting base since it was when the official host cities and also the stadiums were defined. This enabled the conduction of a preliminary analysis concerning the achievement or non-achievement of promised legacies. Data continued to be collected until events occurred at the time of the 2013 Confederations Cup, deemed as the 2014 Cup test event.

Data analysis was first conducted via classifying legacies according Kaplanidou and Karadakis's (2010) concepts. The second step consisted of an analysis of promised legacies *versus* their status during the period of analysis. At this stage of the research, attempt was made to compare the most relevant original project changes with "new" promises made within the same period.

Finally, projections of legacies that were deemed most likely to come about were discussed and to this effect, most current news as to both the theme and the previously raised theoretic framework was employed.

#### **4 RESULTS PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

Results are divided and presented in two parts: a survey concerning the evolution of legacies and post-Cup projections of such findings. In so conducting critical analysis, intent rests in offering indicative flags to those managers involved in the deployment of the World Cup, as to possible future event legacy issues

#### 4.1 LEGACY EVOLUTION

Official Ministry of Sports figures present investments in four major areas (Table 2), which, according to the study's chosen methodology, may be placed within the so-called tangible legacy category. It is precisely these legacies – those tangible – that take part in governmental speech as being the true country's legacies deriving from hosting the World Cup, inclusively serving the purpose of justifying the high amounts spent by all governmental instances to deliver to Brazil improved roadways, more efficient airports and topflight public transportation. (Chad and Maia, 2013).

**Table 2: Evolution of expenditures in São Paulo's 2014 World Cup legacy**

In R\$ (millions)	JAN/11	MAY/12	DEC/12
<b>Stadium</b>	Not defined	820	820
<b>Urban Mobility</b>	2.860	1.882	318
<b>Airports</b>	1.961	3.258	5.710
<b>Private</b>	-	2.600	3.110
<b>Guarulhos</b>	-	1.420	1.420
<b>Viracopos</b>	-	1.180	1.180
<b>Public</b>	1.961	658	2.600
<b>Guarulhos</b>	1.219	651	503
<b>Viracopos</b>	742	7	7
<b>Ports</b>	120	235	235

Source: *Ministério do Esporte* (2011, 2012a, 2012b)

The status involving São Paulo's city stadium situation is an atypical case, inclusively before Brazilian stadium construction parameters. Despite the fact that the city was defined as one of those hosting the World Cup and was, from starters, included as being that likely to home the Opening Ceremony of the matches, São Paulo lagged behind and was the last city to define which stadium would host the event. According to the initial project, the city offered the

Morumbi Stadium. Adapting the stadium to the so-called "Fifa standard" would cost R\$ 300 million.

Once the Morumbi Stadium was excluded for technical, financial and political reasons (Veja, 2011) changes in the plan implied in significant increases in planned investments, choice having rested on building a new stadium in the city. The financing model that was presented demonstrates that R\$ 400 million were raised by the consortium in charge of the works, via the granting of the Incentive to Development Certificate (locally known as CID) and the remainder – R\$ 420 million – was obtained through a loan at BNDES (National Economic and Social Development Bank) subsidized interest rates. As a result of Fifa's pressure, so as effectively come to home the Opening Ceremony, requirements called for the inclusion of an additional 17 seats, at a total extra cost of R\$ 70 million, which shall be paid by the private sector (Leite and Fávero, 2012).

Held up as one of the major tangible legacies for 2014 World Cup host cities, urban mobility works effectively end up being those most impaired by delays and cancellations (Amora, 2012). As far as the city of São Paulo is concerned, the most relevant investment mentioned by governments was the monorail that would connect the Airport of Congonhas to the Morumbi district. São Paulo's State Government's implementation of this work was removed from the World Cup projects (Rebello, 2012) and that's why the total amount of reported investments decreased. In addition to delays in works, changes in the stadium itself would also be one of the reasons that gave rise to the government having requested to withdraw the project from the official plan. Current investments demonstrate that the State Government shall invest in projects to expand the stadium's surrounding road network.

One of Brazil's major bottlenecks are the country's airports. Data indicate that, despite investments, the country's main airport – the International Airport of Guarulhos – will continue to operate under occupancy rates (112% in 2014) that override limits. In Fifa's World Cup Responsibility Matrix, the city of Sao Paulo forecasted both public and private investments at the airports of Guarulhos and Viracopos since they are deemed as being strategic to the country's mobility plan. Yet another project – that of the Bullet Train – was

likewise left behind in as much as the so-called São Paulo's city World Cup legacies are concerned. According to the Cup's 2010 Auditing Subcommittee's report, the railroad project of the bullet train connecting Rio and São Paulo had been included in the matrices of both cities (Câmara dos Deputados, 2010, p. 31 and 33). However, ever since 2009, experts had already been raising alerts as to the impossibility of conducting this construction in good time to host the World Cup (Vírgula, 2009).

The bullet train project is a good example of how the absence of planning and investment plans impacted the building of the physical legate that might have been built given the World Cup. The absence of definitions in terms of the track's pathway and of the chosen model resulted in the court ordered suspension of the tender itself and even in Calls for Bids without one single proponent company.

Last year, in July, the first call for auction attempt failed. The deadline to deliver envelopes containing bids ended without one single consortium presenting proposals. The absence of interest on behalf of companies was no surprise. In early July 2011, the federal government received two formal private sector requests to postpone the tender - from the Brazilian Railway Industry Association (*Abifer*) and from the so-called Korean consortium, deemed as that most interested in the undertaking. After this attempt, *ANTT* tried to bid the bullet train yet another two times, but auctions were likewise postponed given the absence of interested parties. (Veja, 2012)

Although not directly linked to the city of São Paulo, in an indirect manner the works at the Port of Santos ought to be included in the analysis of World Cup legacies. Brazilian ports - including that of Santos- have attracted major discussions in Brazil because they are considered one of the most relevant impairments hindering increases in Brazilian exports. That's why port renovation must be deemed as one of the most relevant physical legacies for the country and to this effect was included in the government's Growth Acceleration Program, locally known as PAC, yet related to the World Cup itself (Cup's PAC). Projections estimate that once renovation is concluded, the dock will be able to harbour up to six passenger ships. Thus, the region will be able to offer an additional 15 thousand new hosting beds. (G1, 2012).

Other tangible legacies that were promised by the federal government for the city of São Paulo include the implementation of the metropolitan optic fibre

network and the ensuring of meeting local electric power demands. Updates as to the deployment of optic fibres in São Paulo demonstrate that the works are still undergoing tendering processes and that 20% has been executed. Meanwhile, as to works involving the transmission of electric energy, the city has planned to bring together the fourth group of transformers – known as Bandeirantes – currently still undergoing construction (Ministério do Esporte, 2013).

As far as intangible legacies are concerned, one may emphasize as governmental propositions in the field of tourism, the shaping of a positive image of the country abroad, and, during the Cup, quality tourist welcoming and care. To ensure such directives are implemented, actions comprised improvements in Tourist Care Centres and accessibility adaptation, at tourist attractions and Tourist Information Signalling, to ensure adequacy. Still within the field of tourism, another relevant factor that was included relates to the qualification of welcoming personnel and service providers.

Finally, the mapping and classification, modernization and supply expansion of the hosteling structure was recommended as action. In as much as São Paulo is concerned, the hosteling structure is acknowledged as being sufficient. Nevertheless, according to the latest Ministry of Sports update, improvements in Tourist Care Centres, accessibility at tourist attractions and signalling were still undergoing the licensing phase. Information as to training at the city of São Paulo could not be extracted because data is treated in a grouped manner (Ministério do Esporte, 2012).

As intangible Cup legacies, the federal government poses to meet three objectives, namely: (1) the projection of Brazil's image as a competitive and innovative country, featuring business potential and achievement capabilities, accordingly developed in a sustainable and socially inclusive manner; (2) the reinforcement of Brazil's image as a hospitable, creative, cheerful, united, hardworking, feisty country that values diversity and is bountiful in natural beauties; (3) the dissemination of the Cup's legacies, of the valuation of the "Brazil Brand" before intellectual and human capital investment and promotion of infrastructure works, thus making further room for forthcoming mega events.

Having discussed planned and/or promised World Cup tangible and intangible legacies, the next step resides in forecasting their possible impacts on the city of São Paulo.

#### 4.2 LEGACY PROJECTIONS

As of previously presented data, impacts relative to promised 2014 World Cup legacies for the city of São Paulo were forecast. Table 1 summarizes projection results.

<b>LEGACY</b>	<b>Execution Probability</b>	<b>Impacts</b>
<b>Stadium</b>	High	Despite being positive, impact is limited to the club that owns the stadium.
<b>Urban Mobility: Monorail</b>	Zero	Given the change in the chosen stadium/site this mobility work was withdrawn from governmental plans. Nevertheless, it would have spun off substantial impact once linking São Paulo's downtown airport to the subway's network lines.
<b>Urban Mobility: Stadium surroundings</b>	High	Low /Average impact on the region surrounding the stadium. Irrespective of improvements in the lives of regional inhabitants, impact is deemed restricted in terms of the city as a whole.
<b>Guarulhos Airport</b>	Average / High	Impacts of improvements in Guarulhos are significant since it this is the country's largest airport and routing point/hub for most international flights. However, since plans only meet current demands, outcomes are deemed of short-term duration.
<b>Viracopos Airport</b>	Average / High	This airport has served as an alternative to both of São Paulo's already saturated airports. Impact might be average to high, depending on other initiatives enabling feasible access to the same.
<b>Port of Santos</b>	High	Direct impact on the city is questionable. Nevertheless, the port is the point of arrival for tourist vessels, a fact that may spring, in the long run, benefits for the city of São Paulo.
<b>São Paulo-Rio de Janeiro Bullet Train</b>	Zero	Per June 2013 status, one of the most promising promises, both for the World Cup and for the Olympic Games, this legate has not been initiated.

<b>Optical Fibre Implementation</b>	Average	São Paulo already features a suitable optical fibre network; however, expansions are lagging far behind as compared to other host cities. Given the current status, the level of impact of this legate may be deemed as being low to average.
<b>Addressing Power Demand</b>	High	Works are well ahead of schedules and impact may be deemed as being low given that this legate improves transmission but does not ensure the generation or production of electric energy.

**Chart 1: 2014 São Paulo World Cup legacy achievement projection**

Source: Prepared by the authors

One notes that one of the greatest concerns in terms of mega events and which also impacts some 2014 Cup stadiums - the fact that sporting facilities become "white elephants" – shall not occur in São Paulo. Owned by the Paulista Corinthians Sport Club, the stadium will be used for the many championships that the club takes part in and which most often home high average attendances. Furthermore, the stadium will be able to shelter other events beyond the sport of soccer, at a highly populated area of the city that lacks facilities of the kind: the Eastern Zone of the city.

On the other hand, works that impart major impact such as airports and urban mobility (monorail and bullet train that would link São Paulo to Rio) will present conflicting results. Whilst investments in airports are probably going to be concluded in good time, both the monorail and the bullet train will not be ready by the 2014 World Cup. These results demonstrate the extent the absence of planning impacts optimal usage of resources, reducing the synergy between the various civil works. If the bullet train were implemented in good time, investments in the Viracopos airport would be of greater value since the it might have come to serve as a port of arrival for fans, both for matches held in São Paulo as those in Rio de Janeiro.

In as much as the monorail's implementation postponement till after the World Cup is over is concerned, the decision ignores an urgent need: to connect the airport of Congonhas to the city's subway network. Even if one takes into account that the matches will be held in Itaquera, foreign fan access to subway

lines would be crucial for the Cup, and likewise, for tourists that shall continue to visit the city in the future.

Although "urban mobility: stadium surroundings" will be concluded, this work's impact will be centralized in the region where matches will be held. One cannot deny that improvements in the region's roadways might impact urban restoration and also the attraction of investments, facts that may also impact the perception of those who inhabit the district. These investments may promote greater impact in terms of intangible legacies as opposed those resulting from tangible legacies because they primarily alter inhabitant pride and promote improvements in the community.

Investments in the port of Santos impact State tourism since they bestow as legate a structure to receive foreigners and also enable Brazilian users to further enjoy the many cruise lines that have been calling the country during summertime. However, impact of this work on São Paulo's city day to day life is deemed low.

The implementation or expansion of the city's optical fibre structure, imparts low/average impact on São Paulo given the fact that currently the network is deemed sound. The most relevant issue involving this action is the feasibility of the works in course given the current standing of delays. In as much as the works to address the needs involving the supply of power are concerned, these will be concluded, yet impact shall be low. Improvements as to this aspect are of major importance to the city's future. However, Brazil in general has noticed that the generation of power is a matter of greater concern than that of its distribution.

Preliminary analysis of tangible legacies as a whole demonstrates that changes in planning - such as that involving alteration of the stadium - directly impact deployment and control over investments. Disorders of the kind give rise to discussions involving opportunity costs given that the effective cost of works are altered without the participation of the civil society.

Projections of intangible legacies is a more complex task given that there is no physical structure to be measured and the process itself largely depends on the participation of people and on the impacts of activities that shall be

conducted during the event. Expectations may change depending on the country's environment. Before the Confederations Cup was held, the overall perception was that the majority of Brazil's population almost unconditionally supported the homing of the World Cup.

However, protests throughout the country, inclusively at host cities, demonstrated that the population is concerned with the destination of expenditures incurred by the various governmental instances and that the mere undertaking of tangible legacies is not quite enough. Given manifestations promoted by the Brazilian population in June 2013, the government's speech and even that of Fifa, changed. Placed in a hard stop by the local population, tangible legacies lost room to intangible legacies, as one notes as of the Sports Minister - Aldo Rebelo's - speech: "The greatest legacy that the World Cup shall bestow is the Brazilian's people joy of hosting a competition of this " (Chad and Maia, 2013).

Investments in public transport, health and education, earnestly flagged during protests, effectively triggered resulting evaluations of opportunity costs involving expenditures incurred by the Brazilian government expenditures, along the lines of that discussed in Vancouver's case (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010). Although the government claims not to be making direct investments, a large portion of investments applied to the 2014 World Cup comprise loans granted by the *BNDES*. These expenditures might have been allocated to other higher social, or even strategic, impact fields in the country. One will only be able to measure opportunity costs once the World Cup is over, since only then, the total amount invested to host the Cup in each field will have been compiled.

## **5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Mega sporting events may bestow legacies that are deemed as being positive. There are several examples of studies that suggest positive legacies have sprung from mega sporting events in terms of both the home city's image and the development of tourism (Graton, Shibli and Coleman, 2005), the so-called cultural legacies (García, 2005), the political and economic results of

mega-events ( Andranovich, Burbank and Heying, 2001) and urban restoration (Essex and Chalkley, 1998, 2004; Chalkley and Essex, 1999; García, 2004a, 2004b; Gratton, Shibli and Coleman, 2005).

It is very important to study mega event legacies so that organizers - governmental entities in particular - may justify investments made in direct infrastructure and also in the other structures that enable the holding of matches. Studies have been published presenting legacies bestowed by mega events at diverse countries (Kaplanidou and Karadakis, 2010; Swartet al., 2011; Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Majumdar, 2011).

Another group of authors emphasizes the need for preliminary legacy assessments to pinpoint planning gaps, required adjustments or still, how improvements might be implemented to adjust deviations from the initial route (Gold and Gold, 2008, 2009; Matheson, 2010). Based on this notion involving anticipation, this study sought to analyse the current standing of 2014 World Cup promised and planned legacies and project their respective impacts in as much as the city of São Paulo is concerned.

Results demonstrate that a significant portion of tangible legacies will be ready by the time the event is due to be held. The remaining portion was not favoured in light of alterations in plans given the change involving São Paulo's World Cup stadium, or because of poorly conducted implementations, such as the delays involving the bullet train. Some legacies will have restricted impact on the city's life, as can be noted in the case of the mobility works surrounding the stadium. Others shall impart greater impact on the city in the long term, should other strategies arise offering support towards to their success, as is the case of the investment at the Viracopos airport.

Given less measurable characteristics, intangible legacies are more complex to forecast. To come to improved conclusions, a better assessment should be conducted, during and after the event. Society's perceptions and desires also directly impact the expected outcome of such legacies, and changes in the social environment may rapidly alter the manner one evaluates whether impacts were deemed as having been positive or negative.

Many were the difficulties encountered to conduct this research. The absence of official documents - at all governmental levels - presenting which legacies are expected for the city of São Paulo and even for the country itself, is but one of such challenges. This is why choice fell upon on seeking as sources of information, newspapers and magazines of immaculate, sound reputation. Thus, this study does effectively in itself present a set of limitations which do not enable authors to deem the city's participation in the World Cup as being either positive or negative.

For the purpose of future research, recommendations include that once matches are over, studies be conducted to discuss the 2014 World Cup's historical cycle, starting as of the initial plan and proposal to host the event, assessing changes and finally discussing how actions were implemented and controlled. This study might evaluate, in a more detailed manner, the best and worst practices employed during the process and thus offer subsidies for the holding of forthcoming mega events. Suggestions also include an assessment of legacies once the event is over so as to evaluate whether the expected return was achieved, both in terms of tangible and intangible legacies. This assessment shall enable other countries to assess results before submitting applications to home a World Cup.

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