

THE CONTEMPT OF FAMILIARITY:

The Concurrent Metamorphoses of Soccer in
Brazil and Argentina

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At the 2014 World Cup final at the Maracanã Stadium in Rio de Janeiro, Brazilians in the crowd found themselves cheering not for Argentina but for Germany – the team that had humiliated them 7-1 in the semifinals. As Mario Götze scored the extra-time winner for Germany to hoist the World Cup trophy, a cry of “*Se você é argentino, diga então como é que é/Ter somente duas Copas, uma a menos que o Pelé*” rose up to remind Argentinians that they were still well behind in the tally of world championships. What would compel one South American country to root for a European side instead of its neighbor?

Over the course of the tournament, Argentine supporters flooded over the border to camp out for a month in the host cities of the World Cup merely to be in proximity to the *Albiceleste*. Chanting the ubiquitous “*Brasil, decime qué se siente/Tener en casa a tu papá/Te juro, que aunque pasen los años/Nunca nos vamos a olvidar/Que el Diego te gambeteó, que Cani te vacunó/Que estás llorando desde Italia hasta hoy/A Messi lo vas a ver, la Copa nos va a traer/Maradona es más grande que Pelé*” ad nauseam, Argentina’s fans were equally vocal in disdain. Quick to embrace every opportunity to celebrate their neighbor’s misfortunes, some supporters went so far as to wave plastic spines after Neymar was knocked out of the tournament with broken lumbar vertebrae in the quarterfinals against Colombia.

Having met 95 times over the course of the past century, the two national teams have evolved into the preeminent powerhouses of South American soccer. Despite the 5-2 discrepancy in world titles, Argentina leads the all-time series 36-35 in wins with 24 draws. Born from common rootstock as the beneficiaries of British foreign investment in the late 19th century, the two nations have evolved similar yet distinct styles that are known worldwide for their technical acumen and individual skill.

What follows is a look at the developments that have shaped the paths of Argentine and Brazilian soccer since the sport was introduced to South America in the last decades of the 1800s. Over the course of the 20th century soccer became the most potent symbol for each nation as they grew into their independence from colonial legacies, and the concurrent growth curves have followed similar paths at each point in the history. In looking at the twists and turns that have shaped the game in both nations, it becomes apparent that it is familiarity rather than stark contrasts that have been the root of the contempt between the two rivals.

Three factors led to the expansion of the sport of soccer in Brazil and Argentina. The confluence of Great Britain's "mini-globalization" created societies that were explicitly influenced by British investment and development, educational systems, and the shift in local demographics resulting from immigration. The game would at first be viewed with skepticism by the extant local populations. "A bunch of maniacs," one Brazilian journalist remarked about one of the earliest games to be played in São Paulo during the 1870s, "get together, from time to time, to kick something that looks like a bull's bladder. It gives them great satisfaction or fills them with sorry when this kind of yellowish bladder enters a rectangle formed by wooden posts."¹ Soon enough, that fervor would infect the native-born populations.

The influx of British labor and capital in the wake of Latin American independence created an environment conducive to the growth of soccer in both Argentina and Brazil. First taking root in the ports of the Rio de la Plata and Brazil's Atlantic coast, the game was brought to South American shores by an imported workforce that had developed an affinity for soccer

in their home country. Company teams started to form in these port cities, spurred by management and workers who had played the game in England prior to crossing the Atlantic. By 1882, the game had moved beyond the docks and was being played between teams of British and Brazilian workers of the São Paulo Railway.² The creation of company teams continued through the end of the 19th and into the first decades of the 20th century, as British capital accounted for 43.5 percent of the foreign investment in Latin America and thus had an outsized influence on sociocultural developments in Brazil and Argentina.³

The development of the rail system in Brazil and Argentina allowed for matches to be played not just within port cities like Buenos Aires and São Paulo but between teams from different parts of each country; by 1887 this network of transportation allowed for the first match to take place between representative squads from Buenos Aires and Rosario.⁴ In the latter city, separate clubs would develop among managers and workers of the Central Argentine Railway Company in the last years of the 19th century.⁵ Sport during this period was viewed by employers as well as unions as a means of instilling honesty, temperance, and education within working-class groups.⁶ The development of railroads and expansion of soccer in Argentina and Brazil would mirror developments in Uruguay and elsewhere in South America and would have an additional impact on the *criollización* of the sport in terms of urban migration.

The second influence was the creation of Eurocentric schools and social clubs by the immigrant populations in Argentina and Brazil. The 40,000 British expatriates popularized the sport within their own communities through these educational and civic institutions. As more schools – both those developed by the English as well as Argentine colleges – adopted the sport, it led to the formation of soccer leagues in Buenos Aires by the 1890s.⁷ Pioneers

such as Alexander Watson Hutton in Argentina and Charles Miller in Brazil seized upon this burgeoning popularity to promote the sport among both the upper-class and working populations. Likewise, the arrival of Hans Nobiling to São Paulo in 1897 led to the introduction of soccer in the German community of the city, expanding the game beyond the English social groups.⁸

Large-scale immigration from Europe would irreversibly skew the local demographics as expatriate populations started to firmly plant themselves within and metamorphose the Argentine and Brazilian cultures in which they were ensconced. Five million immigrants would arrive in Argentina during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with two million Europeans ending up in Brazil during the same period. These populations tended to settle in the cities, where more than half of the Argentine population lived by the second decade of the 1900s.⁹ Coupled with the development of the railroads, the influx of diverse populations to major urban areas created environments where the sport of soccer was popularized into something of a countercultural force.

Urbanization also brought along with it the impacts of racial and ethnic inequality. In its early development, the growth of the sport among lower-class and ethnic groups created for elites an environment where “the sport is becoming a torment, a sacrifice, not an amusement.”¹⁰ The inequalities appear more starkly in Brazil, where slavery remained legal through the first six decades of independence until 1888.¹¹ The legacy of slavery was still fresh enough when Gilberto Freyre countered the prevailing thoughts about black miscegenation in Brazil during the 1930s.

Freyre countered the desirability of cultural “whitening” through his theories on the superiority of the mulatto vis-à-vis purely white and purely black populations. Viewing the

mulatto as a conglomeration of the best aspects of Brazil's ancestral roots, the soccer produced by mulatto players was "an expression of our social formation, democratic as no other one and rebel to excesses of internal and external ordering."¹² The integration of black players into the Brazilian national team would help to formulate the conception of *O Jogo Bonito* that became a hallmark of the national style of play. Where once players were "whacked on the pitch, just because they made a foul, or sometimes for something less than that," the unique style of play "imitating the *miudinho*, that type of samba" developed into a talismanic source of pride for the burgeoning soccer superpower.¹³

In Argentina, a similar style predicated on individual skill both on and off the ball developed in contrast to perceptions of English physicality. As the sport became popularized among Spanish and Italian immigrants, Argentine soccer took advantage of abundant open spaces to develop a *potrero* culture in which "the importance of freshness, spontaneity and freedom" were of paramount importance.¹⁴ As opposed to the monotony that was perceived within the British system, Argentine soccer "made use of dribbling, and brave individual effort, in defence as well as attack, which resulted in a style of football that was more agile and attractive."¹⁵ Though it did not involve African elements to the extent of Brazil's development of a national soccer identity, Argentina's style of soccer similarly integrated dance-like elements into its play that were anathema to the original conception introduced by the British in the late 1800s.

As soccer in Argentina and Brazil evolved its own unique tactics and national styles, the growing popularity of the sport turned it into a viable cultural symbol that was easily assimilated by politicians. Both Getulio Vargas in Brazil and Juan Domingo Perón used soccer as part of a holistic populist program during the 1940s and 1950s. In addition to the cooption

of dance, musical forms, and festivals like Carneval, soccer was a key cultural nationalist symbol which was manipulated for political purposes. In the populist conception, “the sporting environment is where differences disappear, where a camaraderie superior to any other is born, and where a nobility and greatness of spirit are formed that must be human beings’ sole objective.”¹⁶

As soccer cultures became more heterogeneous around the globe, these subtleties afforded populist leaders such as Vargas and Perón the opportunity to differentiate their cultures from other societies. Soccer, in the words of Gilberto Freyre, was a window that showed “psychologists and sociologists in a very interesting way the roguery and flamboyance of the mulatto that today is in every true affirmation of what is Brazilian.”¹⁷ Soccer, like other forms of cultural expression, became a source of pride for each nation that expressed the uniqueness of cultures of which it was representative. In the case of Brazil, soccer was perceived to be the athletic expression of “racial democracy”. For Argentina, soccer was the admixture of a collection of immigrant communities that had melded together in a new, unique society that blended the best elements of each group.

In both nations, the adoption of soccer as a cultural expression by populist leaders took several forms. The consolidation of national federations in the 1930s was one aspect of this shift. Argentina moved away from Victorian glorification of amateurism with the acceptance of full professionalism in its leagues in 1931, and three years later the national federation fully Hispanicized its name to become the Asociación de Fútbol Argentino.¹⁸ In 1933, Brazil created its sports confederation with the aim of promoting athletic contests to the wider public.¹⁹ The creation of new tournaments such as the Copa Evita, along with public funding

of new stadiums, popularized the sport among the masses and carried favor for populist leaders.

Rising popularity, however, did not immediately translate into success. Unlike other forms of cultural expression, sports and specifically soccer run the risk of projecting negative messages. Argentina emerged as a world power in soccer during the 1920s and 1930s, though they found themselves playing the bridesmaid to Rioplatense rival Uruguay at both the 1928 Olympics and the first World Cup in 1930. Ahead 2-1 after halftime, the Argentine side conceded three goals in the second half to lose the World Cup final 4-2 in Montevideo.²⁰ Argentina would play in the 1934 World Cup, losing its first-round match before a 24-year hiatus. Despite being perceived as one of the strongest teams in the world during the 1940s and 1950s, Peronist policy following World War II kept the Argentine national team in isolation until 1958 largely due to fears of having perceptions of national strength destroyed by potential defeats on the pitch.²¹ Thus soccer was a double-edged sword: while it could be used to promote populist policies, that promotion was dependent on successes.

Brazil learned the risks of utilizing soccer as a nationalist cultural expression firsthand when they failed to win the 1950 World Cup on home soil. Brazilians scored 21 goals and conceded only four in their first five matches, earning four victories. Only an 88th-minute equalizer by Swiss forward Jacques Fatton prevented a perfect record in the first group stage, and after beating Sweden 7-1 and Spain 6-1 in the final group all Brazil had to do was draw against Uruguay to secure its first World Cup.

Before the hosts started the match against their South American counterparts in front of 200,000 partisan supporters at the Maracanã, Brazil had already started to celebrate the victory. *O Mundo* printed on the cover of that morning's newspaper a picture of the team

along with the headline, “These are the world champions.”²² And the mayor of Rio de Janeiro echoed similar sentiments while giving a speech in front of the crowd before the match:

“You, players, who in less than a few hours will be hailed as champions by millions of compatriots! You who have no rivals in the entire hemisphere! You who will overcome any other competitor! You, who I already salute as victors!”²³

Having watched its national team dominate the tournament to that point, a Brazilian society that had adopted soccer as its strongest representation of national identity could not comprehend the possibility of defeat. But in soccer, like in any other sport, the result is not guaranteed until the final whistle.

Alcides Ghiggia’s second-half winner for Uruguay thus plunged an entire nation into malaise. The Maracanazo would not leave just the eleven players on the pitch defeated; instead, Brazil became “a nation deprived of the great joys of victory, always pursued by bad luck, by the meanness of destiny.”²⁴ At a point when Brazil was starting to emerge as a national power, the loss became “perhaps the greatest tragedy in contemporary Brazilian history,” creating “a united vision of the loss of a historic opportunity.”²⁵ It would take eight more years for a society lusting for validation through soccer to finally win its first Jules Rimet Trophy, though the pain of losing on home soil was reiterated 64 years later when the Brazilians failed to secure victory at the 2014 World Cup.

Brazil would finally experience the joy of a championship with three World Cup victories from 1958 to 1970. The last of the trio came after Brazil’s government had been taken over by a U.S.-supported military junta in 1964. Like previous populist governments, the junta utilized soccer as a means of supporting the regime among the populace.²⁶ Because soccer had developed into a talismanic representation of Brazilian culture, the junta was able

to manipulate the public through the national team in a way that even ardent dissidents of government action still found themselves rooting for Brazilian victory.

This conflicted sentiment was depicted in the 2006 film *O Ano em Que Meus Pais Saíram de Férias* by the character Ítalo, a left-wing radical studying at the University of São Paulo. Prior to the start of Brazil's first match against Czechoslovakia he tells his fellow activists that "a win for Czechoslovakia is a win for socialism" – and then finds himself cheering for every Brazilian goal during the 4-1 victory.²⁷ As Hungarian writer Arthur Koestler said about this phenomenon, "There is nationalism, and there is football nationalism."²⁸ Ultimately Ítalo, like so many Brazilians during the period of the junta, was able to separate his political beliefs from his fanatical passion for soccer.

A similar situation would play out eight years later in Argentina. After removing Isabel Martínez de Perón from the presidency and taking control of the government in 1976, the junta led by General Jorge Rafael Videla took over a country that had won World Cup hosting rights a decade earlier.²⁹ Like the situation in Brazil a decade earlier, the junta in Argentina was backed by a U.S. government intent on staving left-wing movements in Latin America as it fought proxy battles against the Soviet Union in what was referred to as Operation Condor during the Cold War. U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger, in a discussion with Argentina's foreign minister, would affirm support for the junta's methods of taking over power: "If there are things that have to be done, you should do them quickly."³⁰ Less concerned with human rights than putting people in power that would support the U.S. agenda in Latin America, Argentina was essentially given license to execute a program of authoritarianism.

As the death toll racked up and thousands of citizens disappeared, Argentina became "a country divided in the middle, a nation cut by a dichotomy in which football and death

competed in the most absurd contests.”³¹ Even as the military used repressive methods to quash dissent, soccer fervor escalated among the Argentine populace to the point that vocal opponents were harassed in the streets and the public gave Videla standing ovations every time he showed up at a stadium. The World Cup became a shield that served to protect Videla and the *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional* from domestic criticism against the growing evidence of atrocities.

The junta even manipulated calls for a boycott by Amnesty International, the *Comité pour l'Organisation para la Boycott de l'Argentina* (COBA), and other groups to galvanize the Argentine public into a frenzy of nationalist unity. “To boycott the World Cup,” said writer Ernesto Sábato, “would mean not only to boycott the government but to boycott the Argentine people that really do not deserve it.”³² The World Cup became a point of honor for the 25 million Argentinians, a means of projecting “the best of the nation and the best Argentina could present to the universe” against international backlash.³³

Even César Luis Menotti, the Communist-leaning head coach of the national team fervently against the military regime, argued against using the World Cup as a political weapon. Unlike his Brazilian counterpart João Saldanha, who was replaced by Mario Zagallo less than a month before the 1970 World Cup due both to his Communist sentiments and anti-Pelé proclamations, Menotti managed to remain at the helm of the Argentine national team largely because of his apolitical façade.³⁴ He also sought to reiterate among his players a “sense of belonging to a football tradition with great heroes” in which “talent and technical ability should predominate over physicality and power.”³⁵ Soccer became a link, for both the players and the populace, to a storied national tradition in which the World Cup afforded the opportunity to write the greatest chapter yet.

The Argentinians would advance to the final, but not without controversy. Though it has never been proven, there was much skepticism about Argentina's 6-0 victory over Peru in the last match of the second-stage round robin. Knowing ahead of time that they would need at least a four-goal victory to surpass Brazil for a spot in the championship game, suspicions of intimidation, bribery, or both surfaced after Videla and Kissinger were witnessed entering the Peruvian locker room prior to the match. After an early attempt on goal, Peru would barely threaten Argentina through the rest of the lopsided match, and Argentina advanced to face the Netherlands in the final.³⁶

The 3-1 victory over a powerful Dutch side "replaced the critical political judgment of the situation of the country with sporting euphoria."³⁷ Even in the detention centers that housed the *desaparecidos*, captives and captors celebrated the victory in an even starker juxtaposition of the difference between nationalism and soccer nationalism. But that euphoria would not last long, as the junta fell out of power and the country was forced to confront the ugly truths of the Dirty War. Though the players insisted that they "were not the champions of the dictatorship, we just happened to be champions during it," the fact that the national team was the most potent symbol of the nation meant that they in turn were viewed as blemished by many during the period of truth and reconciliation that followed the junta.³⁸

These two periods of dictatorship were also marked by the divergent roles played in the 1970 and 1978 World Cups by two of the most storied players in soccer history. For Brazil, the third of their world championships was the swan song for Pelé, who was 29 years old when was João Saldanha nearly kept him off of the roster before being dismissed as coach of the national team. In 1978, César Luis Menotti received far less criticism as Argentina won its first world championship without Diego Maradona – at that time a 17-year-old

wunderkind starring for Argentinos Juniors. The two FIFA footballers of the 20th century started their professional careers as teenagers, but their trajectories before and after that point followed vastly divergent paths.

Pelé, born Edson Arantes do Nascimento in Tres Coracoes on October 23, 1940, was cultivated from a young age to live the life of a professional soccer star. His father, himself a former professional, started Pelé from a young age on a training regimen that was designed to maximize both his talents and his marketability. By age 15 he was already playing with the first-division team at Santos, his statuesque physique allowing him to dominate from a young age. He made his World Cup debut at 17, the youngest player to feature for a national team in the tournament, as Brazil defeated Sweden in the final to claim its first world title eight years after the Maracanazo.³⁹

Remaining in Brazil throughout the prime of his career, Pelé would win 10 Brazilian championships in 12 years with Santos as well as two Copa Libertadores crowns as a member of the top team in South America. He would also play on World Cup winners in 1962 and 1970, the last coming during a military dictatorship. After retiring from Santos in 1972, he finally went abroad to play – though it would be in the United States for the New York Cosmos of the North American Soccer League rather than a European club. Finally retiring for good in 1977, 22 days before his 37th birthday, Pelé finished his career as the most prolific scorer in soccer history.

In retirement he has remained in the public eye while maintaining his image as a Brazilian icon. Pelé became a corporate spokesman for a bevy of international companies such as Coca-Cola and Mastercard; worked in humanitarian roles in various organizations within the United Nations; and, for a brief period, served as Brazil's minister of sports in

1995. Even though he was hardly perfect – divorcing his first wife, courting other high-profile celebrities such as Xuxa, and siring children with various women – his reputation as a consummate professional remained intact.⁴⁰ At the same time, his professional façade has left him as a distant figure with which few Brazilians can relate.

In contrast, Diego Maradona has personified the disorderly image of the *pibe* that is viewed as the root of the Argentine style of soccer. Born on October 30, 1960 in the slum of Villa Fiorito on the periphery of Buenos Aires, Maradona honed his style on the *potreros* that represent the working-class game in the city. Throughout his career he has been characterized as “creative, free of strong feelings of guilt, self-destructive and, eventually, a bad moral example to other players.”⁴¹ Like Pelé he first started for Argentinos Juniors in Argentina’s top division at 15 years old; unlike his Brazilian counterpart, his career would be marked by movement and chaos rather than stability.

As a 20-year-old he would transfer to Boca Juniors, making his debut for the club on February 22. By the following year, he was playing in Spain for Barcelona, where he would stay for two seasons. In 1984, he went to Napoli in Italy, where he would blossom into his prime and become one of the most feared players in the international game. Self-confident in his skills and unabashed about the fact, Maradona has asserted that “the Neapolitans know that I am the one that allowed Napoli to win” two Serie A titles in 1987 and 1990.⁴² Later in his career, he would return to Spain to play for Sevilla before coming full circle with Newell’s Old Boys and then back to Boca Juniors to conclude his career in his native Argentina.⁴³

He made his World Cup debut in 1982 before becoming the best player of the 1986 tournament, leading Argentina to its second world championship. Though the team would defeat West Germany in the final, his role in the tournament is remembered more for his

performance against England – in which he struck the first goal past English goalkeeper Peter Shilton with the “Hand of God”. He followed it up later with a long solo run from midfield, dribbling through half the England defense before skirting around the supine Shilton to deposit the decisive goal in a 2-1 quarterfinal victory that reignited the tensions of the Malvinas War that had taken place between the two countries four years earlier.⁴⁴ “We were representing our dead who were sent to die by their own country,” Maradona has said about the game against England.⁴⁵ He would also play a pivotal role in Argentina’s return to the 1990 World Cup final four years later, though the West Germans avenged the loss of 1986 with a late penalty conversion by Andreas Brehme that denied Argentina a third world title.

Like Pelé, Maradona the footballer is remembered for his transcendence on the pitch. Unlike Pelé, the Argentine star had a whirlwind lifestyle outside the stadium that was marked by cocaine addiction and his left-wing political views. Whereas the Brazilian maintained essentially a blank slate, never being caught abusing drugs or speaking out of turn about polemical subjects, Maradona unashamedly admits both his addictions and his political leanings. The juxtaposition of his brilliance on the field, his human foibles off the field, and his identification with the poor and disenfranchised communities from which he emerged to superstardom have led to his deification. Groups such as the Iglesia Maradoniana perceive Maradona to be “a kind of miracle, a religious phenomenon, a divine gift to a privileged nation.”⁴⁶

In part the deification of Maradona as compared to the pragmatic appreciation of Pelé has been a result of the globalization that evolved over the two decades separating their respective career paths. Whereas Pelé was the last of a generation that was largely content to play out the entirety of their primes in their home countries, Maradona was at the

vanguard of the large-scale player movement that marks the modern game. The influx of money through television deals and sponsorships has reduced the likelihood that the best South American players will remain in their home nations throughout their careers.⁴⁷ Yet far more people worldwide were able to see Maradona play than Pelé thanks to satellite broadcasting, and the Argentine is a product of an environment and epoch that is marked by the lucre of the highest bidder.

The modern period of the game has in many ways become a reversion to the period in which the sport first was introduced to Argentina and Brazil, with foreign investment coming in the form of transfer fees and players representing the raw commodities. This widespread migration of South American talent to Europe has diluted the talent pool available to clubs in Argentina and Brazil, watering down the quality of domestic contests in the process.⁴⁸ This has led to decreased turnout to league games; in Brazil, for instance, attendance has fallen by an average of 40 percent at soccer matches over the past 15 years as local fans are alienated by the lack of opportunities to see the best and brightest stars in their prime.⁴⁹

Commodification of the sport from a civic institution into a multinational business has also altered the conception of differentiated national styles of play. Because both Brazil and Argentina featured just four domestic players apiece on their respective 23-player rosters for the 2014 World Cup, there was less familiarity between squad members that had largely been trained within different European systems.⁵⁰ Over the past two decades, Brazil has won two more World Cups in 1994 and 2002 – but it did so in a style that in no way resembled *Jogo Bonito* that was the defining characteristic of the era of Pelé and Garrincha. The pragmatic play of Brazil's last two world champions is more closely linked to the defensive counterattacking that has become the hallmark of globalized soccer in the modern game.

A sport that spent the better part of a century building distinctive identities in Brazil and Argentina has become a more homogenized product – and it is viewed increasingly as a product rather than a game. And with only one club from South America, Brazil’s Corinthians, among the top 20 soccer revenue earners list that is dominated by rich European operations, the disparities between the haves (Europe) and the have-nots (South America) will only become starker in the future.⁵¹ And with rosters perpetually evolving, not necessarily to improve upon previous years’ results but because the best talent crosses the Atlantic before they can be effectively identified as among the “best” at their positions, the gulf between European and South American clubs continues to widen with little hope of ever substantively coming back together.

Thus the legacies of soccer in Brazil and Argentina have been cyclical throughout the past hundred-plus years. From a game that puzzled native onlookers as British immigrant communities first introduced it through ports, schools, and railroads, the two South American soccer superpowers have evolved through the periods of *criollización*, populist patronage, dictatorial cooption, and globalization along paths that are far more similar than divergent. While their exact histories are not exactly alike, the fact that both countries can point to familiar tropes in each other’s century of growth helps to explain the sibling-like rivalry that exists between the two. Whether the rallying cry of a particular fan is “*Se você é argentino, diga então como é que é*” or “*Brasil, decime qué se siente*” makes little difference in the end, because Argentinians and Brazilians know all too well how it feels on the other side of the divide.

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- ³⁶ Aguirre, "Argentina 1978: The Road to World Champs."
- ³⁷ Claudio Tamburrini, as quoted in Archetti, "Argentina 1978: Military Nationalism, Football Essentialism, and Moral Ambivalence," 142.
- ³⁸ Oscar Ortiz, as quoted in Archetti, "Argentina 1978: Military Nationalism, Football Essentialism, and Moral Ambivalence," 144.
- ³⁹ Carlos Aguirre, "Pelé, Garrincha, Maradona, Messi: Soccer Players as Cultural Icons" (lecture, Soccer, Culture, and Politics in Latin America, Rosario, Argentina, July 14, 2014).
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Archetti, "'And Give Joy to my Heart': Ideology and Emotions in the Argentine Cult of Maradona," 38.
- ⁴² *Maradona by Kusturica*, directed by Emir Kusturica (2008; Paris: Wild Bunch Distribution, 2008), DVD.
- ⁴³ Aguirre, "Pelé, Garrincha, Maradona, Messi: Soccer Players as Cultural Icons."
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ *Maradona by Kusturica*.
- ⁴⁶ Archetti, "'And Give Joy to my Heart': Ideology and Emotions in the Argentine Cult of Maradona," 48.
- ⁴⁷ Carlos Aguirre, "Soccer and Globalization" (lecture, Soccer, Culture, and Politics in Latin America, Rosario, Argentina, July 17, 2014).
- ⁴⁸ Richard Giulianotti, "Football, South America and Globalisation: Conceptual Paths," in *Football in the Americas: Fútbol, Futebol, Soccer*, eds. Rory Miller and Liz Crolley (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007), 45.
- ⁴⁹ Carlos Aguirre, "Soccer and Globalization."
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.