

A Festive Surveillance: Mega-Events in Rio de Janeiro

Jorge de La Barre

Abstract

A privileged center for the sign, the media, and the code, the city is the place par excellence for visual consumption, providing a sense of simultaneity and global interconnectedness. This is particularly clear in times of mega-events (The World Soccer Cup, The Olympic Games, The World Youth Day), when host cities receive an extraordinary influx of foreign visitors and enter in a hyper-mediated trance with the spotlights of all the TV cameras of the world. In preparation for the 2014 and 2016 mega-events, the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, has experienced a permanent shock of agenda, characterized by important, accelerated, urban renewal projects accompanied by population removal and slums pacification. With the official assertion of Rio as a global city for sports and other mega-events comes a hegemonic will to blend festive public space with advertising. Based on the works of Sharon Zukin and David Harvey on visual consumption and social control, I question the production of such model of the “festive” city. In Rio de Janeiro, non-stop partying provides a convenient escape from conflict, protest, and dissent.

“Shelter and Land”

In May of 2013, the recently opened Museum of Art of Rio (MAR) (Fig. 1) presented “Shelter and Land: Art and Society in Brazil”—an exhibition with the following purpose:

The Shelter and Land exhibit initiates the series project Art and Society in Brazil, dedicated to Brazilian art in the fields of otherness and social relations. The exhibit brings together artists and initiatives from various regions around the conceptions of the city and the forces at work in the urban, social and cultural transformations of public and private space—a question that, given the urban reforms taking place in Brazil today, especially in Rio, has become increasingly urgent. Connecting different political and aesthetic horizons, the exhibit questions land ownership, the possession and usage of social spaces—the Land—and the ways in which these foster politics and subjectivity, from the right to housing to the desire for shelter. (Museu de Arte do Rio)

Here, the vague reference to “different political and aesthetic horizons” suggests several pivotal moments of Rio’s urbanization: from the modernist conceptions in architecture and art during the 1930s, to plans of urbanizing the favelas in the 1960s, and, most recently, squatting movements and buildings occupations in São Paulo throughout the 2000s. The explanation further confirmed that the exhibit was:

Conceived as a laboratory for the dialogues and antagonisms that we have seen throughout the twentieth century, and are still pervading the contemporary. (Ibid.)



Fig. 1. The Museum of Art of Rio (MAR), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Source: <http://www.embarquenaviagem.com/2013/03/01/mar-museu-de-arte-do-rio-um-presente-para-o-rio-de-janeiro/>.

By June of 2013, the exhibition coincided with the massive protests that saw millions of people walking down the streets and claiming their rights to the city, across Brazil. In fact, the main political agenda for “The Vinegar Revolts” (as it has been called) was precisely the question of the right to the city: urban mobility and housing. Right next to the Museum of Art of Rio, itself located between downtown and “Porto Maravilha” (one of the most significant urban repurposing projects currently under way in the Port area of Rio), thousands of people streamed down the main avenues of Rio Branco and Presidente Vargas (Fig. 2). On June 20th, the day of the greatest mobilization, hundreds of protesters were running away from the sticks and tear gas of the Military Police, some taking refuge inside the seedy bars of Sacadura Cabral Street, just across the MAR...



Fig. 2. Protest on Avenida Presidente Vargas in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, July 2013.
Source: <https://planninglatinamerica.wordpress.com/2013/12/13/rafael-saraiva/>.

And so, at the time it looked as if the *Shelter and Land* exhibit had already come to naturalize—and *normalize*—the demands of the street, by taming them in the museum even though they were still unraveling in the city street. As if social movements were problems bound to be solved in the long run, just like similar problems had already been solved in the past, and this was a normal evolution: now that those problems had been solved, they were a part of an exhibition about social movements. That is because, in the big picture, those problems, those social movements, were part of a much larger process: the inevitable capitalist modernization.

What we were seeing in the streets on that day, June 20th, was a sudden, real time awakening of social movements. Now the curators of the exhibition at the MAR may have been thinking: some problems got *museified* a little bit too soon...In fact, urban renewal—the latest *avatar* of capitalist modernization—was taking place in Rio de Janeiro right under our eyes. And,

with friction to say the least. And by the way, isn't the brand new MAR itself a perfect example of this inevitable process of urban renewal?

As it is, in June of 2013, we experienced the clash of two distinctly conflicting social movements in Rio: the one of protesters in the city streets, criminalized by the State and Military Police; and the one of the indoor exhibition, *normalized, aestheticized, and museified* by the MAR.

The "Beaubourg Effect"

Thus, we had what I refer to as the "MAR effect," in a fashion similar to the "Beaubourg effect" identified by Jean Baudrillard in the late 1970s regarding the newly (at the time) built Centre Georges Pompidou, or Beaubourg (Baudrillard 1977). Baudrillard saw Beaubourg as a kind of ground zero for mass culture, a culture that had become perfectly contained, like in storage. He spoke about "implosion," not explosion, and "deterrence." Beaubourg was *the* name for the monuments of advertising, for culture seen as an "operation"; Beaubourg was the cultural expression of flows, storage, redistribution. Baudrillard did not consider Beaubourg as a monument but as a monster: the monster of a shapeless culture, the monster of hyper-reality.

Paris, at the time, was to become full of these "grands projets"—the great projects of urban renewal—La Villette, La Défense, the Opéra Bastille. For Baudrillard, these "monsters" were only accentuating the disintegration of the city, its disorganization. This was recently echoed by Saskia Sassen, who observed that with finance, cities are eating themselves up. Indeed, these monsters reflected a satellitization of urban existence. According to Baudrillard, Beaubourg represents both the existence of culture and what killed it: a confusion of signs, excess, profusion. With Beaubourg, the system of accumulation has been driven into saturation: for the first time, culture is exposed as in a shopping mall, reduced to a series of super-gadgets. Hence—implosion—the Beaubourg itself: the hyper-realization of the synthesis of a total "culturalization," i.e., the "Beaubourg effect." In it, all cultural values piled up in the storage container are annihilated in advance by Beaubourg's external architecture: and so the Beaubourg collapses on itself.

The "MAR Effect"

Now back in Rio, with the MAR. Can we conceive of a new type of effect today, a "MAR effect," which would reflect the contemporary concern with direct interaction, a "conscious" and "responsible" museum sensitive to its surroundings, to the city, and to the world around? Or is it just another monster? Current research suggests that museums are now conceived as an "interface" (Grossmann), that is, open windows, open doors to the world. After the implosion of Beaubourg, the storage room for mass culture, we get the open windows of the MAR towards its immediate surroundings, as evident in the various workshops and visits organized with the participation of local

communities, or the “Morrinho Project” (Fig. 3), a collective sculpture representing a favela, no doubt inspired by the “Morro da Providência”—the favela nearby. Commissioned in 2013 specifically for the *Shelter and Land* exhibit, it is now part of the museum’s permanent collection.



Fig. 3. The “Morrinho Project” at the Museum of Art of Rio (MAR), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: <https://viagememfamilia.net/museu-com-criancas/museu-de-arte-do-rio-mar-rj/>

Yet there may be another dimension to the “MAR effect,” suggested by *Shelter and Land*: the “anticipation and annihilation” of social movements. Already in 2013, reality escaped this one-way street designed by the MAR: social movements were everything but contained, they were everything but archives in a museum. Ok, social reality escapes the museum, we already knew that, so what else is new? It is the *presumption* that it could be *contained*, it is the science fiction of it. Like in Philip K. Dick’s *Minority Report*, “precognition” is a form of *anticipating and annihilating* crime, a form of killing crime before it even takes place. Or in this case, the criminalization of social movements finds its natural extension precisely in the *museification* of these social movements. So they get aestheticized (and neutralized) in advance. What magical thinking! So it seems, *to represent is to pacify. To represent means to pacify the represented* (hopefully!)

But reality is, of course, more complicated than that. Yet this assumption is to be taken seriously. It is pervasive. Architecture and technology show us how: through them, in them, we can see and imagine the becoming of urban space. In this sense, buildings are indeed a reflection: they reflect a particular vision of a society.

Beyond the MAR: The Museum of Tomorrow

As I mentioned earlier, the MAR is part of a much broader project to revitalize the Port area, called “Porto Maravilha.” Right across the MAR, on the same plaza another highly symbolic element of the revitalization project was inaugurated in December 2015: the Museum of Tomorrow (Fig. 4). It is a fine example of architecture-as-fiction-of-society. The Museum of Tomorrow looks like a spaceship resting between land and sea, facing the Guanabara Bay. It is a light, elongated structure made of glass and iron.



Fig. 4. The Museum of Tomorrow, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Source: <http://www.e-architect.co.uk/brazil/museum-tomorrow-rio>.

During a lecture three years ago, curator, physicist, and cosmologist Dr. Luiz Alberto Oliveira praised the voice command technology that the future Museum would be equipped with. He declared seriously, “Tomorrow we will be able to talk to the walls without being taken for fools” (Oliveira). He said that the (then) future Museum would be able to anticipate and respond to the visitors’ needs and desires, like a pot luck where what you bring is what you get—a perfect interface in perfect osmosis with the visitor. It is not yet clear if the Museum of Tomorrow qualifies to satisfy the precognitive conditions of museums as interface; what we already know for sure is that these interface museums are the new monsters of contemporary culture; they show a willingness to embrace and to receive any desire, with no discrimination. And maybe one day they will anticipate desire itself!

Rio's Agenda: Mega-Events and Futurism

Brazil used to be “the country of the future,” meaning that for such powerful emerging country, future success was guaranteed (yet always postponed). Once it won the bid for the World Cup *and* the Olympics in 2009, it became instantly “the country of the future that has just arrived,” even President Obama said that. Since at least the 2007 Pan-American Games, Rio's agenda has been fully predefined by its sports or otherwise mega-events—the 2010 FIFA FAN FEST, the 2011 Rock in Rio, the 2012 Rio+20, the 2013 World Youth Day and the Confederations Cup (also the year when the Rio's Art Museum, MAR, opened), the 2014 World Cup, and the 2016 Olympic Games—and a great dose of futurism. The city finds itself in a strange situation of futuristic emergency, an acceleration of time due to its mega-events agenda (see La Barre, “Future Shock: Mega-Events in Rio de Janeiro”). The favorite trick for a hegemonic model of urban development, mega-events allow a sort of magic-festive escape, presenting themselves as potential solutions to all of Rio's structural problems—transport, housing, healthcare, education—even if most of these problems are in fact as old as the city itself (the “*Cidade Maravilhosa*,” the “Marvelous City,” is celebrating this year its 450th anniversary). Mega-events tend to represent, in their planners' excited imagination, one of the most radical forms of urban “solutionism” (Mozorov), or the belief that all difficulties have benign solutions, often of a technocratic nature (Tucker). Yet, as we have seen since the massive protests of June 2013 during the Confederations Cup, there is a crack in the model.

Rio's current mega-event rhetoric includes concepts such as *host city*, *model city*, *legacy*, *ranking*, which imply a commitment to the ideology of conquered challenge and performance. At the horizon of Rio's Strategic Plan “*Post-2016*” (*Plano Estratégico da Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro 2009-2012* (2007) and *2013-2016* (2011)), we have the promise of a “more integrated and competitive Rio.” Thanks to the miracles of the creative economy, Rio de Janeiro is now betting on the “priority sectors” of “fashion, design, audio-visual industries and tourism” and should soon become Brazil's “capital of the creative industry” (IPP Rio, [Rio integrado e competitivo](#)). In fact, Brazil already has its brand, called “RJ” (*Marca Registrada do Brasil*). Symbol of Rio's boundless creativity, it is also meant to become “Brazil's trademark,” combining the aesthetic and humanistic values of “Passion, Joy, Beauty, Style, Innovation, Peace, Energy” and, last but not least, “Pride.” In order to sell the “RJ” brand, and (who knows? Rio itself!) to global capital, one need not be an expert in city-marketing to understand how attractive indeed these “values” are—magically recycled as festive-contagious sales arguments for the highly competitive global market of creative cities.

The Global War for Soft Power

Beyond the ecstatic rhetoric, the global war for soft power *requires* an inflation of urban *reforms*, all declined in “re”: *revitalization, redevelopment, requalification, renewal*, etc. It is ultimately a global *reinvention* that cities are *required* to perform, if they want to *remain* competitive. All these “re” rhetoric are also forms of a general pacification and urban facelift that, in principle, should facilitate a smooth organization and course of the mega-events. Again, the protests of June 2013 during the Confederations Cup showed just the opposite. And we witnessed in all the host cities during the World Cup of June-July 2014, an inflation of police presence. All protests, deemed unpatriotic, were brutally repressed.

Highly festive, sports mega-events come in handy to sustain this global rhetoric of hyper-visibility. In theory, they should help “cooling the mark out” (Goffman). Yet, because of the elitization of football itself (Gaffney), exactly the opposite happened during the 2013 Confederations Cup and the 2014 World Cup, although in a more brutally repressed form. Officially celebratory as it should be, the 2014 World Cup held inside and outside the stadiums a massive force of dissuasion against its silenced discontents: thousands of civil and military police around the streets of Rio and all the host-cities, in order to ensure a supposedly threatened public order.

Pacification by Mega-Event

With the UPP troops (Units of Pacifying Police), the attempt to pacify/domesticate Rio’s favelas has accompanied Rio’s mega-events agenda since 2009. Swamped with inevitable casualties, pacification has come with mixed results to say the least (see Karim for the shift from favela pacification to its militarization). What those in power did not expect is that “the problems” would come from the “official city”—less so from the favela hills—in the form of a radical critique of a city made for global VIP partying. Subjecting such city to heavy police repression, in the service of mega-events, in a will to transform public space into a hegemonic global ad-space, along with the total absence of any social counterpart, was already creating the conditions for unrest. As mentioned earlier, one of the most urgent claims of “The Vinegar Revolts” (Ansell) dealt precisely with questions of the right to the city: urban mobility and housing.

“The Party Starts Here”: The Festive Public Space *Made in FIFA*

As an advertising space, public space is the effect of an omnipresent visibility of corporations, trademarks, public relations, marketing, social dialogue, and the ecstatic virtues of communication. It is not surprising then that during the environmental mega-event of *Rio + 20* in 2012, the billboards, considered a “visual pollution,” were removed from the buildings in the center

of Rio. This is also an interesting form of advertising in the public space, by denying its very presence. With advertisement, public space disappears, leaving full space to the advertisement, the *publicized*. If we take seriously the Baudrillardian hypothesis of space as the magnetic field of the code (Baudrillard 1981: 138), one cannot think of the urban public space without its natural counterpart, advertising space.

A privileged center for the sign, the media and the code (Hickey), the city is the place for visual consumption *par excellence* (Zukin), providing a sense of simultaneity and global interconnectedness. This is particularly clear in times of mega-events, when host cities receive an extraordinary influx of foreign visitors and enter in a hyper-mediated trance with the spotlights of all the TV cameras of the world. At that moment, the sponsoring brands of the mega-event hold an authentic advertising assault to the senses. They invade the city space with images of collective euphoria, which ultimately are merely summoning individual bourgeois consumption.

Paradoxically, in that moment of advertising euphoria and collective trance, the city is naked; its space and time is fully exposed and only reveals a primary, archaic function: the reproduction of the code. In this sense, the space of the contemporary city performs and reproduces a "space of difference" (Arantes). Despite the "one-worldist" appearances, the "mega-eventist city" becomes even more so a cruel space of differentiation: privatization of public space by an exclusive consumer advertisement, and a negative satellitization of the city, by the centrifugal forces of the private spaces of consumer communion: shopping malls, gated communities, and, obviously, stadiums.

In the euphoria of mega-events, the urban matrix produces nothing more than distinctive signs of a radical difference, yet disguised by the messages calling for collective ecstasy. All functions are abolished, under one dimension: communication. It is the very meaning of ecstasy: all events, all spaces, all memories abolished, and the one and only dimension there is left, information/communication. It is precisely the definition of the obscene, the in-your-faceness of the widescreen playing the soccer game.

As one could have expected, all the official sponsors landed in Rio during the World Cup, with their samba of euphoric signs: quite literally, public space surrendered to the massive advertising party. All of them: Coca-Cola, McDonald's, Visa, Banco do Brasil... From one billboard to the other, they all repeated the same monomaniac, "one-worldist" message *ad infinitum*: "Everybody get together," "Together in one Rhythm," "All are welcome," "All together in one voice, Welcome! And, just in case anybody had doubts about the incomparable privilege of being in VIP Rio at that historic moment, Visa, the official sponsor assured: "FIFA World Cup: This is where everyone wants to be." And indeed, everyone had already arrived! The *Shrek*, *Simpsons*, *Kung Fu Panda*, all of the zoo of *Madagascar*, they all were there, on the Visa posters at least, because that's where they belonged and wanted to be! (Fig. 5) All the characters of global *anime* culture, invading, infantilizing the city space, annihilating by anticipation any form of resistance or critical thinking with one message: the one and only *Supporters of all countries, unite in the consumer frenzy!* A very low subliminal level, actually.



Fig. 5. One of VISA's ad campaigns during the 2014 World Cup in Brazil.

Source: <http://www.forbes.com/forbes/welcome/>.

In the city-host for the mega-event, the festive space is for the masses: it becomes integral, inescapable. Billboards claiming “Welcome” or “Rio Loves You” in all the languages of the world on the main avenue leading to Copacabana Beach where the FIFA FAN FEST is—FIFA's official and private space on the beach where you can watch the game on a huge screen (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. The 2014 World Cup FIFA FAN FEST at Copacabana Beach, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Source: http://www.riocultura.com.br/materias/materia.asp?materia_cod=311.

To match the billboard declaration at the entrance of Rio's subway stations "The party starts here" (Fig. 7), a pre-recorded voice blasts on the subway train as it approaches Copacabana Beach, "We're approaching the party!" And still, in the subway trains towards the end of the World Cup, the little screens inviting: "See you again in 2016!"



Fig. 7. "The party starts here" Billboard at the entrance of Maracanã subway station during the 2014 World Cup, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: <https://br.pinterest.com/pin/340514421798989337/>

Such an overdose of signs only leads to dystopia (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. A slogan that went viral during the June/July 2013 Vinegar Revolts: "FIFA GO HOME!" Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: <http://www.universal21.com/brazil-economic-boost/>

Beyond the “MAR Effect”: A Dystopic Rio

During the mega-event, the urban space is literally under attack. Any non-festive attitude will be condemned for being potentially terrorist; any form of non-euphoric agitation will be criminalized. The police (military, civil, “Operação Choque de Ordem”, etc.) have all the rights, and even the duty to secure the party, if necessary by the use of security terror—against the potential horror of discontent. The mega-eventist, “one-worldist” euphoria has to be guaranteed at all costs, there cannot be any room for contesting. We are thus witnessing a radical separation: the police and the festive masses, united in the same expiatory force against an imagined evil otherness. Beyond the appearances of global sports tourism, the festive hegemony celebrates in fact the lack of diversity.

A control for massive flows, the hegemonic party is also the place of media over-exposure. Over the festive crowd fly, united, the helicopters of live broadcast and the ones of military surveillance. And all opposites are resolved in the higher order of a highly symbolic techno-festive exception. Oxymorons are naturalized: “Repressive tolerance,” said Herbert Marcuse in 1965. Today, with GPS location connected to the digital camera on the same smartphone, we get a “festive surveillance.” A good example is the police operation “Lapa Presente,” a kind of high-tech Tourist Police. For the tourist to see (and feel safe), police officers of the “Lapa Presente” program carry digital cameras and may be filming their own altercations with citizens. And although it was not made clear if these police video selfies would be made available on *YouTube* or social networks, one thing is clear: security controls will never be the same!

So we question the “nature” of urban space when it is so hyper-determined by the finitude of networks. There lies perhaps the Deleuzian irony, now that the flexibility of the rhizome becomes hyper-realized by the technologies of communication. When the social becomes just a provider of information for the social networks, the success of the candidate is measured by the millions of tweets containing his/her name or tag. However, as we always knew, there is nothing to discover in cyberspace. Nothing that we already do not know.

The hegemonic party becomes the place for a negative solution, i.e. a convenient escape from conflict, protest, and dissent. A result of an ecstasy of communication, the mega-event party sings in one single voice the perfect dystopia of an absence of conflict. By entropy, it ends up stimulating its own radical otherness: contest.

Indeed, since March of 2015, some of the protests have called for the military and demanded the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff (re-elected in October 2014), showing Brazil under a very different face—“older, whiter, and richer” (Watts). In an attempt to avoid possible acts of “vandalism” during the protests (most of them precisely against mega-events), a proposal to lower the minimum age of criminal responsibility has been in discussion in the Brazilian Congress (*Conectas Human Rights Reveals Brazil’s Attempt to Lower Age of Criminal Responsibility*). Clearly, opposing the festive vigilance of the city

for mega-events is just not an option. As we saw during the World Cup of 2014, the Olympics may be just another occasion for global infantilization (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Will the 2016 Olympics serve for global infantilization Brazilian style?

Source: <http://libramanoel.deviantart.com/art/Olympic-Games-Rio-2016-Mascots-286523471>.

Yet, a recent poll shows that more than half of the Brazilians are now against the Olympics—63% of them consider that the games will bring harm more than benefit (Conde). Still, the Marvelous City is feverishly preparing for its 2016 major bonanza in August, in a context of serious economic crisis and political polarization in Brazil which led to the right-wing coup of May 2016: impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, replacement by former vice Michel Temer and his conservative government. Addressing Rio's most urgent social problems (poverty, exclusion, inequality) may take a little longer—as this image taken in July of 2016 suggests: a homeless woman sleeps at the entrance to the Leme/Botafogo tunnel, which leads to Copacabana Beach—one of the designated Olympic sites (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10. Taken by Felipe Barcellos and gone viral in the social networks in July of 2016, this photo is a sad reminder that even as Rio prepares to host the 2016 Olympics, addressing its most urgent social problems may take a little longer...

Source: https://www.buzzfeed.com/alexandreorrico/foto-usada-para-criticar-as-olimpiadas?utm_term=.jj8dDP2jv#.rwX6eYBgm.

Note: Some aspects of this work have been presented at the “II Jornadas de Antropologia do Conflito Urbano—Conexões Rio-Barcelona” (Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais/Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro) in August 2014; at the “III Seminário Fluminense de Sociologia—Grandes eventos: desenvolvimento, desigualdade e diferença” (Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia, Universidade Federal Fluminense) in November 2014; at the “III Simpósio Internacional LAVITS—Rede Latino-Americana de Estudos sobre Vigilância, Tecnologia e Sociedade: Vigilância, Tecnopolíticas, Territórios” (Casa da Ciência da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro) in May 2015; and at the 26th Annual Conference of MAPACA (The Mid-Atlantic Popular & American Culture Association in Philadelphia, in November 2015.

Works Cited

- Ansell, Aaron. "[The Vinegar Revolts and the Diverse Faces of Democracy in Brazil](#)," *Cultural Anthropology Online*, December 20, 2013. Web. 15 April 2015.
<http://www.culanth.org/fieldsights/429-the-vinegar-revolts-and-the-diverse-faces-of-democracy-in-brazil>
- Arantes, Antonio A. (org.). *O espaço da diferença*. Campinas: Papyrus, 2000.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *L'effet Beaubourg. Implosion et dissuasion*. Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1977.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacres e simulation*. Paris: Galilée, 1981.
- Conde, Paulo Roberto. "Para 63% dos brasileiros, Olimpíada vai trazer mais prejuízos do que benefícios." *Folha de São Paulo*, Jul. 7, 2016. Web. 19 Jul. 2016.
<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/esporte/olimpiada-no-rio/2016/07/1793059-para-63-dos-brasileiros-jogos-vaio-trazer-mais-prejuizos-do-que-beneficios.shtml?cmpid=newsfolha>
- Conectas Human Rights Reveals Brazil's Attempt to Lower Age of Criminal Responsibility.
<http://hrbrief.org/2015/04/conectas-human-rights-reveals-brazils-attempt-to-lower-age-of-criminal-responsibility/>
- Dick, Philip K. "The Minority Report." *Fantastic Universe*, January 1956.
- Gaffney, Christopher. "Global Parties, Galactic Hangovers: Brazil's Mega Event Dystopia." *The Los Angeles Review of Books*, Oct. 1, 2014. Web. 11 Feb. 2015.
<http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/global-parties-galactic-hangovers-brazils-mega-event-dystopia/?print=1&fulltext=1#>
- Goffman, Erving. "On Cooling the Mark Out. Some Aspects of Adaptation to Failure." *Psychiatry*, vol. 15, no. 4, 1952, p. 451-463. Web. 16 Jan. 2016.
<http://www.tau.ac.il/~algazi/mat/Goffman--Cooling.htm>
- Grossman, Martin. "Museum as Interface" in *Museum Art Today / Museu Arte Hoje*. São Paulo: Hedra & Forum Permanente, (Grossman, Martin & Mariotti, Gilberto (orgs.), 2011, pp. 89-116. Web. 16 January 2016.
<http://www.forumpermanente.org/en/events/symposiums-and-seminars/patterns-in-disarray-contemporary-thought-in-art/museum-as-interface>
- Hickey, Andrew T. *Cities of Signs. Learning the Logic of Urban Spaces*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 2012.
- IPP RIO. *Rio integrado e competitivo*. Prefeitura do Rio, Instituto Pereira Passos, Diretoria de Desenvolvimento Econômico Estratégico, 2011. Web. 11 Feb. 2015.
http://www.iniciativacultural.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/1-Apresentacao_1-Seminario-inter-de-econ-criativa_FINAL.pdf
- Karim, Sabrina. "[Security or Counterinsurgency in Rio favelas](#)". *Americas Quarterly*, April 16, 2014. Web. 16 January 2016. <http://americasquarterly.org/content/security-or-counterinsurgency-rio-favelas>

- La Barre, Jorge. "Future Shock: Mega-Events in Rio de Janeiro," *Leisure Studies*, Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2015, p. 1-17. Web. 11 Feb. 2015.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02614367.2014.994551#.VpqmaSorKhc>
- Marcuse, Herbert. "Repressive Tolerance." In: Wolff, R.P., Moore, B. Jr., & Marcuse, H. *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969, pp. 95-137. Web. 11 Feb. 2015. <http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/pubs/60spubs/65repressivetolerance.htm>
- Mozorov, Evgeny. *To Save Everything, Click Here. The Folly of Technological Solutionism*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2013.
- Museu de Arte do Rio. "O abrigo e o terreno: arte e sociedade no Brasil I." Web. 16 Jan. 2016. <http://museudeartedorio.org.br/pt-br/exposicoes/o-abrigo-e-o-terreno>
- Oliveira, Luiz Alberto, at the "International Seminar Cities, Possible Futures 2012," Organized by PACC-UFRJ (Contemporary Culture Advanced Program, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), August 2012. Lecture.
- PLANO ESTRATÉGICO DA PREFEITURA DO RIO DE JANEIRO 2009-2012. *Pós-2016. O Rio mais integrado e competitivo*, 2007. Web. 11 Feb. 2015.
http://www.riocomovamos.org.br/arg/planejamento_estrategico.pdf
- PLANO ESTRATÉGICO DA PREFEITURA DO RIO DE JANEIRO 2013-2016. *Pós-2016. O Rio mais integrado e competitivo*, 2011. Web. 11 Feb. 2015.
http://www.conselhodacidade.com/v3/pdf/planejamento_estrategico_13-16.pdf
- Rio de Janeiro, Marca Registrada do Brasil*. <http://www.marcarj.com.br/>
- Tucker, Ian. "[Evgeny Mozorov: 'We are abandoning all the checks and balances'](#)" *The Guardian*, March 9th, 2013.
- Watts, Jonathan. "[Brazil: hundreds of thousands of protesters call for Rousseff impeachment](#)." In *The Guardian*, March 15, 2015. Web. 15 April 2015.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/15/brazil-protesters-rousseff-impeachment-petrobas>
- Zukin, Sharon. *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1991.

About the author

Jorge de La Barre is an Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Methodology of Social Sciences (GSO/UFF) from Universidade Federal Fluminense (Niterói, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). Researcher at Laboratório de Etnografia Metropolitana (LeMetro/UFRJ), at Núcleo de Estudos Cidadania, Trabalho e Arte (NECTAR/UFF), at Laboratório de Estudos de Cidadania, Territorialidade e Ambiente (LACTA/UFF). Member of the Urban Culture Studies Collective (University of California, Davis), and Associate Researcher at the Institute of Ethnomusicology – Center for the Study of Music and Dance from Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal (INET-MD/UNL). He recently co-edited for the journal *Antropolítica* (2015), *Capturados pela cidade. Perspectivas em pesquisa urbana: Nova York, Paris, Rio de Janeiro*.
Email: jorgelabarre@id.uff.br