Developmental Challenges and Opportunities of Brazil in the 21st Century

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DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF BRAZIL IN THE 21ST CENTURY

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Honors in the Major Program in Political Sciences in the College of Sciences and in The Burnett Honors College at the University of Central Florida Orlando, Florida

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ABSTRACT

As Brazil develops into the first South American world power many changes in its society, economy and political system are necessary for a successful transformation. Nevertheless this is no easy task as the country battles corruption, vast inequality and a severe problem with freedom of information within the media. For decades the Brazilian mainstream media has been controlled by elite political forces together with elite families influencing and controlling many factors that are responsible for social, economic and political development.

As new developments and implementations in the last fifteen years have been ongoing within Brazil, such as welfare programs, social reforms, hosting of international sporting events and the emergence and popularity of social networking technology, millions within the Brazilian Nation have been able to ascend out of poverty and into a new era of diversity of information, political participation and greater awareness of the problems within their own society. The time has finally come of when the Brazilian people have the ability to react and mobilize against the forces and factors that for decades have perpetuated several unfavorable conditions within Brazil.
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CHAPTER ONE- INTRODUCTION

Thesis

In this thesis I will be examining the level of influence that the main media outlet, Globo, has in the formation of public opinion in Brazil. I assert that the Globo media organization is highly influential in determining public opinion in relation to the implementation of government social programs, the development of foreign policy and the economy, as well as the influence in public opinion towards the 2014 World Cup held in Brazil.

Hypothesis

I will be researching how Globo Media Outlet influences national public opinion in three main areas. These three variables are: Government implementation of social programs, government implementation of foreign policy, and lastly Globo’s influence on the national public opinion towards international events hosted in Brazil, like 2014 world Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. I predict the influence that Globo Media has on public opinion in relation to these areas hinders the overall development of the society’s ability to accurately perceive the development of their own social, economic and political spheres.
Variables

There are various facets in the topic of developmental opportunities in Brazil, but three contemporary opportunities stand out in relation to the recent rise of Brazil in economic growth and global integration. The independent variable in my research is the Globo Media outlet. I will be researching the different avenues of influence that Globo uses to influence various aspects of Brazilian society. The first dependent variable is set on the public opinion towards government implementation of social development programs in Brazil during the 21st century. My second dependent variable is the public opinion towards the government implementation of foreign policy. Lastly, the third dependent variable in that this research will cover will be the public opinion towards the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games.

Relationship

Since the independent variable (Globo), for the majority of the 21st century has challenged many decisions and policies geared towards national development of the incumbent PT (Workers Party). I predict that the independent variable will have a negative correlation relationship with the dependent variables. Taking into consideration Globo's power and control in public opinion over various political and economic institutions, its influence appears not to be in total alignment with the interests of improving the country in its various developmental areas. In contrary, the views and opinions that Globo espouses appear to benefit the interests of Globo in maintaining it as a dominant media outlet in Brazil and to continue the dominance of the elites in Brazilian society, economy and political system. The higher the level of influence from Globo on each one of the dependent variables, the lower the public opinion towards each dependent variable (developmental opportunities).
Significance

Since the involvement of Globo in Brazilian history has not always been perceived as favorable, caution in the way this particular media outlet becomes involved in the future of Brazil is necessary if not paramount. A prosperous future is projected for the Brazilian nation, but if Globo continues to enjoy the capacity in asserting its power over political and economic spheres, there is great potential in that the private interests of Globo will gain control over the top priorities of the country.

Theoretical Importance

Globo’s dominance in the Brazilian media has historically been a critical force in forming public opinion and providing information to the public on critical issues that matter to them. The outcomes of this manipulation has often timed been counterintuitive to the overall well-being of society, and to the development of political institutions. Globo benefits from too much power of public opinion formation. The significance of this topic can be perceived when analyzing various historical and contemporary developments in Brazil along with Globo's involvement in these developments. Globo's influence in Brazil begins with the demise of the democratic government and the rise of the authoritative government, and extends all the way through the hosting of major contemporary events like the World Cup and the Olympics. This media organization has been critical in either facilitating or impeding the evolution of these particular occasions. Historically Globo only promoted any occasion or development if it proved to benefit them and their ability to influence and manipulate. From forming public opinion and corrupting
presidential races to supporting authoritative regimes, Globo has implemented various tactics to influence outcomes. This has not changed with the passing of time, Globo continues to be a major part in influencing governing structures and societal perceptions in Brazil (Wilkin, 98).

Policy Importance

The ability of Globo and similarly minded media outlets to influence the process of public opinion formation in Brazil proves to be critical in dictating the level of resistance the government has in implementing policies domestically and intentionally. This has been especially true with Globo Media and how they acted repeatedly on discrediting the programs of the PT governments, its policies and the effectiveness of the social programs geared towards developing lower economic classes. This resistance causes unneeded political gridlock and a high degree of inefficacy in the government’s ability to act in a productive manner for the nation without pressure and public opposition.

Literature Review

At the start of Globo's existence, Wilkin mentions how the organization sided with particular political parties and worked in favoring the majority elitist society of Brazil. To assure particular outcomes in their favor, repression was both supported and implemented by Globo. Stated by Power, the first signs that the democratic government in Brazil would fall had to do with the actions and cooperation of Globo with the military and other coup favoring entities. As Wilkin points out, the assistance the authoritative regime received from Globo, severely deprived
the Brazilian people of their democratic rights and freedoms together with human rights violations occurring. Fonseca write about how Globo made drastic efforts in adapting their role in the democratic era in Brazil to continue enjoying supreme power and control over politics and public opinion. Globo aimed at being the guidance for the Brazilian people during this transition into a democracy. With the Workers Party taking control of government for two consecutive presidencies, Globo increased its efforts in opposing and discrediting policy implementations and major developments stemming from the Workers Party. As Mattos outlines, today we see a rise in the utility of social media and mobile internet in checking the power of Globo while providing the Brazilian people with alternative sources of information.

1964-1985

Since the inception of Globo, the Right winged media organization, has imposed its criticism in various areas with the overriding goal of preserving the public realm for the dominant classes in Brazilian society, in order to maintain a permanent hold over politics, land and property (Wilkin, 99). Scholarly work by Wilkin has effectively communicated how historically, Globo, acted in a manner to constrict and control the circulation of ideas and social movements with state violence, the use of propaganda and censorship. Wilkin points out important factors in how Brazil increasingly becomes integrated in the world system, thus being subjected to greater regional and intentional pressures. As an effect of integration, constricting and controlling ideas or movements have become increasingly difficult with the increase in the volume of information. Globo assisted in covering up the repressive actions by the military governments (Wilkin, 183). Henry outlines the influence of the Globo media outlet since its creation, and it became the powerful conglomerate that broadcasts in over 100 countries. Within
his book he conveys how Globo was able to win the interests of influential Time-Life and receive millionaire investments in the 60’s to squash any competition at the time. Henry also outlines many instances of Globo’s connection with the United States the CIA. He also detailed how the investments that Globo received were conditional under the agreement that Globo only broadcast information in favor of the military regime in Brazil and its political allies, being the US and the CIA (Henry, 137-138).

Power emphasizes how the first instances of control over the dissemination of information occurred since the military regime in 1965 incorporated Globo as one of its authoritative arms in state violence, the use of propaganda and censorship (Power, 221). He writes on how a prominent figure in Brazil, at the time of the military regime this young woman was just another victim of torture and repression, was arrested and tortured by military officials in the 70’s for being part of an opposition group. This woman is lucky enough to have come out of her three year imprisonment alive to tell her story. This particular woman today, is Brazil’s President, Dilma Rousseff. Like many of today’s prominent Brazilian political leaders, during the military regime they endured heavy censorship, oppression and some even torture (Power, 221). Repression was one of the tools the military dictatorship used for influence and control and one of the tools of oppression was the Globo Television network. Globo Television acted as the right hand of the dictatorship promoting all of the regimes’ initiatives, censoring roles and repressing anything that remotely resisted the dictatorship (Power, 221).

An important detail in how Globo assisted the regime is examined by Hunter, from 1964 through 1985, the Brazilian nation was severely deprived of many democratic rights and
freedoms, not to mention the severe human rights violations that occurred in the regime (Hunter, 27). The right to vote, freedom of expression, right of assembly, freedom of association, access to justice and many more basic democratic rights never manifested during the regime (Hunter, 27). Attempts to protest against the military regime were dealt with a heavy hand, numerous accounts of mass arrests, civilian disappearances and notable political prisoners were taken in by military officials (Hunter, 27). Not everything that came out of the Military regime was negative. Here Bayma talks about the development that occurred in Education during the military regime, where an increased amount of funding went towards Education. In large part this was due to the low quality of education and mostly because the military regime wanted to make the education system in Brazil a section of its foreign policy strategy, but after education became universalized in Brazil the funding stayed the same instead of increasing in order to accommodate the millions that were not going to School. This is one of the reasons that education in Brazil has been of such low quality for such a long time and only now is it making improvements (Bayma, 637).

1990-2002

A voluminous amount of literature exists in documenting the first steps towards establishing a Brazilian democratic system. In his publication, Fonseca writes about the difficult years at the beginning of the 90’s with the transition into the first democratic constitution, the main economic plans that were implemented to stabilize the Brazilian economy and how the first elected president under a democratic constitution came to power (Fonseca, 627). Wilken denotes that when the military regime was finally substituted for a democratic system, Globo came to the
realization that in order to continue being able to control political aspects they needed to adapt and provide the Brazilian nation with the role of gatekeeper in a guided democratic system (Wilkin, 183). Flynn talked about how Globo Television helped Collor standout as the ideal candidate for presidency and made his election possible as supported by Flynn. Millions that voted for Collor were easily misled by the news, in addition the fact that the electorate was young and inexperienced contributed to his election (Flynn, 356). Carvalho illustrates with accuracy the problem within Brazil. A population with a vast majority of citizens unable to acquire digital cable and therefore limited to open broadcast channels which are the available channels through the typical “rabbit years” antenna. In turn the television is the number one means of broadcasting information to the Brazilian people, while around 80 percent of viewers are dependent on one single media outlet, Globo (Carvalhlo, 2).

The short-lived presidency of Fernando Collor is also highly documented on how it became infamously marked by the rampant corruption in his administration. Also mentioned is the fact that he was the first president to become elected democratically under the new constitution, and how it marked a leap towards a more publicly accepted government system in Brazil (Fonseca, 627). Collor’s opponent in the presidential race, at the time was the young rising Workers Party and today president Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva. Such events in history as authoritative governing, repressive tactics against the population, corruption, hyperinflation to name a few, greatly contributed to the Brazilian nation’s sense of duty and responsibility not to allow future governments to misuse power and wealth. This gave the media outlets a card to play on and manipulate the public in important topics like corruption, government transparency and miss use of power.
However, Globo dramatically increased its actions of discrediting national developments and government policy implementations when the labor government of Lula and Dilma came to power. With this present lacking in diversity of information in the Brazilian media, there is a surprising shortage of literature on how the Brazilian people are generally misled by their media. Bayman & Rubin together with Power each effectively discern on how government implemented policies during this time were largely responsible for jumpstarting Brazilian growth and development in the 21st century (Power, 243). Critically decreased poverty levels, increased wages, decreased unemployment, and growth of the economy are all important pillars in governmental polices of this time. Fenwick talks about how the Workers' Party's (Partido dos Trabalhadores) was able to incorporate important changes in Brazilian society. In the first-term of the administration, being from 2003 to 2006 the PT party was able to reform, as well as expanded and implement four previously existing cash-transfer programs or social welfare programs. Fenwick continues to write about how all of these plans were inherently designed to alleviate poverty. The success of the programs made the PT administration delivering benefits to more than 11 million households. Today over 13 million households have been benefited (Fenwick, 114)

Nevertheless, what receives more attention is not the positive accomplishments within Brazilian society, but the fact that corruption has been occurring in the Brazilian political system. Exacerbated by the media, citizens all over the country mostly seem to be informed on the
information of corruption in relation to the PT government. Not much information is provided about the accomplishments that have occurred in Brazil. Even though corruption, historically has been a common practice in the Brazilian political system, pork barrel style politics that has persisted in the PT party has made the Brazilian people feel disappointed. Mainly because they believed that the party was a different party, one that would not work with corruption (Kingstone,918) Perhaps to be able to get something done, the government saw it was easier to allow some minor corruption while battling the systematic problems of corruption, but the media would not allow this differentiation to be aired.

As Vigevano and Cepaluni mention, development in Brazil is conveyed with the significance of the new era of foreign policy in Brazil and how it accommodates the changes that are being made in Brazil in order to continue its economic growth and its emergence in the international system. In the writing, the emphasis is placed on how the new era of foreign policy, ushered in by President Lula, has put a greater focus on the development of the lower portions of the economic classes in Brazil. Another important pillar of the new foreign policy era is how Brazil will no longer accept being subordinate to the interests of the developed world, and plans to take on a more ambitious and autonomous foreign policy (Vigevano&Cepaluni,1313). Changes like the growth of the multi-billion oil company in and the increased investments going towards Petro Bras is important. Armijo details how Brazil has several attractive investment opportunities that international investors are likely to invest in. One is the Brazilian petrol giant, Petro Bras, which is owned by the state and has recently increased its market value along with some noticeable spread around the world. The multi-billion dollar company has also helped the Brazilian economy. The growth of the Brazilian middle class has attracted many investors and
increased spending capacity for tens of millions of Brazilians making a huge impact in the Brazilian rate of growth (Amarijo, 23)

A new era of foreign policy has taken effect and improved the image of Brazil all over the world. Souza writes an influential study that demonstrates how and why Brazil has decided to change its foreign policy. He outlines how Brazil decided to adjust its foreign policy in result of the rapidly changing and globalizing world, and in order to promote development in the Brazilian market, a change needed to be made. This change in foreign policy, as Souza rights, has been pivotal for the countries integration and competitiveness around the globe (Souza, 22-23).

Along the same lines, Lessa, Couto and Farias describe how Brazil has taken on important steps to be able to integrate itself into the international economic system. Important new approaches that they both outline talks about the central strategy of forming economic and diplomatic relations with emerging economies, mainly China, Russia, India and South Africa. The overarching plan is to be able to decrease the reliance of the developing countries on the already developed world and also to decrease the influence that the developed economies have in the emerging world (Lessa&Couto&Farias, 95). In this excerpt of Cervo, the decision of President Lula to announce to the UN General Assembly, the pillars of the new Brazilian government and its foreign policy demonstrated how much of an impact Brazil was aspiring to impose in leading the developing world. As much as it was a bold move, Brazil was still in line with the same intentions and aspirations of the smaller developing countries, and to be able to
decrease the influence of the developed countries within their own borders many changes needed to occur (Cervo, 20)

Bernel talks about how Brazil has undergone major structural transformation. Currently Brazil is part of a group of countries that are in between the phases of “center” and "periphery. He talks about how Brazil has been in the workings of many plans to decrease the influence of the developed countries and to leverage the position of the smaller underdeveloped countries and developing countries. The years from 2003-2010 were pivotal for Brazilian foreign policy. The formulation strategy of strengthening the South American region, increasing global integration of Brazilian markets and a new ideal model of making the development within the domestic sphere of the state as a key factor in the new era of Foreign policy proved to have a lot of potential (Bernel, 201).

Along with Brazil's integration in the BRICS, it has afforded Brazil the opportunity to continue on its track of global integration. Along with this task in global integration, Brazil also confronts tough challenges that can affect its development like the responsibility of curbing deforestation in the Amazon. Inadequate attention to environmental issues has been problematic in the past, but with a global agenda the government has been taking action to increase efforts in ecological conservation (Thomas, 73). Environmental conservation continues to be a huge problem in Brazil, with little resources put into conservation efforts. The public awareness in how citizens need to become involved in the efforts to conserve nature and the ecosystem is low. The polluted and depleted environments in Brazil are not receiving adequate attention, and with time has led to a series of serious problems. These issues seem to disappear with the greater
economic and political interests taking center stage. Certainly the development of the BRICS was very important for Brazil and it renewed aspirations for international integration by the Brazilian government. Fourcade explains how the BRICS countries aspire to create an alternative development bank for developing and underdeveloped world. The bank promises to appeal to the developing world since the IMF has for so many years, worked with developing and undeveloped countries and many of these countries complain how the interests of the western institutions with time harm the development of the countries they are there to help. Many developing and underdeveloped countries would agree that it is time for a change. A non-western and mostly emerging economy institution would provide a much better alternative for these countries that do entirely appreciate the IMF system (Fourcade, 256-264).

Christensen explains how Brazil has been able to increase its sphere of influence in the South American region and how Brazil makes the important decision to foster relations with its neighbors. The reading also emphasizes how important it is to foster relations outside of the emerging sphere of influence Brazil is forming. This movement towards increasing relations in the region also goes along with the emphases that Brazil has placed on increasing south-south relations (Christensen, 275-284). An important factor of the development of Brazilian foreign policy is the Brazilian commitment to the NAM. In Sadri’s article he outlines how the Nonalignment movement (NAM) has continued to be a relevant concept, even after the time of the Cold War when it was created. The NAM movement ideally was for countries to be able to not align with any of the great powers during the cold war and maintain a “non-aligned” status. After the end of a bipolar world and the emergence of a complex multipolar world the NAM has again become relevant. As Sadri explains, the movement continues to support and promote its
five pillars, World Peace and Disarmament, Independence, Economic Equality, Cultural Identity and Universalism and Internationalization. As weaker and developing states continue to face difficulties and subordination to the developed countries and their interests, the NAM is able to unite these countries and provide a common goal of surviving and possibly prospering in a world controlled by the developed states (Sadri, 119).

Other areas of development that have proven to be influential to growth although highly controversial is the World Cup of 2014 held in Brazil. Mattos outlines in his literature about the preparations for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic games. He mentions on how these events stirred up the Brazilian nation in a variety of ways. The billions spent on the construction and renovation of soccer stadiums angered a portion of the population at the mere thought of how the money could have been used to pivot the countries health and education towards improvement. To make room for a new stadium the removal of shantytown dwellers and of indigenous populations made headlines. In order to take advantage of the spotlight that the World Cup cast on Brazil, street protests began to grow in popularity. The largest age group at the protests, students and young people, were in majority made possible by social media. In Rio de Janeiro, 1 million protestors showed up at the city center and flooded the streets. Sharp increases in the fare rates for public transportation, most of the public’s way of getting around to the jobs and elsewhere, caused even more numbers to show up at these protests (Mattos, 71).

Mattos continues on to say how the first several protests were peaceful demonstrations, but the police were ordered to use force to quell the masses. Tear gas, pepper-spray and rubber bullets met the mass of protestors when crowds became agitated by police brutality. Escalation
into violence during the protests increased the media attention worldwide, this was when things started to get out of hand. In the mix of peaceful protestors, were also masked protesters avenging police violence, known as "Black Blocs" with covered faces in an effect to protect themselves from the pepper-spray and tear gas but also in an effort to demonstrate that not only students were protesting but teachers and public workers as well (Mattos,70). When Globo Television provided live feed or repeats of the protests, it preferred casting an overemphasized level of attention on the small percentage of violence in comparison to the whole protest, instead of covering the overarching objective that the protests were communicating.

**My Research**

There are several areas of research in this topic that have not been fully explored, it is often the case that information that runs counter to Globo receives the label of being a conspiracy or not valid. In an effort to clarify many recurring issues within this topic, and in an effort to diversify the information source of the Brazilian people, this research will analyze various aspects of how Globo has influenced Brazilian society and how it’s managed to hold power for so many decades.

**Gaps in Existing Literature**

In this research I intend on filling the gaps of the present literature about the different factors that influence development in Brazil. I point out on how a lack of quality in the research that is dedicated in unveiling the different causes of political and economic crisis has been occurring in Brazil in all of the 21st century. Contemporary publications are incapacitated in addressing the critical issues associated with the insufficient dissemination of un-biased
information and ideas in Brazil and a lack of diversification in media information available to citizens. The dominant elite media outlets benefit in having the public focus solely on the negative aspects of the nation while framing the government as the main reason why the country experiences problems. Little to no media coverage exists on positive developments or improvements of Brazil, and no information is released on how much the country has recently improved in various aspects. The unbalanced nature of Brazilian media, being heavily concentrated in the hands of Globo, creates an extreme concentration of distorted information available for citizens. Current issues of domestic, regional and international importance do not receive appropriate attention, and if they do receive attention, the media tends to portray them in a negative light or emphasizes the negative aspects in a situation.

**Convincing the Masses**

The media tends to emphasize the occurrence of a large economic crisis going on when economically, Brazil has been on the climb in recent decades. Economic problems in part have been exacerbated because of political scandals causing a negative effect on the economy. Precisely I will research on how Globo has influenced the public opinion towards the developmental opportunities and challenges of Brazil in the 21st century. Today, Globo reaches a majority of Brazilian television viewers. This manipulation of how citizens perceive developmental opportunities and challenges in Brazil, leads to the understanding of how public opinion often times is contrary to the reality of development in the country.
Focus of Studies

Three major aspects of developmental opportunities have come to focus around the turn of the century. The first aspect that will be studied is the Brazilian implementation of social welfare programs. Second, the Brazilian reform of its foreign policy approach. The third of this study consists of the vast opportunities available to the Brazilian nation in result of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics Games.

Most of the people speaking out are extremely focused on making corruption, inequality and the lack of funding for health, education and infrastructure as the main points of focus. Certainly, these are all important factors to consider if Brazil wants to continue moving forward in development. Nevertheless, the great majority of Brazilians only have exposure to information coming from the dominant elite media outlets. In result, millions rally behind and mobilize to protest based on a build-up of this narrow slice of information propagated by media outlets like Globo. Brazilians need to realize that mobilizing against, and only focusing on, the effects of a problem and not against its causes, is highly counterproductive and ineffective. Unfortunately, citizens do not question the validity and they do not question the accuracy of the claims asserted by the main media.

Social Media Importance

I will also incorporate into my research how Brazilians are largely oblivious to the "spin" put on the information they become exposed to. This has led to a successful mass manipulation of various by the elite run media organizations. The recent increase in the popularity of different social media platforms in Brazil's youth has provided the masses with technological tools for
communication and self-expression. Social media has the potential to serve the politically interested or politically engaged population to organize themselves in an effort to inform the masses and serve as an alternative source of information to the dominant media. Social media in Brazil is an adequate tool if used in an effective way to educate the masses on the reality of media outlets in Brazil. Depending on how this tool will be used, will determine if social media will serve to check the power of the elite control over information proliferation in Brazil. The majority of Brazilians are not aware of the overarching goals of Globo and they cannot escape the biases in the information base, which is put out by the dominant Globo Media organization. A change in this pattern of behavior by the media outlets like Globo, and the outlets that fall under Globo, is highly unlikely since elites in power rarely give away their position of power. Hence why the Brazilian people need to mobilize and protest on diversifying their media outlets and the content of their information.

Research Design

To observe the influence that the large media outlets have on the public opinion of Brazilians, I will personally conduct interviews with individuals using the Haphazard sampling method while diversifying the individuals participating in the study as much as possible. The interviews consisted of conversations with citizens on their own perceptions about the current social programs, the economy, different aspects of foreign policy and the political system, the media and the World Cup. The location of these conversations varied from high income areas business and residential areas in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, middle class urban residential and commercial areas and impoverished urban and rural towns in both cities.
Although I made a strong effort in not influencing the respondent’s answers by either, my tone of voice, in the choice of wording in the questions asked, or in how respondents might be able to pick up any slight variation in my Portuguese, the vast majority of respondents seemed to be honest and straightforward with their opinions and answers. As a disclaimer there is the probability that a few could have given me biased answers, or answers that they (the respondents) were giving in order to respond according to what they though I wanted to hear them say. Nevertheless, there is no way of knowing if any of these instances occurred, but by speaking to the various citizens I was able to notice the overwhelming trend in their perceptions and opinions about the themes in this research, and these perceptions and opinions most likely could not have been largely influenced because of the factors just stated above.

The first section of the research will provide information on the political, economic and societal context of Brazil from the time of Globo's establishment, up until today in order to understand Globo's historical significance in influencing different outcomes. The proceeding case studies will consist of information obtained from my interviews, together with information from sources like the World Bank to support my findings on the public perception of Brazilians in relation to the governmental implementation of social programs, the development of foreign policy and the economy, as well as the influence in public opinion towards the 2014 World Cup held in Brazil.

Development within Domestic Sphere- Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

At the turn of the century, Brazil was undergoing great economic and political changes in order to accommodate the countries aspiration of becoming a global power. At that time Brazil
was only out of the military regime years for roughly fifteen years, and its social, economic and political institutions were still managing to recover from twenty-one years of military rule. This meant substantial reform in areas of social welfare and foreign policy. Two social development plans are popularly referred to as the reasons why Brazil achieved economic and social development at the beginning of the 21st century. Similar to its predecessor "Plano Real", the more notable successor "Bolsa Familia" were developmental plans that dramatically minimized poverty, increased income and grew the economy.

**Factors Shaping Foreign Policy and National Development**

In the development of foreign policy, Brazil implemented a more ambitious approach aiming at regional leadership and global integration. An emphasis on south-south relations also provided new and different opportunities for growth and development. For this section my field study will consist of surveying the public opinion on these changes in domestic and international policy implementation. In this chapter there will be a comparison between what statistics of these policy implementations effects show compared to the perceptions of their effects to Globo media viewers and readers.

As Brazil demonstrated its ability to improve its social conditions while also reforming many of its economic and political sectors, it has been considered one of the top emerging economies in the world. New avenues for growth and development greeted Brazil with the emergence of the BRICS bloc. Markets boomed and investment from foreign investors in the country skyrocketed. Brazil's involvement with the BRICS led many economists and politicians to revitalize their future perspectives for Brazil and South America. Brazil along with the other
BRICS states emphasized the need to have a just and healthy balance of influence and representation of the multiple countries within western institutions like the IMF and the UN Security Council. The new approach in the Brazilian interaction with the international community has made room for new tensions and challenges within the domestic and international sphere, prompting the media to influence the public's opinion towards these developments.

Due to the lack of diversification in the information available in Brazilian media, the public has perceived these new tensions and challenges as negative and not as a natural occurrence during a time of transition. My field study will consist of gauging the opinion of Brazilians that obtain their information from Globo on topics of Brazilian integration in the BRICS as well as questions guided towards evaluating Brazil's integration in the global economy. The results on the public's opinion will then be contrasted to Globo's input on this section's topic.

**World Cup and the Olympics**

The last case study consists of the most recent developmental opportunity and also the soon-to come opportunity in Brazil. These two international events were greeted by the Brazilian people with both positive and negative outlooks. Public opinion rates at the time of the bidding to host the World Cup and the Olympics were considerably high. Yet, as the deadlines for completing construction for the events and as information came out on the spending figures, public opinion polls began to sink. Together with the preparation of these events, many protests began to happen in large cities like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. At the beginning these protests
were in result to raising transportation prices, but soon spiraled out of control with dozens of protests that had many different reasons for occurring.

This chapter will consist of a breakdown of all the challenges that Brazil faced the year before the 2014 World Cup, the year of the World Cup, and the year after the World Cup. The year after the World Cup will also coincide with the year right before the Olympic Games of 2016. With the challenges that Brazil faced identified and explained, this chapter will delve into each of these problems’ significance and severity, and then the significance and severity of these problems will be compared to the level of significance and severity according to the information Globo Media Organization published to the Brazilian people. While compiling the information that is available in relation to the effects of each developmental opportunity in Brazil, we are able to compare the actual measurements of these effects in Brazil by accessing existing statistical data and contrasting it with Globo's measurement on the effects of these developmental opportunities. The result of such a realization on how much Globo sways public opinion in benefiting their own interests would result in public awareness of the actual conditions in the country, as well as the overall Brazilian society. The reinforcement of an overall negative national perception portrayed to the Brazilian people through news, television programs and talk shows can result in damages that are detrimental to the process of nation building. The balance in representation of all social classes and political parties in the media needs to be achieved in the next decade in order for Brazil to truly emerge as society and away from elite control.
CHAPTER 2: DEVELOPMENT WITHIN DOMESTIC SPHERE-
YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

Media and Domestic Development

Ever since the first television broadcast in 1950, the Brazilian media has become one of the most influential media networks in the world. *Globo Organization*, as it is called in Brazil, is the world’s second largest media conglomerate consisting of newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television stations and online media platforms. Of the most popular, and the most watched section of this conglomerate is the television network, *Rede Globo*. The oldest sector of the *Globo organization* is the newspaper named *O Globo*, and was launched on July 25, 1925 (GrupoGlobo, 2015). Ever since this time, the media conglomerate has continued growing in every aspect. Its economic profits and influence is at an all-time high. It continues to diversify its methods for controlling the information that circulates within the Brazilian society. Globo is so deeply immersed in Brazilian society and so well melded with the country’s politics that *Rede Globo* has created a monopoly within the media.

*Globo’s* media networks intent on influencing and manipulating the views of Brazilian citizens was not fully perceived until the media outlet coalesced with the forces of the military dictatorship of 1964. Before the military takeover, President Juscelino Kubitschek 1955-1961 ran an ambitious campaign to promote industrialization taking on national constructions of major highways and infrastructure, as well as today’s federal capital city Brasilia (Henry, 133). His plan led to five years of seven percent growth and at the time the Third World’s largest debt of
2.54 billion by 1960 (Henry, 133). With these events a conservative trend took over Brazil in newspapers and through the radios and in 1961 Janio Quadros succeeded Kubitschek but only for a short time and allowed for his vice-president João Goulart to assume the presidency.

President Goulart's leftist aspirations for development in Brazil attracted a lot of attention for a time when the world was poised against communism and any left leaning regime got the attention of the US. As a populist president Goulart launched land reforms, nationalized the profitable oil industry while boosting taxes on foreign investors. By 1964 the Brazilian military leaders came together in an organized coup with the covert assistance of the US who spent tens of millions of dollars in an anti-Goulart media campaign through Globo.

Developments in 1964 within the Brazilian media led to the formation of an influential national media network that would be used to shape public opinion to cater to the orchestration of the military coup. By then the base was set up with Roberto Marinho, a Brazilian businessman running a TV station and newspaper in Rio de Janeiro. American businessman Joseph Wallach, and at the time, executive of Time-Life who decided to join with Roberto Marinho and build what today is the powerful and influential Rede Globo (Henry, 137).

"Time-Life" at the time invested 4-6 million in Globo via a joint venture putting it way ahead of its competitors and squashing any competition within the country (Henry, 137). With the investment and the connections Time-Life provided multinationals began advertising on Globo and further increasing its influence not only in South America but internationally (Henry, 137). The advantage granted to Globo was that the network would provide only favorable coverage for its political allies, being the military coup, the United States and the CIA (Henry, 137). In return
Globo would receive special licensing from the government to be able to broadcast satellite, radio, local TV stations and cable concessions. These were all vital to the growth that Globo experienced (Henry, 137).

Nevertheless, twenty-one years of military dictatorship, which the Brazilian Nation endured, sent ripples through their political and social institutions. The nation came to realize, that this period of time was menacing for any individuals that spoke out against the military regime and its intentions. Any citizen, politician, teacher or even famous musician, who made a stand for human and civil rights would suffer consequences. No democratic or human rights were recognized for these civilians during the authoritative military years, even though military officials who violated human rights received amnesty for their acts (Hunter, 39). Globo newspapers and news reports, kept clear from publishing or airing controversial reports that could possibly incriminate military officials.

Public demonstrations by civilians were consistently put down with violence, while police and military officers were able to act however they saw fit, well aware that their acts would be exempt from punishment. From 1964 through 1985, the Brazilian nation was also deprived of democratic rights and freedoms (Hunter, 27). The right to vote, freedom of expression, right of assembly, freedom of association and any access to justice was denied to the population. Globo Television served as the right hand of the dictatorship promoting all of the regimes initiatives, censoring roles and repressing pro democratic movements. Anything that remotely resisted the dictatorship was severely dealt with (Power, 221).
These attempts to resist the military were dealt with a heavy hand, numerous accounts of mass arrests, civilian disappearances and notable political prisoners were taken in by military officials. Of the individuals that were arrested, many were citizens protesting in the streets, some were well known musicians who spoke out against the regime and many were previously active political officials who lost their political powers. Torture was commonplace and many times to be used as a substitution for judicial proceedings. At times the torture was done to extract information about future protests and in other instances torture was used to intimidate the population in an attempt to inflict fear and impose control.

Today, a prominent figure in Brazil, but at the time of the military regime this young woman was just another victim of torture and repression. Arrested and tortured by military officials in the 70's for being part of an opposition group, this woman is lucky enough to have come out of her three year imprisonment alive to tell her story. What is special about this particular woman is that today, she is Brazil's President, Dilma Rousseff. Like many of today's prominent Brazilian political leaders, during the military regime they endured heavy censorship, oppression and some even torture. Repression was one of the main tactics the military dictatorship used for influence and control along with the use of a powerful misinformation campaign through the Globo Corporation.

_Globos Involvement in the Pivot towards Democracy_

As previously mentioned, the right to vote, freedoms of expression, right of assembly, freedom of association, access to justice and many more basic democratic rights were never manifested in Brazil from 1964-1985 (Hunter, 26). Only until 1985 was the first step taken
towards restoring a political democracy in Brazil (Hunter, 39). It would only seem just that along with the arrival of democracy, that the media would also become more transparent and effective in aiding the development of democratic principals in the country. However, Rede Globo as it did in the military years, continued playing a large role in media campaigns in order to advance their political preferences. After returning to a democracy, the powerful network exerted an even more influential role in choosing political leaders than before.

On March 15, 1985 the election of the first civilian president, Trancedo Neves of the PMDB party, brought a moment of joy in Brazilian history. Many saw that day as the start of a new era that finally broke away a military dictatorship. Although the new democratically elected President Trancedo was never able to assume his post, since falling ill on the eve of his inauguration, his Vice-President Jose Sarney succeeded Trancedos to the Brazilian presidency (Hunter, 38). At this time the constitution was still on-going from the military regime and continued to be used for the remainder of Sarneys term. Two years later, on October 5th 1988, Brazil's Federal Constitution, which is still in use, was promulgated (Hunter, 39). Brazilians viewed this as the true arrival of a fully legislated political democracy.

Even though the early democratic governments were oligarchic clients of the military regime, they marked the beginning of an emergence out of the sphere of influence of the military dictatorship (Power, 221). Although this did not mean the influence of the media, which favored electing right-wing governments and policies that favored the higher elite classes, was going to disappear. President Fernando Collor came to power after defeating his opponent Luiz Inacio
Lula da Silva in a presidential race marked by the strong influence of Globo in the victory of Collor (Henry, 138).

The first President to be elected democratically since 1960 and under the new civilian constitution was Fernando Collor. He was inaugurated on March 15, 1990 (Flynn, 356). Globo Television helped Collor standout to the Brazilian people as the ideal candidate for presidency, many say the networks influence on public opinion was the decisive factor in making his election possible (Flynn, 356). The millions that voted for Collor were easily misled by the news, a large portion of the electorate were young and inexperienced since the last election was 30 years before that campaign (Flynn, 355). To influence the election, Globo used blatant propaganda in their network shows and news programs (Henry, 137). The Collor presidency became infamously marked by the rampant corruption in the administration (Henry, 138). Aside from corruption scandals and crisis, Color's Presidency was also marked by the hyperinflation rates. In which plagued the 80's and would continue to characterize the early and mid-90's. (Fonseca, 627)

Up to this point in time, Brazil had experienced many unstable political and economic situations. The infamous hyper-inflation rates of the 80's and 90's were not appropriately dealt with nor controlled. In the 80's various economic packages came out in an attempt to curb the effects of hyper-inflation. Initially economic packages were adapted to each economic situation every year, as inflation increased a package was needed every six months (Fonseca, 626-28). When inflation rates reached approximately 50 percent to 80 percent per month, the government resorted to monthly economic packages to curb inflation (Fonseca, 627). A large number of
different economic packages were implemented in an attempt to fix the hyperinflation, which none of them managed to prevent the hyperinflation rates in the long run.

**Social Aspects of Development : Public Opinion**

It takes very little time after being in Brazil to realize that the power of the media is in the hands of only a few. The problem is simple to perceive but becomes convoluted because of the great efforts by the media to hide the simple truth. With a vast majority of Brazils lacking the financial means to be able to purchase electronic appliances for their homes, like modern TV’s and unable to subscribe to digital cable, they are left with the most basic of all forms of information sources. With this, the simple “rabbit years” antennas provide Brazilians with the only information they can acquire. They become severely limited to Globo’s opinions and perceptions, and are unable to tune into other broadcasting stations, providing more diverse and less politically biased information. This has been the reality ever since the military regime and only in the past ten to fifteen years has this changed. Nevertheless, since Brazil experienced twenty-one years of agonizing military control it seems rather surprising how a large portion of its citizens appear to forget about the rather negative events that unfolded during this time. Especially when looking at freedom of expression. There is a very large degree of concentration in media ownership and regulatory laws in Brazil do not support the development of independent broadcasters (Article19, 3). The fact that the television network, *Globo*, was a major player in helping the military dictatorship to maintain in power from 1964-1985 has been "swept under the rug".
Brazilian society was heavily damaged by the repressive maneuvers of the military regime and of Rede Globo. Popular culture and pro-democracy developments were both targets in the 21 year long misinformation campaign launched by Globo during the military regime (Flynn, 355). The mainstream media network has always, since its inception, been interested in preserving the political institutions and the control of the media to the dominant classes in Brazilian society (Wilkin, 99).

Globo only came to assume its involvement and full support for the military regime in 2013, almost 50 years after (O Globo, 2013). This could be seen as an attempt of Globo to rebrand itself with mass protests in Brazil and with some Brazilians unsatisfied with the role of media in Brazil. Even with a rather negative reputation in history, *Globo* is still able to get an incredibly high percentage of the population to tune into their news shows, their televised novels or and their captivating entertainment shows. The *Globo* novels are famous in many countries across the world. The media conglomerate uses the popularity of their televised novels to keep a high percentage of the population tuned in to their channels. Since millions of Brazilians are intrigued by the televised novels, the large network is able to impose their points of view about the country and the world into the minds of the people when news and political shows are aired.

As I roamed the streets of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, I had the opportunity to interview many different people on their preferences of television networks. I was able to observe a variety of perspectives on current the issues within the country. It appeared rather surprising the number of people that had practically identical opinions about current issues within their country and the world. They even backed up their opinions with similar if not
identical examples. After a few days of interviewing around busy commercial centers and public locations, I thought it would be useful to document where the individuals obtained their information. I wanted to better understand how they kept themselves updated on trending subjects such as world news, national politics, the economy and trending topics that the media covered.

In the United States the top three networks NBC, ABC and CBS average about 25% of viewership with NBC leading with 28% of viewers in evening news (PewResearch,2013). As I found out during my trips to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the percentage of viewership dedicated to the Globo Network was much higher than any of the networks in the United States. As observed in (Appendix, Table 1), an astounding 57% of the individuals interviewed preferred to tune into Globo for their evening news. Three decades after the network united with the military regime in 64, it became one of the world’s most politically influential media networks in the world (Henry, 137). It owned most of the television stations in Brazil with seventy-eight stations in 1990 (Henry, 137). It made $600 million a year just on ads, and exported TV programming to 112 countries after Brazil entered a democratic system in 1985 (Henry, 137).

When I asked the people in the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro about their views on corruption, they were in general consensus. At least 88 percent of the interviewed individuals thought that corruption was primarily an embedded problem in Brazilian society, while 12 percent thought it was a problem directly stemming from and exclusive to, the incumbent PT party (Appendix, Table 1.1). An interesting observation was that the overwhelming majority of the people who responded that corruption was primarily an embedded social problem said that,
although corruption was generalized, the PT government was at fault for the corruption that is occurring in today’s government and the root of the economic crisis occurring in Brazil.

While many of the respondents in my research were in agreement that corruption has infiltrated many spheres of Brazilian society, the problem is the most severe in the PT government. Various subjects spoke of corruption in the sense that it comes from the Brazilian culture ever since the first colonizers arriving from Portugal, and they say that it will never disappear. Noted was how there was a large consensus that high level business transactions and political negotiations almost always occur with bribery. Further remarks were made on the notion that corruption was common within Brazilian society and very common within high level politician and economic spheres.

When asked about whether the Brazilian government is reacting appropriately in order to deal with corruption, the opinions are very much leaning towards one side. 87 percent believe that the government is not reacting effectively to the corruption problems (Appendix 1.2). I asked them why they believe that the government was not reacting appropriately, and almost every single one of the respondents said "because we continue to see new reports on TV about corruption". With this rationale, I observed that what led most individuals to gauge whether or not the government was effectively combating corruption was what the news networks aired or reporting about corruption. This is apparently a sign that the people trust the reports that are being aired on the media.

If the population trusts their media then, this should reflect the notion that citizens believe in the information that is put out by the media. Furthermore it could mean that citizens believe
the media is being transparent or at least precise to the political conditions of the country. So I
decided to ask the question. "Does the Brazilian media precisely portray the political conditions
within Brazil?". As observed in (Appendix, Table 1.3), I found that 84% of the individuals that
responded saying that "No", the Brazilian media does not precisely portray the political condition
within Brazil. Now, this point was rather contradictory since the 87 percent of respondents that
did not think the government was reacting appropriately, gauged their responses based on what
they heard on the news (the media that they mostly do not trust).

So why do 87 percent of the individuals in my study continue to base their opinions off
of information from a source that they do not entirely trust? The answer might not be a simple
one but a multifaceted one, but a part of the answer may be that these individuals are exposed to
very low levels of diversity in their media, while a great percentage of the news content is based
from the same or very similar views. Views that Rede Globo controls and passes down to other
networks. In reality these other networks are actually not 'other networks', simply for the fact that
they are owned by the Globo conglomerate. To paint provide a depiction of the situation , six
private media corporations hold the Brazilian TV market, 92 percent of the entire TV audience.
A multi-billion dollar market where over 3 Billion is negotiated a year (Carvalho, 5). In 2006
Globo held half of this market, being that nationally 54 percent of the audience tunes to Globo in
a country that 81 percent of the population watch TV every day, an average of 3.5 hours a day
(Carvalho,5). In 2014 this average has risen to one more hour, 4 hours and 31 minutes of
Television on weekdays (Carvalho, 5).
Finally, I started gauging the opinions of individuals in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo on whether the information that is broadcasted by the media benefit the overall political development in Brazil. As found in (Appendix, Table 1.4). The exact question was, "Does the information broadcasted on mainstream media benefit the overall process of political development in Brazil?”. I found that 64 percent of the respondents believed that the mainstream media content worsens the conditions of what is being reported.

Media content, outlets and sources are all heavily concentrated in the hands of a very few in Brazil (Carvalho, 2). This leads to the limited diversity of information that is made available to the people, who in large depend on TV to inform themselves since Brazil is a developing country where not everyone has the ability to have access to wireless devices (Carvalho, 2). This monopoly in the media creates a great difficulty for independent broadcasters to break through to any portion of the population. The way in which Globo television network influences public opinion in Brazil can be considered dangerous and counterproductive for the development of the country, and there needs to be a nationwide movement for the increase in freedom of expression for Brazilians to raise their conciseness of how much the media manipulates their lives and their minds.

**Social Welfare Program**

After the transition from an authoritative style of government towards a gradual move towards a democracy, Brazil would not only need major reforms in their economic and political sectors but also reforms in areas that benefit the different social classes. Every social class and social institution in one way or another became impacted in result of the 21 years of military
dictatorship, albeit at different levels. Implementation of social programs and the overall improvement in education and health care systems were all essential for adequate transition.

The economic instability in Brazil of the 1980's and early 1990's clearly gave a sharp rise to the level of inequality and poverty in Brazil. The challenges that were present at the time right after President Collors resignation, were the perpetuated hyperinflation rates which wreaked havoc on the Brazilian economy and on the amount of foreign debt (Fonseca, 629). Any rate of growth or development was not possible with the weak economy and the lack of structural stability in the State at that time.

The "Real Plan" which stemmed from the impeached President Fernanado Collor's Vice-President Itamar Franco and his team of economists, was implemented in June of 1994 when inflation rates were at about 50% in Brazil. The plans intended effect of lowering inflation materialized fairly quickly and by the next month in July of 1994 inflation rates dropped to 5.5% from 50% the month before (Flynn, 361). A virtual currency was going to be introduced parallel to the currency in place at the time which was Cruzeiros Reais. This "virtual currency" was labeled side-by-side everywhere the Cruzeiro Reais was labeled. Rather than the population paying attention in how to convert yesterday’s price with todays inflated price for milk, people would pay attention to the stable price of milk via the virtual currency (Fonseca, 631).

The virtual currency would not fluctuate with inflation prices but it would be the actual currency that fluctuated in value. Since before the Real Plan when anyone would go to the store to buy their milk or bread, they would have to pay a higher price than the day before, then the next day the same thing happened. With the virtual currency called URV (Unit of Real Value)
prices remained the same, day after day even though prices kept changing the labels never changed (Fonseca, 631). An official price index was established and soon everything from gas to rice was labeled using the URV device. The URV was fixed daily to match the exchange rate of the US dollar, and its use was compulsory (Fonseca, 632). The government wanted to make most of the internal market prices vary according to the exchange rate using the URV. In a short time market prices began to follow the URV and this led to the new currency, the Real.

Franco imposed great diligence in assuring that his team of economists and advisors commenced the first of the two major plans that helped bring Brazil economic stability and a steadier transition out of 21 years of military governance. On a grand scope, "The Real Plan" provided the South American nation with economic stabilization and a platform to make growth possible in Brazil. While the "Real Plan" partially satisfied some of the economic needs in a period of economic and political transition, much work still needed to be done towards improving and developing the nation. The Brazilian people needed greater government implementations in areas that directly benefit the poor, rural workers and working class since these groups were the most affected by inflation rates and high unemployment rates. States with a majority of rural workers and within the rural working class did not receive appropriate benefits or improvements from the "Real Plan" plan since the Cardoso administration mainly focused on macroeconomic stability (Fenwick, 105.) To continue the positive effects that the "Real Plan" provided, the implementation of a second major plan by President Lula was put into action. Lula realized that in order to improve the condition for workers nationwide was a task consisting of several steps and policy implementations. The results that would emerge from
sustaining a healthy middle class and providing the basic needs to emerge the millions out of poverty were only projected to be positive.

The Workers Party, or PT as the abbreviation in Portuguese, aimed at doing a complete change of direction in how Brazil was governed. Brazil’s economy, foreign relations, public safety and the overall standard of living in many parts of the country demanded reform plans. During Lula's 8 years in the capital, the most pressing issues were brought to focus by the PT administration. The promise to the people were to decrease hunger, misery and poverty while creating jobs and raising the minimum salary in Brazil (Fenwick, 105).

Today the well-known family grant program, *Bolsa Familia Program*, has been the final product of several overlapping social plans since the early 1990's. These plans were Bolsa Escola supporting primary and secondary education, Bolsa Alimentação serving nutritional needs to women and children, Cartão alimentação for food security for families and Auxílio Gas providing subsidies for gas to cook with. To minimize inefficiencies and to avoid gaps in coverage of these plans, *Bolsa Familian Program* was created into one single national project. The plan brought about better conditions for the millions of families in Brazil that were in poverty with children on a path without education (Power, 243). School Plan, Nutrition Plan, Gas Plan and the fourth implementation by Lula's government which supported Nutrition were all incorporated into one easy-to-implement program (Fenwick, 114).

By the time the administration of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva came to power in 2003, the consolidation of growth and development in Brazil was becoming apparent. The overall state of Brazil inherently improved. Millions that were considered poor or impoverished
no longer had to worry about the daily task of providing food for their family and could invest their energy in other areas of their life. This introduced a portion of the population, which was not previously able to participate in their local economies in a position to be able to contribute to their economies. Millions of people were now able to take part in the economic growth in their region and also begin to understand how to sustain their financial lives. As a laborer in the earlier part of his life, Lula knew how fundamental it was for the lower financial classes to have basic necessities.

**Economic Factors and Public Opinion of Bolsa Familia**

Increasing trends of poverty and inequality rates in the decades preceding the turn of the millennium raised many concerns about the development of Brazil. The Brazilian government realized the urgency of establishing a plan of action that would achieve the countries potential of improving its social and economic situation. Bolsa Familia Program (BFP) had the ultimate goals of lowering inequality, reducing poverty, eradicating extreme poverty and also improving development opportunities in the vulnerable populations within Brazil. In the 1990's several government plans attempted to deal with the social and economic problems but the nation still faced many problems. When the BFP was incorporated (2003), Brazil was one of the world’s most unequal societies with a GINI coefficient of .59, where 100 is perfect inequality and 0 is perfect equality (WorldBankReport, 19). Poverty levels were at 39 percent of the population while extreme poverty made up 17.5 percent (WorldBankReport, 19).

Emerging large parts of the population out of poverty, ending widespread hunger and ultimately eradicating poverty were the central objectives of BFP and of Lula's presidency.
(Fenwick,114). After introducing the BFP, poverty rates started to decrease at a considerable rate and together with sustained growth during this time the BFP began closing the gap that existed in between the rich and the poor of Brazil (WorldBankReport, 18). Within the first three years of BFP's implementation, more than 11 million families were benefited in Brazil with 46 million individuals receiving aid from the program (Fenwick, 127). By 2006, three years after the roll out of BFP, monthly grants can go from $35-$70 per eligible family plus more for additional children and the rippling effects of social and economic improvements became apparent in impoverished rural and urban areas (Fenwick, 114). Bolsa Familia successfully minimized the high level of inequality throughout Brazil and since the start of Lula's administration, poverty levels plummeted to 17 percent from 39 percent three years before with extreme poverty dipping to 6 percent from 17.5 percent (WorldBankReport, 19).

Regions with highest concentration of poverty like the North, Northeast and the South began to see economic unprecedented improvements during with the BFP.(Fenwick,123) Infant mortality rates dramatically decreased from 28 percent in the year 2000 to 18 percent in 2006. (WorldBankReport, 19) Today the BFP has benefited 13.8 million families, almost 50 million people. The last available numbers on poverty levels in Brazil show that numbers have reached 9 percent of the population with extreme poverty at below 4 percent. (WorldBankReport, 2010) For families to continue receiving their grants from BFP, they must keep their children in school with good attendance. When speaking to families that were recipients of BFP, I was able to see how BFP communicated to the family their emphasis in making sure children went to school and were nourished. To monitor the families students up to the age of 7 were weighed every year to record their weight to make sure they were healthy and benefiting from the program. Families
felt a great amount fear of losing their monthly grants because of missed days in school. Although the rural and urban poor regions benefited from BFP at a higher degree than the rest of the population, the middle and higher classes also indirectly benefited.

A study of the Instituto de Ensino e Pesquisa (INSER) showed that the effects of BFP even increased the GDP's of the overall country in 2006 by a total of approximately 1.8 percent (WorldBankReport,19). With an increase of 10 percent in the amount of aid transferred to beneficiaries, the municipality/county increased its revenue by an average of 1.36 percent discrediting the belief that the BFP has hurt the nation's economy (WorldBankReport,19).

Overall the BFP accomplished its goals of greatly decreasing poverty and inequality. It improved opportunities for development both in rural and in the urban poor population while showing the population that there still needs to be improvements in other areas.

**Politics of Bolsa Familia Program**

The accomplishments of the BFP, have basically irradiated hunger in Brazil while lowering extreme poverty to its lowest levels in history. This social program has become relatively famous among the developing states in its accomplishments in how it was able to fight hunger and poverty. Nonetheless, BF has not solved every major social and economic challenge in Brazil. BF has provided a safety net for the access to healthcare and has led to the initiative of parents sending their children to school. Statistics show how BFP has been beneficial to the social and economic sectors of Brazil, and at the same time questions continuously emerge on whether BF is still as effective as it was when it first was implemented. Globo and other mainstream media networks continuously strike that key reinforcing the criticism in an effort to
mold public perceptions that BF has become more of a negative aspect in the nations process to develop socially and economically. Historically Globo has put down populist governments and their programs, and the BF is another one of those programs that are receiving pressure and criticism from the elite run media network. It is there for increasingly important to gauge the influence that these countermeasures of the media have on the public opinion of pivotal social development programs such as the BF.

My research revealed that a large portion of the population of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo are unsatisfied or at least very critical in their opinions towards the BF. The statistical portion of my study reflects the expressed opinions of individuals that were interviewed on different matters of the BF. The comments and critiques come from the content of firsthand accounts by recipients and non-recipients of BF. These individuals, recipients and non-recipients, claim that they hold particular views of the social grant program because of their experiences in local communities of Rio and São Paulo, as well as because of mainstream media content pertinent to the BF. As a social program, BF inherently redistributes income across the nation, so I questioned individuals on whether they thought that Bolsa Familia Program has distributed income in a just manner. In total, 80 percent of respondents believed that the BF is not a just and many expressed the notion that it was not an effective redistribution of income program (Appendix, Table 1.5). In total 50 percent of respondents who agreed that the BF was just and effective social program were recipients of the program (Appendix, Table 1.5). These individuals who received aid from the BF all had very compelling stories to share about how much the program aided them in providing for their families and for their children when employment wasn't enough.
During an interview with a primary school teacher who taught in the North and Northeast regions of Brazil, she explained to me how pivotal Bolsa Family was for the education and for the future of the children. "The children all need it. They are now able to go to school because many of them do not need to stay home and help their families work in order to have something to eat. At that young age they need to be learning, socializing and dreaming about their future", explained the primary school teacher. She describes how the children from poor rural cities are never given the opportunity to dream about their future, other than in helping their family survive by working in the field. There certainly is a major difference in the social and economic conditions of the different regions of Brazil but even the urban poor face their own set of difficulties that the BF can help them through. Among the Brazilian states, at times, it seems like the various towns and cities are located in very different countries when compared to the cities of Rio and São Paulo with the North and Northeast. Not only is the BF an important factor in closing the gap in the disparity of social and economic conditions in Brazil but it serves as a trailblazer to improve the implementation of future social developmental programs by exposing vulnerabilities and faults in the todays approach to programs like BF.

With the observable improvements in poverty after the implementation of BFP, such a national development should be widely known among the people of Brazil. Considerable improvements have occurred in the last 9 years, in 2004 the population living in poverty was 22 percent while in 2013 poverty was at 8.9 percent (BrazilWorldBank, 2015). Continuing on the analysis of the public opinion of BF, individuals were asked to give their opinion on whether they thought poverty in Brazil decreased in the last 10 years due to the BF. In total 75% of the individuals interviewed stated that they believed poverty "did not" decrease because of the BFP.
(Appendix, Table 1.6). The overwhelming majority of respondents would disagree with the notion that BFP was responsible for any decrease in poverty. A common perception was that poverty actually increased by the middle and higher classes that were interviewed. Individuals that fell within the 75 percent of respondents that believed poverty did not decrease because of BFP felt that the grant program made poverty worse by motivating families to have more children since the plan only qualifies poor families with children. As World Bank records show, poverty levels in Brazil have dropped considerably, and the data is from the overall percentage of the population, demonstrating that the overall population consisting of individuals in poverty has decreased.

Many considered BF recipients as lazy and not willing to work. The conclusion that I observed among many of the respondents perceptions was that poor families were having children to continue cashing in BF benefits, therefore increasing the population of the poor. Rumors about people who did not need financial aid or people who use the BF money for illicit or unnecessary purposes seemed to also be a common conception in the Rio and São Paulo population. Reports on the Globo media networks and other mainstream networks like Estado de São Paulo and Folha de Sao Paulo, which hold similar views and critiques, consistently cover instances of corruption and technical faults of BF as part of their anti-PT campaign (Machometero Elections, 2015). This can be seen as a large part of the reason why a considerable portion of the population perceives the BF in a negative light.

Additional stories on how the BF program has become a burden for taxpayers and for the development of the country began to emerge as the number of individuals I interviewed
increased. So I polled individuals on whether they believed that the families that are receiving money from BF program are totally dependent on the government to be able to provide for themselves and their family. Taking into consideration the relatively high cost of living and the rising costs of groceries in many areas of Brazil, especially in urban areas, data shows that the amount that BF provides cannot have a family totally "dependent" on the government program. Nevertheless, 63 percent of respondents believed that families who receive BF depend on the government to live (Appendix, Table 1.7). Thirty-seven percent disagreed and believed that BF is only a supplemental amount, that no family can live on that amount (Appendix, Table 1.7).

Similar to this argument was another claim that is commonly made, and I first came across it when I spoke to a middle-class bar owner who mentioned how a majority of BF recipients lose motivation in finding jobs when they earn money from the BF. Compared to the percentage of the previous claims this one was not as high. 57 percent responded "Yes", they believe that the BF makes individuals in the family loose the motivation in finding a job (Appendix, Table 1.8). The ones who answered yes to this question mostly believed that most families receiving aid did everything they could to increase their chances of getting more money, if that meant having more children, not getting a job or claiming that they make less each year at the annual re-registry for the BFP. 43 percent of respondents answered that they do not think the BFP leads to the loss of motivation for a new job (Appendix, Table 1.8). These respondents explained that even if a family was receiving a high amount it was still insufficient to meet the needs of a family. Anywhere from $35-$70 is not enough to make a family fully dependent on that funding.
With so much speculation all over the country about the corruption in the government, and the perception that the BF is full of faults, it would be useful to see whether the people believed that it is the responsibility of the government or of the recipient families to oversee the appropriate use of the grant money. In other words should the government be trusted to provide a system that effectively prevents fraud and corruption in how the grant aid is used and distributed? Even though Globo and other mainstream media networks have continuously put a negative spin on the PT governments BF program, 68 percent of Brazilians believe that it is the government’s responsibility to provide oversight on the appropriate use of grant money (Appendix, Table 1.9). While analyzing the thought process of how many people appear to trust the government enough to say that the government should be the ones overseeing the appropriation of BF funding, but at the same time individuals do not trust the government to tackle major political problems in the country does not coincide with what one would think to be rational thinking. This rational might seem a bit contradictory since previously mentioned, 87 percent of respondents say that the government is not reacting appropriately to corruption and fraud in Brazil (Appendix, Table 1.2). This can be seen as an example of how the people unfortunately become susceptible in adopting the views of the media since Globo is a major source of news and information. Globo has brought much attention to the issues in the PT political party and disproportionally emphasizes any challenges occurring with the BFP.

As previously mentioned, the transfer of aid to beneficiaries directly increased the revenue of Brazilian municipalities, contributing more money to the various local economies therefore making it better for local businesses, and the middle class (WorldBankReport,18). Public opinion on this matter seems to coincide with the statistics. 76 percent of the citizens who
were asked whether the BF program harmed the Brazilian middle class said "No" (Appendix, Table 1.9(B)).

The early start of the *Globo* media organization enabled the network to grow its tentacles of influence deep into the Brazilian political system and society. When the military regime took over power of a democratically elected president, the media network gained new business connections and a new bank account. By then the media network *Globo* was nothing more, nothing less than the right hand of the military regime. At the dispense of society and their freedoms, Globo had 21 years of protection from the military regime to perfect its tricks and manipulative schemes for when the time was right to unleash all of its magic. As soon as 1985 came around and Brazil was again under a democracy, Globo was ready to "lead" the country towards a new era of misdirected teachings of democracy, a free press and equality among social classes. Which none of this happened of course, Globo has done nothing but keep the political and public spheres reserved for the rich elites who have their own interest in mind, and certainly not the peoples.

How dare a populous government come to power and attempt to reform the political and economic system for the benefit of the people, as well as reveal all the darkest secrets of this system left untapped since the early 20th century. If Globo had a consciousness this would most likely be its thoughts towards developments in today’s Brazilian society. Unfortunately for the high class elites who benefit from influencing many aspects of Brazilian society, this is exactly what has happened. The top media network elites that for decades have controlled the political arena for themselves, have been losing power with the increase in the diversity of information by
the million with phones and internet. And with the improvement in the financial capabilities of millions in Brazil, those are millions that now will be able to access the internet and use social media. Nevertheless, the elites will not let go of the good life so fast and easy. They will do what they do best, deform, spin and redirect the attention of the public against themselves, inertly against the reformist government that is actually there for them. It will be a tough road ahead, a huge portion of the population is not educated and unaware of this exploit, they are mostly aware of what is transmitted to them through channels, stations, stories and sites. Nevertheless the people are awakening, some already have, even though these are labeled as crazy or irrational. Soon more citizens will become aware of the abuses that have occurred, imposed by the ones who should have assisted in raising consciousness and truly informing the public with good intentions and a pure heart. Unfortunately, the forces within the mainstream media have instead led public opinion in the direction of ignorance in relation to the important details of Brazilian politics, and it has not helped in the development of democracy. As in a developed country, a democracy needs to have a healthy competition of views and a fair representation of those views in the media, but as we see, this is not the case in the mainstream media of Brazil.
CHAPTER 3: FACTORS SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL DEVELPOMENT

With the emergence of millions of people out of poverty and the sustainment of several years of economic growth, Brazil started to reach new levels in international standing (Thomas, 128 and WorldBank). Here I will outline some of the current factors that contribute to the ability of the Brazilian government to be able to exercise a greater amount of its foreign policy in the region and abroad. The development of several important areas that will be outlines serve as an important stepping stone for Brazil into the world stage. Since the change in government in 2003, South America’s largest country took on a new approach in foreign policy. This approach favored political and economic relations in a South to South collaborative method leading to greater autonomy and an increase in the number of states with whom Brazil interacted with (Vigevani&Cepaluni, 1313). With the decrease in the level of poverty, the smaller gap in inequality, a more robust economy with growth and a notable change in foreign policy aspirations, Brazil started gaining global acknowledgment as a pertinent emerging power (Souza, 23). In order to definitely ascend as a world power, it will require the government to search for new approaches in sustaining the economy, its social sectors to achieve its foreign policy goals.

These sectors must stay in balance for the country to reach its demanded goals of development. Historically Brazil has been a major client of the U.S. especially during the military regime and the early years after the return of democracy in 1985 (Vigevani&Cepaluni, 1313). The government of Brazil, starting with President Lula in 2003, redefined its grand strategy in foreign policy in an effort to take advantage of the potential that Brazil has to increase
its autonomy and become a global pole of influence but without regional hegemony status (Vigevani&Cepaluni, 1313). Brazil experienced several years of growth in GDP from an average of 4.5% in 2006-2010 to 2.1% from 2011-2014 while the year of 2014 saw only 0.1% growth (BrazilWorldBank, 2015). New trade relations and inflow of foreign direct investments have created new avenues for economic development and how these development splay out will determine the countries future success in growth and development. Brazil’s size, richness in resources and the political and economic ties with neighboring countries of the continent, certainly contributes to the sphere of influence existent in South America. However, in order to effectively become an influential player at the international economic and political level, the challenges present within the country need to be become top priorities (Christensen, 274). The improvement in the quality of primary and secondary education, improvements in healthcare, increase access to basic sanitation and reforming freedom of the press laws are all pivotal for the national development of a country like Brazil that is trying to become a global power.

**Social Development as a Foreign Policy**

One of the most important areas of development in society that leads to an improvement in foreign policy is education. Today it is considered a serious challenge in Brazil. The inadequate availability of quality education in Brazil has led to the increased attention of the government in catering to the lower social classes within the development of the country. In the last six years the percentage of government expenditure in education has been an average of 14 percent, it has risen from 12 percent up to 16 percent of government expenditure from 2006 through 2012, but the overall improvements in these years has not satisfied the families, especially the families depending on the public education system. Even though pockets of
quality education can been seen in Brazil, the quality of education is not equal and certainly not widespread in all regions of the country. Especially the rural poor and as well as urban poor regions, which have one of the worst infrastructural conditions for education. Low quality of education and insufficient levels of infrastructure may be due to the way Brazil is broken up within its municipalities. The Brazilian federal system is reasonably decentralized compared to most countries (Thomas, 91). This decentralization can be considered a benefactor for state and municipal roles in fulfilling endeavors of growth and development (Thomas, 91). The education system can suffer with decentralization if municipalities do not seriously take on the responsibility of using public funds for education. Discrepancies in the leadership of state governments and municipalities in relation to the federal government can open room for corruption because of the power municipalities have in the decentralized system. Today there are 5,561 municipalities in Brazil, ranging from the State of Roraima having 15 municipalities and the State of Minas Gerais having 853 (IBGE, 2000).

**Education**

To effectively tackle problems in the education system, there needs to be a very high level of commitment within state and municipal governments in order to achieve the overarching goals of development in Brazil. Existential to success in overcoming such a challenge is a committed government working tirelessly towards providing quality education with sufficient infrastructure in schools and in cities to be able to support growing demands for education. Urban cities and rural cities both have diverse needs in education. Today the common perception of citizens is that the education system has not prepared the current generation to overcome the
manipulation and influence that the media has on the population. An example of this perception is a story told by a school principle in Rio de Janeiro.

While interviewing in Rio de Janeiro I came across a high school public school principal who has taught for over 25 years. In order to keep her identity secure I will refer to her as Mary. As she elaborated through her experiences in education Mary was able to explain how the mainstream Brazilian media of today has the overwhelming ability to instill into the minds of the people many opinions and perceptions. For over 25 years Mary coordinated a school in a municipality within the State of Rio, Ilha do Governador. As she explained, the area has one of the lowest per capita incomes of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The principal explained to me how "most of urban and rural populations in Brazil do not have the capacity to form an opinion about current events and about what goes on in the news." "Neither do they have the ability to perceive the interests that the media has in controlling the minds and opinions of the masses." Mary pointed out how a portion of this coming generation is growing oblivious to the true intentions of the media and totally ignorant as to how to combat their efforts of control. The only way to combat the manipulation is to fully immerse this generation into education. While the government and the media only benefit from the fact that the education system is extremely faulty and lacking in infrastructure. Mary pointed out that, "this way it is easier to control the masses."

Education cannot be left out of the sphere of investments such as urban infrastructure, social welfare and construction of stadiums as Brazil prepares of international sporting events. Providing and making quality education a priority will provide todays citizens with the sufficient
knowledge to make future decisions about the economy and politics. One of the few positive attributes of the military regime that assumed power in 1964, was that they decided to make higher education as a vital national strategy in making Brazil reach the standing of a world power. The military regime established the Federal Council of Education (Bayma&Rubin, 637).

Throughout the years of the regime up until today, challenges arose with unequal geographic distribution of schools and universities, poor infrastructure for primary schools throughout Brazil and a relatively few number of academic programs educating in public administration (Bayma&Rubin, 637).

Many of the challenges that Brazil faces stems from inadequate public administration and the governments slow reaction to fix problems in education (Bayma&Rubin, 648). The first problem where there is inadequate public administration creates a situation where development in education is concentrated only in the areas where public government universities are situated. Since most of the government universities are considered highest quality of education (Bayma&Rubin, 648).

Contrary to the high quality of public universities are the precarious conditions of the Brazilian public grade schools. This creates many problems for the vast majority of Brazilians in lower economic classes and some in the middle class. Quality education at the grade school level is for the most part a luxury for the families who are able to afford expensive private grade school tuitions. The students who cannot afford to pay for private schools and depend on the public grade schools in preparing them for state exams, have a much smaller chance of making it into government universities (Hunter&Sugiyama,37). Although new laws stipulate that at least
60% of all constitutionally mandated funding towards education goes to primary education, with 60% of that amount going to teachers a very small amount goes to the students and the amount left is not even close to the sufficient amount to develop the educational system at its base (Brown, 137).

**Public Opinion Towards Brazilian International Capabilities**

The government of Brazil is aware that in order to become a leader of developing countries with the ultimate goal of re-balancing the world system and provide greater inclusion for the developing world it needs support. Brazil is on the forefront of becoming a regional leader of peripheral states and doing what is necessary to become more relevant in the global economy and in the international political system. Since forming relationships with developing countries and their markets is one of the foreign policy pillars of the PT government, it would make sense for this information to be relayed to their citizens by the media. Especially in a democratic middle class economy where the mainstream media reaches a very wide range of social classes and regions of the country. Nevertheless, I found this not to be true but almost the opposite. In Brazil most citizens see their own country's as one of the least well off countries economically and politically in the world today. The Datafolha polling institute recorded the approval ratings for President Dilma in August of 2015 hit record lows with only 8 percent saying the government was "good or excellent" (DataFolhaResearch, 2015).

In order to gauge the opinions of Brazilians from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo on whether the government was ready to fulfill the aspiration of being a leader of the developing world I interviewed with simple but very revealing questions. First I asked, "Do you think Brazil
could be a leader for the developing countries in the world?". The overwhelming majority believed that Brazil could not be a leader for the developing world. 71 percent of the interviewed individuals answered that "No" they didn't think Brazil could be a leader for the developing countries (Appendix, Table 2.0). In all, 72 percent of these respondents were middle class citizens that all were exposed to the daily messages and news that the mainstream media put out about the country.

The average Brazilian watches 4 hours and 31 minutes of TV on weekdays, while 91 million citizens tune in to Globo each day, just under half of the population (TheEconomist,2014). That kind of audience only occurs once a year in the US, during the Super Bowl championship game (TheEconomist,2014). Globo viewers main source for evening news in Brazil, "Journal Nacional", communicates a wide range of political views and often times provides the basis of the populations views on political events domestically and internationally. Only 36 percent of the labor force in Brazil has a high school education (BrazilWorldBank, 2015). A high school education generally does not warrant an individual the ability to successfully analyze or understand the significance or implications of current events. Viewers with little or no education end up mostly comprehending a small portion of the political news stories, thus leading to a large portion of the population to notice the critiques and political spin put in by the oppositionist forces within the media about the government and its policies.

Amounting political pressures coming from the media and the people has not hindered the considerable growth in the economy, social achievements in minimizing poverty and inequality. The constant move towards increasing the Brazilian sphere of regional influence in
South America, has inspired Brazil to acquire a greater degree of political relevance in the international political scene. The call for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council has mirrored the government’s determination to promote an international system that would be more inclusive of developing countries. With this understanding a national consensus would be appropriate on how this aspiration by the government is a positive development for the nation’s relevance in global politics. I began to observe that the Brazilian public had a low self-esteem about their country in global politics since so much commotion has been emphasized on the media about corruption in the government.

"Is Brazil prepared to be part of the UN Security Council" is another question that can gauge the public opinion towards the Brazilian Foreign Ministry. 87 percent of respondents had the perception that Brazil was not prepared to be part of the UN Security Council (Appendix, Table 2.1). The common response that was given on why the government is not ready to be part of an international governing body is that, the Brazilian government cannot effectively govern their own country. Respondents say that Brazil would not be able to contribute to the governing of a higher political duty.

These respondents reflect how the Brazilian people believe that their government is the main cause of all problems occurring in society, they feel helpless and feel like they are taken advantage of by every politician in power. This is certainly the message that is passed on to the people by the mainstream media. The media seems to connect many of the problems in the economy and the political system on the corruption and misdoings on the PT government. The overall public reflects badly on the actions of the government both domestically and
internationally, while pessimistically observing ongoing developments and expecting negative outcomes in future political and economic developments.

**Economy Factors Within the Brazilian Economy**

Here I will go into some detail about the different topics that influence economic development in Brazil. Natural resources are one of the main factors that influence the makeup of the Brazilian economy and how the economy is impacted with global warming and the international commodity market. Conditions within Brazilian society such as the need for a reform in education greatly influence economic development in the short term and long term. More information on the education system and the healthcare system is provided later on in this chapter on how the public’s perception of low quality of public education healthcare contributed to mass street protests in 2013 and 2014. In this past of chapter, the information about the condition of the education system in Brazil will illustrate how important education is for the protection of the public against the political interests of the media and how education contributes to the development of the economy.

Another factor that has benefited Brazil was the creation of BRICS. Brazilian inclusion in the BRICS concept provides Brazil with a great potential in international economic and political development. Close commercial and political relationships fostered through the BRICS countries can provide an opportunity for Brazil to ramp up its exports of natural resources into emerging economies and increase international investments, providing momentum for the country to become a permanent world power. However, the volatile characteristic of domestic and international occurrences has caused Brazilian economic growth and development to waver.
Later on in the chapter there will be a glimpse on how two main political crises that occurred during the PT administration were exacerbated by the media, with severe economic ramifications. Alongside these two political crisis, other factors will be drawn into the argument on how they negatively affected the economic performance of the Brazilian economy after the observed period of growth from 2003-2010.

**Natural Resources**

Brazil holds millions of square miles of rich lands that have yet to be explored. In total Brazil consists of approximately 3.3 million square miles, of very diverse cultures and spread out regions (CountryFactsCIA, 2014). The different regions in Brazil each have their own unique characteristics, observed both in the population and in the ecosystem of every state. The rich biodiversity and cultural diversity entails that the nation possesses qualities which could potentially yield abundant prosperity with a great variation of possibilities. Brazil's precious Amazonian Rainforest covers 60 percent of the nation’s territory and is home to 21 million people, making it larger than all of Europe. It is the world’s largest tropical rainforest with millions of square miles of untouched biodiversity. It is the world’s carbon disposal of sorts, because with each hectare (2.471 acres) holds an estimated 300-500 tons of carbon (Thomas, 73). The entire Brazilian nation and the entire world needs the Amazon to preserve the worlds atmosphere and balance of season temperatures. Many of these valuable natural assets are not only priceless, but they are the Brazilian people's patrimony (Thomas, 73).

Effective management of these endangered natural resources is a key factor in continuing poverty reduction as well as a tool for economic growth and stability (Thomas,70). Natural
resources make up a large part of South Americas GDP around 70 percent (Thomas, 70). The rural poor and the agrarian society also rely on the land to live and pay their bills, natural resources are a large part of their assets (Thomas, 70). Hundreds of millions from around the world have been invested in the Amazon to slow down its destruction (Thomas, 80). Deforestation has been threatening the future existence of the Amazon. Disappearing at dangerous rates, and at this rate is poses serious dangerous to the human race. Recent efforts to curb "out of control" Co2 emissions worldwide have been failing while deforestation in the Amazon rainforest has increased well over what should be admitted. From the year 2000 up to 2012 the Amazon has lost 308,098 sq. kilometers, this area is roughly the same size of the state of Poland (WB Forest Area Data, 2015). The Amazon Rainforest is the single most important natural resource and the world absolutely needs to comprehend the importance in preserving to sustain the air we breathe. The destruction and mismanagement of Brazil's environment is a serious obstacle in Brazil’s development as well as a problem for the world (Thomas, 80).

There is the inextricable link between the environment and Brazil's economic growth. But the neglect of the environment will cause costly long-term effects (Thomas, 71). Natural resources are abundant from North to South and discoveries in energy resources have provided Brazil with new avenues for profits and investments. The great existing wealth of Brazil's natural resources sets Brazil apart from other countries. The precious gem that the Amazon is to the country, and the world, attracts the attention of the entire world for various reasons, being of research and exploit. Hence preserving it is vital. Brazil’s great diversity in natural resources requires focus on preservation and careful management of these resources by incorporating property rights in rural areas (Thomas, 130). In order to preserve and be able to still have this
extremely important resource, multifaceted plans need to be implemented against illegal clearings for cattle ranches, logging, and agriculture in all the regions that suffer from deforestation in the Amazon.

Brazil is still a country with large gaps in equality, with varying degrees among the regions (Hunter&Sugiyama, 49). As the 7th top economy in the world, Brazil has the economic qualities and capacities of a top economy but it also has many of the challenges that a developing country has (CountryFactsCIA, 2014). With this recent rapid development, many unprecedented challenges in furthering development have affected these regions. The areas which are explored yield resources that enable Brazil to be the top exporter of the world for many agricultural goods like raw sugar, coffee, fruit juice, and meat as well as many minerals. As the world’s top exporter of farm products, Brazil is an active provider of the necessities in the region in MERCOSUR (South America) and in many parts of the World, hence why improving these rural sectors are vital for growth in that particular area (Christensen,274). Exports of manufactured goods also serve as one of Brazil’s economic strongpoints (Christensen, 274). In the past decade there has been several new discoveries of oil fields taking Brazil's oil company Petrobras to new heights.

Brazil also has the world’s most sophisticated technology of removing oil deep within the seabed in areas previously unreachable (Armijo, 23). The Brazilian oil company Petrobras, one of the largest in the world, is a multi-billion dollar company that has recently increased its market value, in size and has spread its reaches across the globe (Armijo, 23). This has provided Brazil with the growing opportunity of becoming one of the world’s top oil producers. Although,
temporarily halting this growth and expansion of its oil market, recent corruption scandals and money laundering schemes, which is outlined later in this chapter, marred the state-run oil supergiant Petrobras. It is yet to be seen if the corruption crisis within the company, leading to further political instability, will be a determining factor in the future of Brazilian oil.

Nevertheless, foreign investments have boomed as the world economies have been searching diversification in business, trade, investing and market expansions. Although with a boom there’s a bust, the economic high Brazil has seen will without a doubt test the economy after the world financial crisis. The domestic markets in Brazil have been growing as the middle class increases in size (Armijo, 23). For several years families were able to spend more than they ever imagined, after becoming more stable with the help of social programs. This huge growth in the middle class strengthened the economy and attracted investments from all over the world (Armijo, 23). As a growing number of people have entered a financially stable time in their lives, they now have the capacity to buy more and take part in the economy.

**BRICS**

Accompanying this change in the Brazilian economy is a development that in the near future can possibly boost the economic and political capabilities of Brazil as well as South America. The recent emergence of the BRICS concept is in part a result of an occurrence that has become common in the modern political and economic world system. As the BRICS countries gradually materialize the concept of a development bank one may wonder why. The IMF since 1944 has been serving developmental needs across the world, so why would there be a reason for another bank with the same function (Fourcade, 256)? Throughout history as the IMF gradually
increased the number of countries it has lent to, its function also change (Fourcade, 257). A rapid increase in the demand of the IMF's lending resulted in a gradual increase in the demand of the IMF and a rise in the conditionality for lending to occur (Fourcade, 260). With time the IMF became known for its austerity towards countries with macroeconomic demands and for the pressure placed on domestic governments in pushing for market-oriented structural reforms (Fourcade, 256).

Lending from the IMF began to seem as a tool to expand western markets and western economics into developing countries. IMF's influence in the world was not only extensive by spreading most countries of the world but had in-depth effects which penetrated many governments political and economic institutions with malice and corruption (Fourcade, 258). With a large part of the IMF's clientele countries becoming fatigued from the inflexible lending of the institution, most countries began to veer away from borrowing from the IMF. Slowly but surely developing countries began using alternative methods to rid themselves from political and economic dependency on the IMF. By the mid-2000's many countries that were previously borrowers dealt with their debts by both paying forward a portion of their debt and turning to their own reserves and the use of bilateral credit (Fourcade, 262). Some of the macroeconomic policies that were pushed by the IMF which is part of the Washington Consensus were slowly incorporated and naturalized into common sense for policies to set conditions for there to be domestic autonomy (Fourcade, 262). Fiscal discipline and economic stability have reined as a shared commitment among main emerging economies (Fourcade, 264).
BRICS for The Developing South

Counties inside BRICS have each taken on different strategies for growth and development while gradually materializing the structure to provide more tailored development for countries that have grown weary of the western institutions ability to genuinely develop countries. The development of financial institutions addresses the concerns of the developing countries, mainly the ones who have for years been subject to the forced measures of the western financial institutions like the IMF. Various countries have turned to the BRICS for developmental aid that greatly deviate from the usual ‘Washington Consensus’ strategies. Brazil and the rest of the BRICS countries have all incorporated reforms and new methods for global insertion, while refraining from import-led growth and turning to export-led growth. In consolidating the Brazilian position of economic growth and insertion in the global economy, the country made new avenues available through the loss of dependence on the IMF, building on the BRICS concept and improving the situation domestically.

Expansion of welfare programs, larger spending on infrastructure and education, with new wage and employment policies improved the domestic situation, but it has also set the population to pressure the government in continuing its reforms (Christensen, 280). The BRIC's countries have provided the middle-class countries and the developing countries more flexible approaches to development in their own countries, these new alternatives have provided the developing world with greater domestic autonomy and greater opportunities for collaborating towards mutual interests.
This differentiated role in Brazilian foreign policy and in foreign relations with the PT administration in power, new political and economic roles were taken up by the Brazilian government. Established in 2007 as an informal economic group, Russia invited several of the top emerging economies to discuss developing global affairs (Christensen, 280). Initially uniting to discuss contemporary global affairs, the four countries Brazil, Russia and China formed a new global strategy to curb reoccurring global economic and political issues (Christensen, 275). By 2009 the BRIC countries decided to take its meetings to a higher more purposeful level, the presidential level, with annual summits (Christensen, 280). Brazil, being the first country to be invited by Russia in joining and creating BRIC, instantly caused ripples in the economic and political community of the world. New avenues and perspectives for growth and development were being paved and envisioned not only for Brazil but for all periphery and or developing countries. In 2010 another member (South Africa) was added to the group renaming it BRICS (Christensen, 280). The BRICS groups emphasizes the need to have a just and healthy balance of influence and representation of the different countries in wester institutions like the IMF. The BRICS countries argue that the West in particular is overrepresented in the IMF while the rest of the world, developing countries and BRICS, are underrepresented (Christensen, 284).

After the 2008 financial crisis stemming from the United States, the BRICS countries were in a position to provide a sizable share of much needed funding for the IMF (Christensen, 281). IMF integrates knew that with the growing weight of the funding from the BRICS countries going to the IMF, it would lead the BRICS to seek greater voting powers in the IMF (Christensen, 280). With their growing influence, BRICS intend on pressing for reforms in the quota formula. In 2012 there were $75 Billion of promised contributions for the IMF under the
conditions of further reforms directed at voting powers (Christensen, 280). As of 2012, influential talks about the possibility of the BRICS creating a developmental bank that would lend to countries with necessities in infrastructural projects and projects aimed at sustainable development were alarming for the traditional Western countries since such a BRICS bank would diminish the IMFs influence (Christensen, 281). Although this bank would work parallel to the IMF and theoretically not take away from the IMFs' function, it would possibly work in better light for many of the developing countries to borrow from the BRICS bank and not from the majority Western backed IMF. If the BRICS bank is successfully implemented, there would be an increase in the already growing power and influence of the BRICS.

**Field Research on Public Perception of Economy**

Taking into consideration the overwhelming evidence of news stories about the economy in Brazil and about the incumbent government PT as being negative in content, in result the public perception of the government has not be positive. After partaking in many conversations with a diversified group of Brazilian citizens, I was able to realize that many Brazilians feel negatively and pessimistic towards the economic situation in Brazil. Also the political and economic spheres of Brazilian public opinion appear to be conditioned to focus on the negative and pessimistic side of news and events that occur.

When it came to interviewing Brazilians about how they felt about the size of the economy most did not feel that Brazil had a "large" economy. The question that was asked was "Do you think Brazil has a large economy", 63 percent of respondents said that "No" Brazil does not have a large economy, compared to 37 percent believed Brazil has a large economy
(Appendix, Table 3.0). A common remark that was made when this question was asked was that, "how can Brazil have a large economy if Billions of (R$) Reais are stolen by politicians in PT." Another common belief of individuals was that the "corruption that occurred within Petrobras was carried out only by politicians since it was a state-run company." Although the present economic situation in Brazil and for most of the world is not one of growth Brazil can still be considered an emerging power, and to argue these claims that Brazil is not a large economy we can look at how Brazil makes the top ten largest economies, and currently 7th in the world (CountryFactsCIA, 2014).

When asked to compare the Brazilian economy with other neighboring South American economies the divide in answers was much closer. Individuals were asked, "In general, is the Brazilian economy superior to the other economies in South America"? Forty-seven percent said that "yes", the Brazilian economy is generally superior to the other South American Economies, with fifty-three saying "no" the Brazilian economy is not superior.(Appendix, Table 3.1) Even though the result of this question was much closer, the majority still believed that Brazil had an inferior economy to that of the rest of South America. As the evidence points out, the landmass, GDP and population size of all contribute to a superior Brazilian economy. Brazil is three times the size of the second largest country in South American being Argentina, while it leads in size of GDP by four times that of Argentina (WB Economic Policy Data, 2015).

The future of the economy doesn't look too bright when it comes to the opinions of Brazilians. Fifty-three percent of interviewed individuals did not think that Brazil could become a world economic power in the next ten to twenty years, when recent developments demonstrate
how Brazil has been integrating itself increasingly into the world market, hosting international sporting events, and participating in the development of development banks like the BRICS. A considerable group of economists predict that Brazil has the potential to become a great power in the world as well as if they play their cards right, become a rival in the American region. Forty-seven percent either agreed that Brazil could become a more prominent world economic power in the next ten to twenty years, or already is holding that status. (Appendix, Table 3.2) The media has also taken advantage of the recent uptick in the unemployment rate to exacerbate the unemployment rate and make it seem as if current rates are historic. Eighty-two percent of the respondents agreed that the unemployment rate within Brazil is highest within the last decade. (Appendix, Table 3.3.) Records show that the unemployment rates in 2013 have been the lowest in the last decade (WB Economic Policy Data, 2015).

Economic conditions in the past few years albeit have not been the best. Political infighting, a billion-dollar corruption scandal, falling oil prices, inflation, and the era post world financial crisis all affect the Brazilian economy. These problems stem from international factors like falling oil prices and world financial crisis and domestic factors that not always are in complete control of the government like corruption scandals, Political infighting and the internal effects a slowing economy. These are all problems that have their own approaches and difficulties, but none of them are what the media makes them seem to be. The mainstream media in Brazil bends and spins many facets of the news to manipulate the masses, in a country that already has low quality of education, in order to control the system for their advantage. The media is not the main cause of confusion or polarization, but it sure does help with its daily contribution to confusion and polarization.
Development of Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics

The new Brazilian government that was elected to office in 2003, contributed to too many changes across the country which have led to much needed development. This government was able to take on the generally desired task of greatly minimizing the overall national poverty level, eradicating extreme poverty, closing the gap of inequality while also embodying a decisive approach in the country's foreign policy (Lessa&Couto&Farias,95). This new approach consisted of three main segments. First, being the formation of alliances with large developing countries, mostly the emerging markets of the world being, China, India, Russia and South Africa (Lessa&Couto&Farias, 95). Second, would be to avoid the subordination to the agendas of the more developed and dominant countries of the world. While the third and last segment of this approach would be to pursue active domestic developmental policies to provide adequate attention to domestic inequalities in Brazil (Souza, 22).

This foreign policy approach is traditional to the PT Worker's Party and was similarly implemented before the takeover of the military regime in 1964 when President Goulart implemented policies aiming at social development and in avoiding the subordination to the agendas of dominant countries. The present approach in Brazilian foreign policy is not only the orientation current with the Worker's Party but also contemporary to the approach of Itamaraty, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Souza23). Vigevani and Cepaluni have referred to this policy 'autonomy through diversification (Vigevani&Cepaluni, 1313). At a broad view the recent emerging era of Brazilian foreign policy standout from all of previous history. The recent changes in the foreign policy agenda, mirrors the need in re-organizing itself for the arrival at the world stage.
Since the first segment of this foreign policy approach details how Brazil plans on forming alliances with mostly emerging markets, to be able to contribute to the effort of making the emerging markets of the world to reshuffle the power balance and creating a multi-polar world system (Christensen, 273). The Brazilian government aims to build its power resources by economic strengthening of the country. Within the policy of diversification the government relied on the support of the powerful industrial business organizations of Brazil together with the Cofederação Nacional da Indústria (CNI) and Fiesp (Christensen, 276). Joined together, the government, industrial businesses, CNI and Fiesp all agreed that Brazil demanded a vast increase in exports for economic stabilization to create new conditions for economic growth (Christensen, 276). This led to the drastic increase in how much Brazil exported, within 10 years the economy became an export economy (TradingEconomics, 2015.) Becoming the world's lead exporters of raw sugar, coffee, sulfate chemical wood pulp, poultry meat, frozen bovine meat, fruit juice, raw tobacco, metal tubing and other metals (BrazilOEC, 2015). Leading emerging markets as well as developed markets imported from Brazil. The top five importing countries are China the main importer of Brazilian exports with 17 percent of total exports and the U.S 11 percent is second on the list of importers followed by Argentina 7.2 percent, Netherlands 5.4 percent and with Germany 3.9 percent (BrazilOEC, 2015).

Second, the Brazilian government wanted to avoid being subjected to subordination by the agendas of more developed countries. To do this Brazil needed to gain greater degree of influence in the international political system (Bernal-Meza, 201). Increasing south-south coordination leads to the strategy of avoiding subordination to the agendas of the traditionally dominant countries (Christensen, 273). Not only did the government need to diversify around the
globe in far off states but South America was full of potential. Strong relations with neighbors goes a long way in safeguarding a future of regional growth and cooperation. (Christensen, 274) South America worked towards turning the continent into Brazil's sphere of interest, by making it the basis for an ambitious introduction into the world market as well as the region and worlds political stage. Itamaraty foreign ministers and the PT government continue to argue for the promotion of an international system that would be more inclusive of developing countries, through fairer and more balanced political and economic system (Amorim&FinancialTimes,2010).As Brazil continues to aim for inclusion in all relevant multilateral arenas of the global economy and of political governance, the call for inclusion in the UN Security Council along with other emerging states creates pressure for the developed countries. These countries know that these requests by developing states will only increase as they become more inclusive in the global political and economic system (Bernal-Meza, 205).

Finally, for all of these other segments of the new approach of Foreign policy to be made possible, there needed to be a plan put in place to take on the domestic challenges of hunger, poverty and inequality. Polices of social development have lasting effects in all sectors of the country's development especially economic. Although greater social inclusion into the democratic process creates more people for political parties to win over in votes, the political parties that truly want to develop their nation and not simply hold power would gladly welcome millions into the voting process. The BFP was very influential in the economic growth of Brazil seen in the years of Lula. Lula made it internationalized when he announced his governments domestic social development agenda and his social foreign policy agenda was geared towards fighting poverty and ending hunger in a speech given at the UN in 2003 (Cervo, 20). Here we are
able to observe foreign policy at crossroads, where the many Western foreign police agendas do not emphasize with so much light that their agendas are for fighting poverty and ending hunger. The U.S and developed countries may be a rock in the shoe so to speak, of Brazil in realizing its foreign policy goals but this shed light on how developing countries could very well rally behind the same polices that Brazil is emphasizing.

**Non-Alignment**

Brazil is a Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) member and some of the objectives of this movement can be seen in the foreign policy of its current government. The NAM was formed during the cold war as an organization of states that did not wish to align themselves with the US nor the Soviet Union. Its objectives today can still be seen as relevant even after the end of the Cold war. NAM has put into place notions to provide an independent path in world politics so that states who are members in the movement not to become "pieces on a chessboard", so to speak, of the more developed powers in the world (NAM&NTI, 2015) The objectives are, states right to independent judgment, the struggle against imperialism as well as neocolonialism and the use of moderation with all big powers (NAM&NTI, 2015). Today one additional goal has been raised, the goal of facilitating the restructuring of the international economic order (NAM&NTI, 2015). This last goal is most applicable to the foreign policy of Brazil together with Brazil's international economic and political aspirations.

Ambassadors, diplomats, state officials, private companies and other organizations have contributed to Brazil’s emergence on the world stage. But Brazil certainly has taken a different foreign policy approach since Lula's government took power. Its avoidance in forming formal
commitments or pacts when managing state to state relations, especially with international powers has increasingly been the case with Brazil. Favoring collaborations with developing countries have been of preference for Brazil. This is especially important when emphasizing a foreign policy of non-alignment (Sadri, 119). Establishing strong relations with developing countries provides greater alternatives for the future and possibilities for cooperation. Previous governments in Brazil relied heavily on forming and maintaining relations with and receiving assistance from traditionally dominant governments. To achieve this, projecting influence in the Caribbean and partake in south-south relations through markets and development (Christensen, 273). Involvement in various types of institutions like the BRICS, will become more commonplace with Brazil as the country develops.

**Responsible Governance**

In all of Brazil's past political history, public officials never truly were made accountable for their acts. Whenever they were found guilty, many of them would return to power at some time. Recently an example of this has been the made. Impeached in 1992, ex-President Fernando Color was able to win a senate seat in 2006 after being barred from politics for eight years, and now in 2014 he was re-elected (Magalhaes,2015). Corruption is a well-known stab in the side of Brazil’s government, and ran rampant in the military regime years as well as in the first democratic administration (Hunter&Sugiyama, 31). The Brazilian political system was accustomed to the government style that was adopted from 1964-1985. Legal procedures regarding corruption were almost inexistent and corrupt officials many times returned to their post. For a country to move forward in development, impunity towards corruption cannot exist
like it did in the past. As the present administration has been tackling the gross government inefficiencies, a brighter future is expected by many (Hunter&Sugiyama, 29).

Substandard telecommunications systems, poor educational infrastructure, insufficient public transportation infrastructure, poor access to healthcare and also high rates of government corruption are all roadblocks to national development (Hunter&Sugiyama, 49). These are all realities in Brazil today, even though much attention has been brought on about these issues, government reaction to them is slow and the huge bureaucracy that the Brazilian political system is makes a reaction even slower. Many of the challenges that Brazil faces, have stemmed from inadequate public administration and because of political turbulence. While these are not unsurpassable challenges, there needs to be utter commitment in curbing the connection of political goals with personal interests not to get in the way of genuine national progress. Governments should not be the ones to decide what national interests and priorities are, but the surrounding reality and needs should decide. Governments and citizens alike cannot lose sight of the true issues and points of concern that surrounds them. A reaction towards achieving these priorities cannot be delayed.

On a positive note, in the last 10 years a variety of entities and individuals have noticed the South America country has been demonstrating a pattern of growth coupled with a desire to expand its poles of influence. Private, corporate and state investors along with politicians, scholars, IO's, INGO's and tourists have all contributed to an expansion in relations for Brazil. In many aspects Brazil has not yet "filled in its shoes" in comparison to its full potential. Urban and rural communities have shown nevertheless to respond well to government investments in social
welfare plans. The upturn in democratic support since Lula's government in 2003 indicates that the urban and rural poor communities have become more inclusive in the democratic process leading to greater social development (Power, 242). But most of the social programs and economic initiatives implemented thus far are inadequate in relation to the present challenges. There is still much work to be done in many basic but fundamental areas of development (Power, 243).

In the last two decades and more specifically in the last single decade, Brazil has experienced pivotal economic, social and political turning points in its history. The establishment of a stable democratic system, along with growing stability in its domestic and international economy, presents Brazil with unimaginable opportunities for its future. Albeit, several considerable challenges lay ahead, but an efficient plan to manage these realistic and surpassable challenges can potentially yield exceptional opportunities for the nation. To begin the ascension towards progress, development of the domestic sector is inherently linked to the countries advancement on the international stage, both politically and economically. There needs to be organized efforts from the population to put adequate pressure on the government for the formation of appropriate budgets to be made in order to reflect the needs in education, health and social assistance. A considerable degree of change has occurred, much has been accomplished, but an illusion cannot exist that enough has been done.

Most citizens can affirm that this illusion has not been perceived. Especially with the mainstream media continuously publishing negative news stories. Challenges that face development never disappear but they transform. Appropriate management of natural resources,
reforms in municipal, state and federal levels of government, reforms in laws influencing political and economic institutions can yield unprecedented and unexpected growth and development.

Much needed government spending towards critical areas for development, such as infrastructure, opens a great set of opportunities for foreign investors to explore the thousands of Brazilian municipalities that are in need of infrastructure. Most Brazilians realize the need of infrastructural reform in Brazilian hospitals, roads and the mechanisms for public transportation. These are nothing but a few on the list of needed implementations in the thousands of municipalities. As I traveled to the region in Brazil that repeatedly is affected by flooding and landslides, it became apparent how some regions in Brazil suffer from the inadequacy of infrastructure and emergency relief. Speaking to residents of Teresopolis, a mountain town in the State of Rio, de Janeiro I learned of some events. Every year as the spring and summer season arrives for the rain to pour, catastrophic events unfold in large parts of the country because of the poor engineering of cities infrastructure or the absence of careful engineering or design.

These small store owners and residents of Teresopolies explained to me how bridges collapse, entire villages and groups of homes become washed away and nothing is done. The same promises are made by the local governments to the families that suffer great losses. Officials promise increase in infrastructural investments in these areas, but year after year very similar events unfold due to broken promises by officials. As one store owner told me, in 2011 torrential rain claimed many hundreds of lives in the city of Teresopolis. While getting to know the citizens of the city I was able to speak to a victim of one of the families that were affected by
the landslides. A father of three children lost two of his three girls in the landslides everything he used to own, including his home and his car. Today he still lives with family since he has not received compensation that was promised to him by the governor of Rio de Janeiro. If the Brazilian government takes greater accountability for their words, Brazil would be a totally different country. Of Course this is a common complaint of citizens of from numerous governments from around the world, but action needs to be taken right now in order for Brazil to be able to achieve its wide range of objectives.

The opportunities are present, the challenges have been identified. The world’s sights are set on this South American emerging superpower, and Brazil has united with likeminded countries that have the optimistic views of emerging together as influential world players. The creation of BRICS and a South American representative is a major development for Brazil. It serves not only as another platform for Brazil to leverage its qualities and its economy into the world stage, but the BRICS nations each have incorporated their markets and governments into each other as an avenue for collaboration and cooperation on global affairs that are increasingly influential to economies and stability. What needs to be done is continue reforming and continue finding new ways to positively stand out regionally and internationally in politics and in economics.

**Political Development Through Political Scandals.**

As the popularity of the PT party under President Lula increased with the success of social programs in Brazil, the Right Winged political parties and political forces within the media were constantly on guard for an opportunity to diminish the PT’s popularity. This might
sound a bit simplistic, but as Brazilian history shows both sides of the political spectrum have continuously attempted to cancel each other’s influence in society or overpower each other through polices, government styles and through media content. During the military years this was undoubtedly the case. The Right was in power during the military regime of 1964 and in the best position to work together with the powerful Globo media outlet. An opportunity for the opposition parties to capitalize on the opportunity of damaging the PT party's image. Two major political crises occurred during the thirteen years of PT administration. The first being the Mensal bribery scheme surfacing in the Media in 2004, and the second being the Operação Lava Jato starting an investigation in 2014 by the Federal Police of Brazil(Jardim&Petry,2004)

The first crisis started with what was called the Mensalão, translating to Monthly Payments, which started the period of political crisis within the Brazilian government(Jardim&Petry,2004). Mensalão shinned a very bright media spotlight over the PT party in relation to corruption and cast a doubt on whether President Lula would be able to overcome the crisis and be re-elected. The Newspaper Folha de São Paulo and Magazine Veja, which characterized one of the political oppositions to the PT released editions from 2004-2005 slowly breaking the scandal to the nation about several PT officials paying congressmen to vote for legislation that the party was in favor for(Jardim&Petry,2004). This should not come to any surprise for anyone who knows about politics in Brazil. Clientelism and pork politics has been one of the main practices in the Brazilian political system, but the PT party seemed to vouch for a different path without these practices (Kingstone,918). Even though the political Right, which Globo and most mainstream media outlets support, know of how politics are historically run in Brazil especially Congress, they made this instance of bribery occurring in congress more
scandalous than it actually was reality. Thus creating a political crisis where it led to the resignation of Lula's Chief of Staff Jose Dirceu, the President of the PT party Jose Genuíno and several other historical PT figures (Kingstone, 918).

*Political Scandal Number One: “Mensalão”*

Nevertheless the Mensalão crisis did not interfere with the rise of the economy during the first term of the PT administration. The PT's social welfare programs and economic policies with strong emphasis on exports in agriculture, mining, and the growing industrial sectors together with the social welfare politics kept the economy on track towards growth. As social development policies were implemented nationwide by President Lula in 2003, the Brazilian economy began to experience leaps in development that were unprecedented in the country's history. Dramatic decrease of poverty and inequality enabled Brazilians to contribute to the growth in the economy from 2003-2010, attaining almost 8 percent GDP growth after the world financial crisis (BrazilData, 2015). If you compare ten years of per capita income from 1990 to 2000, it increased from USD$ 2,601 to USD$ 3,140 by the year 2000 (BrazilData, 2015). Social development programs and the export led growth contributed to the per capita income rising from USD$ 4,643 to USD$ 9,719 ,doubling from 2006-2013 (BrazilData,2015). GDP also saw a sharp rise from USD$ 657 Billion in 2000 to 2.3 Trillion in 2014 (BrazilData, 2015).

What the Mensalão did was serve as a moment to seize an opportunity to identify specific problems of governance and corruption that plague governments in Brazil and South America and promote action (Thomas, 94). At a time when investors were paying close attention to the growth in Brazil as well as if political and economic stability was going to continue, the PT
administration had to take precise actions to demonstrate proficiency during the Mensalão crisis. Even through the lens’ of a right leaning mainstream media, it became evident that the government was taking action against the high officials that were accused in the Mensalão scandal. Conveying a notion to the public that nothing was being done or done in an insufficient manner about the corruption would potentially aggravate political problems and lead to economic decline since domestic and international investors would become reluctant to invest.

This ended up not being the case, the Mensalão scandal rounded up forty defendants and acquired much national and international attention since historically political corruption was a synonym for impunity. President Lula managed to insulate himself and other important PT leaders from the rest of the PT party. His re-election in 2006 demonstrated that even with the Mensalão scandal, the economy remained on track, the political system started a cleansing reform process and society was less impoverished and less unequal. Many can say that the Mensalão ended up creating a boost period in the confidence of the Brazilian economic and political system, but the same could not be said about the second scandal that broke out during the administration run by the political ally of Lula, today’s President Dilma.

**Political Scandal Number Two: Lava Jato**

Unlike the Mensalão, the Brazilian economy remained relatively unscathed, the condition of the economy post Operação Lava Jato was not as favorable. Brazil experienced several years of growth in GDP, an average of 4.5 percent in 2006-2010, with 8 percent in 2010. GDP average growth went to 2.1 percent during 2011-2014 while the year of 2014 saw only 0.1 percent growth (BrazilWorldBank, 2015). The stable growth seen in 2003-2010 turned into stagnation.
from 2011-2014 (Brazil World Bank, 2015). The year 2015 has already been a year of an official recession. Critics say that slow international growth after the financial crisis caused Brazil to slow down. Certainly because of the large emphasis of the Brazilian economy on trading with emerging economies the world financial crisis caused a decline, but there are many indicators showing this to be one of the many difficulties Brazil faces.

The compacted factors that are affecting the economy in Brazil create a notion of chaos for the population and breeds uncertainty for investors. The Brazilian Real (R$) has fallen over 50 percent since the GDP growth decline in 2011 and inflation has been rising above 9 percent in 2014, exceeding rates from 12 years ago (Brazil World Bank, 2015). The percentage of trade over GDP accounts for nearly 25 percent of total GDP, and the demand for commodities going to its top trading partners has experienced a strong decline (Brazil World Bank, 2015). With a large percentage of export being raw commodities it makes the Brazilian economy susceptible to the fluctuation of the international market. Especially with the slowdown of the economies of the top two export destinations of Brazilian exports, China and the United States. Every year of the last 24 years the South American country spent every year 80 percent of its GDP on consumption, in that 20 percent accounts for government expenditure (Brazil World Bank, 2015). This high percentage of GDP to consumption is something that the Brazilian government should want to veer away from in order to keep inflation and its currency rates under control.

To top off the unfavorable sequence of political and economic events from 2011 and on, Brazil made international headlines once more. The theme once again was corruption and this time involving Petrobras, the state-run oil company. Operação Lava Jato is the largest
investigation Brazil has ever had on any corruption and money laundering scheme
(LavaJatoFPM, 2015) It is estimated that billions of (RS) Reals have been redirected out of the
state Petrobras accounts(LavaJatoFPM, 2015). The investigation by the Department of Federal
Justice in the state of Curitiba, which started in 2014, initially was only investigating four
criminal organizations working parallel to international currency exchange in Brazil
(LavaJatoFPM, 2015). Later on, further into the investigation of the illegal money exchangers
known as "Doleiros", Federal Prosecutors came across evidence of a much larger and serious
corruption scheme involving Petrobras. Evidence of corruption and money laundering dates back
to ten years (LavaJatoFPM, 2015).

**How Lava Jato Worked**

Several types of individuals were part of the scheme. Contractors, Petrobras executives,
financial operators (offshore accounts or foreign individuals) as well as political agents were
involved in the corruption scheme (LavaJatoFPM, 2015). Some of the political agents were
Brazilian congressmen, most of them are from large political parties such as PP, PMDP and
PT(LavaJatoFPM, 2015). Petrobras spends about 20 Billion a year in projects to expand its
capabilities and normally companies would fight for these construction contracts (SegalNYT,
2015). In normal and legal circumstances, contractors would compete among themselves for the
best bid on construction contracts. The state-owned company would grant the contract to the
bidder that would subsequently agree to conduct the construction at the lowest cost.

Investigations revealed that a small number of Petrobras executives would authorize bidding of
large scale projects only to companies that formed a coalition or a cartel. These companies would
consent to the inflated prices in exchange for contracts. (LavaJatoFPM, 2015)
Construction companies would settle on an inflated price for the construction contracts with Petrobras executives during secretive meetings. The different companies within the cartel would sign contracts with Petrobras with inflated prices on the different construction projects (LavaJatoFPM, 2015). Petrobras executives would purposely favored cartel companies and restricted other companies from equal competition (LavaJatoFPM, 2015). Contracts were always signed with inflated prices ranging from one to five percent of the total project amount (LavaJatoFPM, 2015). Petrobras would then disburse the inflated project amount to the construction companies and later the companies would allow their financial operators to overlook the bribes going back to Petrobras and the political agents that would facilitate cartel formation. Roughly 50 were politicians or individuals involved in the six political parties that were charged with passive corruption and money laundering (LavaJatoFPM, 2015). Most were charged as for either receiving bribe money or for appointing and allowing supposedly aware board members to hold their positions in Petrobras (LavaJatoFPM, 2015).

**Aftermath of Lava Jato**

A multibillion dollar corruption scandal cannot help an economy, especially when it is stemming from a company that accounts for about 10 percent of Brazil’s GPD (SegalNYT, 2015). Economic ramifications stemming from Petrobras resulted in one whole percentage point off of the GDP growth of Brazil. World-wide fall in oil prices have caused all major oil company to feel the decline, but Petrobras has felt it more than any other with over half of its value lost in the last year, resulting in over 70 Billion in market cap (SegalNYT, 2015). Many individuals, executives, construction companies, politicians and political parties were involved in the Lava
jato scheme, while each having different functions and different degrees of involvement, some received more attention that others on the media.

With mounting pressure from the media and from the millions of Brazilians taking to the streets in result of a declining economy, rising unemployment, rising inflation, and record low approval ratings, President Dilma acknowledges this crisis to be more of a political fight that has exacerbated an economic crisis rather than purely an economic problem. Thousands became unemployed in the oil-industry due to hundreds of companies involved in Lava Jato (SegalNYT, 2015). The Operation not only caused Billions of Dollars being misappropriated along the years but it led to serious confidence issues for investors both international and domestic. Standard and Poor's has cut Brazil's long term national debt rating to Junk, increasing its economic woes (SegalNYT, 2015). Political fights among parties within congress and in the media among political agents have led to an immense political crisis dragging along most of the Brazilian population. The ongoing protests have not stopped since the year before the World Cup of 2014 and the public opinion towards the government, the economy has been hitting record lows.

**Globo's Influence on the Public Opinion of Lava Jato**

From the weekly studies and data collection done by the independent organization in Brazil that monitors media content, Manchetômetro, it becomes evident that the *Globo* channel has been exacerbating the responsibility of the PT political party in the Lava Jato Petrobras scandal (Manchetetometro Lava-Jato, 2015). During a 12 week period between July 11th and September 26th Manchetômetro gauged *Globo's Journal Nacional* television news stories dedicated to Operation Lava Jato and tallied up their numbers. In relation to the four political
parties that have the largest representation in the Senate, the number of negative stories were recorded. At the end of the 12 weeks the PSB party received only one negative news story, PSDB received two negative stories while PMDB received twenty-two (Manchetometro Lava-Jato, 2015). The incumbent PT party received the highest amount of negative publicity, overwhelmingly with a total of thirty-five negative news stories (Manchetometro Lava-Jato, 2015).

In the streets, President Dilma is perceived to be the main culprit in all the negative economic conditions of the country and of the political crisis that is occurring in Brazil. Globo not only airs a large proportion of its news stories portraying the events in the Lava Jato scandal in relation with the President and the PT party, but they also tend to express many contrary views towards the economy and the outlook of its future. Again looking at the observations by the media content monitor Manchetômetro, the content of Globo's Journal Nacional was gauged in relation to the economy. During the twelve weeks between July 11th and September 26th, the Brazilian economy received five positive news stories and a total of 22 neutral news stories (Manchetometro, 2015). The total number of news stories with negative content after the twelve weeks that was two-hundred and fifty-two (Manchetometro Lava-Jato, 2015).

From the two Brazilian corruption scandals of the 21st century, Operation Lava Jato was the most damaging for the Brazilian economy and political stability. What made this severely damaging was the strong emphasis by the media put on the incumbent Governments responsibility or the corruption. An attempt in bringing down the government has been the issue within the last two years and the threat of coup reminds many politicians of the 1964 era.
Overall, the Brazilian political system, its financial institutions and its administration are relatively well developed and democratic for its young age (Thomas, 91). A noticeable difference from 20 years back (Thomas, 91). The federal system is decentralized compared to most countries (Thomas, 91). This decentralization is a benefactor for the strong roles that states and municipalities can have in creating an opportunity to fulfill Brazil’s endeavor of serving the aspirations of growth and development (Thomas, 91). The reverse is also true, with the powerful roles that states and municipalities possess much room for corruption and a lack of transparency exists. For development to take place political reform is increasingly necessary for future political and economic stability in Brazil.

Today the government of President Dilma Rouseff has been analyzing the best agendas for political reform and how to best apply the political process to better serve the public and stray away from serving the interests of those in power. Reforms improving transparency, the rule of law and increasing the recourses to legal and judicial process' (Thomas, 94). Being able to take full advantage of the strengths that each level government has in Brazil, State and municipalities, guarantees the country not only combats the inefficiency that corruption brings but also channels the government’s power to lead Brazil towards sustainable development. The measures taken by the government have not yet paid off, but President Dilma still has four more years although her power in congress has been diminished due to political battles and Operation Lava Jato.
CHAPTER 4: WORLD CUP PROTESTS AND SOCIAL MEDIA

In a country like Brazil where soccer has become such a huge part of the culture, many Brazilians consider it an honor to host the world’s most prestigious soccer event, the World Cup. Being the only country to have qualified for all the World Cup championships ever held and have won the most number of cups in history, reflects how serious soccer is for the Brazilian nation. Although many Brazilians recently feel that the importance and relevance of soccer in Brazilian culture is on a steady decline. Despite this recent decline Brazil is still home to millions of fanatic soccer fans, and depending on which domestic soccer team one is a fan of, a second nationality is manifested within Brazil. Even with this rich culture of soccer, surprisingly, the reality that I encountered in Brazil in 2013 a year before the World Cup and in 2014 during the championship reflected a much different situation among the fanatic fans and regular citizens. There were no huge crowds of fans rejoicing in the streets over the World Cup games, no closed off streets partying and commemorating such a rare event. Instead the citizens made world headlines with mass protests with millions of participants. Unfavorable domestic conditions that have been a reality for decades in Brazil led many citizens to feel that the World Cup was not a national priority and led to an overwhelming degree of public dissatisfaction. Substandard levels of health care, education and general infrastructure in most host cities of the World Cup games made citizens rethink the importance of an event like the World Cup and question the sizable economic spending that went into preparing for the 2014 soccer games.

As most Brazilians realized, billions of Brazilian Reias that went into the event were billions of Reais that were not going into health and education. Plus stadiums that individually
cost hundreds of millions of public funds angered the population when a few of them ended up being built in regions without professional soccer teams to play in after the World Cup. Constantly increasing construction budgets for the stadiums together with unfinished infrastructural projects like transportation for the population, made the event lose its popularity at a fast pace. Before the event, public suspicion of corruption within the organization committee was only confirmed after several instances of corruption in the construction of projects, as well as the divulgence of a massive corruption ring within the FIFA World Cup organization. Much doubt was cast on whether President Dilma would be able to be re-elected that same year after the World Cup.

The historic loss of the Brazilian team of 7-1 in the semi-final round to the German team that later became champions, was only one of the many impacts on the Brazilian society from the World Cup. Aside from the social frustration in relation to the effects of prepping for the World Cup, the Society of Brazil was able to benefit in many ways from the occurrences leading up to 2014. There was an overall increase in the awareness of the people about corruption that occurred inside of Brazil. The role of social media in uniting the people to get out into the streets and protest was a powerful. Millions of citizens joined numerous protests. These protests went through stages starting from the first protests in 2013 about increases in public transportation fares through more recent protests calling for the impeachment of the President after her re-election. With the control of Globo in the mainstream media, social media platforms have served the Brazilian people well by providing them greater diversity in how and from where large sectors of the population are able to acquire information of current events and domestic and international. With a very large youth (15-24) population, about one-fifth of the overall
population in Brazil social media has been demonstrating a large potential in transforming the factors of influence in national politics (CountryFactsCIA, 2013).

At first thought, the country of soccer would appear to be extremely welcoming of a World Cup, but as recent years have shown us, this is not the case. The preparation for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympic Games have undoubtedly stirred up political, economic and social weaknesses within Brazil taking it on the verge of transformation in each of those sectors. We have yet to see the total effects of these events, and probably will only begin to understand the influence that these events had in Brazil years after the World Cup and the Olympics. Nevertheless, to say the least, the Brazilian nation will experience many changes, transformations and probably political battles before it can be determined if effects have been positive or negative.

**Social Aspects and The World Cup**

In order to understand the rather considerable number of citizens not supporting the World Cup games along with the millions that came out in the streets to protest the government in 2013, one must realize the current lack of fundamental infrastructure in various regions of Brazil, including the seven cities which will be hosting the soccer games. Families all over the world would agree that being able to receive medical assistance when needed is an essential service for a family. Making a visit to any public emergency room in most Brazilian cities can lead to a rather lengthy wait. The media in Brazil portrays public hospitals to be under staffed, lacking equipment, medication and patients many times seem to be left in crowded hallways waiting for a doctor. Most of the public hospitals in Brazil receive complaints of being
understaffed and under equipped. As new outlets released information on instances of overspending in stadium construction, the public became enraged.

**Healthcare System**

As the World Health Organization (WHO) puts it, the Brazilian health system is flawed but fair (WHO, 2015). As the WHO put it, the Brazilian system is flawed in the sense that too often patients complain of a shortage of doctors, long wait times at emergency departments, overcrowded corridors becoming patient rooms, faulty and outdated equipment along with scarcity of medication (WHO, 2015). Nevertheless in contrary, the WHO mentioned that the Brazilian healthcare system is fair because it has established a decentralized health care system with reforms in 1996 in an effort to provide universal healthcare financed by the states and federal government with the *Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS)* translated as *Single Health System* or *National Healthcare System* (WHO, 2015). The attempt of the government to provide a national system to accommodate the medical needs of millions of citizens that cannot to afford the high costs of private healthcare, has in many ways failed. There needs to be a drastic reform.

Most Brazilians would not perceive the Brazilian healthcare to be fair, and this is made obvious when observing the current condition and overall availability of adequate medical service in Brazil. The statistics are disproportionately in favor of the wealthier portion of the population who can afford healthcare insurance. Beginning with the highest level of inequality in relation to private and public amenities, 95 percent of establishments that were dedicated to diagnostic support and therapy were private in the year of 2012 (SUS, 2015). This limits the ability of the public system to diagnosis and treat illnesses of urban poor and rural families.
making it much harder for them to get the support they need in their city or town. Overall, the private sector holds the highest share of medical facilities and equipment. The private sector holds 61% of hospitals, 70 percent of hospital beds and 87 percent of specialized hospitals in Brazil (SUS, 2015). Considering three-quarters of the population relies on the public health system for their medical necessities, 1.95 physicians for every 1,000 is a very low number (SUS, 2015). In entirety, the Brazilian healthcare system is disproportionately skewed towards the private sector.

There is not enough infrastructures to serve the millions of Brazilians that need the public health system for their primary care and specialist care (WHO, 2015). In this case the urban poor and especially the rural poor end up suffering the effects of long waits at crowded hospitals with extremely understaffed institutions. As the shortage in doctors providing services to rural and poor urban dwellers in Brazil continues, President Dilma has even resorted to actions like importing thousands of overseas doctors to fill unwanted positions by Brazilian doctors (Padgett, 2015). Although this policy has drawn the attention of many critics, these positions that were given to the foreign doctors have not taken jobs away from Brazilians, as they are filling positions that Brazilian physicians refused to fill (Brazilian Ministry of IR, 2015). Many of these overseas doctors have come from Cuba to help provide medical services to these rural and urban poor areas (Padgett, 2015). As a temporary emergency measure actions like will only help meet demands for a short period. Most of these problems stem from the poor infrastructure in hospitals and the shortage of staff.
Many Brazilian doctors are not willing to fill positions that serve the poor communities since these positions require longer hours of work with much higher numbers of patients being seen (Padgett, 2015). Slums of urban regions and remote cities are where the highest levels of disregarded populations live and the lowest level of physicians work (Padgett, 2015). Government spending towards the healthcare system in Brazil has been on the decline since 2010 (WBHealthData, 2015). The Brazilian government has invested 7 percent of its overall spending on health in 2013 compared to 21 percent in the US. With the overall of 10 percent of total GDP spending in Brazil going to health care, half of that goes to the private health care system (WBHealthData, 2015). Meaning that the vast majority of Brazilians that cannot afford healthcare insurance plans rely on health services through the SUS government program.

About three out of four households in Brazil are not able to afford for health care insurance and depend on this program to get their primary health (WHO, 2015). World Bank data shows that Brazil has on average 1.8 doctors for every 1,000 citizens (WBHealthData, 2015). The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) provides another research on the number of filled doctor positions discerning between the public and private health sectors. (SUS, 2015). This IBGE study shows that within the public sector for every 1,000 citizens who can afford healthcare insurance plans there are 7.60 filled physician positions, a total of 46,634,678 million citizens with healthcare coverage (SUS, 2015). When looking at the public health sector the number of filled physician positions drops down to 1.95 per 1,000 citizens, with 144,098,016 million citizens relying exclusively on the SUS National Healthcare System (SUS, 2015).
**Education System**

The street protests of June and July of 2013 were spread out in all major Brazilian cities and mainly called for improvements in public services. Improvements in healthcare and education were central, but other reasons took millions to the streets like rising public transportation costs, over budget spending on the World Cup stadiums as well as government corruption. In the same way that there are problems with infrastructure, staffing and adequate availability of services in the public healthcare system, the public education system suffers many of the same problems.

In the period before the Workers Party Government, when Brazil was just returning to a true democratic system, government spending on education was considerably low. From the year 1990-2000 the average spending on education was at 4.4 percent of government (UNESCO Education Spending, 2015). The year 2000 was a historic year for Brazil in education because it was the first year that Brazilians got a glimpse of how bad the situation of the education system was compared to the rest of the World. *Program for International Student Assessment* (PISA) of the OECD is a worldwide study that assess the capabilities of students in different countries in math, reading and science (PISA Results2000, 2015). The findings were alarming and Brazil scored extremely low on all assessments among thirty OECD countries and fourteen Non-OECD countries. In reading proficiency, Brazil scored within the lowest five countries, 39th out of all 44 OECD and Non-OECD countries (PISA Results2000, 2015). Among the fourteen Non-OECD countries, Brazil scored 10th out of 14 (PISA Results2000, 2015). In mathematical literacy among all 44 countries Brazil was second to last occupying the 43rd position out of the 44 countries that participated (PISA Results2000, 2015). Brazil was also second to last in the Non-
OECD category placing 13th out of 14, with science literacy Brazil also scored second to last in the OECD and Non-OECD categories (PISA Results2000, 2015).

These results revealed how the country would need a reform in education. It started becoming apparent that it was time for the country to adopt social reforms if the nation was to improve its economy and social institutions. Historically, education in Brazil was a privilege for the upper class and the elite, and this can be observed during the years of the military regime. In 1988 when the Brazilian constitution was passed and the democratic government returned power, education became one's own right, in the sense that every child and young adult had the right to an education (Bayma&Rubin, 648). Up to this point education had sufficient funding for the number of students that where enrolled in primary, secondary and high school, even though funding had already been decreasing since the early 1980's (UNESCO Education Spending, 2015).

The education system would have taken the greatest hit during the 1990's, a short time after universal access to education became law in Brazil. Government funding towards the education system did not increase as they should have in order to accommodate the higher number of students that were now in school. One year before the 1988 Brazilian Constitution which mandated universal education, there were 17.57 million students enrolled in primary school, ten years later the number of pupils enrolled in primary school went up to 35.84 million, an increase of 18.27 million (UNESCO Education Spending, 2015). In 1987, one year before the promulgation of the constitution, the government was dedicating about 18 percent of its expenditure on education (UNESCO Education Spending, 2015). Nevertheless, the funding
towards education went down to about 13 percent over the ten year period, even though the primary school enrolment more than doubled (UNESCO Education Spending, 2015).

During such a pivotal time where increases in funding for education were more than necessary, Brazil decreased funding for education for more than 10 consecutive years (BrazilEducationSpending, 2015). The educational system was unable to develop its workforce and the effect was the scarcity of teachers. In 1991 there were 8.53 primary education teachers per 1,000 people in Brazil, and by 2002 it had gone down to only 4.5 primary school teachers per 1,000 people (UNESCO Education Spending, 2015). With the low stimulus in education and decreasing amount of funding going to education during time the country was unable to create the infrastructure for new schools. The portion of the population that suffered the most during this time was the middle and lower portions since they depend more on public institutions. On average 12 percent of the population attended private schools in Brazil from 1999-2013. (UNESCO Education Spending, 2015).

The education system has seen its highest amount of spending coming from the government since the height of the military regime. In 2012, the government had 16 percent of total expenditure go towards education, and it accounted for 6.35 percent of total GDP, the highest in recorded history (WB Education, 2015). This is a considerable difference and improvement in the way the Brazilian government invests in the education system. A conjunction of poor results on the PISA assessments together with new aspirations for social improvements led the government to take a different route in education development. But there still needs to be a continuation in the reform of the education system, improving infrastructure
and the quality of the education itself. Investments in education will prepare the next generation for the important tasks of taking Brazil to new heights in economic, political and social spheres. The present low number of doctors, teachers which are the "glue" of society for any country can be linked to the poor quality and poor investments made in the Brazilian education system in the past two decades. Even though the millions of people that are out in the streets protesting have legitimate motives to protest, they must keep in mind the progress that has been attained in the last decade and a half on government investments in education. Protestors and political activist must also be attentive in how the contemporary mainstream media can create a conundrum from where the root of problems lies within the education system. Today the mainstream media in Brazil has been attempting to rewrite history by not mentioning any of the recent progress made in education compared to previous eras in Brazil. Nevertheless, it will take time and patience for the results of government investments to manifest, the Brazilian people need to be aware of this.

**Economic Impacts of The World Cup**

Mainstream media was very influential in shaping the public’s perception of how prepared Brazil was for the 2014 World Cup games. Numerous headlines and news reports about the over budget spending for the remodeling and construction of the soccer stadiums fueled the anger that the citizens demonstrated in 2013 and 2014 in street protests all over the country. Brazil had 12 soccer stadiums for the World Cup, seven new stadiums were built and five were already built and only went through renovations. As I interviewed Brazilian citizens in host cities before and after the World Cup, my observation was that most individuals were highly focused on the amounts that were spent on the stadiums. They viewed these amounts as negative and linked them directly with how much those funds could of improved education and healthcare.
There is no doubt that the Brazilian healthcare system and education system is still going through an improvement process, but the general public perception that the amount of money that went into the stadiums would drastically ameliorate these precarious areas is misguided.

To have an accurate idea of the comparison of values in spending that went into preparing for the World Cup, it is useful to compare the amount that the Brazilian government invests in health and education in relation to the World Cup spending. Four years of construction and renovations in stadiums, airports, transportation and other infrastructure for the World Cup, amounted to a total of $USD 11.8 billion (TCU, 2015). Just within 2013, the Brazilian Government spent $USD 32.8 Billion on health (WBHealthData, 2015). If you take how much the government spent on health in four months of 2013, it would be practically equivalent to the $USD 11.8 billion that was spent in preparing for the World Cup. Not to forget this includes all the construction and renovations of stadiums and airports, transportation and accessibility infrastructure, sea ports and much more (TCU, 2015). Ernst & Young accounting firm, estimated that $50.4 billion USD of additional economic activity would be present from 2010-2014 (SustainableBrazil, 2014). Although past events around the world like the World Cup demonstrated how event success depends on the host country. The common conception of many Brazilians was very much like one expressed by a passionate protestors I interviewed, "because of the expenses that went into building and renovating stadiums, the people are now left with no money in education and health".

As I interviewed many protestors that rioted against the president and the government during street protest, the majority of chants and messages that were called out during the 2013
and 2014 protests were about how little the government spent on education. This excessive concern with how much was spent on the stadiums was exacerbated by the media. Citizens didn't have enough information to understand the significance in the amount spent in constructing stadiums in comparison to investments in education. The amount of one month of government spending on education in 2013 was the equivalent to the whole amount spent on constructing and renovating the stadiums for the World Cup (WB Education, 2015).

The *Globo* media organization along with most of the mainstream media's focus on the amounts of money that went into the World Cup is beside the point. Pointing fingers at the government for spending and even overspending on an international sporting event that would unavoidably cost billions exacerbated the problems that were mostly exaggerated. It is mostly a political move to critique the incumbent government, months before an election. Providing points of discontent in relation to the World Cup on the *Globo* mainstream media can be seen as a huge factor in influencing many of the mass protest against the World Cup. Protests aimed at the incumbent government ended up being very convenient for the predominately right leaning media outlet *Globo* to have a large say in, where they were able to influence what the people protested about with the use of news reports on above the budget projects and politically motivated protestors infiltrated with "black-blocs" groups. Even though there is much to say on the mismanaged World Cup, the media often focused on things like, how budgets went over their limits, the corruption within the government, and how the health and education systems could have been improved with the money spent on the soccer event.
Overall the public was widely misinformed on the problems that occurred in the different preparation and event holding stages of the World Cup, and this led to a mass movement and protest in the streets that focused on negative messages and pessimistic perceptions of the government as a whole. These attitudes and the pressure caused by these indeed cause a great amount of attention in areas that need improvement within the government, but causes and mass movements need refining in order for them to promote effective results in legislation and public knowledge.

**Political Effects of 2014 World Cup**

The year 2014 was year of many different events unfolding for the great South American superpower. One of the strong points of this year was the great opportunity to demonstrate the ability that Brazil has to welcome over a million tourists from all over the world and make them appreciate the country that is known for the many festive traditions, dancing, music and variety of rich culinary. An election would take place only three months after the end of the World Cup, and this made the events that unfolded before the actual World Cup event as well as during it, a vital opportunity for the opposition in Brazilian politics to drive a wedge between the people and the president and an important chance for the incumbent President Dilma to use the international event as a demonstration of her governments success. While tourists celebrated on the beautiful Brazilian beaches and were becoming acquainted with the welcoming culture, a political battle was being fought everyday on the media.

When comparing the aggregate data on the numbers of headlines containing content that was either neutrally charged, in favor of the candidate or contrary to the candidate in relation to
the opposition candidate in the 2014 election, Aécio Neves of the PSDB party, and President Dilma, there is a clear different in how the media has portrayed each candidate. The data shown is from January 1st, 2014, up until the first day of official campaigning for the election which is July 5th, 2014. The aggregate data shows that both Aecio and Dilma received roughly the same amount of headlines containing content that was in favor of them. When observing headlines with content that was contrary to each of the candidates, Aécio Neves received seven contrary headlines and Dilma received 176 (ManchetometroElections, 2015). Neutral headlines for Aécio reached 92 and for Dilma 219 (ManchetometroElection, 2015). It is true that Dilma received much more attention on the media compared to Aécio, overall four times more attention. But the headlines that were directed at Dilma were heavily skewed towards content that was contrary to her. The percentage of Aécio’s headlines that were in his favor was 11.6 percent of all his headlines while headlines in Dilma’s favor were 3.3 percent of all her headlines (ManchetometroElections,2015). As far as news that was contrary to the candidate, Aécio had 6.25 percent of contrary news while Dilma had 43.44 percent (ManchetometroElections, 2015). Most of the headlines that were dedicated to both of the candidates were neutral, 82.14 percent for Aécio and 53.15 percent for Dilma (ManchetometroElections, 2015).

The media provided enough room for the viewer to make their own decisions on how to perceive each candidate by providing a large chunk of neutral headlines, and at the same time still providing enough headlines that were either pro or con to sway the public opinion according to their preferences. The news stories that were aired about Aécio were comprised of a variation of topics and in different contexts mainly about the domestic economy, the World Cup, and the Brazilian Congress. When looking at the context of Dilma’s news stories the topics were usually
on corruption, overspending in the World Cup, Lava Jato scandal and the PT party involvement in corruption.

Before the election, the perception that I had picked up talking to people on the busy streets was that many Brazilians felt that the World Cup was a very large part of the PT government’s political tool to get re-elected. This made citizens highly skeptical of every aspect of the event and led to a lot of speculation and doubt about the way preparation for the event took place and even if the event would be able to take place in a successful manner. Most Brazilians had very high hopes that Brazil would win the World Cup, and with this victory they felt that it would probably lead to the re-election of President Dilma. The countless conversations I had leading up to the event and during event led me to realize that most Brazilians believed that the World Cup was a negative event for the overall development of the country.

My set of conversations with Brazilians revealed that nine in every ten Brazilians felt that Brazil was not capable of hosting large international events like the World Cup and the Olympics (Appendix 4.0). Since a large majority of these individuals obtain their information about the countries preparedness for the World Cup from mainstream media they were inevitably exposed to the politically biased news reports and headlines. Data shows how a large percentage of the tourists who came to Brazil from foreign countries as well as the Brazilians who traveled around the country said that they were satisfied and considered the event a success (Embratur, 2015). When asked whether Brazil was able to benefit from infrastructural development from hosting the World Cup, three quarters said "no" they didn't think the World Cup benefited infrastructural development in Brazil (Appendix 4.1). Nevertheless, opinions show that part of the Brazilian
people agree with the notion that World Cup event uncovered corruption within the government and the economic community. Even though the revelation of corruption within the government is not a positive occurrence, a silver lining has been struck. Six out of ten individuals that responded demonstrate that they feel the World Cup has increased the citizens’ awareness of corruption as a problem (Appendix 4.2). These individuals all expressed that they felt the revelations benefited the country.

As far as the Brazilian soccer team bringing home the World Cup title, it is enough to say that victory never happened. Brazil's soccer team suffered a historic loss of 7-1 to the German team. The people initially felt they were defeated off the soccer field, not being able to celebrate a victory at home after investing four years of preparation for the big game and having to see the biggest country rival of all time, Argentina play in the final. Off the field the people complained of how they also were not victorious and came to the comprehension that they would no longer be able to make the national soccer team their heroes in the midst of so much confusion about exactly what the World Cup provided for Brazil.

After waking up from a long emotional hangover from their crushing loss to the German team, Brazilians began to see how the defeat could shine light on the countries dependency on its image as the country of soccer. The one million foreign tourists who got to know the country felt very different about the loss, and eventually the idea that Brazil won the World Cup in a different way began to materialize. As the opposition, at least in part perceived the Brazilian team loss as a major hit for the re-election of President Dilma, the millions of tourists both foreign and
Brazilian, were able to feel the differentiated energy that the host cities gave off during the event and even a period after the World Cup was over.

When tourists were asked if they intended to return to the country later on, 95 percent of tourists said they would plan on returning (Embratur, 2015). Looking at the different sectors that benefited from the World Cup event and the investments, a few areas have the potential to have long-term economic effects. The long term economic effects of the 2014 World Cup is still yet to be seen in Brazil. In 2016 Brazil will also host the Olympic Games, and the assessment of the economic impact from both events is likely to be seen in 2018 and 2019 (SustainableBrazil, 2014). According to government figures Brazil experienced an influx of one million visitors during the month of the event, exceeding the anticipated number of 600,000 (SustainableBrazil, 2014).

As the top fears or concerns of safety in Brazil subsided in the middle of all the parties, dancing and music, tourists began to realize that the violence and crime talked about on the media took place against a backdrop of a population that took pride in making the millions of tourists feel welcome and happy in the various cities across Brazil. The high number of police forces during the event and also present shortly after the event was needed to make sure security was not an issue. The increase in the demand for officers during the sporting event resulted in a number of police having to be in the streets proving security without actually carrying any weapon since they were still in training.

Reports over the violence that has been present in the street protests before and after the world cup promised to put pressure on President Dilma's re-election. Speaking to street
protestors as well as the Black Blocs in Brazil, I was able to discern between different motivators for the two groups of people who were present at many of the protests that occurred in 2013 and 2014. During several different demonstrations against the spending on stadiums alongside the weak education and health system, many of the citizens expressed dissatisfaction with the old system. Protestors felt that since the World Cup was coming to Brazil the "eyes of the world" were upon them and this was the time to cause a commotion in order for the voice of the people to be heard in Brazil. These voices were calling for many things and attempting to put the spotlight on the government's faults. Rising public transportation costs, a faltering health and education system, high tax rates, government corruption and spending for the World Cup were all reasons as to why so many people took to the streets.

The individuals who reportedly participated in the "Black Blocs", which are radical protestors who cover their faces with shirts, masks or helmets to avoid identification and some to protect themselves from tear gas, claim that protests are the only way to force the government to react, because the government does not want to change since this present system is what allows them to continue stealing from the people and increasingly becoming more wealthy. The Black Blocs also said that the protests will only increase as the World Cup gets closer, with violent demonstrations a sure thing during the soccer championship. Not afraid to confront the police, these violent Black Blocs have promised to cause instability subsequently straining the image of the President prior to her re-election attempt. Their aspirations are to cause as much chaos in protests as possible to attract attention to their causes, using violence and vandalism, which the media instantly focuses on. Live coverage of the protests were common leading up to the 2014 event, albeit composed of a small portion of violent vandals, the radical messages that these
groups put out against government corruption and the government spending filled the television channels and news reports.

These messages although radical in the way they were passed along, had the precise content of what the opposition parties needed in order to get the people out in the streets protesting on. Again and again the new reports focused increasingly on the violence and vandalism, and of course emphasized, messages geared toward making government policies and spending a focal point providing the script for the people in the streets to use. One of the weak points that the street protests showed was a lack in leadership, and a lack in coordinating an organized movement, uniting ideas, themes and suggestions for fixing the problems that the protests raised. Without clear organization the protest movement died off too quickly and failed to engage and mobilize the portion of the population that could have potentially turned protests into a nationwide forum for constructive debates. The people who wanted to peacefully protest became a shadow in the news next to the violence and vandalism. This discredited the protests and they eventually became white noise during the World Cup.

Election time came along three months after the World Cup and a very closely matched electorate cast their votes. President Dilma barely made the cut with 51.6 percent of the votes, showing how polarized the nation had become (ElectionStats, 2014). Although the opposition was unable to get Dilma out of power, it didn't mean that the President's life was going to be easy for the next four years. Repeated attempts in calling for Dilma's impeachment along with the medias bright spotlight cast on her PT party is all the beginning of a second term full of challenges by the opposition.
Overall the event was considered successful from many different perspectives. Dilma has shown to maintain steady after taking hits from every possible angle with pressure a ring out of millions protests in the streets, amounting opposition in Congress, a looming economic decline exacerbated by political crisis, it is possible that much more will come. The 2016 Summer Olympics will also be a challenge for the government after so much has happened in 2014, but with the experience gained in the World Cup 2016 has the potential to be a deciding factor in emerging Brazil out of an economic recession and political crisis. All together the infrastructure improved in transportation systems, stadiums, airports, employment opportunities were created and over a million tourists from around the world promised to return to visit Brazil. A payoff will only be able to be adequately calculated after several years of the World Cup and the Olympics. In the meantime, these two events have put a lot on the government’s plate with much needed political reforms, economic reforms and areas that need attention such as the education and health system.

**Social Media**

It is important to take advantage of a great quality that is present in Brazil. When looking at the tool of social media, the Brazilian people are one of the greatest strengths in the nation. This great strength has been relatively left untapped in the past decades due to political conditions repressing any form of free speech. Today there are great prospects for the future in Brazil’s civil society with a growing and very large youth (15-24) population, about one-fifth of the overall population, and a large population in the productive age group (15-64) accounting for nearly 130 million Brazilians *(CIA ,2013.)* The young segment of the population has the ability to act a powerful source to mobilize the much needed political and institutional reforms.
Along with this age cohort comes a powerful tool, literally in the hands of the youth. Social media has been a deciding factor in organizing and mobilizing the masses into the streets for the protests seen in 2013 and 2014 in Brazil. Comparing cell phones per capita, Brazil has more devices per 100 people than many of the most populous countries in the world including China the US and India (WB Cell Phone Data, 2015). With 139 cell phones per 100 people in Brazil, social media is able to offset many problems derived from the lack of diversity of information in the Brazilian media and can increase political participation and organization in Brazil (WB Cell Phone Data, 2015)

The Pew Research Center polled in all top Social networking and cell phone using countries to find that the whole world is connecting to the internet at increasing degrees to some kind of mobile device. The study found that, out of the 49 percent of subjects who had internet, 40 percent used social networking sites, even though a high number of Brazilians (51%) reported on not having internet access, a very high percentage of users with internet using social media (SocialNetworkingPew, 2012). In the study a total of 84 percent of respondents said that they had a phone and 64 percent were smart phones (SocialNetworkingPew, 2012). With the increase in the availability of information attained through social media, the increasing access to technology for the large youth population of Brazilian has shown to have a positive influence in promoting an increase in political awareness.

As seen in 2013 and 2014 with street protests, social movements and mass protests have been so successful in mobilizing so many people because of the use of social media, especially among the younger age cohorts. With 62 percent of ages 18-29 using social networking the
younger generation has the potential to easily create mass movements in response to unfavorable social or political conditions (SocialNetworkingPew, 2012). Two of the top five uses for social media platforms within this age group include community issues and politics (SocialNetworkingPew, 2012). The street protests which were organized by the social media platforms demonstrate how social networking has done exactly that, and proved successful in being a powerful force in pressuring the Brazilian political institutions in taking action towards social development as well as promoting movements calling for political and economic reforms.

As I conducted my field research I engaged in conversation with many individuals that were apparently using social media on their phones. When I talked to individuals about the information found on television and how the content of television news compared to social media news, I found out that most of them used social media to become better informed on the information they would see on the television. A total of 88 percent of individuals that I talked to were actively informing themselves on current news from some social media platforms (Appendix 4.3). This information overlaps with the finding in my previous case study on the public's mistrust of mainstream media, showing that the social media is being used as a platform for an alternative source of information when there are any doubts about what is being passed on TV or if the individual wants to dive deeper within the content of the topic that was aired on the TV news.

Similarly, 93 percent of the individuals I found using social media said that social media was an important source of information when attempting to find more information that TV would not cover about their country or about the world (Appendix 4.4). This piece of evidence is
pivotal because it shows how social media users are increasingly turning to the social networks as one of their main if not their main source of information that is pertinent to their lives. As perceived by the social media users in Brazil, the larger scope of the various social media platforms in use have an overarching purpose other than simply connecting people. In recent years, the Brazilian population has been increasingly politically active not only in result of negative developments with government corruption, lacking fudging towards social institutions, but social media has led millions to unite towards development.

Three out of every four individuals believed that social media apps and their respective networks provide a great potential in developing Brazil and its democracy (Appendix 4.5). When asked specially if Social Media can function as important mechanism for uniting and mobilizing the Brazilian people with the goal of developing democracy, combating corruption and providing diversity of information for Brazil three quarters of respondent said they believed social media had these benefits (Appendix 4.5). As social media provides the Brazilian people with new avenues for communication and information, the influence of the mainstream media outlets in Brazil will begin to diminish. The younger portion of the population will mostly only use the social media networks to engage in political activities and communicate about relevant issues in Brazilian politics. The widespread use of social media use during the World Cup demonstrated that no longer will mainstream media be able to erroneously lead the public in only showing a portion of the truth. The media will slowly move into the hands of the new generation, and the influence of Globo will become part of the past just like the military regime it once supported.
CONCLUSION

In 1985 Brazil entered an era of Democracy after enduring twenty-one years of military rule. Since the return of a democratic government Brazil has been battling to restructure the remnants of what was left of it social institutions, corrupted government and inflated economy. Perhaps one of the most affluent traces of what resulted from the military years is the influential and highly utilized political machine, Brazil’s mainstream media outlet Globo. Ever since its creation years before the military takeover of government, Globo has been able to maintain an overwhelming degree of popularity with extremely high number of viewers in Brazil. As the South American giant begins to aspire for world power status, social, economic and political development has quickly become the states vital interests. One of the major factors that influence these three areas of development is attributed to the role of the mainstream media in Brazil. Its primacy and widespread network provides most of the information that reaches its citizens. Without any major competitors, media information reaching these millions of viewer’s lacks diversity, creating challenges in the formation of an accurate public perception of Brazilian social, economic and political institutions. The influence that Globo has on the formation of public opinion on the various challenges and opportunistic events for Brazil in the last fifteen years has impacted development within the different social, economic and political institutions of the country. And by understanding the origins of Globo and its historical role in the military government’s power hold we are able to understand how and why Globo has been successful in guiding Brazil back into a democracy. This huge role that Globo plays in the social, economic and political aspects of Brazil can become either a strongpoint or a weakness for the overall development of this emerging world power. So it is very important to the able to delineate the
differences between how Globo has portrays various social, economic and political events in comparison to various available records about these spheres.

When observing these social, economic and political spheres it is possible to notice gradual development and substantial improvement within the last fifteen years. The Bolsa Familia (BF) welfare program has shown to provide widespread improvements in Brazilian society with 13.8 million families impacting over 50 million people, poverty levels dropping to 8.9 percent from 39 percent and infant mortality rates falling from 28 percent to 15 percent in 2015. BF has undoubtedly improved living standards among the lower third of the income spectrum in Brazil, the 50 million people who benefited from the BF program have all been able to integrate themselves into the economy in ways previously not possible. From the year 2000 and on, unemployment rates have only dropped and the result of millions being able to participate at greater levels in the economy because of BF has led to an increase of 1.8 GDP points per year within the first ten years of its inception. The average yearly GDP growth within the first ten years of BF has been a 4 percent and a high of 8 percent in 2010. Political development in Brazil has also been positive, with yearly increases in citizens coming out to vote and the growing awareness of the necessary areas of improvement by the public. The problem of corruption has always been a huge factor in Brazilian politics and in congress, what most citizens do not fully comprehend is that it will take more than one or two presidencies dedicated in minimizing corruption for there to be an impact. Recent developments in the uncovering of several corruption scandals has drawn much national and international attention, putting unprecedented pressure on the government to tackle the problem. A Political reforms package
and several corruption investigations have been put into motion, but ironically it depends on the congress’ approval.

Nevertheless, there has been a high level of criticism directed at the BF program, the overall positive outlook of Brazilians about their economy and of the political developments made in relation to tackling corruption. Most citizens have a preconceived notion of the complete opposite in relation to the developments in society, in the economy and in the political system. A majority of the public agrees that poverty has increased, and that the BF program causes great dependency as well as it demotivates families to get jobs. An overwhelming majority agree with the notion that the BF program is not an efficient way of helping the bottom third economic class. The public’s perception of the economy is even worse, with the majority of citizens all agreeing with the following: Brazil has no economic strength, the Brazilian economy is not superior to other South American economies, Brazil does not have a good chance of becoming a world power in the next ten to twenty years and Brazil has a very high level of unemployment.

When analyzing the public’s perceptions of Brazilian politics and the transparency of the media, almost every citizen believes that the government is not taking appropriate actions to tackle corruption, but they accurately believe that corruption is a widespread problem and not just occurring in the government. The overwhelming majority of the public has the perception that the media is not transparent in its reporting of politics and that the media actually makes situations worse. With this citizens are unable to accurately gauge the effectiveness of important social development programs like BF and in turn unable to make sensible decisions at the polls. Therefore it becomes more difficult for social developmental legislation to make its way through legislative bodies. The manipulated perception by the media over the BF social program for
example, has led to the prolonging and exacerbation of political crisis slowing down the political process.

With these important developments in these vital areas, Brazil has been able to become one of the top leaders in the rise of the South in International Relations. To continue this rise Brazil has been working hard to form concrete relations with large developing countries and emerging markets. Along with this, the government has been focusing on avoiding the subordination to the agendas of the developed countries. And most importantly it has passed legislation providing attention to its domestic inequalities. Its advancements have provided the country with global acknowledgments and a model for its approach in decreasing poverty, infant mortality and increasing standards of living. Increasingly being able to grow and prosper with greater autonomy from the usual developed powers has been one of the government’s vital interests, and inter nation developments like the BRICS in its foreign policy has been a positive accomplishment yet to demonstrate its potential. The track towards domestic stability has been set with growth in government spending towards education as well as the popular awareness and attention cast on the corruption within the government and the pressure that domestic and international media outlets put on expecting improvements. There have been no accounts in previous history of such focus and determination in battling corruption from within the government, this is surely a positive development for the future of the country. Future governments will defiantly have greater responsibilities in assuring that a much less corrupt political system is maintained. Today the majority of Brazilians have disbelief in the capacity of the Brazilian Government in establishing and maintaining international relations that could benefit Brazil in the future.
Nearly every citizen has demonstrated some level of dis-belief in relation to the government of Brazil having the capacity to be an active member of the United Nations Security Council or of any influential international organization. Becoming a leader or even becoming part of a group of leaders for the developing world is seen as absurd and too many, a joke. The positive developments within the last fifteen years in the economy, in dissemination of social welfare and the steps that were and continue to be taken to deal with corruption, have been overshadowed by the numerous negative outlooks of the future. In result of these views, a lowered confidence within the investment community together with the slowdown in the domestic economy, created the perception of great instability within the economy and political system. However, massive international sporting events like the World Cup and the Olympics can have provided a boost in the confidence of investors and of the domestic population.

Among other South American nations, Brazil has soccer embedded within its culture. The dream of hosting the World Cup and possibly winning at home has come true. Even though Brazil did not fulfill the part of winning, the sporting event provided Brazil with many lessons about management and about hosting millions of tourists. Investments were made in infrastructure and the population was able to become aware of their power when organizing and mobilizing for various causes. Street protests occurring all over the country in reaction to overspending, price gouging on construction projects and lack of investments in health and education made world news. Social media became a vital tool in making all the protests a success and to combat the spin and one-sided information coming from the media about the protests movements. Even though some of the reasons that the protestors gave to the reason why they protested were unfounded, the fact that these protests mobilized so many people, assured the
nation and the government that the people will not continue to passively accept unfavorable conditions whatever they may be, and in this case is has been in relation to health and education primarily. Certainly this proves that the World Cup has increased the possibility of greater levels of future political awareness and democratic participation. At the time of writing this, we have yet to see the effects that the Olympics will have in Brazil, but certainly nothing short of the effects from the World Cup. As much as there has been positivity stemming from the World Cup event, citizens feel that billionaire budgets going towards stadiums cuts too much away from the higher priorities like health and education. Criticism was high in relation to almost everything about the World Cup. Nine out of ten Brazilians say that Brazil was not ready to successfully host the World Cup and is not ready to successfully host the Olympics. There is also widespread skepticism about the benefits that would follow the World Cup and the Olympics. Perhaps the most notable and worthy development originating from the World Cup, being the awareness of extensive corruption, has not shown to be a common realization among the Brazilians. The event definitely demonstrated the ability of the mainstream media to sway the opinions of the people about events that represent such a great development potential for the country. Nonetheless, hosting the World Cup and the Olympics is certainly an important experience for the numerous institutions and people that had to accommodate the demands of such events, inherently an experience that will assist in progressing development.

Taking all of these observations into consideration, one cannot help to realize the common tendency of Brazilian citizens to see the worst aspect of the various developments, themes, occurrences and events that have taken place. By matter of reasoning, the question that should be raised about these individuals holding these rather negative or pessimistic views, is
how they form an opinion about these various factors that are present in Brazil. When looking for commonality among the citizens the single factor or variable that ties them all into one is media. During numerous conversations with Brazilian citizens, 57 percent of individuals reported watching Globo stations as their source for news information and entertainment. Because of this high percentage of viewers tuning into Globo, citizens tend to have rather negative perceptions of the various developments that were discussed in all the previous chapters. This reality is mostly a result from the Brazilian media and communication industry suffering from a lack of diversity of information. Competitors are unable to break through into the market with mainstream media outlets like Globo possessing a substantial market share, with figures ranging from 60 to 80 percent of Brazilian viewers. The control Globo has on the information average citizens are exposed to and how they decipher that information is gripping. The Globo media influence can be traced back well before the military coup of 1964, and until this day, we can observe how it continues to interact and influence perceptions of the masses in relation to the different circumstances in the social, economic and political spheres.

CONCLUSION TABLE

To summarize the discussion on how the different themes of this research interact with the three case studies, Table 1 provides the perceptions of Globo in each Social, Economic and Political aspect within the three cases studies found in Chapters two, three and four.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Social Aspects</th>
<th>Economic Aspects</th>
<th>Political Aspects</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of Globo Media</td>
<td>Records Show</td>
<td>Percepti</td>
<td>Perception of Globo Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Development within Domestic sphere</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bolsa Familia Grant Program (BF)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Growth of Mid.Class</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>-Corrupt Government.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BF Poorly Implemented</td>
<td>-50 Million beneficiaries</td>
<td>-Growth of GDP and*</td>
<td>-<strong>Focus set on PT party.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Poverty has Increased</td>
<td>-13.8 Million Families</td>
<td>-Per Capita Income*</td>
<td>- Dilma culprit of crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Unjust/ inefficient</td>
<td>-Poverty dipped to 8.9%</td>
<td>-In-equality Decrease*</td>
<td>-Impeachment of Dilma would limit corruption.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Causes Dependency</td>
<td>-Dependency on BF not common in most regions.</td>
<td>-Increase of 1.8 GDP points per year*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Eradicated hunger.</td>
<td>-Economic Development not attained due to corruption.</td>
<td>-Low un-employment the last 10 years.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Brazil incapacitated in holding world power position.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Brazil lags behind South American Economies.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Brazil 6th largest world economy.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Crumbling Education and Health System.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Increasing amounts of spending going to Education. Highest since historic decrease of 80’s.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- BRICS could rival western banks in the near future.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lagging behind other South American nations.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Recent market slowdowns have overshadow the strong commodity and export markets.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Largest exporter in the world of several natural resources.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Larger of all economies found in South America.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Larger tax burden.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Mensalao Scandal serious/unprecedented.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>-Today Brazil is an emerging world power.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Lacking infrastructure in order for success in event.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- PT main culprit</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Spotlight cast on protest violence exposed interest of media.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Corruption in projects that are for events.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Lavajato Scandal</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Social Media made to seem like a skeptical source of information</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Overspending when social institutions cannot function properly.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-PT party main culprit</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-Spending on stadiums small portion of govt. expenditure.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Return of expenses with public use of infrastructure.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Paying off politicians is historically a very common practice in Brazils congress.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Spotlight cast on protest violence exposed interest of media.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Portion of spending went to airports,ports, and transportation.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Bribes and inflated project prices involved all main parties non-political agents.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Social media pivotal for protest mobilization and for diversity of info.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Political and economic reforms ensued.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Attention cast on political reforms.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Large tax burden.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Added employments, tourism &amp; investments</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Faulty prep for World Cup.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Lacking infrastructure in order for success in event.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Portion of spending went to airports,ports, and transportation.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Projects not finished on time.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Corruption in projects that are for events.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Political and economic reforms ensued.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- FIFA corruption scandal.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Overspending when social institutions cannot function properly.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Added employments, tourism &amp; investments</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Price gouging with the construction projects.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>-Return of expenses with public use of infrastructure.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Portion of spending went to airports,ports, and transportation.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Violence and Crime in host cities.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-Portion of spending went to airports,ports, and transportation.</strong></td>
<td><strong>- Political and economic reforms ensued.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Attention given to the violence in mass protests.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>- Attention given to the violence in mass protests.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Unfinished projects didn’t hamper event.</strong></td>
<td><strong>-Unfinished projects didn’t hamper event.</strong></td>
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* = new column
Starting with cell number one, as we can see, within the domestic sphere the focus is the effect that the Bolsa Familia (BF) social welfare program had in Brazil. The arguments raised by Globo over the problems with the BF program reflects the focus of the media in finding imperfections in the BF program degree of efficiency and its effectiveness in order to incite public doubt on whether the government has the ability to successfully govern. BF raised 50 million individuals out of poverty and a total of over 13.8 million families, bringing the poverty levels in Brazil down to 8.9 percent. On the contrary the large majority of citizens reflect the impression given off by Globo that the situation of poverty has worsened, in fact three quarters of the public feel that poverty has increased. Another problem from the point of view of Globo is that BF has made the poverty problem an even greater problem and a burden for the tax payers of Brazil having to fund the program. More precisely BF creates a dependency on the government. On the contrary, the BF program actually improved financial conditions within families, providing an amount that provides security so families can buy their essentials, for example, like food and also to make sure they have gas to cook with. Even if a family ends up receiving the higher amounts due to their qualifications, around $75 USD, it is not enough to enable them depend on the government, especially with rising cost of living prices in Brazil. A point that cannot and is not debated by Globo is how BF has almost completely eradicated famine in remote rural regions, something that was common before the BF program started.

Summarizing the economic aspects of development within the domestic sphere parallel to the remarks made by Globo, is found in cell number two of the Table. The mainstream media has
reinforced the notion that the approaches taken on by the government affected the middle class because of the tax burden. Globo has also advanced the idea that unemployment rates increased due to more people staying home and living off welfare and not finding jobs because of BF. The media tends to turn the spotlight on the different challenges that the nation faces throughout the year. It focuses primarily on providing information on the failures so viewers are bombarded with negative and opposing news stories about the government. In the last fifteen years records show that unemployment rates have been consistently falling and the GDP rising along with GDP per capita. Studies have shown that the GDP has gained 1.8 points per year due to the economic development results of BF along with the decrease in the level of inequality. Overall BF has been able to improve social economic conditions for millions of Brazilians with other positive developments in the GDP, GDP per capita and un-employment levels.

Cell three depicts some of the political conditions domestically, while pinpointing how the focus of the media is on the different political challenges that Brazil faces. Corruption is a major problem for any government, albeit no government in the world is 100 percent free from it. Nevertheless, as Brazil continues to develop and impose its place in the world system as a world power, corruption definitely needs to be tackled. When the government is mentioned on the news, the majority of the content will be on corruption and in opposition to the government. The focus is undeniably centered on the PT party and the main culprit of the corruption crisis is President Dilma. Due to the limited avenues for expression, limited diversity of information as well as the small number of political views in Brazil, the political battle that is occurring against corruption and against the forces opposing change are not relayed to the large majority of the public. The public is led to believe that nothing is being done to impede corrupted politicians.
The population also lacks the understanding or the perception of how corruption has been much more common and widespread in the earlier years of the Brazilian democracy and before the return of the democratic government in 1985. What is unprecedented in Brazilian politics at the moment is not the high levels of corruption, but the number of politicians that are actually being prosecuted and investigated for years and years of corruption.

Moving on to cell number four, foreign policy development is analyzed in the same way the first three cells were. Through the social aspect, the Brazilian government has been working towards improving its public education system and as well as passing legislation to deal with its social inequalities. This is an important challenge that needs to be overcome to make sure future growth and development is made possible. In relation to the developments in improving social conditions in Brazil, Globo creates the impression that Brazil is lagging in comparison to some of the other South American countries in dealing with inequalities and social problems. This reinforces the image that government is neglectful of its people and is not working towards the necessary improvements. As an emerging world power, Brazil has increased the investments in important social areas that are directly correlated with growth and development of its institutions. As a result Brazil has the highest amount of social contributions in comparison to other South American countries. Certainly the Brazilian education system is still far from adequate, but not to the extent that is made apparent in the media. Since the astronomical cuts to education in the 1980's together with the many years of neglect by previous governments in the 90's, Brazil has increased the investments going towards education and today they are the highest they have ever been.
Economic aspects in relation to foreign policy as a factor of development is summarized in cell five. Here we can observe how major economic developments and several characteristics of the Brazilian economy are downplayed by critics on the mainstream media and similarly by citizens out on the streets of Brazil. A majority of Brazilians say that Brazil generally behind the other economies in South America. Major economic developments like the BRICS are mentioned on media in a doubtful tone, usually with news reports using language and context indicating opposing views. In result of factors outside of Brazil, like the financial crisis, Brazil has suffered a slowdown in the economy and recently a technical recession. But many consecutive years of growth led Brazil to emerge as the 7th largest economy, drawing much attention for investors and FDI. The current unfavorable conditions inside the country take center stage in the media and forecasts paint a critical future for the Brazilian economy on the mainstream media. The largest emerging economy in South American has a few strong points that can defiantly help its track towards development. Having the world’s largest markets like China and the US as the main exporter of its commodities is a great privilege. What also needs to be taken into consideration is that Brazil is the world’s largest exporter of many natural resources such as iron ore and soy beans which China is a major importer. Brazil is also one of the top exporters of coffee and the number one in cattle.

Continuing on to cell number six, the political aspects in relation to development come into focus. News of the Mensalão and the Lava Jato political scandals have reverberated throughout the world and certainly a hot topic for the media still today and probably for many years to come. Although both the Mensalão scandal, which dealt with bribes in congress for votes to pass legislation, and the Lavajato scandal which dealt with overpriced construction
projects in the state run oil company that ended up enriching various political and non-political agents. Operations like these are historically commonplace in Brazilian politics. It has been made to seem like an unprecedented occurrence in the political system and an indicator that corruption has been aggravated during the PT government. The current government has been regularly called out on its involvement in the scandal while other political parties that have also been involved are regularly omitted or receive a proportionally smaller amount of attention. Political reforms and a crackdown on corruption in congress have been promised by this government as President Dilma was re-elected in 2014. It will not be easy to get everything passed swiftly, since many congressional members are currently being investigated, the opposition overpowers the PT in congress at the moment. The fact that something is being done about corruption in a much more open manner and more transparent than before is a sign of progress for the Brazilian political system. In order for there to be progress and development in the political system and eventually in all of Brazil, there will have to be many Presidential terms in the future seriously willing to combat corruption and resist the corrupted tendencies that exist in the political system.

Next, cell number seven summarizes the significance of the World Cup and of social media in society in relation to development and how the media influences these perceptions. Mass street protests were major developments during the 2013 pre-World Cup year and during the 2014 World Cup, with million coming out to protest against the spending and the higher than usual prices going towards building and renovating stadiums in Brazil. The media left the impression that the spending on the stadiums crippled the yearly investments on education and in health. Making comparisons as to how much could be used from the stadium figures of spending to buy materials, build schools or improve the health system. Price gouging was an issue during
the World Cup and the preparation for the events were definitely mismanaged. These instances were all taken into consideration for the preparation of the future 2016 Olympic Games and also for developmental purposes such as being more aware of how much needs to be done to increase the efficiency of planning and public administration in Brazil. Although, the media misguided the population in the significance of the spending that went to construct new or reform current stadiums for the World Cup. Spending figures were exacerbated in relation to how much the government spends on education every year, spending was certainly high but not high enough to cause a "crippling effect" as the mainstream media has indicated. Protest movements were positive developments for the nation’s political participation and political awareness, and it demonstrated the strength and potential that social media has in a country like Brazil where there are so many social media users, a large youth population and a very high number of mobile devices in use. Even though the television media preferred to focus on the violence and vandalism that occurred during some of the protests by a small number of individuals, the protests got their message across in the sense that it communicated to the nation and to the government that something had to be done about spending on education and health and the need to deal with the problems of corruption. Citizens were also able to realize how in the future more organized movements or action towards political improvements can result in development. This represents social and political development for the country.

In the eight cell of this conclusion chart, we can see how the World Cup investments have led to developments in Brazil. The Brazilian citizens were well informed of the problems and issues facing the country prior to the famous international sporting event. Daily headlines about the preparation for the World Cup would make it clear on how late projects were or how
corruption in stadium construction was taking place. Emphasis was also placed on the over
budget spending that occurred in all the stadiums. While reporting on the large costs going
towards the construction of infrastructure for the event, the media also pointed out how the
country lacked the infrastructure to successfully host an event like the World Cup. It should of
been made more clear how the investments for the World Cup and the future Olympic Games in
2016 were not only for stadiums, although it seemed that way, the investments were also in areas
where the public and companies would benefit with public transpiration, airports and ports being
improved. The event itself promises to provide greater inflows of tourists and investments as
well as added employment. Aside from tangible results, the World Cup also led to a greater level
of awareness of the needed political and economic reforms.

Finally the information in the ninth and final cell communicates how the World Cup was
not only an international soccer event but an opportunity for the political competition prior to a
presidential election. This was an opportunity for the opposition to point out weaknesses in the
hosting process of the event and for the incumbent government as an opportunity to make sure
the event ran as smooth and as successful as possible. The World Cup occurred only three
months prior to the 2014 election and this made the period prior and during the international
soccer event virtually an extension of the different party’s political presidential campaigns. The
mainstream media cast much doubt on the success of the event pointing out how there was faulty
preparations, how street protests would threaten the security of the millions of tourists coming to
the games and how crime would be an issue in the host cities. The media reported the news in a
way that would serve the opposition, as if Globo was the mouthpiece of the opposition
governments. The amount of reports that were contrary to President Dilma were exponentially
high compared to other political candidates and their parities. The World Cup event surpassed the expectations of many of the citizens and certainly surpassed the negative projections made by the media. The unfinished projects that were calculated to be finished by the time of the event did not hamper the overall success of the World Cup, and the threat of violence that was previously mentioned frequently on the media never manifested. Security of the overall event was a success. The events that unfolded during the World Cup further exposed many political and economic challenges that Brazil faces while mobilizing millions of citizens to the streets to protest for their rights. In 2014 Brazil had the international system highly vigilant of the developments coming out of the country during the event. And with 95 percent of the tourists from around the world claiming that they would come back, this positive feedback in relation to Brazil will definitely improve the image and the notion that the world has about Brazil. Not to forget that the highly influential factor to the overall development of the country is how the people view themselves and carry themselves. The citizens in Brazil have recently been aligning very much with the notions put out by the media and not looking at how to improve situations and overcome challenges. Instead, in the face of different challenges, the media has been making a list of problems and criticizing the ones who are apparently responsible.
RECOMMENDATIONS

How do the various challenges and opportunities for development in Brazilian society, economy and political system become influenced by a media network like Globo? How does Globo effectively manipulate its viewers to think like them and emulate their views? In order to efficiently and effectively move in the direction of national development, the intellect of the mass cannot be subject to the control by an elite group of families and corporations that make up Globo. Brazil needs to continue dealing with the problems that are present in its society to effectively prepare the people to deal with and be able to perceive the hidden agendas of powerful media outlets and other manipulative forces. Certainly Brazil has many challenges and opportunities that will influence its development in the 21st century, and the media is not the only problem but as we have read, the media in Brazil has an uncanny ability to control perception, and this stems from decades ago. The Brazilian people have many different types of resources and cultural attributes that can help in the nation’s development. National prosperity depends on whether the Brazilian people decide to appropriately invest their energy in forcing their institutions to invest in the people by adhering to their needs, and not to the needs of the elites that already have everything they want and could ever dream of having, even though greed leads to the illusion that there is no such thing as enough. Now it is time for the agents of the Brazilian political system to listen to their people and cater to their social, economic and political and not simply think of re-elections and political advantages.
In dealing with the inequalities among the people, in time it will lead to development and with development there will be growth. As it did when 50 million people were raised out of poverty. To continue progressing, social programs like BF will have to be reformed. The economy will certainly improve with the political reforms that the government has promised to put into effect. Mainstream media outlets, in particular Globo, have a very large role in the development of all of these social, economic and political institutions. The population must pressure Globo and other mainstream media outlets just as they did with the government in the street protests that occurred in 2013 and in 2014, in order for them to actually begin reporting with neutrality and with much less biased information. For this to occur, the nation needs to be aware that there needs to be an increase in the number of media outlets and companies within the communications systems of Brazil. This is essential in order to break down the monopoly that exists in Brazilian mainstream media. Other news outlets must rise and provide the much needed competition and alternatives to Globo and the few mainstream media outlets. There needs to be a greater number of media outlets putting out a diversity of information. Outlets that have no political affiliations and no hidden agendas.

As the problem in Brazil is multifaceted, being able to knock out one of the main sources that breed conflict and instability will go a long way in safeguarding a prosperous future for this country. These new media companies need to be run by the people, by the intellectuals and by the university graduates that are not already in powerful elite positions but the individuals that are working hard to work their way up. And overall there needs to be a mechanism for the people to influence whether the media is acting in favor of democracy and of the development of the Brazilian social, economic and political system. In this way a secure path for the emerging South
American country of Brazil can flourish and positively influence development in the region and quite possibly in other parts of the world.
APPENDIX: OPINION TABLES AND POLITICAL CONTINUUM OF MEDIA OUTLETS
1-Table 1: “Data on preferred media outlets?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Outlet</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Globo</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBT</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2-Table 1.1 “Public Perception of Corruption”

Is corruption primarily a problem that is embedded in Brazilian society or is it a problem stemming from the political parties?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Embedded in society</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>87.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3-Table 1.2 “Government Reaction to Corruption”

Is the Brazilian government reacting appropriately in order to deal with corruption?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reaction</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>86.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4-Table 1.3 “Media and Political Perception”

Does the Brazilian media precisely portray the political conditions within Brazil?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>83.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5-Table 1.4 “Media and Political Development”

Does the broadcasted information on mainstream media benefit the overall process of political development in Brazil?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 1.5 “Bolsa Familia Program and Public Perception”

Do you think the Bolsa Familia Program (BF) has distributed income in a just manner?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-28</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 out the 28 were BF recipients*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 19.58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-115</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 80.41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 1.6 “Bolsa Familia and Poverty”

Do you think that poverty levels in Brazil dropped in the last 10 years due to the BF program?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 25.17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-104</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 74.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7-Table 1.7 “Bolsa Familia Dependency”

Do believe that the families that are receiving money from BF program are totally dependent on the government to be able to provide for themselves and their family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 62.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Number of Respondents-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 37.06%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8-Table 1.8 “Bolsa Familia and Employment”

Do you believe that the BF program makes individuals in the family loose the motivation to find a job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 57.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Number of Respondents-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 42.58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 9-Table 1.9 “Bolsa Familia Oversight”

Do you believe that it is the government’s responsibility to provide oversight on how families and individuals use BF money?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Responsibility</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-93</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 67.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Responsibility</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 32.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 10-Table 1.9 (B) “Middle Class and Bolsa Familia”

Do believe that the BF program hurts the Brazilian middle class?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 24.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-105</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 75.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 11-Table 2.0 “Brazil and Leadership”
Do you think Brazil could be a world leader for the developing countries?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 28.57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-110</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 71.43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 12-Table 2.1 “Brazil and UNSC”
Is Brazil prepared to be part of the UN Security Council?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 13.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Number of Respondents-129</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage- 86.57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**13-Table 3.0 “Brazilian Economy”**

Do you think Brazil has a large economy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>37.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>62.66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**14-Table 3.1 “Brazilian Economic Superiority”**

In general, is the Brazilian economy superior to the other economies in South America?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>46.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>53.42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15-Table 3.2 “Brazil and World Power Status?”

Do agree with the notion that Brazil could become a more prominent world economic power in the next ten to twenty years.

| Yes                                      | Number of Respondents-65 |
|                                         | Percentage- 47.10%       |

| No                                       | Number of Respondents-73 |
|                                         | Percentage- 52.89%       |

16-Table 3.3 “Public Perception and Unemployment”

Do you agree that the unemployment rate within Brazil is higher than in the last decade?

| Yes                                      | Number of Respondents-115 |
|                                         | Percentage- 81.56%        |

| No                                       | Number of Respondents-26  |
|                                         | Percentage- 18.44%        |
17-Table 4.0 “Brazil and International Events”
Is Brazil capable of hosting large international events like the World Cup or the Olympic Games?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>91.83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18-Table 4.1 “Public Perception on Infrastructural Development”
Do you think the process of hosting the World Cup benefited the development of infrastructure in Brazil?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>75.49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19-Table 4.2 “Awareness of Corruption”

Did the World Cup increase the overall nation’s awareness towards corruption?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td>62.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20-Table 4.3 “Social Media Parallels Television”

Do you use social media to become better informed about information you see on TV broadcasts?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>88.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>11.81%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21-Table 4.4 “Social Media and Diversity of Information”

Do you think social media is an important source of information to find details about stories that the TV would not cover in relation to their country or the world?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>92.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22-Table 4.5 “Social Media and Political Development”

Can social media function as a mechanism for politically uniting and mobilizing the Brazilian people with the goal of developing democracy, combating corruption and providing diversity of information for Brazil?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>75.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24.54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23- Table 4.6 “Political Continuum of Media Outlets”

Major media outlets and their placements within a continuum of political ideology.

**Left Wing**

- Internet
- Brasil 24/7 - Carta Capital - Conversa Afiada

**Right Wing**

- Record
- Band
- Internet
- SBT
- Globo
- Veja - Epoca - Isto É
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