

The discursive polyphony on the 1994 World Cup: authorized discourses on the tetra championship

Fausto Amaro and Ronaldo Helal

Abstract

This article discusses the academic and journalistic production about the 1994 Soccer World Cup. Basing on the notion of authorized speeches, developed by Guedes (2010/2011) and inspired by Bourdieu (1983), we study the discourse constructed about this event on eight encyclopedias and books about World Cups, *Jornal do Brasil* (JB) newspaper and the special commemorative editions of *Época* and *Placar* magazines. The academic production analyzed was collected from the annals of conferences, articles published on academic journals and chapters of books. We observed that the authorized discourse lacks reflection and is led by common sense while the academic discourse lacks variety of themes, theoretical references and authors. The academic works dealt mainly on the hermeneutics of defeat, the question of national identity, the advertising and the presence of radio.

Keywords

Sport. Media. Discourse. Journalism. World Cup.

1 Introduction

This article focuses on the junction of the academic field with that of sport, highlighting the main points of discussion raised about the 1994 World Cup. The press discourse comes from eight encyclopedias and books about World Cups (see bibliographic references), articles from the newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* (from 17/06/94 to 20/07/94) and commemorative issues of the magazines *Época* and *Placar*. Simoni Guedes (2010/2011) locates journalism and the academy as producers of what she calls “authorized discourses” about football. In Bourdieu (1983), we understand this social authorization of the speech of others as one of the attributions that should be incorporated by a science that proposes to study discourse. He affirms that: “We do not speak to just anyone; not just anyone ‘takes up speech’[...] the science of discourse should consider the conditions of the instauration of communication because the expected conditions of reception are part of the conditions of production.” (1983, p. 161).

In this game of discursive power, the receivers of the authorized speech of the press are

Fausto Amaro | austarp@hotmail.com

Doctoral student in Communication at Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ).

Ronaldo Helal | rhelal@globo.com

PhD in Sociology from the New York University. Professor at the Communication Graduate Studies Program of Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ).

both regular football fans (those who know the rules, are passionate about a team, and follows the games) as well as the “Cup fan,” whose love for football appears every four years and is combined with that for the nation. The media should thus produce speech that serves both groups. They are specific conditions of production of narrative that we should have in mind when we analyze discourse, whether journalistic or academic.

These narratives, coming from various actors, are on the media agenda every four years and forge a history specific to football whose triggering of memory is conducted in the ritual periods of the World Cup. (GUEDES, 2002).

2 Press discourse about the World Cup

The low technical level of this Cup was mentioned in three encyclopedias consulted: *Todas as Copas*, [All the Cups] edited by the newspaper *Lance (s/a)*, *O Jogo Bruto das Copas* [The Rough Game of the Cups] (1997) and *O Mundo das Copas* (2010) [The World of the Cups]. The other journalistic works chose to emphasize that this Cup had been technically superior to that of 1990. Romário was the protagonist. He had the second most goals in the cup, and was elected by FIFA as the star of the competition. Nicknamed “shorty,” due to his height, he was elevated to the post of hero of the Cup.

Coach Carlos Alberto Parreira and his technical coordinator, Mário Jorge Lobo Zagallo,

received countless criticisms from the press for the performance below expectations in the Qualifying Round and for the defensive style that the two imposed on the Brazilian team. Facing Bolivia, in La Paz, Brazil suffered its first defeat in the history of the qualifying phase of the competition. The defeats, according to the press, were due to the fact that Brazil was not playing “True Brazilian football” – which is offensive, based on ball handling and individual ability. Journalist Teixeira Heizer (1997, p. 297, emphasis ours) defined in this way the Brazilian team at the time and its coach:

Parreira had descended to ground level with that group of *mediocre, but valiant players* who, paradoxically, took the title, while the powerful selections of 1950 and 1982, who practiced an unequalled style, did not - in an inexplicable relation of football.

In the qualifying round, the national team only classified in the final game, with a victory over Uruguay, in Maracanã. The win was credited to a large degree to the outstanding performance of Romário, author of the two goals, who was especially convoked for that game, given that he had previously been left off the squad due to disagreements with the technical commission. The lack of confidence in the Brazilian team by the Brazilian press contrasts to the favoritism with which we were seen internationally. Brazil was indicated as a favorite by the coaches interviewed by *La Gazzeta dello Sport* – “Brazil received 188 votes against 155 for Germany and 152 to Italy” (*JB*, 17/06/1994, p. 5).

Before the first games of the Cup, the articles awaited Romário's recovery from the effects of an old injury. When he returned to practice, the title of the article was "Joy at Practice" (*JB*, 19/06/1994, p. 10) – which was quite evocative of the representation that was invested in this player. There was an equal focus on the tactical and technical endeavor of the Brazilians, both in the form of the effort in the training and in the set plays, or in the repetition of movements, as can be seen in the title of the following article: "If there's a lack of talent, there's plenty of effort" (*JB*, 19/06/1994, p. 11).

The discussion of controversies and the different lenses with which they saw the same fact often marked the journalistic discourse about this Cup. Upon commenting on Romário's refusal to sit next to Muller and Bebeto in the flight to the United States, the magazines *Veja* and *Placar* used quite different manners of narrating the same episode. While the first focused on the character of the player, the second opted to escape this polemic and present the issue in a lighter and more comical manner: as we can see:

Always a troublemaker, [Romário] announced that he would not sit between Bebeto and Muller in the plane chartered by CBF, as established by the technical commission (*Veja*, 1994a, p. 18, emphasis ours).

Romário's place on the plane was reserved between Bebeto and Muller and he insisted on the window. "The plane has more than 100 windows, Romário. You just can't sit in the pilot's seat because then the plane will crash", the center forward heard from one of his good humored companions (*Placar*, 1994, p. 10).

The authorized discourse of the journalists also allowed that these professionals to escape from a more formal tone in their writing and often adopt popular jargon and thus, incorporate the garb of the fan. Heizer (1998, p. 450), for example, in his book, from which we could expect objectivity because of its "encyclopedic" content, expressed the passionate enthusiasm of a fan, exclaiming: "Congratulations, Brazil, Four-time champion!" This liberty with language is one of the many distinctive elements between the academic discourse and that of sports journalism.

Regressing to the Cup, the first game was a Brazilian victory, 2-0 over Russia with a goal by Romário. The *Enciclopédia do Lance* described the game like this: "The pragmatic 'football of results' of coach Parreira took its first step with success on the U.S. fields" (s/a, p. 166) After this first game, the title of the article in *JB* stated optimistically: "Brazilian Team Debuts Like a Champion" (21/06/1994, p. 3), highlighting the fact that Brazil had won, unlike other teams that were favorites.

The second game was another victory for the Brazilians, this time over Cameroons by 3 - 0. The highlight was on the team's performance, and not the lopsided victory: "Once again what we saw during nearly the entire first half was boring football, very efficient defense, but little creativity" (*Lance!*, s/a, p. 167). What is interesting about this excerpt is the adjective used to describe the quality of the game: boring. What would be the criteria for this definition? It was a game with

three goals, which we would commonly call a “goleada” or runaway victory. In addition, with one Cameroon player sent off with a red-card, the field was more open for play. The question remains: what could be boring about this case? The headline in the *JB*, in turn, in the same tone as the article about the first game, highlighted: “The best of the Cup” (25/06/1994, p. 1). Armando Nogueira commented with a certain dejection:

Brazil does not play the football that enchants me. It is unlikely it will. Parreira’s tactical concept only functions when the team counter-attacks. That’s his option. It is yielding good results. *It is result driven football*. Between my somewhat romantic demands and Parreira’s unavoidable realism, I know that all of Brazil, eager for Glory, is with Parreira. May we all be eternally happy (*JB*, 25/06/1994, p. 8, emphasis ours).

In the third game, there was jeering – “Boos for the National Team” (*JB*, 29/06/1994, p. 6). They tied with the Swedes, who Brazil would face again in the semifinals. Romário tied the game for Brazil. The newspaper *Lance!* described the first phase of Brazil in the Cup like this: “The team, although it was the first in its group, was not free of pressure and criticism for ugly football” (s/a, p. 168). In this game, the headline of the *JB* sports section was more harsh, in contrast with its headlines in the previous games: “Brazil faces reality. Tie with Sweden Reveals the Deficiencies of a Team Bound by the Limits of the Mid-Field” (29/06/1994, p. 1). Sérgio Noronha peremptorily affirmed that “in this Cup, we were not a Brazilian Brazil” (*JB*, 30/06, p. 7). Once again we perceive the journalistic discourse

falling into simplified generalization. After all, who is capable of defining with total acuity what is this “Brazilian Brazil”?

Classified in first place, with the highest points in the Cup, Brazil faced the U.S. host in the round of sixteen of the tournament. The cover of the *JB* sports section was: “I Love You! Romário heard from Bebeto the feelings of every Brazilian, but criticized his team’s ‘poor’ football” (05/07/1994, p. 1). The “supernatural” power of this duo was also presented in the book by Geraldo Muzzi: “Brazil defeats the U.S. 1x0. Bebeto scored the only goal after receiving a magical pass from Romário” (2010, p. 138).

Three to two. With this tight score Brazil passed Holland and advanced to the semi-finals against Sweden. With goals by Romário, Bebeto and Branco, in that order, Brazil returned to a semifinal after 16 years. In this game, the lack of ability in the Brazilian mid-field was once again the target of criticism: “With Mauro Silva, Dunga and Mazinho, the Brazilian mid-field defended strongly; with Zinho, it created nothing” (RIBAS, 2010, p. 351). Paulo Vinícius Coelho, upon commenting on the scoreless tie after the first half, affirmed: “A tasteless 0 X 0, which reinforced the idea that the Brazilians and the Dutch had of their own teams. Brazil thought of itself as a team not up to its tradition” (2010, p. 127). The *JB* highlighted the presence of Branco in the game, sharply criticized by the journalists: “his image upon leaving the field, panting, like the fans, happy, like

any Brazilian, and *a rogue, like the entire team*, was the best translation of the national squad yesterday” (10/07/1994, p. 1, emphasis ours). In this passage, we see a narrative construction that emphasizes above all the roguery, at the same time as it minimizes the effort of the players by identifying them with the fans.

The semifinal was won by a score of 1 – 0 with an opportunistic goal by Romário: “Sweden, until then, had allowed few headers by its opponents against its goal and did not suffer one goal by a header. The tactical discipline of the Swedish players was overcome and the Rose Bowl was overtaken by the grand cry of ‘Olé!’” (*Lance!*, s/a, p. 172). Here we see the counterpoint between the guileful chant and the Swedish “disciplinary rigidity.” The Brazilian sports press often focused on this dichotomy in this and in other Cups. The *JB* preferred to appeal to the fans’ memory for this rematch of the final against Italy at the World Cup in Mexico in 1970. The title of the headline in the sports section on July 14 was: “Just Like 70” and the tone of the articles were of extreme optimism with the possibility to conquer the unprecedented title. At this height of the competition, Muzzi (2010, p. 138) asserted that Romário had already been dubbed the “Savior of the Pátria” by the Brazilian fans, a title that carried strong nationalist tones and a great load of responsibility. The athlete, in turn, took on the role of hero and sought to share the conquest with his peers: “I am going to dedicate the tetra- to the suffered people” (*JB*, 13/07/1994, p. 11). In the same period, when

the highly successful Real economic plan was implemented, then Treasury Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso affirmed that “he was no ‘savior of the patria’” (ROCHA, 1996, p. 13). Romário’s attitude of publicly assuming his qualities jarred the false modesty, common among Brazilians, and present in Cardoso’s speech.

The victory in the finals was difficult and came only in the penalties, for the first time in the history of the World Cup. Assaf and Martins do not fail to mention, as do all the journalists, the pragmatic and defensive football adopted by Parreira and Zagallo, but emphasized two important points: in the first two years at the helm of the national team, Parreira used a team with “joyful and offensive football” and in defense of that squad, indicated that the critics sound unfair, given that “that’s how we overcame 24 years of frustrations, conquering a title unprecedented for the other 197 members of FIFA.” (1998, p. 229). Heizer (1997, p. 303), in turn, concedes that the conquest had heroic form:

The new reality was crystalline: a weak team, execrated by the fans, led by a coach scorned by the press, armed itself to, at the limits of its strength and simple technique, extract an extraordinary result, which will never be forgotten by Brazilian fans.

The analysis of the editions of the *JB* sports section reveal that during this Cup the nationalist theme was not very present, which can point to the beginning of a decline of the sense of the “patria of the cleats,” “which would be closely

analyzed by Helal and Soares (2003) a few years later. We speak of nationality in the sense of an association of the conquests and failures at the Cup the spheres that exacerbate football and collide with the success or defeat of the country itself. We can suppose that this is due to the lack of the “Brazilianness” of the team formed by Parreira and Zagallo, which would find in Romário, its only legitimate representative.

For the magazine *Veja* (1994b, p. 9, 13), whose tone was the exception to the previous affirmation, the conquest of the World Cup redeemed Brazil of larger problems in other social spheres considered to be more “serious”: “After so much disgrace – the corruption of Collor, the Itamar government, the death of Ayrton Senna – the country raises its head and commemorates having, once again, the world’s best football.” It also serves as an explanation for a country in mutation, which is presented in a new way to domestic and foreign eyes: “Football winds up revealing a surprising image of the country. Brazil the tetra-champion – a country that is very different than the land of *jeitinho*¹ and of improvisation”.

Beyond Romário, this was also Dunga’s Cup. The Cup of his readmission to the list of national heroes. His image as an overly aggressive “left him with an ambiguous position in the journalistic memory: “The Dunga Era [...] inspired by the

mediocrity of the obstinate Brazilian midfielder” (HEIZER, 1997, p. 297). In a single phrase, they use two words with adverse connotations: mediocrity as a negative value and obstinate as a point in favor of his style of play. The adjective obstinate is even repeated in an article in *Placar*: [To Speak of Dunga is to Speak of Guts, Determination, Daring” (*Placar*, 1994, p. 21). On June 26, the *JB* printed on the cover of its sports section: “An Era is Born.” On July 16, the day before the final, the words were: “Who would have said that the symbol of a negative phase of Brazilian football – the Dunga Era, the name given to the style of football with little creativity and the great limitation of the team in the 1990 Cup – would now be among the best of the 1994 Cup” (*JB*, 16/07/1994, p. 1). The qualities present in the aggressive players like Dunga are nearly always dubious and lamentable unlike those of our “*macunaímico*”² heroes like Romário.

In general, the journalistic discourse is quite assimilated when it addresses the 1994 Cup. There is a certain tacit agreement among journalists about this Cup when the question is raised about the essence of Brazilian football. The journalists talk of a pragmatic national team, with few technical resources, but with a talented attack, formed by Romário and Bebeto. The title of the chapter about this Cup in the book by the broadcaster Barbosa Filho (2004) summarizes well

1 The Brazilian way of overcoming obstacles posed by the law to everyday life.

2 From Mario de Andrade’s famous character Macunaíma, who was a very lazy guy and a rogue.

the discourse commonly found in public opinion: “We win but we are not convincing.”

This journalistic consensus in the construction of the memory of the event, however, should not be confused as a univocal narrative. There are dissonant voices. The very Barbosa Filho (2004, p. 226) sketches an optimistic portrait of that team, which we do not see shared by his colleagues in the press in the books analyzed:

The team was very good, chosen by coach Parreira. We had a solid defense with Ricardo Rocha, Márcio Santos and as a rule of three the player Aldair, an excellent midfield in Raí, Mauro Silva, Dunga and Zinho and an attack highlighted by the intelligence of Bebeto and the talent of Romário.

3 The academic reflection: what themes were addressed by the researchers?

To understand the bibliographic review that we propose in this topic, we first conducted a search in some databases of scientific articles, such as Scielo, Redalyc, Univerciencia and Google Acadêmico, in March 2013. In addition, we accessed the annals of the main Brazilian academic congresses in the fields of history (Anpuh), social sciences (Anpocs) and communication (Compós and Intercom). In this preliminary investigation, we found some 30 studies that dialoged at some level with our objective: the 1994 World Cup. We excluded many papers from the analysis because they were “generic” looks at the World Cup and its symbolic

representations. The others were found in some way represented in the lines that follow. We gave priority to work available in academic portals, which clearly left out monographs, dissertations and theses that did not have their content separately published in scholarly articles.

3.1 The heroic x villainous narrative

We begin by looking at the article “A construção de narrativas de idolatria no futebol brasileiro” [The construction of narratives of idolatry in Brazilian football] (2003). In it, Helal analyzes, through the perspective of the myth of the “Brazilian style” hero, the narratives of the trajectories of the football stars Zico and Romário. Helal uses this biographic duality to make broader comparisons about the national *ethos*. His hypothesis is that we give more value to success than to effort.

The study of discourse conducted in this article reveals to us how Romário’s trajectory described by the newspapers coincides with a more or less consolidated narrative about national heroes and that appears to change very little between one and another great athlete raised to this position. Romário is an element that reinforces our supposed football identity, in a cast of figures recognized more for their tactical discipline and strength than for its individual talents. Paradoxically, he represented a moment of transition in an increasingly precocious exodus of our stars to European football – part of the

internationalization, professionalization and mercantilization of this sport on a global level (LOPES; FAGUER, 1999, p. 177).

We can enumerate some key issues raised by Helal (2003) in his study about Romário: his poor origin, roguery, power football x artistic football and a dichotomy between order (Dunga) and disorder (Romário). Even if the focus in Fernando Bittencourt's (2009, p. 182) article is not about the 1994 World Cup, he also offers an addendum about Romário:

[...] we cannot fail to mention the connection between the success of the gutsiness and Romário's decisive and or heroic participation which apparently awaits – perhaps not only the popular imagination – positivistic characteristics of our social relations, that is, brown, rogue, clever etc.

In another article, Helal and Soares (2003, p. 10) reverberate a contradiction exposed in the newspapers between Romário and Dunga:

Dunga was like an antithesis to that which Brazilians idealize as being "football art." The conquest of the 1994 Cup, although it provided the team captain his redemption in the sport, was celebrated as the victory of "roguery" symbolized in the football of Romário.

If until now we spoke of victories and heroes, researcher Leda Costa offers a new look for us to interpret the 1994 Cup. Costa (2012, p. 1) is adamant about the discourse in the press: "Although it presents itself as neutral and critical, values such as courage, cowardliness, talent and

lack of talent etc., are triggered by the sports press according to the result of the game." The author traces a brief history of the journalistic narratives about the most emblematic defeats of the national team, using 1950 as the genesis of this discourse about defeat. From there, she proposes what she calls the "hermeneutics of defeat." In a footnote, she affirms that the 1994 World Cup followed a route opposite to that which normally occurred, or that is, it was initially criticized and only at the end became a source of pride.

About Dunga and his role, as the antagonist to Romário and also the protagonist of victory, Costa (2011, p. 7) affirms that:

Few villains like Dunga, in 1990, were able to be considered as the near total negation of Brazilian football. Nevertheless, this same Dunga, in 1994, would be considered one of the heroes of the fourth world championship, a player whose virtues were evoked in 2006 soon after the exit of that national team from the World Cup that year.

Costa thus uses the discourse about the villain to develop an extensive argument about our tendency to always look for culprits for defeat and contrast our football (and metonymically, our Brazilianness) with the European. Finally, he questions the validity of a frequently repeated motto by sports journalists upon criticizing coaches and players: they are not representing the essence of Brazilian football - or football art. The author shows that, since it is socially constructed, this essence cannot be naturalized. To naturalize it is a mistake that triggers others, like the

very search for culprits in the defeats, and the requirement that the national team always play with this ideal of Brazilian football.

Another author who has studied the representations of the player Romário is anthropologist Simoni Guedes (1995, p. 26, 30), who focused on the “dramatization about rebelliousness” and whose *corpus* was the newspapers *O Globo* and *JB*. She emphasizes the dimension of “discipline,” found in the episode of Romário’s expulsion from the team during most of the Qualifying Round, opposing it to the art inherent to the great player, and emphasizes the dichotomy between the star and the group. In this sense, Romário would be a rebel hero, less “macunaímico” than aggressive. In sum, according to Guedes (1995, p. 31, emphasis hers), “[...] it is the relationship between exclusion for **lack of discipline** and his so successful return that would reshape his image, attaining, through the **ordeal** of the 1994 World Cup, the most noble pantheon of Brazilian football.”

In another article, Guedes (2010/2011) considers Romário exemplary of what qualifies as rebel discourses in football. The forward and leading scorer had subverted the logic in which a player is submissive and simply plays without speaking. Guedes (2010/2011, p. 9) uses this case as an emblem of something larger: “Romário, in the 1994 World Cup, not only played, but spoke the whole time and spoke about the people, identifying himself as someone of the people [...] with this claim he

said that the *people* did not need a spokesman”.

Another article by the same author (2009), with a similar motivation, contrasted this “popular” voice legitimated by Romário to that of João Lyra Filho, a scholar and sports executive in the 1954 World Cup. Contrary to the former, Lyra Filho adopted a racist and elitist discourse that attributed to the people themselves the guilt for social ills.

3.2 Football and National Identity

Returning to Helal, a text he wrote with Cesar Gordon addresses the supposed crisis in Brazilian football, from a technical and structural perspective in the last decades of the 20th century. According to the authors, the conquest of 1994 was not enough to remove the word crisis from the “agenda of the Sports press” (2002, p. 49). This crisis would be mainly expressed in the press discourse, which would no longer see “football as a metonym for the nation” (HELAL, 2012, p. 37). To sustain his argument Helal (2010, p. 37) affirms that: “The defeat in the final to Uruguay in 1950 and the conquest of its third world championship in 1970 were felt as defeat and victory, respectively, of projects of the Brazilian nation. Meanwhile, the victories of 1994 and 2002 did not transcend the sports terrain.” For Gastaldo (2003, p. 7), this fading of the relationship between the national football team and the nation verified most prominently in 1998, could be linked to the title conquered in 1994: “The victory in the 1994 World Cup, after a long period of 24 years without a title in World Cups, promoted a

rearticulation of meanings in this relationship between the evaluation of the Brazilian team and the evaluation of the Brazilian people.”

In a study about the media narrative of the alterities and rivalries between Brazil and Argentina with the sports universe as the stage, Helal (2006, p. 5) highlights the beginning of a response from the Argentina press to the provocations of the Brazilian newspapers to Maradona in 1994, at the same time the Argentine press maintained the usual admiration for the style of the Brazilian play. The Argentine newspapers, like the Brazilians, emphasized the importance of Romário, whom Argentine journalists called *El Chapulín*, despite Ferreira’s scheme. We think that this type of analysis, of a comparative nature, is extremely opportune, mainly in a globalized world like ours in which much is written about homogenized identities and cooled nationalities.

In the wake of Roberto DaMatta and Gilberto Freyre, two complementary articles by Everardo Rocha (1995, 1996) revise the interpretation of Brazil by means of its dichotomic dualities, such as: “*Individual/person, rogue/hard working, carnival/week of the nation, jeitinho/rule of the house/street*” (1995, p. 48, emphasis by the author). Despite this, what interests me in this article was the explanation, in the form of questioning, that Rocha sought for the fact that we prefer the Cups of 58, 62 and 70, and even those of 50 and 82, in which we were defeated, than the fourth world title in 1994.

The traditional representations of Brazil and its national team do not apply to this Cup, where pragmatism and dedication were more present than the cunning and natural talent of our players. The organization eclipsed a style of play considered more free and less methodical. About this, Rocha (1996, p. 11, emphasis by the author) emphasizes that both the specialized press as well as the public in general would have preferred to “win the cup another way, or more radically, that winning with a football that was *ugly, schematic, closed, artless, without dance or category* was not worth it, or even that it had not been a victory of *true* Brazilian football.” At a another moment, he asked, as did Costa (mentioned previously in this article): “And what is this that we call true Brazilian football, or first, we may say, the *truths of Brazil*, through football?” (1995, p. 56, emphasis by the author).

3.3 Radio, advertising and new lines of research

In “1994: the last World Cup narrated by the ‘little kid’ Osmar Santos”, Patrícia Rangel (2012) investigates the radio coverage of this Cup, highlighting as the main facts the unprecedented use of cell phones in the coverage and the forced retirement for medical reasons of the announcer mentioned in the title of her article. This advance represented, in addition to a technological gain, an improvement in the audio quality received by listeners. Rangel reveals that it was thanks to these new technical devices that Rádio Globo

could break the news live about Romário's escape from the team's "concentration" or enclosure in the hotel. In addition, in the same article, she reaffirms the myths of the press that: "Brazil, led by the strikers Romário and Bebeto and steered by the duo Parreira-Zagallo, played pragmatic football" (RANGEL, 2012, p. 196).

Another possible approach, and quite distinct from those we saw until now, is the article of Carmen Rial (2005) about TV and magazine advertising during the World Cup of 1994. Rial highlights that in periods of the Cup, the advertising focuses on themes related to national identity and patriotism, conceding greater space to blacks and mulattos, considered legitimate representatives of our style of play. Then, the author analyzes commercials by *Rider* [sandals] and for the Brazilian beers *Antarctica* and *Brahma*. In this period, the advertising is still impregnated by a series of stereotypes in the representation of blacks who are associated to aspects of nature (which can be synthesized by the equation: white=intellect; black=body).

A still underexplored source of analysis, which we investigated is the official film of that Cup: *Two Billion Hearts*. Directed by the Brazilian, Murillo Salles, the film was released in 1995. The documentary of approximately 105 minutes combines a look at the American fans' initial lack of knowledge of the sport, with the festival that took place in the stadiums and the specificities of the fans of each country. The nationalities

and their stereotypes express themselves in the stands. The words of the narrator would be fit for a separate study about his discourse, which reinforces the classic images of football, linking it to art and to nature – and of course being an official film of the World Cup, as expected, the folklore of the sport occupies an important role. It speaks, for example of Maradona, associated to the lightness of wind and the "magic of his left foot" and of an "always methodical" Germany.

Furthermore, why are there not more studies that focus on radio coverage? Or about the television coverage? After all, in this Cup, the accumulated TV audience reached 33 billion people (*Veja*, 1994b, p. 35); for the first time a large American network (ABC) broadcast the games live; and Brazil's Rede Globo had four exclusive cameras (*Veja*, 1994a, p. 56-57). Unless there was an error in our bibliographic research, no articles focused on this media. Most of the attention is on the print media and their discourses. Of course, we should recognize the difficulties of research that involves the audiovisual media, particularly in the pre-Internet era, when access to the content was more restricted for the general public.

Some questions are still eligible for more work. Is it possible that the foreign press praised the national team as much as the Brazilian newspapers affirmed? What actually was the image of our team in foreign eyes? What were the attributes associated to Romário and Dunga? Did the same issues that triggered

the analysis of the national press appear in comparative studies in foreign journals?

4 Final points

Some points should be recalled at this moment. We saw in the article how the narrative about the 1994 Cup was the subject of many journalistic publications, in the form of books and encyclopedias. This is normal and to be expected, because World Cups attract the curiosity of the reader atemporally, and for this reason, sell. On the other hand, the academic world lacks greater variation in the objects addressed within the large range of themes provided by this Cup. In addition, we find a concentration of authors from the southeastern region of Brazil and even so, a limited number, which represents a specific bias in the *corpus* of analysis and perhaps of the theoretical work. It thus seems to us that while the authorized discourse of the sports press is lacking reflection and is dominated by common sense, the academic discourse simply lacks variety of thematic repertoire and breadth in the number of authors.

The sports press was ruthless during (see the narrative of *JB* and the magazines studied) and after (see the books and encyclopedias) the Cup. In the printed word, that national team was the worst possible representation of the Brazilian style of play, with the exception of one or another player, but even so, was able to conquer the title. This conquest required a change in discourse and an emphasis on effort and on the collective play of that

group. Nevertheless, a considerable portion of the credit from public opinion was given to Romário. He was the bastion of Brazilianness responsible for the triumph. That said, we understand why there was a concentration of academic articles about the representation created around Romário. He was truly the grand media figure of this Cup. In addition, the hermeneutics of defeat was addressed, the question of national identity, advertising and the presence of radio. The 1994 World Cup is not, thus, an already depleted object of research. There is much to be done, while important ground has been laid by the authors discussed here.

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A polifonia discursiva da Copa de 1994: os discursos autorizados sobre o tetracampeonato

Resumo

O artigo discute a produção acadêmica e jornalística em torno da Copa do Mundo de Futebol de 1994. Tomando como base a noção de discursos autorizados, desenvolvida por Guedes (2010/2011) inspirada em Bourdieu (1983), estudamos o discurso construído em torno desse evento a partir de oito enciclopédias e livros de Copas, do Jornal do Brasil (JB) e de edições comemorativas das revistas *Época* e *Placar*. A produção acadêmica investigada foi oriunda de anais de evento, artigos em periódicos e capítulos de livro. Observamos que enquanto o discurso autorizado da imprensa esportiva carece de reflexão e se deixa levar pelo senso comum, ao discurso acadêmico falta simplesmente variedade de repertório temático, referencial teórico e ampliação no número de autores. Os trabalhos acadêmicos abordaram, principalmente, a hermenêutica da derrota, a questão da identidade nacional, a publicidade e a presença do rádio.

Palavras-chave

Esporte. Mídia. Discurso. Jornalismo. Copa do Mundo.

La polifonía discursiva del Mundial de Fútbol de 1994: discursos permitidos en el tetracampeonato

Resumen

El artículo discute la producción académica y periodística acerca de la Copa de Mundo de Fútbol de 1994. Basándose en la noción de discursos autorizados, desarrollada por Guedes (2010/2011), inspirada en Bourdieu (1983), investigamos el discurso construido acerca de este evento desde ocho enciclopedias y libros de Mundiales, del diario Jornal do Brasil y de ediciones conmemorativas de las revistas *Época* y *Placar*. La producción académica investigada se originó de anales de evento, artículos en periódicos y capítulos de libros. Observamos que el discurso autorizado de la prensa deportiva necesita de reflexión y se deja llevar por el sentido común, mientras que al discurso académico le falta simplemente una variedad de repertorio temático y una ampliación de autores. Los trabajos académicos abarcaron, principalmente, la hermenéutica de la derrota, la cuestión de la identidad nacional, la publicidad y la presencia de la radio.

Palabras-Clave

Deportes. Medios de comunicación. Discurso. Periodismo. Copas del Mundo..

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