CASE STUDY
Culture, resistance and policies of exclusion at World Cup 2014: the case of the ‘Baianas do Acarajé’

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During the preparations for the Confederations Cup 2013 in Brazil, the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) announced that it would restrict the sale of an important culinary tradition of the country, known as acarajé, during the 2014 World Cup games. Acarajé, which is listed by the Brazilian Government’s Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage as intangible heritage – an adored fritter of beans, sauces, and shrimp – has been sold by Afro-Brazilian women around the Fonte Nova stadium in Salvador de Bahia for 60 years, with roots that stretch back to slavery. Based on its ‘Word Cup Law’ that creates ‘zones of exclusivity’ around stadiums and prohibits the practice of street vending during matches, FIFA announced a ban on the sale of acarajé within a two-kilometer radius of the stadium. This paper describes the campaign by a street vendor association against provisions in the FIFA World Cup Law, which exclude traditional sellers and allow only licensed products from tournament sponsors to be sold in proximity to World Cup stadiums, and discusses the impact of identity on this mobilization for social equality. Also highlighted is the role that social media played in the Baianas case, and the impact of these technologies on both protesters and media audiences.

Keywords: FIFA World Cup; Brazil; culture; street vendors; resistance

Resumen

Durante la preparación para la Copa de Confederación 2013 en Brasil, la Federación Internacional de Fútbol (FIFA) anunció que restringiría la venta de una importante tradición culinaria del país, conocida como acarajé, durante el Mundial de 2014. El acarajé, que está reconocido por el Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Histórico y Artístico del Gobierno brasileño como patrimonio inmaterial –un adorable buñuelo de frijoles, salsas y camarones-, se ha vendido por mujeres negras pobres en los alrededores del estadio de Fonte Nova en Salvador de Bahía durante 60 años, con raíces que se extienden hasta la esclavitud. Basada en esta ‘Ley del Mundial’ que crea ‘zonas de exclusividad’ alrededor de los estadios y prohíbe la práctica de la venta ambulante durante los partidos, la FIFA anunció una prohibición de venta del acarajé en un radio de dos kilómetros del estadio. Este trabajo describe la campaña desarrollada por la asociación de vendedores ambulantes contra las disposiciones en la Ley del Mundial FIFA, que excluye a los vendedores tradicionales y permite vender sólo productos con licencia de los patrocinadores del torneo dentro de los dos kilómetros a la redonda de los estadios del Mundial. También se destaca el papel

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que los social media jugaron en el caso de las Baianas y el impacto de estas tecnologías tanto en los manifestantes como en la audiencia de los medios.

Palabras claves: Mundial FIFA; Brasil; Cultura; Vendedores ambulantes; Resistencia

Résumé


Mot-Clés: Coupe du Monde de la FIFA; Brésil; Culture; Vendeurs de rues/ vendeurs ambulants; Résistance

摘要

在筹备2013年巴西联合会杯期间,国际足联宣布2014年世界杯期间将限制该国销售一项重要的传统食品'acarajé'。Acaraje是巴西国家历史与艺术遗产协会列为非物质遗产的一种深受喜爱的食物，已经被萨尔瓦多Fonte Nova体育馆附近贫穷的黑人妇女售卖了将近60年，用油炸豆泥搭配鲜虾和酱汁，可以追溯至奴隶起源。由于世界杯法‘规定了体育场周边的“区域独家经营权”，比赛期间禁止街头商贩的售卖行为。国际足联因此宣布禁止在体育馆两公里范围内销售acarajé。本文介绍了由于国际足联仅允许赛事赞助商在世界杯场馆两公里范围内销售特许商品，拒绝传统商贩而导致街头商贩联合起来的反抗运动。讨论了社会平等运动对身份认同的影响。强调社交媒体在Baianas(售卖Acarajé的妇女的形象)案例中扮演的作用，以及技术对抗议者和媒体受众的影响。

关键词:国际足联世界杯; 巴西; 文化; 街头商贩; 反抗

Introduction

Street vending is a source of economic opportunity for a large number of people in the informal sector. When supported and showcased, street vendors can help create iconic culturally defined cities. Beginning in the 1980s, the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) turned to a business model based on the greater involvement of major sponsor corporations with the World Cup, causing both an expansion of the commercial character of the tournament and a more exclusionary atmosphere (Sugden & Tomlinson, 1998). For sponsorship payments to FIFA of tens of millions of dollars
per year, Coca-Cola, Visa, Budweiser, McDonald’s, and other global sponsors buy exclusive sales rights during the month-long World Cup. In a country like Brazil, where millions of poor people make their living selling items in public spaces, such an arrangement is particularly burdensome.

In 2012, in advance of the Confederations Cup (effectively a rehearsal for the World Cup), FIFA announced that, in keeping with the ‘World Cup Law’, local street vendors, including Baianas do Acarajé (Baianas of Acarajé), would be prohibited from vending within two kilometers of the renovated Fonte Nova stadium in Salvador, Brazil, during both the Confederation and World Cups. Baianas, as local Afro-Brazilian women are known, began selling acarajé on the streets and beaches of Salvador da Bahia in colonial times, originally as wage-earning slaves. For six decades Baianas have sold acarajé in front of the stadium; and these sales were representative of both a way to make a living and, a cultural and culinary form passed down for generations, an irreplaceable part of Afro-Brazilian culture. Following a brief description of the policy around FIFA’s exclusion zone and street vending in Salvador, the article provides a cultural contextualization of acarajé before describing the successful political challenge that a group of poor, Afro-Brazilian women street vendors mounted against one of the most powerful international organizations in the world. It is argued that the mobilization of these Baianas has implications for thinking about the influence of identity, culture, and social media on contemporary social movements.

FIFA’s zones of exclusivity

The conditions for hosting the World Cup include the creation of ‘exclusion zones’ of two kilometers around each of the World Cup stadia. These zones allow FIFA and its sponsors the exclusive right to distribute, sell, or advertise products, and provide services. Such zones are problematic because they serve to cast aside local vendors and businesses that have made a living around local sporting events for years. Nevertheless, in June 2013, the Brazilian Congress approved the ‘World Cup Law’ which, among other things, established a two-kilometer ‘exclusion zone’ around each of the World Cup stadia. Within these zones, FIFA used private security contractors to control the circulation of people and prohibit the sale of products not allowed by the organization.

FIFA’s major partners each pay the sporting organization between $10 and $25 million per year for this access. The partners include Visa, Sony, Adidas, Coca-Cola, and McDonald’s. These zones tend to feel like American soil: Budweiser is always the official – that is, only – beer seller; Coke has the soda market cornered; hot dogs and cheeseburgers are common menu items. The World Cup zones of exclusion are also troubling in a country known for its street festivals and celebrations. Usually, times of public celebration in Brazil are opportunities for informal workers to sell to the crowds and earn extra income. Just the opposite is true of the World Cup. For example, none of the estimated 60,000 informal workers in Rio de Janeiro were allowed to get anywhere near Maracanã stadium.

In South Africa, for World Cup 2010, FIFA’s agreements with the host cities also set up wide exclusion zones around both the stadia and the ‘fan parks’, where only official sponsors were allowed to sell. These zones effectively prohibited informal traders from setting up in their usual posts. For example, in Cape Town, as in Brazil, a large percentage of the population depends on income acquired through the informal sector. As a result, the loss of income and livelihoods as a result of these wholesale exclusionary practices was substantial (Gorman, 2014). An estimated 100,000 South
African street and informal traders lost their income streams during World Cup 2010 after organizers forcibly removed vendors from exclusion zones set up around stadia and Fan Parks (Hedman, 2010). The situation in South Africa led a street vendor/activist in South Africa to give the following warning, which was heeded by the Baianas in Salvador:

Street vendors in Brazil should act before the World Cup! Here, we only heard about the conditions and what we are allowed to do and not to do, now, today, when it is only a few days before the World Cup. They need to make their voices heard before things get finalized. (Mama Majola, Nelson Mandela Bay Street Vendors’ Association, South Africa, Quoted in Hedman (2010))

Vendors in each of the 12 Brazilian World Cup cities suffered as a result of the impacts of FIFA’s exclusionary policies; however, the impact of the policy in Salvador was particularly acute, given the local ethos around informal street vending. Salvador is a city of nearly three million people, of which approximately one million live in poverty. With an official unemployment rate that fluctuates between 15% and 20%, the informal economy flourishes. As such, there are approximately 50,000 street traders in the center of Salvador, though only about a fraction of these are registered with the government.

Street vendors are administered by the Municipal Secretary of Public Services (SESP) which manages markets and issues licenses. In order to obtain a license to trade, a person must submit a basic identity card, indicate in which area the person plans to work, and pay a modest fee of about $5 per month. Generally speaking, the traders feel that the relations with the municipality and the state government are good, and that the Mayor is favorable to street vendors. The situation of informal trade in Salvador is quite different from that in other cities. For example, in Sao Paulo, there has been relentless and long-standing persecution of street traders.

Unlike other cities in Brazil and around the world, informal traders in Salvador are not subject to constant inspection and control. The municipal government is not repressive and there is no prohibition on trading. As many of the street traders are recent immigrants from poor, rural areas, the more ‘benevolent’ municipal policies toward informal trading have caused Salvador to become an even bigger draw for rural immigrants (Streetnet International, 2012).

Acarajé: a primer

Established by the Portuguese in 1549, and the center of the early Brazilian slave trade, the state of Bahia and its capital Salvador continue to maintain a distinct African cultural character. The area is the birthplace of the syncretic African-derived religious systems of Candomblé and Umbanda; the martial art of Capoeira; African-based music such as samba, choro, and foxé; as well as foods with strong links to western Africa, such as acarajé. Acarajé is a fritter made from black-eyed peas and deep-fried in dendé (palm oil) – similar to a large falafel. After being split in half like a sandwich, they are stuffed with vatapá and caruru – thick, spicy pastes made with cassava, cashews, and okra. Fried shrimp and a salad of tomatoes, onions, and cilantro top it off. A generous dousing of hot sauce, made from malagueta peppers soaked in oil and vinegar, finishes the delicacy and is why the name is translated as ‘fireball’. The name acarajé comes directly from Yoruban culture. Akara (as it is still known in
Southern Nigeria) was a recipe taken to Brazil by the slaves from the West African coast. Where the Akara is sold on the roadsides in Nigeria, the women who sell it call out ‘Akara je’, which means ‘Come and eat Akara’ in Yoruba (Dawson, 2012). When enslaved Africans came to Brazil, it became Acarajé.

The act of producing and selling acarajé has always been female-run, principally by Baianas. In Salvador, acarajé is sold everywhere: at the beaches, in the marketplaces, in squares, streets, and at festivals, such as carnivals. Acarajé operations run the gamut: from cash-only, sole-proprietor operations with only a small table (tabuleiro) displaying wares under simple glass displays to very large operations with multiple stoves, several tables, and even wait staff. Two of the most popular stands have also built restaurants near their stands. The dress of the Baianas, characteristic of the rituals of Candomblé, also constitutes a strong element of identification with the craft, consisting of cloth turbans and beaded necklaces, signifying the religious intent of the Baianas. Although it is sold in a secular context, acarajé is still considered by the Baianas to be a sacred food in honor of the Orisha (deity) Iansã. Because of this, its recipe, although not secret, cannot be changed, and should only be prepared by cadomblecistas (IPHAN, 2004).

The tradition of selling acarajé has its beginnings in the colonial period. ‘Slaves of profit’ (eslavos de ganho) worked in the streets for their masters (often poor landowners with small holdings), performing diverse activities, including selling delicacies in their stands. In West Africa, there is a history of women selling food products on the streets, which gave them autonomy in relation to men, and many times placed them in the role of a provider in their families. When those West African women arrived in Brazil, street businesses in the cities allowed female slaves to go beyond providing services to their masters: they guaranteed, many times, the livelihoods of their own families, which was important for the formation of community ties among urban slaves.

However, due to their freedom of movement, urban slaves were seen as dangerous elements. After the abolition of slavery in 1888 and the birth of the Republic in 1890, the country’s penal code was rewritten with repressive attitudes and laws. Candomblé and Capoeira (an Afro martial arts/dance originating during slavery in Brazil) suffered persecution and state-sanctioned violence. Baianas de acarajé faced similar persecution for their African identities and religious links to Candomblé. However, with the implementation of the programs of the Estado Novo (New State) from 1937 to 1945, a change occurred under the military dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas. An attempt was made to create a cohesive national identity, and the Vargas government legitimized and celebrated these long-persecuted African identities. During this period, the Institute of National Patrimony and Historic Artistry (IPHAN) was created to recognize and protect various aspects of Brazilian society and culture officially (Castañeda, 2014).

Selling acarajé remains an economic activity relevant to many Afro-Brazilian women over a century following the end of slavery. Today, entire families continue to be dependent on Baianas’ commercial stands. According to the Baianas national professional association, 70% of its members in the State of Bahia are heads of the family.

**Baianas of resistance**

… we work alone with our stand, from sun up to sun down, exposed to the cold, the heat, and also to violence. But we are black, perseverant women: if we don’t sell today, we will sell tomorrow. We are a symbol of resistance since slavery. Maria Leda Marques, president of the Association of Baianas of Acarajé and Mingau of Bahia (ABAM)
The Baiana has held an important place in Brazilian popular culture for a century. An influential Brazilian novel written at the turn of the twentieth century by the naturalist de Azevedo emphasized the voluptuous sensuality of the Baiana. The hyper-sexualized Baiana look of Broadway star Carmen Miranda during the 1940s and 1950s functioned to strengthen this stereotype. By the 1950s, when Brazil entered into a government-sponsored program of economic modernization, the state of Bahia experienced a commodification of its Afro-Brazilian culture (including the Baianas, Candomblé, and Capoeira) in the country’s first wave of mass tourism. It was during this period that a duality emerged around the Baiana: while seen in a positive light, they were also relegated to stagnant folkloric icons.

Within the past few decades, Baianas have continued to resist their appropriation as they demonstrate – to themselves and to the world – their collective political right to assert themselves as full citizens. They established the Association of Baianas de Acarajé (ABAM) in 1992; the association has since grown into a national organization that works as a liaison between Baiana street vendors and the municipal and state governments. Association services include facilitating the process of obtaining official street vendor licenses with the municipal governments, collaborating sales with specific grocery stores, and getting doctors and dentists to offer free or reduced services. The association also offers both cuisine courses – to teach how to prepare acarajé and the other foods these vendors sell – and English language courses to help Baianas communicate with tourists. Aside from the daily services provided to Baianas, ABAM has collaborated with the state government to incentivize Afro-Bahian college attendance. ABAM secured a program providing two years of tuition paid by the government for the children of Baianas who pass the vestibular (similar to the SAT exams in the USA) (Castañeda, 2014).

In 1998, acarajé was recognized by IPHAN. IPHAN (2004) specified the guidelines of the profession including the traditional dress, the association to Candomblé, the religious symbolism instilled in acarajé, and the mandatory use of the tabuleiro or wooden table used for generations. Baianas use these official declarations as state-sanctioned agreements that bars, restaurants, and stores cannot threaten a Baiana’s livelihood by selling the African-originating foods that Baianas sell. For example, there has recently been an increased level of participation by Evangelical Protestants in formal politics in Brazil that has led to, among other things, attempts to de-legitimize Baianas and displace them from the sale of acarajé in favor of evangelical stalls selling a product called ‘acarajé Jesus’. In a religious attack, the Evangelicals refer to the acarajé made by the Baianas as ‘devil-food’. Nonetheless, Baianas maintained their allegiance to Candomblé, eventually winning a court injunction banning evangelical churches from selling acarajé.

In 2004, the craft of the Baianas de acarajé was officially registered as a national cultural heritage by the IPHAN. Fundamentally, this is a national pledge to protect and preserve the country’s heritage, including historical monuments, cultural expressions, and traditional ways of life. This was followed, in 2010, by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization’s recognition of acarajé and the Baianas who sell it as part of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity. However, social mobility has not accompanied such official recognition, and while Baianas de acarajé have been visibly hard-working since colonial times, Baianas have continued to lead lives of socioeconomic marginalization (Castañeda, 2014).

In spite of this marginalization, the Baianas were determined to share their heritage of acarajé with the world at the World Cup and resisted the FIFA policy of exclusion —
Identity, culture, and social media in contemporary social movement mobilization

Since the Baianas do Acará movement was a response to the adversities of globalization and its resultant flows of capital, it is important to note two aspects of the present mobilization that have been shared with several movements in the contemporary moment (e.g. Benski, Langman, Perugorría, & Tejerina, 2013). More specifically, the Baiana case, it could be argued, is illustrative of the critical importance of identity and culture, as well as of social media in contemporary social movement mobilization.

In the 1980s, social movement theory began to focus on the so-called new social movement (NSM) (Habermas, 1981; Offe, 1985). NSM theory distinguishes between ‘old’ social movements – those movements tied to economic issues, such as trade union movements – and NSMs, such as the ecology and women’s movements. NSM theorists are primarily concerned with understanding and examining social movements that occur on the basis of contestations over culture and identities in the realm of ‘civil society’ rather than merely in the ‘political arena’.

While there have been criticisms of NSM theory (Pichardo, 1997), some theorists have found it to be a useful theoretical framework, particularly in the Latin American context. For example, Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar (1998) argue that NSMs, specifically in Brazil, created new democratic discourses and practices to replace undemocratic ones. They argue that NSMs have functioned to resist authoritarianism and advocate democracy. Similarly, Dagnino (2007) argues that NSMs were necessary to create democratic citizenship in Brazil. Alvarez (1997) argues that grassroots NSMs in Brazil have transformed how people think of democracy and politics because the movements are composed of subaltern populations that have different cultural and political ideas.

The Baianas’ mobilization against FIFA demonstrates the central importance collective identity can assume in contemporary social movement mobilization. Identity itself can be seen as the primary site for anchoring hegemonic discourses; therefore, identity itself often becomes the contested terrain where counter-hegemonic discourses and identities resist and challenge authority (Benski et al., 2013). While there was a substantial economic issue at play, that is, the Baianas’ ability to continue their livelihood during the Games, the challenge was primarily framed at the levels of identity and culture rather than economics.

The role that social media now plays in precipitating the rise of social movements and political activism is also of import to the present case. Social media – Internet applications such as Facebook and Twitter, which facilitate the creation and exchange of
user-created content – have been identified as key to events as diverse as the Occupy Wall Street movement of 2012, the ‘Arab Spring’ uprisings of 2011, and Barack Obama’s 2008 electoral campaign. Furthermore, video and photo-sharing sites allow activists to upload audiovisual material before and after protests. The richness of this kind of content can even serve to mitigate linguistic barriers, as well as to elicit the emotional responses critical in mobilizing and building a sense of collective identity. Beyond the success of the Baianas’ change.com petition, the Internet served as a ‘virtual public space’ for the Baianas. Ideas and information were disseminated, debated, and shared with the world. Additionally, it is important to point out the impact of social media on a social movement in the nation where Facebook is the most popular in the world.

Some, however, have written off social media activism as ‘slacktivism’ (Gladwell, 2010), questioning the basic utility of digital activism and whether online interactions will have any significant effect at all. Beyond being merely ineffective, Gladwell (2010) argues that digital activism is likely to further entrench existing political and social practices. Thus, Gladwell (2010) sees the Internet as a distracting technology, much like an earlier generation of critics did television – a technology that reinforced existing social and political tendencies rather than challenging them (Janson & Rand, 2013). In response to this critique, Tufekci (2010) argues that the strength of weak ties built online lies in their ability to be maintained offline, and that, in fact, digital activism can complement offline activism by creating and nourishing relationships. This goes against the idea of ‘digital dualism’, the notion that online and offline worlds are separate entities, one ‘virtual’ and the other ‘real’. From Tufekci’s (2010) perspective, online and offline interactions are complementary and supportive. In keeping with this notion, Castells (2012) refers to the critical importance of contemporary ‘public spaces’ – conceptualized as the ‘networked space between the digital space and the urban space’, as a vital component of any demonstration for social change. The critical role of social media in the Baianas movement offers a compelling example of the use of social media to strengthen organizing efforts.

Just as jet aircraft and fiber optic technologies allow for the compression of time and space, social media technologies allow for the communication and coordination of protest activities (Benski et al., 2013). Tied to these social media technologies is what Castell (2012) calls mass self-communication, the use of the social media networks as a means of sending messages and expressing the meanings constructed in people’s minds. It is mass because countless messages from countless senders can reach countless receivers. It is self-communicated because the content of the messages ‘is autonomously decided by the sender, the designation of the receiver is self-directed and the retrieval of messages from the networks of communication is self-selected’ (Castells, 2012, p. 7). The potential of social media to challenge power hierarchies and shift the balance of power toward more bottom-up efforts exists because mass self-communicated networks are horizontal in structure. It follows that because such networks operate on a horizontal basis, more or less free from vertical control, they can easily criticize and question the powers that be, while being able to foster a larger scale of participation (Castells, 2012, p. 15). This ‘self-communication’ aspect is important in the context of the way the Baianas chose to frame their issue.

The use of social media offered the Baianas an opportunity to bypass traditional media and directly influence opinions and behavior through framing. Early on, ‘cultural terrorism’ of FIFA’s policies was the frame used by ABAM, a frame which loudly resonated with many Brazilians unhappy with the coming of the World Cup to their country
– even beyond the significant issue of the billions of reais (Brazilian currency) being spent on the mega-event in a nation with inadequate health, education, and even sanitation. For example, the removal of the name of Mané Garrincha (a famous footballer who played for Brazil’s national team from 1955 to 1966) from the National Stadium in Brasília fueled the ire of many Brazilians. FIFA defended the decision, arguing that the World Cup, as an event of ‘international interest’, required stadia names ‘adequate for an international audience’. Many Brazilians saw FIFA as attempting to homogenize their distinctive culture. Tapping into this national sense of cultural attack was a skillful way to frame the Baianas’ fight – and it worked. For example, the popular Facebook page Frases de Baiano published a photo of the Baianas’ street protests and that helped to get the word out about the struggle. The photograph received a thousand ‘likes’, and was also republished on Twitter with the words #NãoQueroMcDonalds, #QueroAcarajé (I do not want McDonald’s, I want acarajé) which, in turn, was shared by nearly 2000 people. The framing technique of the Baianas through the social media was particularly effective – especially in the context of the larger protests by hundreds of thousands against the World Cup – and tied the Baianas’ issue to the larger questions of social justice being raised around the country. The Baianas’ social media campaign was ultimately so effective that the mass media, both national and international, came to represent the Baianas.

After several months of organizing, FIFA eventually relented and the Baianas were given official permission to sell acarajé inside the Fonte Nova stadium at the Confederations Cup in 2013. In the end, World Cup Sponsor McDonald’s did not provide food inside the stadia. Instead, FIFA contracted global service giant Aramark, together with its Brazilian partner, Convivas, to manage concessions and workforce catering at the six FIFA Confederations Cup stadia in 2013 and the 12 FIFA World Cup stadia in 2014. While some may question whether substituting one global service giant for another is indeed progress, Aramark was at least willing, to some degree, to work with local vendors.

For the World Cup, the Baianas were unfortunately prevented from selling inside the stadium. Six Baianas were allowed to set up tents inside the exclusive zone. While poor signage led to lessened visibility for the Baianas, in the end, acarajé went on sale for the world’s visitors inside the exclusive zone of Fonte Nova at the World Cup. FIFA had never allowed street vendors to sell within the World Cup zones of exclusivity – only official sponsors, such as McDonald’s and Coca-Cola. Baianas de acarajé are the first group of street vendors in the history of FIFA and the World Cup to have obtained permission to sell within the World Cup exclusive zone. The achievement set the precedent for street vendors in other Brazilian cities. In Recife, local leaders got FIFA to allow the sale of another regional delicacy – Tapioca, a flat cassava pancake – at Arena Pernambucano. Another local dish, Tropeiro, was served at Belo Horizonte’s Mineirao stadium, and ‘fish and chips’ with Amazonian tambaqui river fish was available in the jungle city of Manaus.

Conclusion
While the existence of contemporary social movements may begin with, and their maintenance may even rely upon, social media, they transform themselves into active organizations by occupying public spaces, normally culturally or politically important urban spaces, such as, in this case, the FIFA zones of exclusivity. It is this
hybrid nature of contemporary movements, it has been argued, which makes them different and arguably stronger than their traditional counterparts (Castells, 2012), and points to an important aspect of the Baianas’ success.

Once repressed vendors who had to sell their wares late at night to avoid detection by authorities, Baianas do Acarajé are now recognized as the culture of their nation and humanity. With a spirit of resistance and resilience – local and global, modern and traditional – they mobilize to protect their craft, based on the particular cultural space that they occupy. At the same time, they have firmly maintained their ties to Candomblé and traditional values. Like the South African vendors before them, they look ahead to the next World Cup, in hopes that their victory will continue to be an impactful one.

The most important achievement is that we opened a door with FIFA … We opened a door for other national traditions to face FIFA and be part of a tournament. I hope that in Russia, who will host the next World Cup, FIFA will think about their traditions before imposing their guidelines. Baiana do Acarajé (Quoted in Maidment (2014))

The case of the FIFA and the Baianas illustrates the simultaneity with which global capitalism can serve to reinforce patterns of social inequality, while also fostering resistance to that very inequality, particularly in the context of mega-events.

Disclosure statement
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