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The Role of Soccer in the Post-Colonial Relationship Between Brazil and Portugal

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Hunter Johnson

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the role of soccer in the post-colonial relationship between Brazil and Portugal. It begins by discussing the history of the two countries, in particular the discovery and colonization of Brazil by Portugal. It then examines notable Brazilian-born Portuguese players, and then analyzes Brazilian player transfers to Portugal in the 2011-12 season. It concludes by discussing the wider impact of the results, and the effect of globalization on the modern-day soccer world.

I. Introduction

On September 11th, 2013, the men's national soccer teams of Brazil and Portugal played each other at Gillette Stadium in Foxborough, Massachusetts. Brazil won the game 3-1, with their star player Neymar scoring one goal and creating two more.¹ Both sides lacked several regular starters, and the final score itself meant very little. At the time, both teams were looking beyond the game into the wider picture of their respective soccer worlds. Brazil needed preparation for the upcoming 2014 World Cup, since they automatically qualified as the host country. This deprived Brazil of participation in the notoriously tough South American qualifying games, and forced them to play a series of preparation games against a variety of international teams. Portugal, then participating in the European qualifying games, needed its players adequately prepared for upcoming road games. Given these circumstances, both teams completely ignored the wider political and cultural relationship involved in the game. Brazil had previously been a Portuguese colony, and its natural resources were exploited to benefit Portugal. The Portuguese were responsible for first discovering and colonizing South America, and their colony would expand into the largest country on the continent. Even after its independence, Brazil is still significantly influenced by Portugal.

In 1498, Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama became the first known European to sail directly around the southern tip of Africa and reach East Africa and the Indian subcontinent. In 1500, Pedro Alvares Cabral was sent by the Portuguese Crown to make a repeat voyage. However, Cabral altered his course and sailed southwest, away from the

¹ John Powers, "Brazil beats Portugal at Foxborough," September 11, 2013, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/sports/2013/09/11/brazil-and-portugal-meet-foxborough-for-soccer-and-friendly-festival/8bXKdy8eiNWA98wqBuEAO/story.html>

African coast, “for no apparent reason.”² On April 22nd, Cabral’s fleet made landfall on the Brazilian coast. They made peaceful contact with the natives, briefly traded with them, and then resumed their voyage to Asia. Initially, the new land, which was called Brazil because of its abundant supply of brazilwood, was deemed unimportant by the Portuguese government. However, once further voyages deduced its massive size and abundance of natural resources, cementing control of Brazil became a top priority. Thus, beginning in the 1530s, permanent settlements were established on the Brazilian coast in areas with fertile soil, abundant resources, or natural harbors.

For the approximate 300 years of its existence as a Portuguese colony (circa 1530 to 1822), Brazil’s natural resources were exploited by the Portuguese. The colony, which rapidly expanded, eventually became the principal moneymaker for the Portuguese, whose trading interests in Africa and Asia were gradually taken over by a combination of European and local powers. Products found naturally in Brazil included immense quantities of wood and significant deposits of gold and diamonds. The Brazilian soil was also easily adaptable to the large-scale cultivation of sugar and other crops. Even after its independence, “Brazil remained Portugal’s principal economic partner” for some time.³ This relationship has continued until the present day through a seemingly unlikely source of significant income: soccer players.

In the modern day soccer world, Brazilian players are increasingly sought after by clubs around the world. Brazilian players often join teams in countries that are not

² A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2nd ed. (Columbia University Press, New York, 1976), 226. Cabral’s possible motivations for diverting his course will be discussed at length later in this paper.

³ Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in European and World History* (Reaktion Books, London, 2009), 186.

traditionally strong soccer powers, such as China and Ukraine. Portugal, however, remains by far the leading destination for Brazilian soccer players. In the past decade, “over 100 players a season” have left their Brazilian teams for Portugal.⁴ While player movements by themselves are not out of the ordinary, the movements from Brazil to Portugal may be unusual for several reasons. First, Brazilian players tend to leave for Portugal when they are younger, but do not return to Brazil until they are much older. Second, while Brazilian teams receive monetary payments for their players, these are often a fraction of what Portuguese teams can sell those players for in the future. Finally, several notable Brazilian players, including Deco, Liedson, and Pepe, have played for the Portuguese national team, despite being born in Brazil. By taking soccer players, a valuable resource, away from Brazil, Portugal may be engaging in neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism is defined as “the control of less-developed countries by developed countries through indirect means.”⁵ In this instance, Portuguese clubs may have a competitive advantage over other European teams, as they can obtain significantly talented players (who also speak Portuguese) from another country for relatively little money. The Portuguese national team also benefits from this, as some players have legally switched their nationality from Brazilian to Portuguese, in order to represent Portugal. By importing large numbers of Brazilian soccer players for relatively inexpensive sums, Portuguese clubs could be engaging in neo-colonialism. Such a process is fundamentally more complicated than colonialism, as it is not driven by a nation-state, but rather by a combination of financial and sporting interests.

⁴ David Goldblatt, *Futebol Nation: The Story of Brazil Through Soccer* (Nation Books, Boulder, Colorado, 2014), 203.

⁵ Sandra Halperin, “Neocolonialism,” March 23, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neocolonialism>.

In this paper, I will examine the processes of Brazilian players joining Portuguese teams and players born in Brazil joining the Portuguese national team. First, I will present a background history of Portugal, in order to explain how and why Brazil was colonized, and the impact of colonization on Portuguese history. I will then examine the exploitative nature of Brazil as a colony and the factors that led to Brazil's independence from Portugal. The formation of soccer leagues in both countries will be discussed, with an emphasis on certain trends that have continued to the present day. I will then present an analysis of secondary data pertaining to these processes. I will conclude by discussing the significance of the data, whether the Luso-Brazilian soccer relationship is neo-colonial, and how it fits into the larger picture of the international soccer world.

II. Literature Review

A. History of Portugal

Portugal was established as an independent state for the first time during the 12th century. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Christian kingdoms of Iberia existed in a loose alliance with each other against the Muslim Umayyad Caliphate, which occupied most of the Iberian Peninsula. By the 12th century, this alliance had coalesced into a more formal union. Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile was acknowledged as emperor by the other Christian kingdoms, whose rulers became vassal kings under him.⁶ The territory in modern-day Portugal existed as a duchy, with the duke ruling from Porto, the most important city in the region.⁷ The Duke of Portucale at that time, Afonso Henrique, was upset at his ducal status and desired to become a vassal king. From 1128-37, he rebelled against Alfonso

⁶ Marques, *History*, 39. A note on naming: many Portuguese names are written in English in slightly different forms. I intend to use Portuguese forms, unless a person is more widely known in their English form (e.g. Prince Henry the Navigator).

⁷ Barry Hatton, *The Portuguese: A Modern History* (Signal Books, Oxford, 2012), 52.

VII, ultimately being granted the title of vassal king in 1143.⁸ It is important to note that at this point Afonso Henrique did not intend to become an independent ruler. Rather, he simply desired recognition of the importance of his territory.

In 1157, Emperor Alfonso VII died, and his two sons were unable to agree on a new ruler. They split his kingdom between themselves, each ruling as kings, with the title of emperor now defunct. Afonso Henrique seized this opportunity, and declared the independence of his kingdom. Leon-Castile eventually recognized his independence after warfare between the two states, as “Portugal... was becoming such a clear entity that it could never be successfully absorbed.”⁹ The papacy also recognized Portugal’s independence, which became official in 1179.¹⁰ While Afonso Henrique may not have originally intended for Portugal to become an independent state, he did take advantage of opportunities. From this point onward, Portugal would rival both Muslim and Christian kingdoms in Iberia as an independent state.

Having been established as an independent kingdom, Portugal continued to seize opportunities. The early centuries of Portugal’s independence saw the rise of several important trends that would later play a role in furthering naval exploration down the Atlantic coastline. By the late Middle Ages, the Muslim Umayyad Caliphate had splintered into many smaller regional kingdoms, called taifas. This lack of Muslim unity provided a clear means for Christian expansion into southern Iberia. In 1147, when Portugal was still a vassal to Leon-Castile, it had conquered the city of Lisbon. This

⁸ Marques, *History*, 39-42. Marques’ book contains two volumes. For simplicity, the cited pages always refer to the first volume unless otherwise noted.

⁹ Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1977), 12.

¹⁰ H.V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, London, 1976), 53.

conquest was a major event, as the city had “great economic and strategic importance.”¹¹ It also opened up maritime commerce and contact with Western Europe and the Muslim states in North Africa.¹² Military assaults against the Muslims continued after Portugal became an independent nation. In 1249, Algarve, the southernmost region on the west coast of Iberia, was taken.¹³ This ended Portuguese expansion within Iberia, as the remaining land in Muslim hands had already been claimed or conquered by the other Christian kingdoms.

The process of conquering Muslim lands gave the Portuguese vital military and political experience that would be used during their exploration efforts. In addition to regular soldiers levied from the population, Portuguese military leaders used Holy Orders in their wars. Holy Orders were a hybrid of religious and military devotion, whose followers were expected to fight as knights and worship as monks. These organizations accumulated significant prestige, land, and wealth during the wars against the Muslims. As a result, the Crown took direct control of these orders, appointing members of the royal family as leaders.¹⁴ This gave Portugal access to devoted, experienced soldiers who could also act as administrators of conquered territory. Besides the Holy Orders, there were regular “orders of knights,” a common trend in the Middle Ages, who provided a “strong Crusading ideology.”¹⁵ Both the Holy Orders and knights wanted Portugal to expand beyond its current boundaries. This desire to expand was a major motive in

¹¹ Newitt, *World*, 26.

¹² Marques, *History*, 91.

¹³ Newitt, *World*, 29.

¹⁴ Newitt, *World*, 29. E.g. Prince Henry the Navigator was Master of the Order of Christ.

¹⁵ Newitt, *World*, 30.

further exploration efforts, as Portugal's military expansion within Iberia was essentially gridlocked.

Another major trend that later resulted in exploration efforts was the rise of overseas trade and a wealthy merchant class. As previously mentioned, the conquest of Lisbon was extremely important for future trade with other kingdoms. Despite conquering much land during its wars against the Muslim taifas, Portugal "remained poor" due to a "thinly populated countryside and a subjugated Muslim peasantry."¹⁶ This caused Portugal to use maritime commerce as a means for revenue. King Dinis (r. 1279-1325) "vigorously promoted the interest of the merchant class" during his reign.¹⁷ By around 1350, "Portugal was acquiring the characteristics necessary for organized overseas efforts."¹⁸ Portuguese ships increasingly traded far away from their home country, reaching North Africa, England, the Low Countries, and Italy. Portuguese fishermen also harvested vast amounts of fish in the Atlantic, which was an important food supply. This gave many Portuguese seamen knowledge of other countries, a desire to reach far-flung places, and skill with ships and shipbuilding. The Italian city-states, particularly Venice and Genoa, had a major influence on Portugal.¹⁹ This trend of maritime contact and commerce was extremely influential in shaping Portugal's future exploration efforts.

In the 1380s, Portugal experienced a dynastic crisis. The King of Portugal, Fernando I, died without any surviving male children. His daughter was married to the King of Castile, Juan I, who invaded Portugal in order to seize the throne for himself. In

¹⁶ Newitt, *World*, 33.

¹⁷ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 21.

¹⁸ Newitt, *World*, 37.

¹⁹ Marques, *History*, 94.

1385, Portuguese troops routed the Castilian army at the Battle of Aljubarrota, ending the war decisively in their favor.²⁰ The Portuguese nobles crowned Joao, the half-brother of Fernando I, as their new king. This created a new dynasty, the Royal House of Aviz.²¹ King Joao I was eager to continue supporting maritime trade, as he had received support from the merchant class during the war against Castile. In 1388, he issued a royal decree concerning the “division of prisoners” captured in slaving raids in North Africa.²² Slavery had existed during the Middle Ages on a small scale, and Portuguese ships frequently raided the North African coast to capture Muslim peasants, who would later be sold to Italian traders.²³ Portuguese overseas trading would dramatically expand in the next century, in no small part due to the efforts of Joao and his heirs. Indeed, the Royal House of Aviz would play a massive role in Portuguese expansion and exploration during the 15th century.

King Joao had multiple surviving male children, which was important for the survival of his new dynasty. His third surviving son, Prince Henry, would spark major efforts in expanding Portugal’s influence beyond the Mediterranean. Due to Portuguese succession laws, Henry could not become king unless both of his elder brothers died without children, an unlikely event that did not occur. Thus, Henry devoted himself to furthering Portuguese expansion. In 1415, Henry persuaded his father to attack Ceuta, a minor port city on the North African coast that belonged to the Sultanate of Morocco. This attack occurred for several reasons. Ceuta had a large fortress and was a “Mediterranean commercial port,” and the Portuguese hoped that it would become a base

²⁰ Hatton, *Portuguese*, 51.

²¹ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 41.

²² Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 41.

²³ Marques, *History*, 55.

of operations for expansion beyond Iberia.²⁴ Religious and military matters were also important, as the Portuguese desired to “set up a military frontier with Islam... for battle, booty, and the practice of chivalry.”²⁵ Finally, the Portuguese desired to claim land in Africa, with papal consent, in order to rival Castile.²⁶ The Portuguese army easily captured Ceuta, and Prince Henry became a government administrator there in 1416.

Despite this initial success, the Portuguese discovered that North Africa would be difficult to control. Immediately after Ceuta was captured, the Muslim population fled the city. This meant that no food was being grown, so supplies had to be imported for the Portuguese garrison, which was expensive.²⁷ The city itself had a very small population, since most Portuguese citizens had no desire to live there. The Portuguese Crown thus resorted to sending criminals, a process that would later be repeated in other territories.²⁸ Little trade occurred, as the Portuguese had alienated Muslim merchants by conquering the city. Instead of becoming a boon to Portuguese finances, Ceuta was a bane. Henry and his brothers supported further expansion efforts, but Portugal “did not have the military capacity to defeat the increasingly well-organized Moroccan Sultanates,” and Ceuta by itself had little value.^{29,30} The Portuguese would expand in North Africa several

²⁴ Peter Russell, *Prince Henry “the Navigator” A Life*, (Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 2001), 35.

²⁵ Russell, *Life*, 39.

²⁶ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 49.

²⁷ Russell, *Life*, 61.

²⁸ Russell, *Life*, 66. It occurred in both Brazil and the Atlantic Islands. Criminals were also recruited as sailors for trading and exploration voyages, since they were expendable.

²⁹ Newitt, *World*, 52.

³⁰ Marques, *History*, 131.

times over the next century, but their conquests were fairly minor and short-term.³¹

Large-scale Portuguese expansion in North Africa was blocked by many factors, forcing the Portuguese to turn elsewhere.

The Portuguese did know of lands and peoples beyond the North African coast, and three important factors motivated their exploration. Gold arrived to the Mediterranean through Arab trade caravans, who sold it to European merchants. Gold was very important to the Medieval economy, and the Portuguese hoped to bypass the Arab caravans and find the source of gold for themselves. The Portuguese also hoped to contact Prester John, a supposed Christian emperor in Africa with a massive army, who was viewed as a potential ally against the Muslims. News of Prester John was very fragmentary, resulting in a “Medieval concept [that]... confused several... differently located nuclei of Christians” in Africa and Asia.³² Finally, the Portuguese hoped to convert any native peoples they found to Christianity, a process that they obtained papal approval for.³³ This reason was often stated as the primary goal for Portuguese expansion, although the economic and military factors were often viewed as more important.

After a relative lack of success in North Africa, Prince Henry turned his attention towards the Atlantic Ocean, personally funding naval missions of discovery. In 1425,

³¹ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 109 and 145. The Portuguese lost a major battle at Tangiers in 1437, and seized several Moroccan fort-towns in 1458 and 1470. These towns had little overall value, and were back in Moroccan control within a century.

³² Marques, *History*, 137. The existence of a Christian kingdom in East Africa (modern Ethiopia) was no myth, but its military might had been grossly exaggerated. It ultimately played little role in European politics.

³³ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 75.

Portuguese sailors re-discovered the island of Madeira and claimed it for Portugal.³⁴ Madeira was settled shortly after its re-discovery, and became an important producer of wheat and timber.³⁵ In 1427, Portuguese explorers discovered a group of islands called the Azores, which were colonized beginning in 1439.³⁶ These two islands were Portugal's first overseas colonies, and set important colonial precedents. Both Madeira and the Azores had good soil and growing conditions, and sugar was grown in small amounts shortly after colonization. By 1455, Madeira alone was exporting about 18,000 kilograms per year, which made the island very profitable, with the Azores exporting smaller amounts.³⁷ The islands were regulated by the so-called captain-donatory system, in which the Crown divided land into "medium and small holdings."³⁸ Each holding was granted to a captain, who could grant parcels of his land to others, much like the Medieval feudal system. The Crown received one-fifth of the overall profits from each captaincy. This unanticipated financial success caused Henry to support "voyages of exploration into the middle Atlantic."³⁹

In the Medieval view, Cape Bojador was considered the end to safe navigation in the Atlantic Ocean.⁴⁰ The cape lies on the North Africa coast in the modern state of Western Sahara, close to the Canary Islands.⁴¹ In 1434, this "psychological barrier" was crossed by a Portuguese ship, which proved that the Atlantic-African coast could be

³⁴ Russell, *Life*, 86. Russell argues conclusively that Madeira had been sighted by other European sailors before that date.

³⁵ Russell, *Life*, 89.

³⁶ Russell, *Life*, 100.

³⁷ Russell, *Life*, 90.

³⁸ Russell, *Life*, 92.

³⁹ Livermore, *New History*, 130.

⁴⁰ Russell, *Life*, 109.

⁴¹ The Canary Islands were discovered and settled by Castile in the 15th century. See Russell, *Life*.

safely navigated.⁴² After this success, Prince Henry sent many voyages, which sailed increasingly farther south. The ship captains were instructed to draw precise maps of the coastline, taking note of any dangers and interesting features. The Portuguese first encountered nomadic desert tribes, whom they began to enslave around 1441.⁴³ Such slaves were destined for work on sugar plantations in the Azores and Madeira, domestic service in Portugal, or being sold to other European countries. However, the Portuguese soon realized that they could obtain slaves more easily by peaceful trade. By 1448, they had established “peaceful and regular trading relations with the northernmost Wolof kingdoms of Senegal.”⁴⁴ Besides slaves, the Portuguese also obtained small amounts of cotton, ivory, and spices.⁴⁵ In 1457, small amounts of gold were obtained from trade with tribes along the Gambia River, marking the beginning of regular gold imports.⁴⁶ The Portuguese trade along the African coast was very profitable, and resulted in a major increase of exploration voyages.

In 1456, the Portuguese discovered the uninhabited Cape Verde Islands, which were colonized in 1462.⁴⁷ By this point, Portuguese explorers had chartered much of the northwest African coast. Prince Henry died in 1460, but explorations continued with royal support. Castile also began trading voyages to the African coast, with the intent of rivaling Portugal, and this sparked feuding between the two states.⁴⁸ In 1479, Castile and Portugal signed the Treaty of Alcacovas, and “Castile acknowledged the Portuguese

⁴² Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 68.

⁴³ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 77.

⁴⁴ Russell, *Life*, 297.

⁴⁵ Marques, *History*, 159.

⁴⁶ Russell, *Life*, 330.

⁴⁷ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 104 and 110.

⁴⁸ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 151.

monopoly to the south of the Canaries.”⁴⁹ This treaty assumed that the African and Asian continents were the only new lands to be discovered by Europeans. In 1483, the Portuguese discovered the Congo River Basin in west-central Africa, and Bartolomeu Dias became the first European to sail around the southern tip of Africa in 1487.⁵⁰ Around this time, Christopher Columbus proposed a voyage to the west, instead of around the African coast, with the hopes of reaching Asia. His plan was unceremoniously rejected by Portugal, but was accepted by Spain, now united after the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile.⁵¹

In 1493, Columbus returned from his now-famous trip, causing much consternation in Portugal when he docked. In a fascinating historical what-if moment, several Portuguese courtiers offered to murder Columbus and prevent news of his discovery from reaching Spain.⁵² Portuguese King Joao II chose a different option and let Columbus return home. Portuguese exploration paused during the 1490s for political reasons, as the country negotiated with Spain.⁵³ The result of these negotiations was the papal-approved Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, which “partitioned the Atlantic along a line of longitude running 370 leagues west of Cape Verde.”⁵⁴ This gave Spain most of the Americas, but a still-undiscovered Brazil fell within the Portuguese partition. Portuguese exploration resumed after the treaty, and Vasco do Gama reached India in 1498, returning a year later with enormous profits.⁵⁵ After this success, the Crown sent Pedro Cabral in

⁴⁹ Marques, *History*, 218.

⁵⁰ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 155 and 160.

⁵¹ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 169.

⁵² Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 171.

⁵³ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 175.

⁵⁴ Newitt, *World*, 63.

⁵⁵ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 198.

1500 with 13 ships “to establish [trading] relations with the rulers of India.”⁵⁶ Cabral would reach India, but not before landing on the Brazilian coast. His discovery sparked a major colonization and trading movement, which will be discussed later in this paper.

Initially, the discovery of Brazil was considered minor, as voyages in East Africa and India showed far more promise. When Vasco do Gama had first arrived in India, he discovered that many local rulers were willing to trade. As a result, Portuguese exploration and trade continued in earnest. Upon his return from Brazil, Cabral discovered the island of Madagascar.⁵⁷ Within a decade, exploration voyages had discovered Sri Lanka, the Bay of Bengal on the East Indian coast, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea.⁵⁸ In 1509, the Portuguese discovered the Malaysian peninsula, and voyages soon entered the Pacific.⁵⁹ In 1511, a Portuguese trading voyage reached the Banda Islands in modern Indonesia, and several more voyages were sent by 1520.⁶⁰ At the same time, the Portuguese were aware of China’s existence, and a Portuguese diplomatic mission reached China in 1517.⁶¹ In 1543, Portuguese traders were blown off course and landed in Japan, with whom they established relations.⁶² Overall, such exploration voyages gave the Portuguese valuable lessons in diplomacy and commerce in East Africa and Asia. Most importantly, the Portuguese learned that trade depended on a local ruler’s preferences, which motivated them to take direct control of important trade routes, in order to maximize their profits.

⁵⁶ Livermore, *New History*, 138.

⁵⁷ Marques, *History*, 229.

⁵⁸ Marques, *History*, 229.

⁵⁹ Marques, *History*, 229.

⁶⁰ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 363-4.

⁶¹ Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 383. The mission itself was unsuccessful, but the Portuguese traded illegally in China for several decades until reaching an agreement.

⁶² Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 394.

In 1505, King Manuel I established the Estado do India (state of India), an official government department that controlled Portuguese affairs in East Africa and Asia.⁶³ Due to Portugal's small population, the Estado do India could never hope to directly control the massive area under its domain. As a result, it intended to seize strategic trading areas via direct conquest or the establishment of fortified trading outposts, called feitorias. This was standard Portuguese trading procedure, and had long been practiced in West Africa. On the East African coast, the Portuguese established several feitorias in modern day Tanzania and Kenya by 1510.⁶⁴ In the next decade, the Portuguese seized the port cities of Goa on the East Indian coast, Colombo in Sri Lanka, Malacca in Indonesia, and Hormuz on the Persian Gulf.⁶⁵ These four port cities all controlled major trade routes, and were used to cement Portugal's trading presence.⁶⁷ Feitorias were then established in earnest across India, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and Indonesia.⁶⁸ Several decades later, the Portuguese established feitorias in both China and Japan.⁶⁹ All of these feitorias effectively gave Portugal a monopoly of Asian trade with Europe during the 16th century, making them enormous sums of money.

The Estado do India achieved remarkable success during the first century of its existence, but Portugal itself was unable to use this success. For much of the 16th century, Portugal avoided wars within Europe, as it was concentrated on its relations in the east.

⁶³ Newitt, *World*, 69.

⁶⁴ Marques, *History*, 232.

⁶⁵ Marques, *History*, 233-4.

⁶⁶ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1992), 22.

⁶⁷ Russell-Wood, *World*, 22.

⁶⁸ Marques, *History*, 236-7. These pages contain an excellent map of the Estado do India's conquests and fortresses.

⁶⁹ Russell-Wood, *World*, 72.

Thus, Portugal completely relied upon trade for its main income.⁷⁰ The rest of Europe, however, was beginning to develop “fiscal bureaucracies,” which standardized and collected taxes.⁷¹ European governments outside Portugal became increasingly larger and more efficient, and taxes became the main form of income, a development that Portugal neglected.⁷² Portugal also failed to “modernize its armed forces,” instead relying on its navy, coastal fortresses, and mercenary soldiers to protect its feitorias.⁷³ At the same time, other European countries began to create well-trained, professional armies, whereas Portugal still relied on its nobility to provide soldiers.⁷⁴ Both of these neglected developments would have major consequences for Portugal’s global hegemony.

In 1557, King Joao III died, and his three-year-old son Sebastiao I succeeded him.⁷⁵ Sebastiao has been posthumously diagnosed with some form of mental illness, and was single-mindedly determined to conquer land and achieve military glory in Morocco once he came of age.⁷⁶ By this time, Portugal had little territorial presence in Morocco, a fact that Sebastiao ignored. He hurriedly made preparations for a military expedition, which cost “about half of the state’s annual revenues.”⁷⁷ In 1578, a poorly prepared Portuguese army met a much larger Moroccan army at Alcácer Quibir, and was thoroughly defeated.⁷⁸ Sebastiao I, unmarried and without children, was killed in battle,

⁷⁰ Marques, *History*, 278.

⁷¹ Newitt, *World*, 83.

⁷² Newitt, *World*, 83.

⁷³ Newitt, *World*, 83.

⁷⁴ Newitt, *World*, 84.

⁷⁵ Marques, *History*, 307.

⁷⁶ Newitt, *World*, 84. Newitt argues that his symptoms were similar to autism.

⁷⁷ Marques, *History*, 312

⁷⁸ Marques, *History*, 312. Marques calls it “the most disastrous battle of Portuguese history.” Out of approximately 17,000 Portuguese soldiers, 7,000 were killed, and the remaining majority was captured.

prompting a major succession crisis. The crown passed to Joao III's brother Henrique, who was a sixty-six year old Catholic Cardinal without children.⁷⁹ Henrique died within two years, and the Crown passed to Spanish King Philip II, who was the son of Joao III's sister.⁸⁰ From 1580 to 1640, Portugal was firmly controlled by Spain, and thus drawn into the web of European politics and conflict. These conflicts had disastrous results for Portugal, which suffered a major loss of power and a decline in trade. Indeed, Portugal's hegemonic position over Asian trade would be seized by other European powers.

At the time, Spain was engaged in multiple conflicts with England and the Netherlands, and Portugal entered into these conflicts. 31 Portuguese ships participated in the Spanish Armada in 1588, and most of them were lost in battle, which was "a serious blow for the Portuguese fleet."⁸¹ The Dutch and English attacked Portuguese ships in Asia, with almost half of Portugal's trading ships destroyed at sea from 1590 to 1600.⁸² From 1618 to 1648, Spain (and thus Portugal) was engaged in the 30 Years' War, a complicated war that mainly pitted Catholics against Protestants.⁸³ As part of the war, Portugal's colonial possessions came under heavy offensive. Parts of Brazil were occupied temporarily by the Dutch, which negatively effected Brazil's exports. In 1622, "a combined Persian and English force" captured Hormuz, and the Dutch seized most of Sri Lanka in the 1630s.⁸⁴ From the 1640s to 60s, Portugal lost most of its possessions in

⁷⁹ Marques, *History*, 312.

⁸⁰ Livermore, *New History*, 158, 161. This event is called the Iberian Union.

⁸¹ Marques, *History*, 317.

⁸² Newitt, *World*, 99.

⁸³ Newitt, *World*, 99.

⁸⁴ Newitt, *World*, 100.

⁸⁵ Marques, *History*, 337.

India, East Africa, and Indonesia.⁸⁶ It lost all holdings on the Arabian Peninsula, and its traders were “expelled” from Japan.⁸⁷ This left Portugal’s “once mighty empire” in possession of only Goa, several Indian and East African feitorias, Macao in China, and half of the small island of Timor in Indonesia.⁸⁸

Given the near-collapse of Portugal’s Asian Empire, it is unsurprising that the Portuguese nobles conspired to overthrow the Spanish. The coup itself was fairly straightforward and peaceful. On December 1, 1640, a group of Portuguese nobles seized the royal palace in Lisbon and proclaimed the Duke of Braganca, a great-grandson of Joao III, as King Joao IV.⁸⁹ Portugal’s towns and cities quickly hailed the new king, who soon faced several major crises. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Portugal’s colonial possessions had come under attack, and initial diplomatic efforts with the British and Dutch bore little fruit. Portugal eventually made peace with the Dutch (1663) and allied with the English (1661), but had to make major concessions in both cases.⁹⁰ At the same time, Portugal was threatened with invasion. For approximately 20 years, the Spanish had avoided any major assaults on Portugal, as they were occupied in other wars.⁹¹ In 1661, the Spanish finally invaded Portugal, but were repelled after their defeat in the Battle of Montes Claros in 1665.⁹² As a result of this, and political chaos

⁸⁶ Marques, *History*, 338.

⁸⁷ Marques, *History*, 338.

⁸⁸ Marques, *History*, 338.

⁸⁹ Newitt, *World*, 107-8.

⁹⁰ Newitt, *World*, 132-4. Portugal agreed to give all its lost Asian possessions to the Dutch, and England was wooed with a royal marriage and commercial agreements.

⁹¹ Marques, *History*, 331.

⁹² Marques, *History*, 331.

surrounding both sides, a peace treaty was sealed in 1668 that guaranteed Portugal's independence.⁹³

As a consequence of its alliance, Portugal became increasingly politically and commercially subordinate to England's global interests.⁹⁴ It participated on the English side in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-15), a failed English attempt to prevent a French prince from ascending to the vacant throne of Spain.⁹⁵ For the most part, however, Portugal remained relatively distant from the constant series of wars between England, Spain, France, and their allies. England's vastly superior military ensured protection for Portugal's colonial interests, and the Portuguese saw little reason to intervene militarily in European affairs.⁹⁶ On the commercial front, England imported wine from Portugal, exporting textiles and "consumer goods" in return.⁹⁷ This trade heavily favored England, as wine could be resold for much greater prices than the textiles originally cost. English merchants then used the profits to invest in Portuguese real estate and commerce, thus increasing their influence and profit at Portuguese expense.⁹⁸ During this lengthy period of peace, the Portuguese again did nothing to improve their military. This did not occur for a want of funds, as the 18th century saw Brazil's colonial exports rise dramatically.

During the 18th century, the Portuguese Crown focused its efforts on emulating the French model of "national absolutism."⁹⁹ Despite Portugal's political opposition to

⁹³ Marques, *History*, 333. Both countries experienced dynastic issues. Spanish King Philip IV died in 1665 and was succeeded by his four-year-old son. Portuguese King Afonso VI was deposed in 1667 by his brother, who became King Pedro II.

⁹⁴ Marques, *History*, 420.

⁹⁵ Livermore, *New History*, 206-7.

⁹⁶ Newitt, *World*, 136.

⁹⁷ Newitt, *World*, 135.

⁹⁸ Newitt, *World*, 136.

⁹⁹ Livermore, *New History*, 208.

France, King Louis XIV's model of power, wealth, and culture at Versailles was the envy of all Europe. Under Joao V (r. 1706-50) and Jose I (r. 1750-77), Portugal used its massive colonial profits from Brazil in this fashion. Joao V was particularly interested in making Lisbon "the pre-eminent center of Catholicism... after Rome itself."¹⁰⁰ He built two cathedrals and a large monastery in Lisbon, and persuaded the papacy to give more titles and benefits to the Portuguese clergy.¹⁰¹ Learning was also heavily supported, with the Crown funding the Royal Academy of History, the University of Coimbra, and the Academy of Portugal.¹⁰² Lisbon itself was transformed into an impressive city, receiving an aqueduct, statues, fountains, and hospitals.¹⁰³ Just outside Lisbon, a massive new royal palace was built at Mafra.¹⁰⁴ Besides expensive building projects, much wealth "was distributed in gestures of prestige or largesse."¹⁰⁵ Many of these expensive building projects, however, were unnecessary, and showed a lack of proper priorities. Indeed, Portugal became "a byword for backwardness" in Europe and "remained unnecessarily dependent" on England for military protection.¹⁰⁶

With such little military power, Portugal found itself woefully unprepared for the chaotic events surrounding the French Revolution and rise of Napoleon. The French Revolution prompted Portugal to join an anti-French alliance with England and Spain in 1793.¹⁰⁷ Spain, however, left this alliance in 1795 and allied with the French Directory

¹⁰⁰ Newitt, *World*, 137.

¹⁰¹ Marques, *History*, 420.

¹⁰² Livermore, *New History*, 208.

¹⁰³ Livermore, *New History*, 208.

¹⁰⁴ Livermore, *New History*, 208.

¹⁰⁵ Livermore, *New History*, 208.

¹⁰⁶ Newitt, *World*, 136-7.

¹⁰⁷ Newitt, *World*, 425.

government, which was soon replaced by Napoleon.¹⁰⁸ Franco-Spanish forces invaded Portugal in 1801, defeating the Portuguese army within three months and forcing a humiliating peace deal.¹⁰⁹ Portugal was then at peace for six years, attempting to remain neutral in hopes of survival. Meanwhile, Napoleon had conquered much of central Europe, giving him control over “most of the European coastline” and “the capacity to rebuild his navy and to operate an effective embargo on British goods.”¹¹⁰ In order to fully achieve this, Napoleon needed control of the Iberian Peninsula.¹¹¹ France and Spain therefore invaded Portugal in 1807, and the entire Portuguese royal family fled for Brazil along with much of their government and wealth.¹¹² Almost immediately thereafter, a popular resistance developed against the occupying armies. In 1808, the British sent an army led by Sir Arthur Wellesley, which fought a successful but vicious campaign until 1814, when Napoleon abdicated his rule.¹¹³

While victorious, the so-called Peninsular War had long-term effects on Portugal. Portugal’s agriculture and industry were significantly damaged, and there was widespread devastation.¹¹⁴ This prompted the royal family to remain in Brazil. However, in 1820, twin revolts in Porto and Lisbon resulted in the creation of a provisional government.¹¹⁵ This new government wanted to transition Portugal from an absolutist

¹⁰⁸ Newitt, *World*, 425.

¹⁰⁹ Marques, *History*, 424. Portugal had to “pay a heavy indemnity,” “surrender the town of Olivenca to Spain”, and bar English ships from entering its ports.

¹¹⁰ Newitt, *World*, 154. The combined fleets of France and Spain had just suffered major losses (both in ships and men) in their defeat at Trafalgar in 1805.

¹¹¹ Newitt, *World*, 154.

¹¹² Marques, *History*, 427.

¹¹³ Marques, *History*, 429. Wellesley is best known as the Duke of Wellington. He was granted that title after defeating Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815.

¹¹⁴ Marques, *History*, 429.

¹¹⁵ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 55.

monarchy, where the monarch had supreme power, to a constitutional monarchy, where parliament ruled in the monarch's name. In 1821, King Joao VI returned from Brazil, having promised to “uphold the future constitution.”¹¹⁶ However, the constitutionalist parliament attempted to return Brazil to the status of colony, which resulted in Brazil declaring independence.¹¹⁷ At this point, a group of anti-constitution rebels, led by Joao VI's son Miguel, revolted in several areas.¹¹⁸ Peace was agreed with the rebels, but Joao VI's death in 1826 sparked further chaos.¹¹⁹ Joao VI's son Pedro, then-emperor of Brazil, transferred his royal titles in Portugal to his daughter Maria II.¹²⁰ Maria's reign saw two decades of multiple revolts and attempted coups. In 1851, new laws and a constitutional amendment ended the civil wars, with all the major parties, including the royal family, agreeing to a constitutional monarchy.¹²¹

“Fifty years of war and social conflict” had severely weakened Portugal's political and commercial position, leaving it reliant on foreign trade.¹²² The Portuguese had profited in shipping slaves from West Africa to the now-independent Brazil, but the Brazilian “abolition of slave trade in 1852” ended this.¹²³ Portugal thus focused its commercial attention on its African holdings, the modern-day states of Angola and Mozambique, which contained “an agricultural belt and... a mining and metallurgical

¹¹⁶ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 55.

¹¹⁷ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 57.

¹¹⁸ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 58.

¹¹⁹ Livermore, *New History*, 268.

¹²⁰ Livermore, *New History*, 268-9. This measure ensured that the monarchies of Brazil and Portugal remained separate from each other. Miguel was briefly kept in power as regent, but he was unpopular and was forcibly exiled after several years in office.

¹²¹ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 68.

¹²² Newitt, *World*, 174.

¹²³ Newitt, *World*, 175.

industry.”¹²⁴ These colonial possessions existed on the same longitudinal region, meaning that a large strip of central Africa lay between them.¹²⁵ Portugal claimed this region, in hopes that central Africa would become “the new Brazil.”¹²⁶ England, France, Germany, and Belgium, all of which had substantial African possessions, countered Portugal’s ambitions. The famous Berlin conference of 1885 decreed that military occupation of a region had precedence over historical claim.¹²⁷ This caused rivalry with England, which wanted to control central Africa and threatened to forcibly expel the Portuguese.¹²⁸ In 1891, a treaty with England forced Portugal to withdraw from central Africa, modern day-Zambia and Zimbabwe, but granted substantial land near its Angolan holdings.¹²⁹ The so-called Scramble for Africa gave Portugal “an empire almost as large as Brazil” in terms of land. However, it also caused more political instability.

The Ultimatum of 1890 deeply angered many Portuguese, who perceived a weakness in their government. By this point, republican and socialist parties had both grown significantly in Portugal, having become “more threatening in their work of subversion.”¹³⁰ King Carlos I did not help matters, favoring a series of unpopular government officials, “which brought about a campaign against the monarchy.”¹³¹ Then, on February 1, 1908, disaster struck. A group of political dissidents, possibly affiliated

¹²⁴ Livermore, *New History*, 299.

¹²⁵ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 112. This page contains the “pink map,” so-called because Portugal’s colonial African possessions were then colored pink by European cartographers.

¹²⁶ Newitt, *World*, 187.

¹²⁷ Newitt, *World*, 193. The conference completely ignored the native Africans.

¹²⁸ Newitt, *World*, 190. England’s message to Portugal was called the Ultimatum of 1890.

¹²⁹ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 72 and 114.

¹³⁰ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 72.

¹³¹ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 74.

with the republicans, assassinated King Carlos I and his heir, Crown Prince Luis Filipe.¹³² Carlos' second son Manuel then came to the throne as Manuel II. His reign only lasted two years, and a republican revolt forced the entire royal family to flee the country in 1910.¹³³ Portugal thus entered into a republican government, which completely failed to solve Portugal's financial problems or curb civil unrest. Portugal fought in World War I on the Allied side, but its contribution was fairly minimal, and it "emerged from the war humiliated and deeply in debt."¹³⁴

In 1926, a group of frustrated generals seized power in a coup, joined quickly by the rest of the military.¹³⁵ Portugal then entered into a fascist government, in the form of a military junta. The junta appointed an economics professor named Oliveira Salazar as the new Minister of Finance.¹³⁶ Salazar was extremely competent, and his budget in 1928-29 "envisaged a surplus, the first one in fifteen years."¹³⁷ Salazar's influence quickly spread beyond the economic realm, and he became prime minister in 1932, effectively governing the country. The Salazar regime was repressive and autocratic, modeled after other fascist states at the time, although Portugal's policies were far less severe (and not racially motivated) compared to Italy and Germany.¹³⁸ Indeed, Salazar mainly kept Portugal isolated from the rest of Europe. Portugal was neutral during World War II, and only

¹³² Livermore, *New History*, 315. It was the first (and only) regicide in Portuguese history.

¹³³ Livermore, *New History*, 315.

¹³⁴ Newitt, *World*, 199.

¹³⁵ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 175.

¹³⁶ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 211.

¹³⁷ Marques, *History*, (volume 2) 211.

¹³⁸ Newitt, *World*, 201. Salazar allowed elections for president, which became a sham position with no actual power.

joined the Allies once the Axis was clearly losing the war.¹³⁹ Portugal joined NATO in 1949, with their autocratic government conveniently overlooked by the Anglo-American need for anti-communist allies.¹⁴⁰ During the 1960s, Portugal faced a series of revolts in its colonies, which signaled the collapse of the Salazar regime. Salazar himself died unexpectedly in 1969, after a stroke had incapacitated him.¹⁴¹ Successors were appointed, but they lacked Salazar's leadership skills, and another military coup overthrew the regime in 1974.¹⁴² Surprisingly, the so-called April Revolution provided the necessary steps for Portugal to become democratic. A new constitution was created in 1976, and a democratically elected government was formed the same year.¹⁴³

The collapse of Salazar's regime coincided with the collapse of Portugal's overseas empire. Following the end of World War II, many European countries began granting independence to their former colonial possessions, which sometimes involved violent revolt. In 1960, the United Nations "established a Special Committee on Decolonization," which was intended to smoothly transition colonies to stable states.¹⁴⁴ Salazar's regime was completely opposed to this, but Portugal was increasingly struggling against the nationalist tide. Portugal's last possessions on the Indian subcontinent, including Goa, were forcibly seized by a newly independent India in 1961.¹⁴⁵ In that year, Portugal also brutally repressed a native revolt in Angola.¹⁴⁶ This

¹³⁹ Newitt, *World*, 203.

¹⁴⁰ Newitt, *World*, 203.

¹⁴¹ Newitt, *World*, 209.

¹⁴² Newitt, *World*, 209.

¹⁴³ Newitt, *World*, 217.

¹⁴⁴ Newitt, *World*, 204. Portugal had joined the U.N. in 1955. Like most U.N. initiatives, the committee had mixed success.

¹⁴⁵ Newitt, *World*, 206.

¹⁴⁶ Newitt, *World*, 205.

led to “more than a decade of guerilla warfare” in its African territories.¹⁴⁷ Salazar’s death ended Portugal’s desire to remain in these conflicts, and independence was granted to all of its African possessions in the 1970s.¹⁴⁸ This left Macao, the Azores, and Madeira as Portugal’s only remaining overseas possessions. The Azores and Madeira were made self-governing “regions of the republic” in the 1976 Constitution.¹⁴⁹ On December 20, 1999, Portugal formally transferred Macao to China, marking the symbolic end of a once powerful overseas empire.¹⁵⁰

As part of its changing political climate, Portugal abandoned its isolationist policies and embraced the wider European world. In 1986, Portugal became a member of the European Union (EU), after previously joining the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.¹⁵¹ This had somewhat unanticipated consequences, as the EU funded many construction projects throughout Portugal, causing “environmental degradation.”¹⁵² Currently, Portugal has little power within the EU. Its financial contribution to the EU budget is less than one percent of the total budget.¹⁵³ Also, Portugal is experiencing major issues regarding its national debt. From 2011 to 2014, Portugal “required an international

¹⁴⁷ Newitt, *World*, 207.

¹⁴⁸ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, “Patterns of Settlement in the Portuguese Empire, 1400-1800,” in Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, eds., *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800* (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007), 161.

¹⁴⁹ Russell-Wood, “Patterns,” in Bethencourt and Curto, *Expansion*, 161.

¹⁵⁰ Russell-Wood, “Patterns,” in Bethencourt and Curto, *Expansion*, 161. The transfer had precedent: two years earlier, England had ceded Hong Kong back to China after a century of occupation.

¹⁵¹ Newitt, *World*, 218.

¹⁵² Newitt, *World*, 219.

¹⁵³ European Union, “Portugal,” November 22, 2016, http://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries/member-countries/portugal_en#budgets-and-funding

bailout” due to multiple financial issues.¹⁵⁴ As of 2016, Portugal’s national debt is “nearly 130% of its gross domestic product,” which has worried other EU members about another potential bailout.¹⁵⁵ Most recently, former Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres was appointed as the next Secretary-General of the United Nations, with his term of office beginning on January 1, 2017.¹⁵⁶ During his tenure as Prime Minister, Guterres presided over the 500th anniversary of Vasco do Gama’s voyage to India, showing the link between Portugal’s present and past.¹⁵⁷

B. Colonial History of Brazil

As previously mentioned, Pedro Cabral and his fleet landed on the Brazilian coast on April 22nd, 1500. Since then, historians have debated whether or not the Portuguese knew of Brazil’s existence prior to his voyage. Marques claims, “an expedition of discovery was probably sent by the early 1490s, reaching or at least sighting the South American continent.”¹⁵⁸ However, he provides no proof for this claim. Calogeras goes a step further and asserts, “[the] evidence is all but conclusive that prior... to Cabral, other Portuguese navigators visited Brazil.”¹⁵⁹ Once again, no proof is offered for this claim. McAlister argues that the Brazilian discovery was an accident, and that Cabral sailed

¹⁵⁴ Kowsmann, Patricia, “Europe Worries Portugal is Prone to a Debt-Crisis Relapse,” October 11, 2016, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/europe-worries-portugal-is-prone-to-a-debt-crisis-relapse-1476217308>.

¹⁵⁵ Kowsmann, “Europe Worries.”

¹⁵⁶ United Nations, “Antonio Guterres appointed next UN Secretary-General by acclamation,” October 13, 2016, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55285#.WDSKLYST78E>.

¹⁵⁷ The Economist, “Antonio Guterres, a Portuguese on the move,” October 14, 1999, <http://www.economist.com/node/249433>.

¹⁵⁸ Marques, *History*, 223.

¹⁵⁹ Joao Pandia Calogeras, *A History of Brazil*, trans. Percy Alvin Martin (The UNC Press, Chapel Hill, 1939), 1.

southwest to avoid storms and “followed this course too far.”¹⁶⁰ Poppino follows this argument, theorizing that storms blew the fleet “much farther off the usual course.”¹⁶¹ This explanation seems to make the most sense. Ultimately, the argument is best summed up by Burns: there is no proof that Brazil was discovered prior to Cabral’s voyage.¹⁶²

In a voyage from 1501-2, Italian navigator Amerigo Vespucci proved that the newly discovered land was a continent separate from Eurasia and Africa.¹⁶³ As a result, the Portuguese Crown sponsored many information-gathering voyages. These voyages “determined that a valuable dyewood [brazilwood]... grew profusely along the coastal strip.”¹⁶⁴ The Portuguese crown then began to establish feitorias on the Brazilian coast. From about 1500 to 1530, the Portuguese were content with a trading presence, where they would harvest brazilwood and barter with the local tribes for exotic goods. The Crown leased this enterprise out to private companies, and took one-fifth of the overall profit. However, this situation changed for several reasons. The French had also established a trading presence in Brazil, completely ignoring the Treaty of Tordesillas, and the Portuguese wanted to tighten their control over the area.¹⁶⁵ Also, the Portuguese had relatively little information about the interior, and colonization would allow them to

¹⁶⁰ Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1984), 75.

¹⁶¹ Rollie E. Poppino, *Brazil: The Land and People* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1968), 45.

¹⁶² E. Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1970), 21.

¹⁶³ Livemore, *New History*, 143.

¹⁶⁴ Poppino, *People*, 46.

¹⁶⁵ McAlister, *New World*, 259.

spread beyond the coastline. Finally, rumors “of a mountain of silver... somewhere in the interior” motivated the Portuguese to expand their control for financial reasons.¹⁶⁶

In 1530, King Joao III approved the colonization of Brazil, partitioning the coastline into 15 “strips, each of which was granted to a donatory, who undertook to found settlements and open up trade.”¹⁶⁷ As previously mentioned, the captain-donatory system had been used to great success in the settlement of Madeira and the Azores. Since Brazil was much larger, towns were first established “at strategic points on the coast.”¹⁶⁸ The Crown intended for these settlements to expand, as each captaincy was granted “fifty leagues of coastline.”¹⁶⁹ Several of the captaincies, particularly Sao Vicente and Pernambuco, were successful.¹⁷⁰ By the late 1540s, the Portuguese settlements in Brazil had a combined total population of around 2,000 Portuguese and 3-4,000 slaves.¹⁷¹ Initially, Indians were enslaved, but their high rate of mortality led to the introduction and use of African slaves.¹⁷² Despite the success of several settlements, the majority were financial failures, due to numerous difficulties. These included hostile Indian tribes, disease, unruly settlers, and little production of tradable products. Thus, in 1549, the Portuguese Crown cancelled the captain-donatory system, with all settlements and land grants reverting back to their direct control.

¹⁶⁶ McAlister, *New World*, 259.

¹⁶⁷ Livermore, *New History*, 146.

¹⁶⁸ Poppino, *People*, 52.

¹⁶⁹ Marques, *History*, 254.

¹⁷⁰ McAlister, *New World*, 263.

¹⁷¹ Marques, *History*, 257.

¹⁷² McAlister, *New World*, 276.

The Crown then appointed a royal governor, with a new capital established in the town of Bahia.¹⁷³ This put Brazil and its settlements under complete control of the Portuguese government, a policy followed by many other European countries. Under royal control, Brazil soon became very prosperous, making massive amounts of money for Portugal in the next three centuries. Brazilwood was Brazil's first major export product, as it grew abundantly on the coast. In the early 1600s, Brazil exported 500 tons of brazilwood a year, but this trade was quickly supplanted by sugar.¹⁷⁴ Sugar was first planted in the 1520s "as an experiment," given its substantial success in the Atlantic Islands.¹⁷⁵ Brazil had the right growing conditions for sugar, and Portugal's control of the West African slave market gave them a steady stream of labor. Sugar mills were established as early as 1540, with a sugar boom occurring from the 1570s-1640s.¹⁷⁶¹⁷⁷ At the height of the boom, Brazil had 300 sugar mills producing 20,000 tons of sugar a year.¹⁷⁸ Brazil's sugar trade declined due to the costly war against the Dutch, who briefly occupied several sugar-producing towns, and the emergence of the colonial Caribbean islands as large-scale sugar producers. Tobacco then became a major export product, from around 1650 to the early 1700s.¹⁷⁹ Brazil exported "1,250 tons" of tobacco in 1610, and this volume increased along with its popularity.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷³ Burns, *A History*, 26.

¹⁷⁴ McAlister, *New World*, 383.

¹⁷⁵ Poppino, *People*, 119.

¹⁷⁶ Poppino, *People*, 120. Sugar mills are large plantations that produce sugar as a cash crop. They require large amounts of labor.

¹⁷⁷ McAlister, *New World*, 382.

¹⁷⁸ McAlister, *New World*, 382.

¹⁷⁹ Poppino, *People*, 128.

¹⁸⁰ McAlister, *New World*, 384.

In the 17th century, Brazil's major exports changed yet again, with unprecedented financial gain for Portugal. As previously mentioned, rumors of silver were a factor in Portugal's colonization of Brazil, but these rumors ultimately proved to be inaccurate. However, they did spark significant exploration of the interior regions, which were gradually colonized as Brazil's population grew. In the 1690s, gold deposits were discovered in a backwater province called Minas Gerais.¹⁸¹ This changed Minas Gerais overnight into an important mining region, and its population grew drastically. During the 1700s, "Brazil provided approximately 80 percent of the world's gold supply," totaling around 1,000 tons.¹⁸²¹⁸³ This figure also leaves out gold obtained via smuggling, which remained a major problem despite frequent legal efforts to curb it. In 1729, Minas Gerais experienced yet another economic boom, as diamonds were discovered there.¹⁸⁴ In the next century, Brazil exported about three million carats of diamonds, once again giving Portugal enormous profits.¹⁸⁵ After the gold and diamond rushes had ended, cotton and coffee both became major exports. Cotton exports were spurred in the 1750s by the ongoing Industrial Revolution.¹⁸⁶ Coffee became a major product around 1800, as it was a popular drink across the globe.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, Portugal benefited massively from its colony, to the effect that Brazil's exports enabled Portugal to remain a European power.

In the early 1800s, Brazil experienced an unprecedented series of events. As previously discussed, Portugal was allied with England during the Napoleonic Wars

¹⁸¹ Bethencourt and Curto, *Expansion*, 6.

¹⁸² Burns, *A History*, 60.

¹⁸³ Poppino, *People*, 132.

¹⁸⁴ Calogeras, *A History*, 38.

¹⁸⁵ Calogeras, *A History*, 41.

¹⁸⁶ Poppino, *People*, 135.

¹⁸⁷ Poppino, *People*, 147.

against France. Napoleon's massive invasion of Portugal in 1807 thus prompted the royal family, along with many nobles and government officials, to flee to Brazil.¹⁸⁸ This made Brazil the seat of Portugal's monarchy. Even after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the Portuguese government remained in Brazil. The Brazilians were quite happy with the arrangement, as "they had acquired a court and a government."¹⁸⁹ The Portuguese, however, protested this arrangement, and a revolt forced the royal family to return. In 1821, King Joao VI sailed to Portugal and left his son Pedro in charge of Brazil. Once royal rule was reestablished in Portugal, Brazil was again treated as a colony by the liberal parliament, which angered Brazil's officials and elites. In 1822, the Portuguese Parliament ordered Pedro to return to Portugal. He refused, and declared that Brazil would be an independent state.¹⁹⁰ In 1825, Portugal formally recognized Brazil's independence. The two countries initially had an amicable relationship, but gradually grew apart politically and economically over the next two centuries.¹⁹¹

C. Soccer in Brazil and Portugal

After Brazil's independence from Portugal, the British began to have an important influence. In the late 19th century, British traders and industrialists were spread across the world, financing industrial projects in many different countries.¹⁹² In 1894, an Englishman named Charles Miller travelled via boat to Brazil. Along with his personal belongings, he brought some soccer balls and a set of rules.¹⁹³ Soccer had become vastly

¹⁸⁸ Livermore, *New History*, 250.

¹⁸⁹ Livermore, *New History*, 255.

¹⁹⁰ Burns, *A History*, 107.

¹⁹¹ Livermore, *New History*, 268.

¹⁹² David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (Riverhead Books, New York, 2006), 115. Goldblatt calls this process "the informal British empire."

¹⁹³ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 128.

popular in England, and Miller hoped to introduce the game to Brazil. Indeed, the game became popular in Brazil that within a decade, “an extensive league... could be staged.”¹⁹⁴ In 1932, the Brazilian leagues in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo went openly professional, and leagues in smaller cities followed suit.¹⁹⁵ It did not take very long for Brazil to become a world power in soccer, and they finished as a runner-up in the 1950 World Cup before winning the ’58, ’62, and ’70 World Cups. In 1971, the various city leagues formed a single national league, called the Brasileiro, which remained financially poor despite its skilled players.¹⁹⁶ Brazil remains a major power in world soccer today, although the Brazilian league continues to see its star players leave at increasingly younger ages for European teams.

Portugal took considerably longer to develop as a soccer power. Due to its close relationship with England, the game itself spread relatively quickly. However, despite the presence of a strong national league, the Primeira Liga, Portugal remained relatively weak and unimportant in the soccer world until the late 1950s.¹⁹⁷ At that point, Portuguese soccer experienced a significant increase in terms of talent, revenue, and crowd size. The national team won third place at the 1966 World Cup, and crowds of 50,000 regularly filled league stadiums.¹⁹⁸ This rise was in no small part due to the recruitment of players from former or then-current Portuguese colonies.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, Eusebio, Portugal’s star player in the 1960s, was born and raised in colonial Mozambique, before being recruited to play for Portugal.

¹⁹⁴ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 128.

¹⁹⁵ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 208.

¹⁹⁶ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 628.

¹⁹⁷ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 422.

¹⁹⁸ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 433.

¹⁹⁹ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 433.

In the post-World War II world, Portugal and Brazil both became increasingly globalized, on both the political and sporting scales. As previously discussed, the death of Oliveira Salazar effectively ended his autocratic regime, while a Brazilian military dictatorship was replaced with democratic governance a decade later. These shifts in power caused both countries to open themselves more to the wider political world. In terms of soccer, the 1995 Bosman Ruling significantly impacted both countries. A Belgian soccer player (Jean-Marc Bosman) was out of contract with his club, and wished to join another club, but his then-current club refused to agree to a transfer fee, and blocked his move.²⁰⁰ The European Court of Justice ruled that, if a player was out of contract with his club, he could move to another club for free.²⁰¹ The court also ruled that European soccer teams could now field any player from a European Union country without limit.²⁰²

The Bosman Ruling sparked a frenzy of player purchases. Whereas European clubs could previously field three foreign players, plus two foreigners from their academy, they could now field an unlimited number of EU players.²⁰³ Thus, larger European teams quickly began to purchase foreign players, in a system that followed colonial precedent. The Portuguese and Dutch leagues, during the 1990s, had been at the height of their power, but were unable to compete financially with wealthier leagues, and their best players were purchased by teams in England, Spain, France, Italy, and Germany. As EU players no longer counted as foreign, many clubs opted to purchase

²⁰⁰ Brand, Gerard, “How the Bosman Rule Changed Football – 20 Years On,” December 15, 2015, <http://www.skysports.com/football/news/11095/10100134/how-the-bosman-rule-changed-football-20-years-on>.

²⁰¹ Brand, “Bosman.”

²⁰² Brand, “Bosman.”

²⁰³ Brand, “Bosman.”

players from other continents, particularly the Americas. Once again following colonial precedent, Argentinians left for Italy and Spain, Brazilians went to Portugal, and many players from the French-speaking Caribbean islands went to France. As such players already spoke the native language, they could easily assimilate into the culture. The larger clubs were also helped by an influx of television money, as soccer became increasingly consumed on the global scale.²⁰⁴ Although the sudden influx of foreign players into the major European leagues was not driven by nation-states, it was a direct result of the globalization of soccer following the Bosman Ruling.

As previously stated, the purpose of this study is to assess the relationship between Brazil and Portugal in the modern soccer world, particularly with regard to players born in Brazil who play in the Portuguese league or for the Portuguese national team. In the next section, I will discuss my methods, and then present and analyze my results in the following sections.

III. Methods

The soccer relationship between Brazil and Portugal is very well documented, particularly within the last few decades. The modern day soccer transfer market has made it increasingly easy for Portuguese teams to offer relatively small amounts of money for young Brazilian players, with Brazilian clubs often unable to refuse such financial offers. While an article on the *Federation Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) official website claimed that Brazil and Portugal were “brother countries,” the reality may be

²⁰⁴ In most soccer leagues, teams receive a percentage of the money paid to televise a league’s games. In the modern day, this means a percentage of several billion dollars.

much different.²⁰⁵ Indeed, the same article also mentioned Deco, Liedson, and Pepe. These three players were all born in Brazil, but played for Portugal at the 2010 World Cup.²⁰⁶ FIFA's article is consistent with their agenda to promote harmony in world soccer, but Brazil and Portugal may be rivals rather than partners. In 2002, 123 Latin Americans, "almost all Brazilians," played in the Portuguese League.²⁰⁷ In 2008, over 1,200 Brazilian players were sold to teams abroad.²⁰⁸ Many of these players were younger or in the prime of their careers.

In the next section of this paper, I will analyze secondary data related to this issue. I will examine data from players whose careers began during or after the 1990s. I will examine players born in Brazil who have chosen to play in the Portuguese league or for the Portuguese national team. I will analyze their motives for leaving Brazil, especially in the cases of players who joined the Portuguese national team, despite being born in Brazil. Player interviews, as qualitative data, will be used to determine potential factors, including financial and cultural, for leaving Brazil. Player statistics, as quantitative data, will be used in the analysis to measure player success in general. Statistics will also be used to triangulate the qualitative data obtained from player interviews. Such statistics will include goals scored, games played, and trophies won. Statistics will also be used to compare player's careers before and after they arrived in Portugal. News articles from a variety of credible sources will be used in the analysis, as they can reveal player

²⁰⁵ FIFA, "Portugal and Brazil: brother countries steeped in history," June 1, 2014, <http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2014/m=5/news=portugal-and-brazil-brother-countries-steeped-in-history-2346837.html>. FIFA is the international governing body for soccer, and is infamous for its corruption and misinformed behavior.

²⁰⁶ FIFA, "Portugal and Brazil."

²⁰⁷ Goldblatt, *Ball*, 778.

²⁰⁸ Goldblatt, *Futebol*, 202.

motivation, cultural information, overall trends, statistics, and financial data. Credibility will be determined via common knowledge of the publisher (*BBC*, *ESPN*, etc.) or via my determination that the information presented in the article is accurate and unbiased.

I obtained such articles through Wikipedia and Google. In determining my list of Portuguese national team players born in Brazil, I initially used a FIFA article, which listed Deco, Liedson, and Pepe as such players.²⁰⁹ I then typed each player's name into Wikipedia, in order to read general information about their respective careers. Wikipedia's articles frequently cite other secondary sources, and I obtained several relevant articles through this method. I also searched for information about each player on Google. I typed in keywords such as the individual player's name, "Brazil," "Portugal," and "leave". For example, I typed, "Why did Pepe leave Brazil and go to Portugal?" This search resulted in several relevant articles, and I repeated it for every other player mentioned in this paper. As previously mentioned, the date range is from the 1990s to the present. All of the articles cited in this paper have been written after the year 2000. Statistics were obtained through several sources. For retired players, such as Deco and Liedson, I relied on official articles from sources such as FIFA and UEFA.²¹⁰ I also used the Portuguese soccer website *ZeroZero* for both current and retired players.²¹¹

In my narrower analysis, I read each article. I looked at the explanations offered for why the player left Brazil for Portugal, and how they felt about their decision. I particularly looked for direct quotations, either from the player or their immediate family,

²⁰⁹ FIFA, "Portugal and Brazil."

²¹⁰ UEFA, or the *Union of European Football Associations*, is the governing body of soccer in Europe and a sub-section of FIFA.

²¹¹ The website *ZeroZero* is devoted to Portuguese soccer, and I determined it to be both credible and accurate.

for their reasons. I also looked for quotations from coaches or agents, who are also privy to personal motivations of players. I also looked for the age of the player when they left Brazil, and how much money was involved in the transfer. Finally, I looked for information about players becoming Portuguese citizens and joining the Portuguese national team, and their motivations for doing so. I also looked for legal information, specifically Portuguese naturalization laws and FIFA's policies on players joining the national team of a country they were not born in.

In my broader analysis, I analyzed every Brazilian player with available data who moved from Brazil to the Portuguese League during the 2011-12 season.²¹² I did discover several player moves that are not provided in the table, as I could not obtain any data about them. The season was chosen because it occurred five years ago, and thus provides a fairly lengthy time period to analyze how successful players became. In the analysis, players were deemed successful via my personal criteria: they either stayed at their club for at least three seasons, or were sold for profit. I compiled the data into a table, which is provided in a later section. The list of players from Brazil who moved to Portugal was initially obtained from two Wikipedia articles. Each player's data was then crosschecked and obtained from the website TransferMarkt.²¹³ If a player's data was unavailable, and not obtained after an Internet search, they were removed from the list.

IV. Results

A. Legal Information

²¹² In the soccer world, most professional leagues begin in August and end in May the following year. Thus, a season comprises two separate calendar years.

²¹³ TransferMarkt is a soccer database that catalogs the financial value of player transfers. I determined it to be credible.

Before I begin to discuss the data obtained, it is important to first summarize the legal areas that this issue covers. In other words, how can players born outside of Portugal legally play for the Portuguese national soccer team? In order to do this, players first must become Portuguese citizens. Portuguese citizenship laws are very specific in this regard, making provisions for people born to Portuguese parents in another country or in former colonial territories.²¹⁴ Brazil, however, is not included in the list of former colonial territories, due to its much longer period of independence.²¹⁵ Thus, players who born are outside of Portugal without a parent of Portuguese citizenship have to rely on other naturalization options. First, players can be naturalized via marriage or partnership “to a Portuguese national for more than three years.”²¹⁶ Citizenship can also be obtained if the player meets the following requirements: “be of age... under Portuguese Law; have resided lawfully in Portuguese territory for a minimum of six years; have sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese language; have not been convicted of a crime... with imprisonment up to... three years.”²¹⁷ Thus, Portuguese naturalization is relatively simple for Brazilian players, who already speak Portuguese and can easily satisfy the remaining legal requirements.

In addition to Portuguese citizenship requirements, players also have to meet FIFA guidelines on legally joining the Portuguese national team. FIFA requires that players wishing to play soccer for a non-birth country satisfy one of the following

²¹⁴ Portugal, *Portuguese Nationality Act, Law 37/81*, October 3, 2006, trans. Patricia Jeronimo, Article 1. [http://eudo-citizenship.eu/NationalDB/docs/POR%20Law%2037%2081%20as%20consolidated%20by%20Law%202%2006%20\(English\).pdf](http://eudo-citizenship.eu/NationalDB/docs/POR%20Law%2037%2081%20as%20consolidated%20by%20Law%202%2006%20(English).pdf).

²¹⁵ Such former colonial territories include the African nations mentioned previously, Macao, and Goa.

²¹⁶ *Portuguese Nationality Act*, Article 3.

²¹⁷ *Portuguese Nationality Act*, Article 6.

requirements: their citizenship must be permanent, and they must live in the country for “at least five years.”²¹⁸ FIFA’s laws are very similar to Portuguese naturalization laws, with the effect that a Brazilian player who is naturalized as Portuguese becomes automatically eligible for the Portuguese national soccer team, with two exceptions. If a player participates “in an official competition of any category or any type of football for one association,” he is permanently ineligible to play for another team.²¹⁹ Such official competitions include the World Cup, Olympics, continental tournaments such as the Copa America, and youth tournaments such as the Under-17 and Under-20 World Cups. Players who have only played in friendlies, however, are still eligible to switch national teams. To accomplish this, they must “request to change the association for which he is eligible to play international matches to the association of another country of which he holds nationality.”²²⁰ This process is fairly common in the modern age, including players such as Jermaine Jones (left Germany for the United States) and Diego Costa (left Brazil for Spain).

As shown in the previous two paragraphs, it is quite simple and completely legal for players to play international soccer for a non-birth country. In the instances of Portugal and Brazil, several notable players born in Brazil have chosen to represent the Portuguese national team in recent decades. Deco, Liedson, and Pepe have all played for the Portuguese national team after the year 2000, despite being born in Brazil. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss each player individually and analyze their motives

²¹⁸ FIFA, *FIFA Statutes, April 2016 Edition*, pages 70-72, http://resources.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/generic/02/78/29/07/fifastatutsweben_neutral.pdf.

²¹⁹ *FIFA Statutes*, page 70.

²²⁰ *FIFA Statutes*, page 71.

for leaving Brazil, playing club soccer in Portugal, and joining the Portuguese national team. Then, I will use a broader focus and analyze every player who moved from Brazil to Portugal during the 2011-12 season, from both the summer and winter transfer windows. The results from the broader analysis will be compiled into a table, with citations provided within the table.

B. Deco

Anderson Luis de Souza, who goes by the nickname Deco, spent very little of his career in Brazil before going abroad to Portugal. He was playing for the youth team of Corinthians in the Sao Paulo Cup, “a tournament for young players” that was scouted every year by Benfica, one of the traditional powerhouses in the Portuguese League.²²¹ According to one of Benfica’s scouts, Deco “already had a technical maturity... that would make him the great player he [was] later.”²²² Benfica promptly purchased the youngster in 1997 and loaned him to Alverca, a team then playing in the Portuguese Second Division. Deco himself “was leaning towards staying in Brazil,” but his coach in Brazil “told me that I needed to go to Portugal.”²²³ Initially, adapting to Portugal was difficult for Deco, due to a lack of general information about the country.²²⁴ He was also somewhat disappointed at being loaned to a lower division team, a feeling made worse

²²¹ Figueiredo, Joao Tiago, “Toni, Who Discovered Deco: ‘Historical Mistake from Benfica,’” August 26, 2013, trans. Google Translate, <http://www.maisfutebol.iol.pt/toni-descobriu-deco-erro-historico-do-benfica>.

²²² Figueiredo, “Historical Mistake.”

²²³ Jackson, Andy, “Deco: Mourinho’s a Winner.” December 9, 2015, <http://www.fourfourtwo.com/features/deco-mourinhos-winner-its-difficult-him-accept-results-dont-go-his-way>.

²²⁴ Jackson, “Mourinho’s a Winner.”

when Benfica transferred him the following season to another second division team, “without making a single appearance for Benfica.”²²⁵

Deco only played a few more games in the Portuguese second division before being bought by Porto, another traditionally strong team in the Portuguese League. At that point, Deco began to adapt better to the Portuguese League, but “his failure to win [the league] title frustrated him.”²²⁶ His career significantly changed in his fourth season at Porto, however, when now-famous head coach Jose Mourinho took charge of the club. According to Deco himself, “I was inconsolable as I had gone three years without winning the league title [at Porto]... what Mourinho gave me was fame as he was able to build a great team.”²²⁷ Deco’s statistics demonstrate his career resurgence. In the season (2000-01) prior to Mourinho’s arrival, Deco scored 6 goals in 47 games, a decent but unremarkable return for a creative midfielder.²²⁸ Mourinho arrived in January 2002, and during that season (2001-02) Deco scored 23 goals in 51 games, an extraordinary turnaround.²²⁹

With Mourinho at the helm, Deco enjoyed three hugely successful seasons, winning “three Portuguese league titles, three Portuguese Cups, two Super Cups, the 2002/03 UEFA Cup, and the 2003/04 UEFA Champions League.”²³⁰ In 2004, Deco was purchased by Barcelona, where he won two Spanish League titles, “two Spanish Super

²²⁵ Neo, Dominic, “Deco: Understated Genius,” August 2, 2014, <http://www.fourfourtwo.com/sg/features/deco-understated-genius>.

²²⁶ Neo, “Understated Genius.”

²²⁷ Neo, “Understated Genius.”

²²⁸ ZeroZero, “Deco,” 2016, http://www.zerozero.pt/player_seasons.php?id=420.

²²⁹ ZeroZero, “Deco.”

²³⁰ Pietra, Hugo, “Former Portugal Midfielder Deco Retires,” August 26, 2013, <http://www.uefa.com/memberassociations/news/newsid=1985711.html>.

Cups, and a second Champions League title in 2005/06.²³¹ Later in his career, Deco won one Premier League title and two FA Cups with Chelsea, before joining Brazilian club Fluminense, winning three more trophies before he retired in 2013.²³² Overall, Deco won 24 separate titles over his career with four teams in four different countries, a significant achievement. In addition to this, Deco had notable success with the Portuguese national team, although his tenure was not without controversy.

Despite his significant success in Portugal, Deco never appeared for the Brazilian national soccer team, which won the 2002 World Cup under then head coach Phil Scolari. Deco himself noted that, “When I was 21, Brazil [selected] me [for] the [2000] Olympics team, but I had an injury and I couldn’t play.”²³³ However, Deco seems to have already made his decision at that point, claiming, “I decided to play for Portugal after they’d been talking to me for two or three years before [he became a citizen]. I decided because of the relationship I had with the country and the people.”²³⁴ Deco was granted Portuguese citizenship in 2003, having completed his required six years of residence in the country. A week later, Phil Scolari, then head coach of Portugal, selected him for a friendly game, ironically against Brazil.²³⁵ Deco made his debut as a second half substitute and scored a goal in the Portuguese victory, ensuring his place within the team. However, his selection provoked controversy. His teammate Luis Figo, the FIFA World Player of the Year in 2001, publicly spoke out against Deco’s selection, claiming that it “distort[ed] team

²³¹ Pietra, “Deco Retires.”

²³² Pietra, “Deco Retires.”

²³³ Jackson, “Mourinho’s a Winner.”

²³⁴ Jackson, “Mourinho’s a Winner.”

²³⁵ BBC Sport, “Figo Re-Ignites Deco Row,” June 10, 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/euro_2004/portugal/3795885.stm.

spirit.”²³⁶ Figo also argued that Deco should have played international soccer for Brazil, stating, “If you’re born Chinese, well, you have to play for China.”²³⁷ Deco countered this criticism by saying, “I don’t regret choosing to play for Portugal... I was born in Brazil and it would be a lie to say I’m just Portuguese now and not Brazilian but I love Portugal and... the national team.”²³⁸ Regardless of the debate, Deco had a successful career with Portugal, making 75 appearances and scoring 5 goals, including goals in the 2006 World Cup and the 2008 European Championship.²³⁹ Overall, Deco definitely considered himself as both Brazilian and Portuguese in terms of identity. The bulk of his career successes, however, came in the Portuguese league and national team, which seems to confirm that Deco prioritized Portugal over Brazil, at least in regards to international soccer.

C. Liedson

Liedson da Silva Muniz, known professionally by his first name, was slightly more established as a soccer player when he left Brazil. Whereas Deco only spent a single season in Brazil, Liedson enjoyed several successful seasons in the Brazilian League, scoring 14 goals in 24 games with Flamengo (2002) and 16 goals in 28 games with Corinthians (2003).²⁴⁰ Then, at the age of 25 and still fairly unknown outside his native Brazil, Liedson was purchased in August 2003 for 2 million euros, a very small sum in the soccer world, by Sporting Lisbon, also a major team in the Portuguese

²³⁶ BBC, “Deco Row.”

²³⁷ BBC, “Deco Row.”

²³⁸ BBC, “Deco Row.”

²³⁹ Pietra, “Deco Retires.”

²⁴⁰ ZeroZero, “Liedson,” 2016, http://www.zerozero.pt/player_seasons.php?id=488. Unlike European soccer leagues, the Brazilian League’s seasons run in a single calendar year.

League.²⁴¹ Sporting Lisbon had just sold star players Cristiano Ronaldo to Manchester United and Ricardo Quaresma to Barcelona, leaving a major gap in their goal-scoring ranks.²⁴² Liedson was signed specifically to fill this gap.

Liedson adapted very quickly to Portugal, acknowledging in an interview, “It’s a dream come true. I am very happy. I’ve made the right decision as I have felt at home [in Portugal] since 2003 [when he arrived].”²⁴³ His consistently strong statistics demonstrate his quick adaption to the Portuguese game. In his first season (2003-04), Liedson scored 19 goals in 36 games, about a goal every two games, which is a good return for a striker.²⁴⁴ In his second season (2004-05), Liedson exploded onto the scene, scoring 35 goals in 47 games, an excellent return that he would not reach again in his career.²⁴⁵ Liedson would ultimately spend eight seasons with Sporting Lisbon, accumulating a total of 172 goals in 313 games in all competitions, with an average of about a goal every two games and 21.5 goals per season.²⁴⁶ Indeed, Liedson made a name for himself in Portugal. In 2011, Liedson returned to his former club Corinthians in Brazil, and played for several more years there.²⁴⁷ In his final season of professional soccer, he played for Sporting Lisbon’s rival Porto, but did not score any goals.²⁴⁸

²⁴¹ UEFA, “Sporting Snare Liedson,” August 31, 2003, <http://www.uefa.com/uefaeuropaleague/news/newsid=96797.html>. As the inquisitive reader may have gathered, Porto, Sporting Lisbon, and Benfica are the traditional top teams in the Portuguese League, a fact confirmed by the ongoing 2016-17 season.

²⁴² UEFA, “Sporting Snare Liedson.”

²⁴³ UEFA, “Liedson Happy to Settle at Sporting,” July 10, 2009, <http://www.uefa.com/uefachampionsleague/news/newsid=845500.html>.

²⁴⁴ ZeroZero, “Liedson.”

²⁴⁵ ZeroZero, “Liedson.”

²⁴⁶ ZeroZero, “Liedson.” The mathematical calculations are my own.

²⁴⁷ Reuters, “Soccer – Sporting Striker Liedson Returns to Corinthians,” January 31, 2011, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/soccer-portugal-liedson-idUKLDE70U2G120110131>.

²⁴⁸ ZeroZero, “Liedson.”

Much like his compatriot Deco, Liedson's time with the Portuguese national team was fraught with controversy. Due to his slightly later arrival in Portugal, Liedson did not receive Portuguese citizenship until 2009, after completing his six-year residency. According to Liedson, the choice to join was very easy, with the player himself stating, "I am with Portugal, body and soul. It is as if [I was] born here."²⁴⁹ He also stated, "I [have felt] Portuguese for a long time now... I will never stop being Brazilian. I love my country like I also love Portugal. It's just that the competition in my position [striker] is big [in the Brazilian national team]."²⁵⁰ In that interview, Liedson essentially argued that he joined the Portuguese national team because he would not have been selected in Brazil's team, which at the 2010 World Cup included then-star attackers Robinho, Luis Fabiano, Elano, and Kaka, with former stars Ronaldo and Ronaldinho left off the roster.²⁵¹ Presumably due to Liedson's comments, the Portuguese Professional Footballer's Union "publicly objected" to his naturalization, complaining that it would result in the "extinction" of players born in Portugal.²⁵² Unlike Deco, however, Liedson made less of an impact with the Portuguese national team, making only 15 appearances, mainly because he did not gain citizenship until he was 31. He did score on his debut, an

²⁴⁹ The Telegraph, "Liedson Won't Sing Anthem," June 3, 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/teams/portugal/7801737/Liedson-wont-sing-anthem.html>.

²⁵⁰ A Futebol Fan, "Liedson Interview in Portuguese to SportTV – English Translation," February 14, 2009, <http://fanoffutebol.blogspot.com/2009/02/lieidson-do-you-want-him-playing-in.html>. The website is a blog, which I determined was accurate due to its translation of a Portuguese television interview.

²⁵¹ Goal, "World Cup 2010: Brazil Squad," May 11, 2010, <http://www.goal.com/en/news/1863/world-cup-2010/2010/05/11/1918290/world-cup-2010-brazil-squad-no-ronaldinho-adriano-pato-or>.

²⁵² Lourenco, Eduardo Santos, "Football Union Contest Liedson's Naturalization," August 28, 2009, <http://smashingenglish.blogspot.com/2009/08/football-union-contest-lieidsons.html>. The website is a blog, and I determined it to be accurate due to its translation of an article in a Portuguese newspaper.

equalizer in World Cup Qualifying against Denmark, and produced two additional goals in Portugal's bid to qualify for the 2010 World Cup.²⁵³ At that World Cup, he scored in Portugal's 7-0 victory over North Korea, but the game was uncompetitive by the time he was substituted onto the field.²⁵⁴ Much like Deco, it seems that Liedson considered himself as both Portuguese and Brazilian. Liedson clearly chose the Portuguese national team because he believed that he would not have been selected for Brazil, a fact confirmed by Brazil's 2010 World Cup roster, which was impressive at least on paper.

D. Pepe

Kepler Laveran Lima Ferreira, known by the nickname Pepe, never played a professional game in Brazil before moving to Portugal. At the age of 18, he was playing in the youth team of third division club SC Corinthians Alagoano, when CS Maritimo, a Portuguese League team in Madeira, purchased him.²⁵⁵ Upon his arrival in Madeira, Pepe stated, "I did not even know where I was getting in. They saw me in training [in Brazil], I came as a [backup] to another player. But the way they welcomed me was remarkable."²⁵⁶ He also acknowledged that he joined Maritimo because it was "a unique opportunity" at his age.²⁵⁷ Pepe only played four games in his first season with Maritimo, as he was training mostly with the reserve team, but played 30 and 32 games respectively

²⁵³ Reuters, "Liedson Returns to Corinthians."

²⁵⁴ Reuters, "Liedson Returns to Corinthians."

²⁵⁵ UEFA, "Madrid Pick up Pepe from Porto," July 10, 2007, <http://www.uefa.com/uefachampionsleague/news/newsid=559801.html>.

²⁵⁶ C.S. Maritimo, "Pepe: I have a Great Affection for the Maritime," April 11, 2016, trans. Google Translate, <https://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=pt&u=http://www.csmaritimo.org.pt/index.php/newsinstitucional/964-pepe-tenho-um-carinho-muito-grande-pelo-maritimo&prev=search>.

²⁵⁷ Atkins, Christopher, "Pepe Feels Disregarded in Brazil," August 4, 2012, http://www.sambafoot.com/en/news/29848_pepe_feels_disregarded_in_brazil.html.

in his next two seasons with the club.²⁵⁸ In 2004, he was bought by Porto for two million euros, and transitioned from a defensive midfielder into a central defender.²⁵⁹ In three seasons at Porto, Pepe won two Portuguese League titles, one Portuguese Cup, and two Portuguese SuperCups.²⁶⁰

In 2007, Pepe, then 24 years old, was purchased by Real Madrid for 30 million euros, a fairly large sum for a defender.²⁶¹ Pepe established himself as a regular starter in his first season, making 25 appearances across all competitions as Real Madrid won the Spanish League.²⁶² Pepe still currently plays for Real Madrid, and is one of the longest tenured players on the roster. In his nine full seasons with the club, excluding the ongoing 2016-17 season, Pepe has won two Spanish League titles, two Spanish Cups, two Spanish SuperCups, two Champions League titles, one European SuperCup, and two Club World Cups.²⁶³ He has developed a reputation both as an excellent defender and an occasional hothead, having accumulated several notable ejections in his career, including a ten game ban in 2009 and an ejection at the 2014 World Cup.²⁶⁴ Pepe himself admitted that “after the [ten game ban], people have a bad image of me. I do what I can, I do my best... I’m aggressive, but not violent.”²⁶⁵ Regardless of Pepe’s personal interpretation of his methods, he has developed quite the reputation for his defensive style, especially in international soccer for the Portuguese national team.

²⁵⁸ ZeroZero, “Pepe,” 2016, http://www.zerozero.pt/player_seasons.php?id=130.

²⁵⁹ UEFA, “Madrid Pick up Pepe.”

²⁶⁰ ZeroZero, “Pepe.”

²⁶¹ UEFA, “Madrid Pick up Pepe.”

²⁶² ZeroZero, “Pepe.”

²⁶³ ZeroZero, “Pepe.”

²⁶⁴ Aziz, Sazali Abdul, “The Two Sides of Pepe,” July 21, 2012, <http://news.asiaone.com/print/News/Latest%2BNews/Sports/Story/A1Story20120719-360003.html>.

²⁶⁵ Aziz, “Two Sides.”

Due to his very early exit from Brazil, Pepe remained unnoticed by the national team for some time. According to his father, in 2006, “he was contacted [by then Brazil head coach Dunga] about a possible call up, which he declined, stating that once he obtained Portuguese citizenship he would join its national team.”²⁶⁶ Pepe himself confirmed his father’s report, noting, “nobody [in Brazil] knew me [when he left]... Both in Spain and in Portugal I am treated well.”²⁶⁷ Pepe also commented that he joined the Portuguese national team because “this is my way to repay them. It’s a pleasure to wear the shirt of the Portuguese team.”²⁶⁸ Immediately after receiving his Portuguese citizenship in August 2007, Pepe was selected for the national team during their qualifiers for the 2008 Euros.²⁶⁹ An injury prevented him from making his debut, and he had to wait until November of the same year before he was healthy again, making his debut against Finland.²⁷⁰ Much like his compatriots Deco and Liedson, Pepe attracted controversy (beyond his aggressive defending style) due to his birth. However, he was supported by Phil Scolari, his then coach, who also gave Deco his debut. Several years later, Scolari, then head coach of Brazil for the second time, complained after Brazilian-born striker Diego Costa, who had made several appearances for the Brazilian national team, switched his international allegiance per FIFA regulations to Spain. Scolari claimed that the instances of Pepe and Diego Costa were completely different, as “I called up Deco because he had never played with the Brazilian national team. I also nationalized Pepe,

²⁶⁶ Smith, Rory, “Pepe: the Dark Wizard,” June 1, 2014, <http://www.pressreader.com>.

²⁶⁷ Atkins, “Pepe Feels Disregarded.”

²⁶⁸ Aziz, “Two Sides.”

²⁶⁹ Smith, “Dark Wizard.”

²⁷⁰ SBS, “Pepe Set to Debut for Portugal,” November 9, 2007, <http://theworldgame.sbs.com.au/article/2007/11/09/pepe-set-debut-portugal>.

who at no point... was called up [by Brazil]. There's a big difference."²⁷¹ It seems that Pepe, because he left Brazil at such a young age, considers himself as more Portuguese than Brazilian, as shown by his complete refusal to consider playing for the Brazilian national team.

E. Brazilian Player Transfers to Portugal, 2011-12 Season

Player	Transfer	3 years at club?	Sold for profit?	Successful?
Bruno Cesar ²⁷²	Corinthians to Benfica	No	No	No
Rodrigo Defendi ²⁷³	Parana to Vitoria Guimaraes	No	No	No
Kelvin ²⁷⁴	Parana to Porto	Yes	No	Yes
Marcelo Valverde ²⁷⁵	Angra dos Reis to Nacional	No	No	No
Leandrinho ²⁷⁶	Volta Redonda to Gil Vicente	No	No	No

²⁷¹ Conn, Tom, "Scolari: Pepe and Deco were Different, they weren't Playing with Brazil," October 31, 2013, <http://www.insidespanishfootball.com/85088/scolari-deco-and-pepe-were-different-they-werent-playing-with-brazil/>.

²⁷² TransferMarkt, "Bruno Cesar," 2017, http://www.transfermarkt.com/bruno-cesar/transfers/spieler/110074/transfer_id/827093.

²⁷³ TransferMarkt, "Rodrigo Defendi," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/rodrigo-defendi/profil/spieler/18981>.

²⁷⁴ TransferMarkt, "Kelvin," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/kelvin/profil/spieler/165383>.

²⁷⁵ TransferMarkt, "Marcelo Valverde," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/marcelo-valverde/profil/spieler/103747>.

²⁷⁶ TransferMarkt, "Leandrinho," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/leandrinho/profil/spieler/99907>.

Marcelo Tche ²⁷⁷	Santa Helena to Pacos Ferreira	No	No	No
Andre Recife ²⁷⁸	Serrano to Nacional	No	No	No
Douglas Para ²⁷⁹	Angra dos Reis to Nacional	No	No	No
Dinei ²⁸⁰	Gremio Anapolis to Rio Ave	No	No	No
Ewerton ²⁸¹	Corinthians to Braga (loan)	No	No	No
Eder Sciola ²⁸²	Ituano to Gil Vicente	No	No	No
Fabio Luis ²⁸³	Porto Alegre to Coimbra	No	No	No

²⁷⁷ TransferMarkt, “Marcelo Tche,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/marcelo-tche/profil/spieler/189595>.

²⁷⁸ TransferMarkt, “Andre Recife,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/andre-recife/profil/spieler/196846>.

²⁷⁹ TransferMarkt, “Douglas Para,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/douglas-para/profil/spieler/191179>.

²⁸⁰ TransferMarkt, “Dinei,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/dinei/profil/spieler/190905>.

²⁸¹ TransferMarkt, “Ewerton,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/ewerton/profil/spieler/149249>.

²⁸² TransferMarkt, “Eder Sciola,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/eder-sciola/profil/spieler/69441>.

²⁸³ TransferMarkt, “Fabio Luis,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/fabio-luis/profil/spieler/76131>.

Hugo Alcantara ²⁸⁴	Paranaense to Uniao Leira	No	No	No
Laionel ²⁸⁵	Gremio Annapolis to Gil Vicente (loan)	No	No	No
Danilo ²⁸⁶	Santos to Porto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Alex Sandro ²⁸⁷	Santos to Porto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rafael Copetti ²⁸⁸	Internacional to Benfica	No	No	No
Xandao ²⁸⁹	Desportivo Brazil to Sporting Lisbon (loan)	No	No	No
Willian Araujo ²⁹⁰	Corinthians to Coimbra (loan)	No	No	No

²⁸⁴ TransferMarkt, "Hugo Alcantara," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/hugo-alcantara/profil/spieler/17362>.

²⁸⁵ TransferMarkt, "Laionel," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/laionel/profil/spieler/58133>.

²⁸⁶ TransferMarkt, "Danilo," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/danilo/profil/spieler/145707>.

²⁸⁷ TransferMarkt, "Alex Sandro," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/alex-sandro/profil/spieler/79960>.

²⁸⁸ TransferMarkt, "Rafael Copetti," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/rafael-copetti/profil/spieler/213842>.

²⁸⁹ TransferMarkt, "Xandao," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/xandao/profil/spieler/100009>.

²⁹⁰ TransferMarkt, "Willian Araujo," 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/willian-araujo/profil/spieler/197872>.

Mayko ²⁹¹	Palmeiras to Nacional	No	No	No
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V. Discussion and Conclusion

A. Common Themes

As shown by the data collected, several common themes are apparent in the careers of Deco, Liedson, and Pepe. First, each player was relatively unknown in the soccer world when they left Brazil for Portugal. Deco and Pepe were both purchased while playing for Brazilian youth teams, with Deco only making a few professional appearances and Pepe making none.²⁹²²⁹³ While Liedson was an established goal scorer in the Brazilian League, he was still fairly unknown in Europe when he arrived at Sporting Lisbon.²⁹⁴ Due to their unknown status and the minimal transfer fees involved in their purchases, each player thus arrived to little fanfare. Indeed, at the time of their arrivals, Deco, Liedson, and Pepe were presumably among many Brazilian players bought by teams in the Portuguese League.

Second, each player became well known once they were professionally established in the Portuguese League. Deco spent three relatively successful seasons with Porto before Jose Mourinho arrived, which sparked a major run that culminated in a Champions League title and his subsequent move to Barcelona. Liedson quickly established himself as a reliable goal scorer for Sporting Lisbon. Although he did not

²⁹¹ TransferMarkt, “Mayko,” 2017, <http://www.transfermarkt.com/mayko/profil/spieler/137637>.

²⁹² ZeroZero, “Deco.”

²⁹³ ZeroZero, “Pepe.”

²⁹⁴ ZeroZero, Liedson.”

move to a larger European club, Liedson's continued success ensured that he would have a major legacy at Sporting Lisbon. Pepe's string of good performances for Maritimo led to his purchase by Porto, where he enjoyed three good seasons before his transfer to Real Madrid. In the instances of each player, their time in the Portuguese League changed their careers significantly, earning them popular recognition in the wider world of European soccer. Indeed, each player participated in the Champions League, the premier European club soccer competition that often results in players gaining significant fame across the globe. While Portuguese clubs have been eclipsed in recent years by more wealthy teams, the Champions League appearances of each player resulted in significant recognition, both in Portugal and across Europe.

Third, each player's naturalization and appearances for the Portuguese national team provoked controversy, due to their births in Brazil. Deco's initial appearance for Portugal caused Luis Figo, a famous player for the Portuguese national team, to speak out against his selection. Liedson too provoked a public outcry, this time from the Portuguese Professional Footballer's Union. Pepe did not spark as major a controversy, presumably because he never played a professional game in Brazil, but Phil Scolari's example of him, when complaining about Diego Costa, shows the level of debate that this issue causes. Interestingly, Deco and Liedson faced complaints from people within Portugal, an area that Pepe seemed to avoid. The issue of players becoming naturalized for a non-birth country is a major one in world soccer today, and will be discussed later in this section. At present, it seems sufficient to state that the players' naturalization and selection process was completely legal, but not without significant controversy.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, all three players seem to have considered themselves as both Brazilian and Portuguese. However, all the players also seem to have prioritized their Portuguese identity, at least in the soccer world. Deco claimed, “It would be a lie to say I’m just Portuguese now and not Brazilian,” thus implying that he identified with both countries.²⁹⁵ But, when it came to playing international soccer, Deco “decided [to choose Portugal] because of the relationship I had with the country and the people,” which implies that he felt more at home playing for Portugal than Brazil.²⁹⁶ Liedson made similar statements, acknowledging that “I [have felt] Portuguese for a long time now... [but] I will never stop being Brazilian.”²⁹⁷ As for international soccer, Liedson seems to have fairly cynical motives, namely playing time, stating, “the competition [at striker] is big [for the Brazilian national team].”²⁹⁸ Pepe, perhaps due to never playing a minute of professional soccer in Brazil, is less vocal about his identity, but called Brazil “my country” in an interview where he claimed that his time in Portugal “made me who I am today.”²⁹⁹ He also stated, in regards to playing for Portugal, that “this is my way to repay them.”³⁰⁰ Thus, each player has in common a Brazilian birthplace and a naturalization and selection for the Portuguese national team. All three players seem to identify themselves at both Brazilian and Portuguese, but in the soccer world, they clearly prioritized Portugal.

In the broader analysis, it seems that the vast majority of Brazilian players who leave for Portugal have unsuccessful careers, according to my own criteria. Indeed, only

²⁹⁵ BBC, “Deco Row.”

²⁹⁶ Jackson, “Mourinho’s a Winner.”

²⁹⁷ A Futebol Fan, “Liedson Interview.”

²⁹⁸ A Futebol Fan, “Liedson Interview.”

²⁹⁹ Atkins, “Pepe Feels Disregarded.”

³⁰⁰ Aziz, “Two Sides.”

three players who moved in the 2011-12 season had successful careers. Danilo and Alex Sandro have become more famous due to their respective moves to Real Madrid and Juventus. Kelvin is the only player who stayed with his Portuguese club, but his career with Porto has included several season-long loans back to Brazil, including the ongoing 2016-17 season. Thus, while his career fits my criteria of success, his impact at Porto has been fairly negligible. While Danilo and Alex Sandro also fit my criteria of success, both of them have since left Porto for larger, wealthier teams. The implication of such results will be discussed in the next section of this paper.

B. The Bigger Picture

While this paper has so far been limited in its focus on Brazilian players who move to Portugal, they are hardly the only players involved in this issue today. Naturalization and playing international soccer for a non-birth country are not new issues, but have become increasingly relevant in the globalized soccer world. As previously mentioned in this paper, Eusebio, one of Portugal's best ever players, was born in then-colonial Mozambique, before being recruited to play in Portugal during the 1960s. And, when expanding this issue outside Portugal, many famous soccer players today have Brazilian heritage, but do not play for Brazil. Thiago Alcantara, an attacking midfielder for Bayern Munich, plays for Spain despite being raised in Brazil, and Chelsea striker Diego Costa was born in Brazil, but also plays for Spain.³⁰¹ Paris Saint-Germain defensive midfielder Thiago Motta was born in Brazil but plays for Italy, as does Inter

³⁰¹ These Football Times, "Is Brazilian Football Rotting from Within?," August 5, 2016, <http://thesefootballtimes.co/2016/08/05/is-brazilian-football-rotting-ney-mar-worldcup-olympics/>.

Milan striker Eder.³⁰² Predictably, many of these players have stirred up significant controversy for their decisions. Regardless of racist complaints from fans or politicians about their national teams using foreign-born players, this issue is quite serious today in global soccer. In the international transfer market, it is quite easy for Portuguese teams to purchase teenaged Brazilian players, such as Pepe and Deco, in hopes that they can become major stars. Due to Portuguese naturalization laws, it is also quite easy for such players to join the Portuguese national team. Given these factors, should this process be considered exploitative and neo-colonial?

As stated in the introduction, neo-colonialism is simply “the control of less-developed countries by developed countries through indirect means.”³⁰³ Development in this context refers to the respective economies of both countries. Portugal is experiencing notable economic difficulties at the present, and has very limited power within the European Union’s financial world, as was mentioned previously. Brazil, despite its ongoing issues with government corruption, is a fast-developing country, part of the BRIC group of developing world economies.³⁰⁴ Despite the remarkably successful careers of Deco, Pepe, and Liedson, it seems that the vast majority of Brazilian players who move abroad to Portugal have little success. While some players, most recently Barcelona attacker Neymar and Manchester City striker Gabriel Jesus, have been sold for large transfer fees, the majority of players leave Brazil for insignificant sums, have little

³⁰² These Football Times, “Rotting.”

³⁰³ Halperin, “Neocolonialism.”

³⁰⁴ Kupchan, Charles, “The World in 2050: When the 5 Largest Economies Are the BRICs and Us,” Feb. 17, 2012, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2012/02/the-world-in-2050-when-the-5-largest-economies-are-the-brics-and-us/253160/>. BRIC stands for Brazil, Russia, India, and China.

success, and return back to Brazil within several years. While Portuguese clubs occasionally benefit from large transfer fees, such fees are ultimately not equal to the player's eventual worth. This is shown by Deco's 21 million euro transfer to Barcelona and Pepe's 30 million euro transfer to Real Madrid.³⁰⁵³⁰⁶ In both cases, the prime of their careers took place outside Portugal. Due to these factors, Portugal's relationship with Brazil in the soccer world is neither exploitative nor neo-colonial. If the modern day soccer world indicates anything, it is that larger European teams often exploit Portugal.

As previously mentioned, the 1995 Bosman Ruling completely changed the landscape of world soccer. By allowing players from EU countries to count as domestic, the ruling enabled the large-scale import of players from both inside and outside of Europe, a direct result of globalization. Although the effects of this ruling were not instigated by any nation-states, they still followed colonial lines. Indeed, the Bosman Ruling resulted in the soccer world becoming a continuation of the former colonial economy. Luxury goods from across the globe had been sent to London, Paris, and Madrid, operating in a system in which all goods were driven into a single market. The soccer world was immediately placed into such a system following the Bosman Ruling, as talented players left their former clubs to join larger teams in England, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. Indeed, it seems that globalization, at least in the soccer world, operates directly on neo-colonial lines. While Portugal's relationship with Brazil in soccer is not neo-colonial, it does lose significant amounts of capital (via players and

³⁰⁵ Ehrli, Andres, "Top 10 Barca Signings of All Time," June 20, 2011, <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/739384-fc-barcelona-transfers-top-10-barcelona-signings-of-all-time>.

³⁰⁶ UEFA, "Madrid Pick up Pepe."

future transfer fees) to wealthier European teams. Thus, globalization in soccer overall can be described as neo-colonial.

Several of the players discussed in this paper are excellent examples of this process. As previously mentioned, both Deco and Pepe left their Portuguese clubs before the prime of their careers. This deprived their Portuguese teams of valuable capital, both in terms of on-field successes and potentially larger transfer fees. The most famous of such Portuguese exports to Europe, Cristiano Ronaldo, left for Manchester United as an eighteen year old, having only played a single season of professional soccer in Portugal. This effectively deprived the Portuguese League of his soccer-related successes, which have been significant, and more importantly his economic effects. Ronaldo's various brands generate massive amounts of income, but his career has been focused in England and Spain, thus limiting their effects in Portugal. By contrast, Neymar spent several more seasons in Brazil, and was already an established player with the Brazilian national team, when he left for Barcelona. As a result, Brazil gained more financial capital, and continues to reap the benefits of his on and off-field successes. Indeed, Portuguese clubs often sell their younger players for sums inadequate to their future worth. This deprives them of both player-related successes and future economic benefits.

Globalization is a major driving force in the modern day soccer world. While it is not directly caused by nation-states or governmental forces, it does follow the same system that existed during the colonial era. Valuable capital from across the world is driven into a single market, located among the major soccer teams in Western Europe. Indeed, it seems that history has repeated itself, to the detriment of the Portuguese and similar countries. Unable to compete financially with larger European teams, Portuguese

clubs are forced to sell their star players at younger ages, thus being deprived of successes on and off the playing field. As this process benefits the major countries in the soccer (and political) world, this process will most likely continue for many years to come. Wealthier European teams will continue to be enriched and exploit smaller European teams as part of the globalized soccer world, modeled on colonial lines. Given the historical context, such a system can hardly be surprising.

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