

Children Rights and Major Sporting Events in 2016

Media Monitoring within the framework of Children Win

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All remaining shortcomings are the sole responsibility of the author.

1 Summary

Public awareness of the impact of Mega Sporting Events on children rights is still a recent and growing phenomenon and it shows considerable variation between countries in quantity as well as in the dominant narratives. The report maps these differences between 13 countries, in 2016, and examines how media covered Mega Sporting Events (MSEs) and their impact on children rights, and human rights. As it is the second wave of monitoring, it also compares the results with the previous wave of 2014.

In an initial, exploratory fashion, Articles from 26 different sources in 13 different countries, namely Brazil, France, Germany, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, the United States and the United Kingdom, were counted and scanned, aiming at a quantitative and qualitative summary of print and online reporting in 2016. Based on initial findings, media awareness of human rights issues surrounding MSEs in each country is tentatively classified as high, nascent or minimal.

The pattern of resulting differences can be related to enabling and limiting factors like freedom of the press, economic development, general media attention for the MSE in question or host country status. The qualitative analysis gives rise to the argument that prominent public discourse on security issues can overshadow children and human rights concerns.

Overall, the results show a similar pattern as in 2014 and can potentially give hints for advocacy activities.

2 Report

2.1 Introduction

Politics and Mega Sporting Events (MSEs), as well as human rights issues, mainly in the context of Olympic Games and FIFA World Cups have a long history. Only recently, research and campaigning have made children rights a topic in the context of Mega Sporting Events, but to a varying degree and with varying content across countries (Petry and Müller-Schoell 2015). Risks and actual harm as a consequence of MSEs have been documented for adults (Amis, 2013; Worden, 2015), but also risks and actual harm through direct and indirect mechanisms for children in general (Brackenridge et al., 2013) and in the case of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil (TCRN 2015). It can be assumed that these risks differ between MSEs and host countries, yet, a look at the core content of reporting promises insights into the dynamics of media attention.

As MSEs have grown bigger, gained more media attention and moved to developing countries, they have also become relevant, if not focal points for those who wish to “highlight social and environmental concerns” (Amis, 2013: 2). Lobbying concerns of children rights in the context of Mega Sporting Events with International Organisations has been successful in putting them on the agenda. In 2012, UNICEF published its first International Standards for Safeguarding and Protecting Children in Sport and in March 2014, the 25th Session of the UN Human Rights Council discussed the issue of child sexual exploitation during MSEs (United Nations OHCHR, 2014). International Sports Organisations have shown interest in the topic recently (citation), but it is an open question to which degree this is reflected in the public discourse.

The objective of this report is therefore to provide systematic and concrete data on media coverage. Comparisons between countries, and between 2016 and 2014, allow for the identification of commonalities and particularities in the way in which the media reports on children rights in relation to MSEs. In terms of a quantitative overview and an exploratory qualitative summary of media coverage from 13 different countries, the following questions are proposed: Is there reporting on human rights and children rights in particular in the context of MSEs? How much is there to be found and in which distribution over time and countries? Which narratives are represented in the media?

2.2 Framework

Research was conducted within the framework of Children Win¹, a campaign launched by the Terre des Hommes International Federation to collect evidence and increase awareness on direct and indirect effects of MSEs to mitigate risks and enhance opportunities for children. A child defined

¹ Children Win is funded and supported by the Oak Foundation.

by the United Nations is anyone below the age of 18. The aim of the campaign is to raise awareness about the risks for children before, during and after MSEs. Thereby, the target group involves especially, but not exclusively, core decision makers within the IOC, FIFA and the Commonwealth Games Federation. The long-term goal is to include respective children and human rights criteria into the bidding processes and contracts with countries or cities hosting future events.

Table 1: Host countries 2014-2022 (MSEs included in italics)

Year	Olympic Games	FIFA World Cup	Commonwealth Games	Youth Olympic Games	UEFA EURO	Copa America
2014	<i>Sochi, Russia</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Glasgow, United Kingdom</i>	Nanjing, China	-	
2016	<i>Rio de Janeiro, Brazil</i>	-	-	<i>Lillehammer, Norway</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>USA</i>
2018	Pyeongchang, South Korea	Russia	Gold Coast, Australia	Buenos Aires, Argentina	-	2019: Brazil
2020	Tokyo, Japan	-	-	Lausanne, Switzerland	Pan-European	
2022	Beijing, China	Qatar	Open	Open	-	2023: Ecuador

This context led the country selection insofar as this report concentrates on MSE host countries and countries planning to host MSEs in the upcoming years (see table 1), and countries with a high chance of raising awareness within the campaign framework. The inclusion of print and online resources reflects changing media consumption patterns as well as the channels of Children Win. The results can give orientation for activities within the campaign, its evaluation, and activities together with allies such as the work within the 'Sport and Rights Alliance' (SRA).²

² The Sport and Rights Alliance (SRA) is a coalition of leading global organizations (Amnesty International, FIFPro, Football Supporters Europe, Human Rights Watch, International Trade Union Confederation, Terre des Hommes, Transparency International Germany, etc.) working to improve human rights, labour rights, anti-corruption and sustainability in sport, in particular with regard to MSEs.

2.3 Methodology

Media resources from 1 January to 31 December 2016 were scrutinized and peaks as well as lows in media attention were identified and related to four MSEs: the Lillehammer 2016 Youth Olympic Games (12 February to 21 February), the 2016 Copa América Centenario (3 June to 26 June), the UEFA EURO 2016 in France (10 June to 10 July) and the Rio 2016 Olympic Games (5 August to 21 August). These were selected in accordance with the aims of the campaign Children Win and in view of the MSEs' size and international attention. The first wave of research investigated three MSEs (Sochi 2014 Olympic Games, 2014 FIFA World Cup Brasil, Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games), within this second wave four MSEs were selected because no other event could claim a similar prominence in size or global visibility; though, it must be noted that the Summer Olympics are considered an exception to this claim.

Beyond a mere count of articles, patterns over time in relation to the events, particularly popular topics, and patterns within the country comparison could be identified (Rössler, 2010). Trending topics, attitudes and narratives predominant in the texts were grouped and interpreted.

Table 2: Media selection

Country	Print	Online
Brazil	O Globo	terra.com.br
France	Le Monde	20minutes.fr
Germany	FAZ	Spiegel Online
India	The Times of India	indiatoday.intoday.in
Italy	la Repubblica	Tgcom.it
Netherlands	De Volkskrant	elsevier.nl
Norway	Aftenposten	NRK.no
Russia	Izvestia	aif.ru /argumenty i fakty
South Africa	Mail & Guardian	timeslive.co.za
Spain	El País	Elmundo.es
Switzerland	NZZ	20min.ch
United Kingdom	The Guardian	BBOnline
USA	New York Times	Huffington Post

Articles were gathered from 13 web-based news outlets and the online archives of 13 traditional print publications (see table 2). The selection of online and print media was designed to optimize two major concerns given the limited time and resources: representation of the main stream of media consumption and as many results as possible. This led to a sample of leading quality dailies³ in print and the most popular news sites online⁴. Using either a website's in-built search function or Google Advanced Search, month-by-month searches for 2016 were completed using 14 different terms and four different events – for a total of 56 unique combinations. Results were then scanned and counted. An article was counted if:

- All words used in the search term were present
- The article was a relevant reflection of the intent of the search.
- The content of the article was primarily textual. Multimedia results, such as video or audio, were excluded for consistency.

If an article was found with multiple search terms, it was counted each time. This allows for a proper evaluation of the relative weight of the narrative or mechanism represented by the search term. Multiple counts of articles were generated due to the addition of search results of several search terms. This allows for a comparison between the aggregate results, whenever the level of aggregation is the same.

Table 3: Search terms.

With child	Without child
Child abuse	Eviction
Child labour	Homeless
Child poverty	Housing
Children rights	Human rights
Homeless children	Police
Street children	Poverty
	Sex worker
	Violence

The methodology, as well as the search terms (see table 3), remained the same as in the first wave (Petry and Müller-Schoell 2015) so that a comparison between the two waves is possible. The set of search terms allows for a variety of mechanisms and for a comparison of the general

³ The selection of newspapers has a left liberal bias in some countries (e.g. UK, USA), which can be considered helpful for the topic. In other countries (e.g. Germany) the reputation for background analysis of the sport sector led the decision.

⁴ For the USA, the UK, Germany, France, Spain, Italy and Brazil this decision could be based on Newman and Levy (2014), the other five online news sites were identified by local expert advice and a check of reported online traffic.

reporting on the whole population and the explicit reporting on children: e.g. 'Poverty' vs. 'Child poverty'. The set of search terms and the four MSEs were translated to French, German, Portuguese, Russian, Italian, Spanish, Norwegian and Dutch.

In a second step, using up to six examples from each source, a qualitative analysis of selected articles was conducted. Main areas of interest and lines of argumentation were identified.

2.4 Limitations

Although pretesting as well as careful selection and translation were used to minimize bias and distortions, the analysis suffers from the limitations of explorative studies. The results, while coming from a broad range of countries and sources, do not represent a complete picture of the media's coverage of children issues surrounding MSEs.

Country selection: Many countries and some regions were excluded altogether. Asia, aside from India, the Middle East and Oceania are not represented. In multi-lingual countries research was limited to only one⁵.

Media selection: Popular or widely respected outlets from the selected country were doubtlessly excluded. Multimedia sources were also excluded for consistency. Television, radio and other types of internet sources were not taken into account. Further research using different news outlets, different mediums or different countries would help further understanding of how the media reports on this topic.

Search term selection: It is possible that different or more search terms could have yielded different results, so the results obtained are not necessarily a complete representation of all of the related content.

Language issues: Search terms that were translated from English to another language may suffer from equivalence of meaning issues. Though some items were searched using multiple different wordings, it is possible that not all potential translations were taken into account. A similar problem arose in the qualitative interpretation of articles in different languages by different people. The language barrier can lead to inconsistencies.

Article selectivity: The qualitative analysis was based on articles collected with the defined set of search terms. This is an intendedly biased selection and therefore the relative incidence of reports with negative impacts on children cannot be interpreted as representative for all reporting

⁵ This might exclude larger parts of public discourse in Switzerland (only German), India (only English) and South Africa (only English).

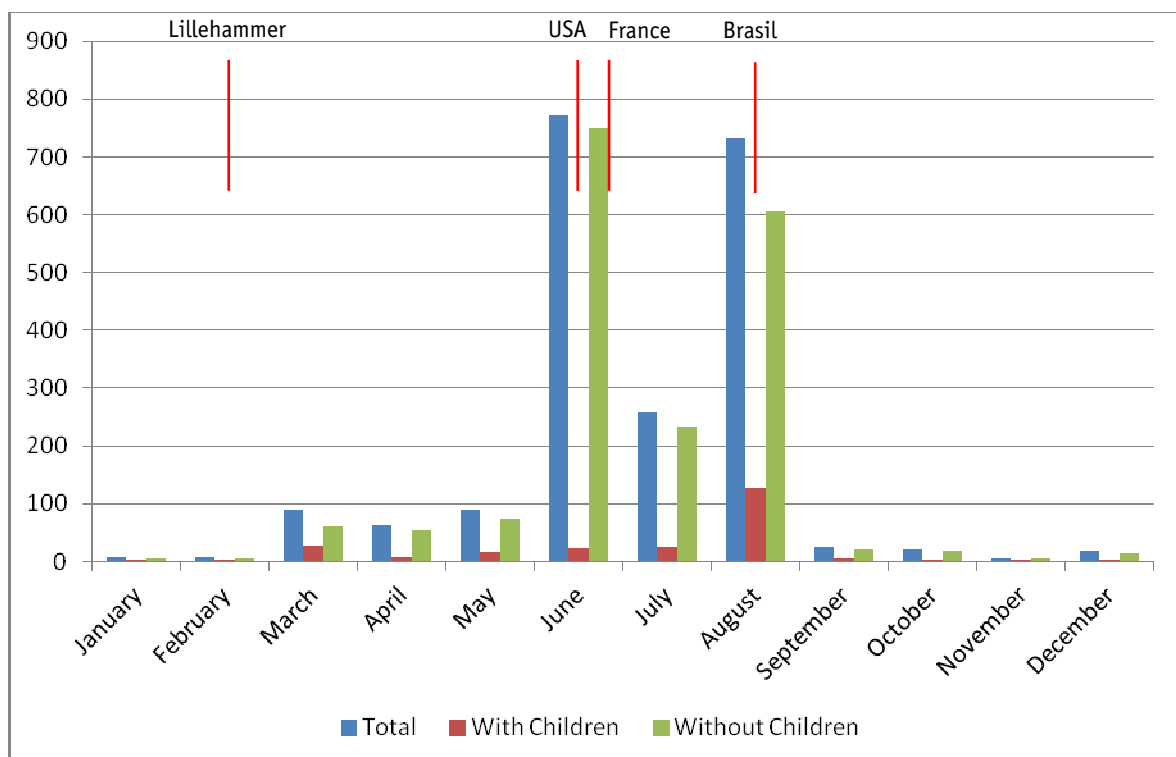
on MSEs and their effect on children. The relative incidence can only be interpreted in a comparative way between countries, time-periods or other sub segments of the same corpus.

Censoring and time-frame: In an analysis of one year of media reporting data is necessarily left and right censored. As the actual events under scrutiny happen within the year and reporting drops after the event, right censoring does not pose a problem. Meanwhile, left censored data jeopardizes comparability between the MSEs, because the examined period before the event differs between the MSEs.

2.5 Quantitative Results

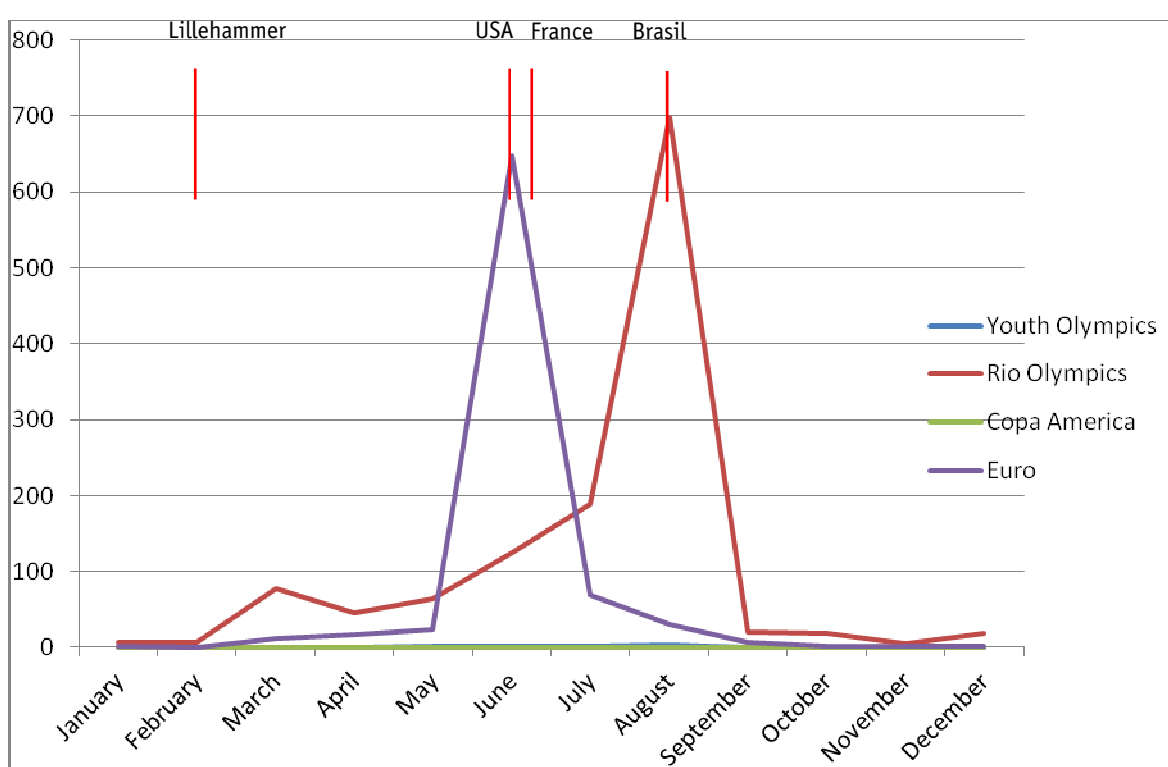
In 2016, a total of 2089 results were obtained. Reporting peaked with the Rio Olympics and the UEFA EURO in France in June, and August respectively. Before and especially after these events reporting was rather low. Of the results, 243, or 12%, were found using search terms with the words 'child' or 'children'. Relevant mainly around the Rio Olympics, reporting on explicitly child related issues was generally low when compared to not explicitly child related topics.

Figure 1: Articles by month, total



Results are very low in January, February and September to December (4%), rather low in March, April and May (12%) and high in June, July and August with 84% of the selected articles (see figure 1). Overall, the Copa America Centenario 2016 yielded no results, the Lillehammer 2016 Youth Olympic Games results represented less than 1% of all results, while the UEFA EURO 2016 accounted for 39% and the Rio 2016 Olympic Games for 61% (see figure 2). Coverage around the UEFA EURO and the Rio Olympics reached similar peak levels, but pre- and post-event attention was slightly higher in the latter case.

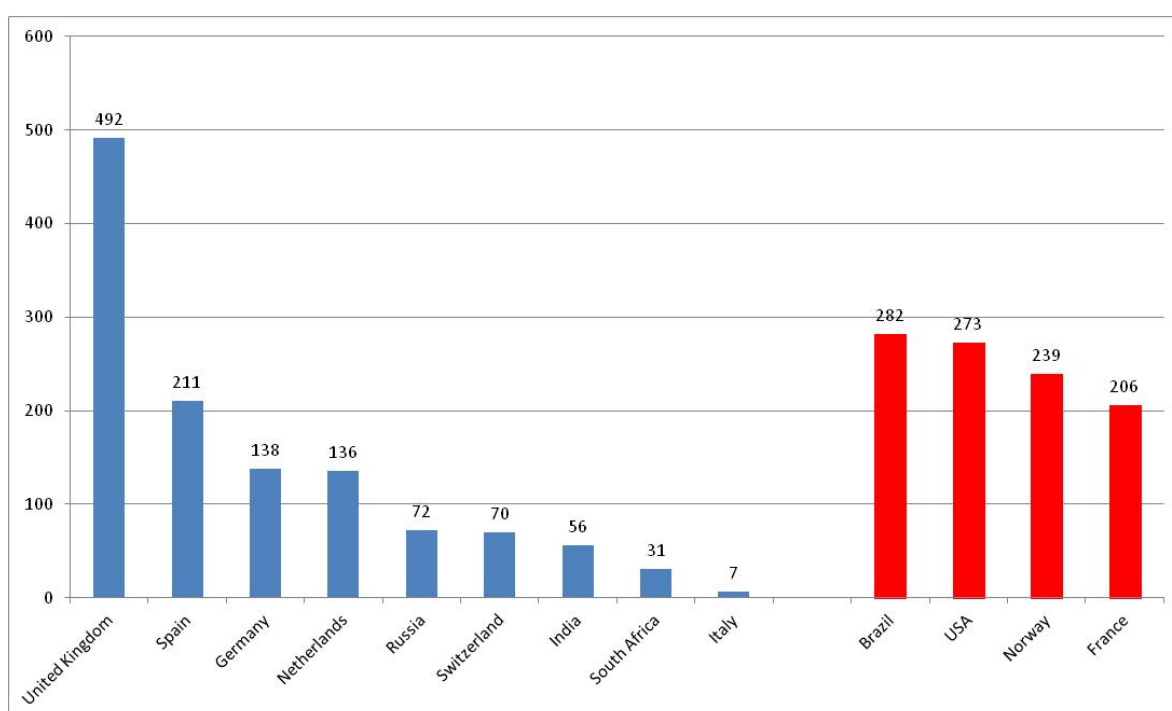
Figure 2: Articles per month by event



The level of reporting differs remarkably between countries with the United Kingdom (UK) yielding more than a third more articles than the US or Brazil, and about twice as many as Norway, France or Spain. Concurrently, the Italian results are extraordinarily low. Sources from the UK produced the most results, accounting for 24% of all results (see figure 3). Brazil ranks second, accounting for 14% of results. The United States, Norway, Spain and France follow closely, with 13%, 11%, 10% and 10% respectively. No other country surpassed 7%. Italian sources produced the least results, accounting for only 0.34%. Countries that are categorised as Developing Regions by the United Nations (2011) — Brazil, India, Russia and South Africa — account for about a fifth of the results; however, when Brazil is excluded that number drops to only 8%. The other countries, who all fall within the Developed Regions category, account for almost 80%.

A positive host-country-effect seems to be illustrated in the data, but it might be a misinterpretation, considering the fact that neither the USA nor Norway report to a relevant degree on the events they hosted. Only in the Brazilian case, most of the reporting is accounted for by the Brazilian event. To a lesser degree, France has a stronger interest in reporting on the UEFA EURO 2016. In the monthly breakdown, all countries reveal the peak-pattern around the two biggest events. Countries with higher coverage seem to differ in their focus on one of the two events, which is apparently not due to hosting, but to the cultural status of the sport, with some countries favoring football and others the Olympic sports (see figure 4).

Figure 3: Total articles by country, non-hosts (blue) vs. hosts (red)



There are no significant differences in the peak levels of reporting or in the development over time between the online-publications and the print-publications in the sample. Results were fairly evenly split between web-only sources and print sources (see figure 5). The timing of online and print journalism does not differ in this case.

An analysis of search terms allows for an assessment of topics of relevance. Almost 60% of the results consists of 'Police' and 'Violence'. This reflects the dominance of security issues over the year and in the context of Rio and France in particular. 'Children rights' and 'Street children' are the directly child-related search-terms most often mentioned. 'Child abuse' and 'Sex workers' together make only 2% of the articles (see table 4).

Figure 4: Reporting by countries over time

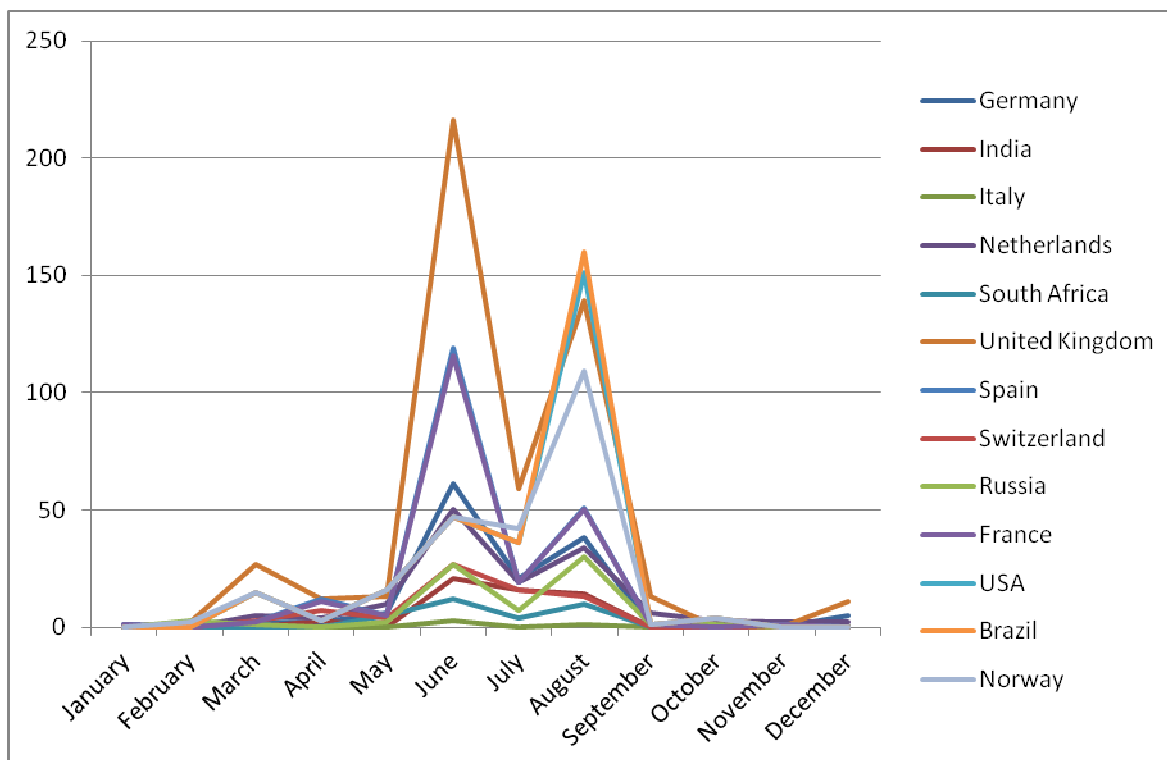


Figure 5: Total articles, web vs. print

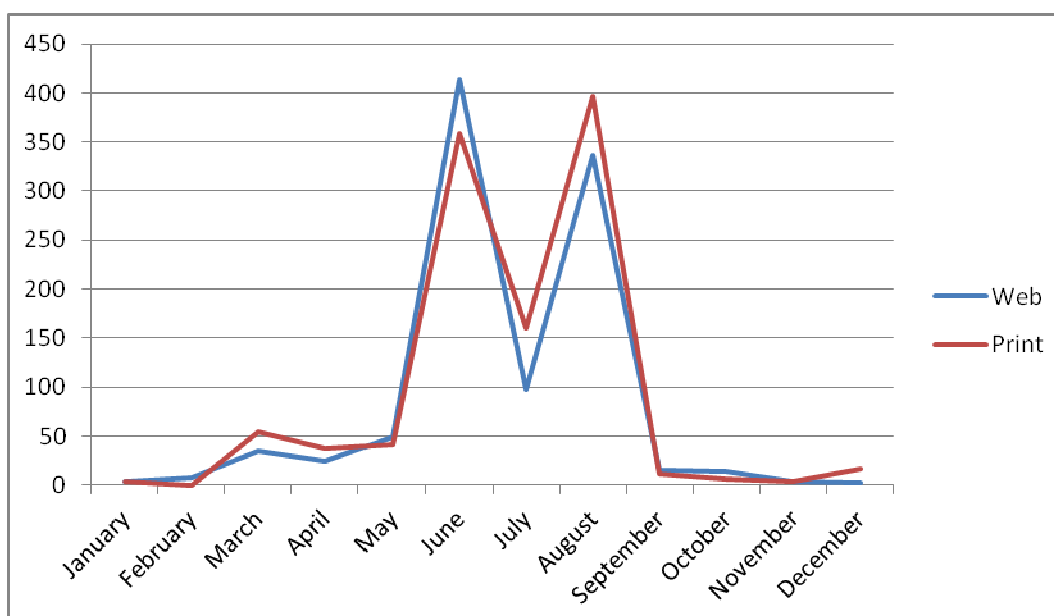


Table 4: Reporting by search term (absolute and relative)

TERM	RESULTS	%
Child abuse	24	1,16
Child labor	14	0,68
Child poverty	39	1,88
Children rights	102	4,92
Eviction	108	5,21
Homeless	61	2,94
Homeless children	30	1,45
Housing	70	3,38
Human rights	175	8,44
Police	756	36,45
Poverty	144	6,94
Sex workers	18	0,87
Street children	61	2,94
Violence	472	22,76
TOTAL	2074	100,00

‘Child abuse’ and ‘Sex worker’ as search terms associated with sexual exploitation result in very few articles (see table 4). Brazil, Germany, USA, Spain, France and the Netherlands show at least some results, all other countries ignored the topic completely, as far as they are represented in the sample.

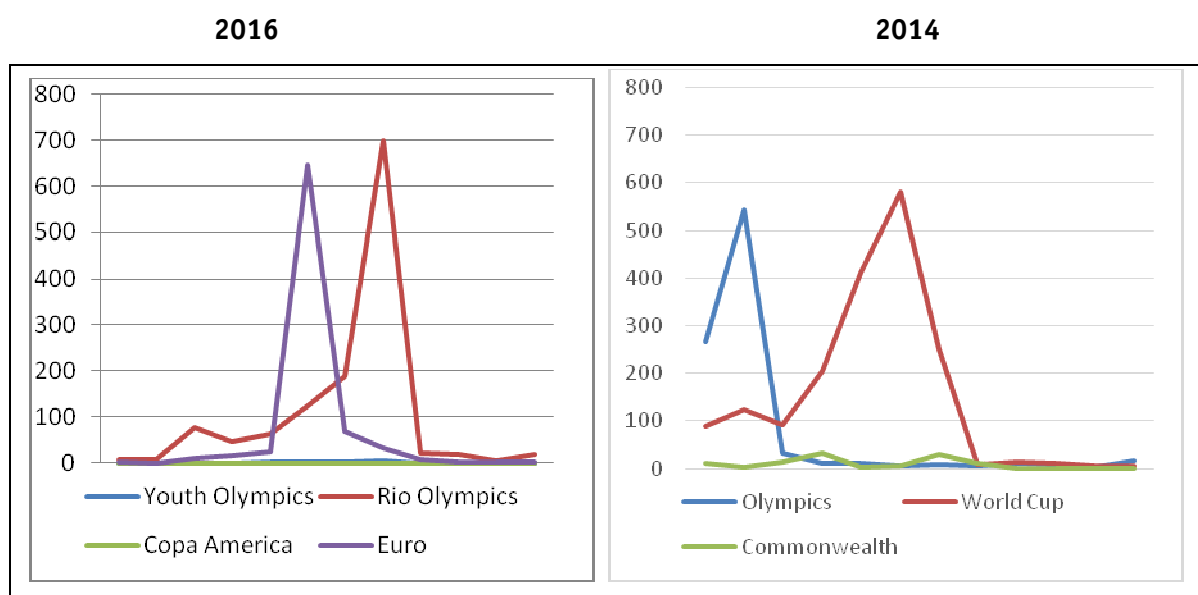
Table 4: Sexual exploitation by country

Country	Child abuse	Sex worker	Sum
India	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0
Norway	0	0	0
Russia	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	0
UK	0	0	0
France	2	0	2
Netherlands	0	2	2
Spain	2	1	3
USA	0	4	4
Germany	2	4	6
Brazil	10	8	18

2.6 Comparing 2016 and 2014 quantitatively

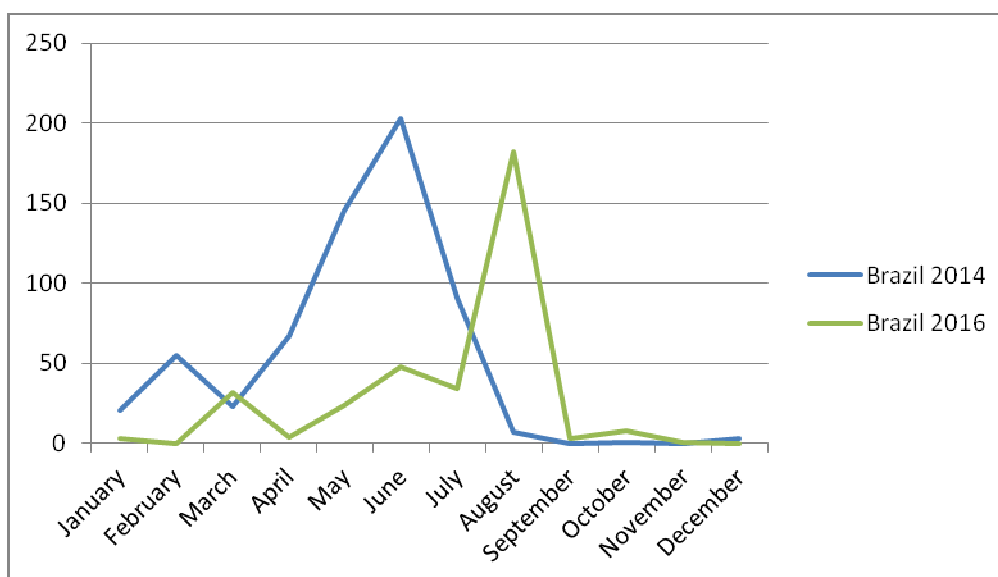
The quantitative comparison of the two waves, 2014 and 2016, poses difficulties. All host countries, except for one, have changed and the selection of events has changed. Figure 6 shows the two years separately by event as a first overview. Peak levels are similar and slightly higher in 2016, even though the sum of all findings is smaller. Reporting on the smaller events is even lower in 2016 and the time of intensified reporting is shorter. We see polarization in time and event focus between high attention and almost no attention. Yet, the comparability of events and host countries is rather weak.

Figure 6: Reporting by events, two waves compared



For a closer look, the solution is a comparison of the two major MSEs in Rio (see figure 7), in order to keep size, international visibility and host status similar. Within this time period, 2016 shows a slightly lower level of reporting and the time of intensified attention is shorter. This notwithstanding, the event had a relevant foreshadow in reporting, which is important for lobbying purposes (see below).

Figure 7: Reporting by events in Brazil, 2016 vs. 2014



2.7 Qualitative Results

Reporting on the Youth Olympics and the Copa America was so limited that a deeper qualitative analysis is not promising. The following paragraph will focus on the Rio Olympics and the UEFA EURO.

A set of 81 articles (see Annex 1) were identified as most relevant for this research. They were analysed qualitatively. In the timing dimension, an interesting pattern emerges: most articles are published shortly before the event. Reporting before the event in the sample is mostly about negative impacts and shows the highest incidence of in-depth analysis with higher chances of directly child-related issues. The depth dimension describes if an article simply makes statements or if it explains the broader context, causes and consequences; the directness dimension describes if children were impacted in an immediate way by the MSE in question instead by a related diversion of resources, or disturbance in their environment. This pattern was even more prominent in the year 2014.

Presumably as an effect by campaigns promoting children's and human rights, such as e.g. Children Win, there are articles focussing on children rights around MSEs in the UK ("What price an Olympics that protects the rights of children and their families?"), the USA ("Over 4000 families .. evicted..") and in France ("Des enfants privés de droits fondamentaux par les chantiers des JO"). Reports on sexual exploitation were limited to these articles. One article in Italy loosely connected to the UEFA EURO discussed child labour as a sports related risk.

In a more general vein, the discussion revolves mainly around social conflict, poverty, security and state intervention. From a human rights perspective, this can be summed up as follows:

- Social conflict around plans to forcefully evict people from some favelas (“home of favela resident fighting eviction over Olympics razed”; “On with the Summer Games, and bring on the protests”; “Des milliers de manifestants contre les jeux olympiques à Rio de Janeiro”) and the exclusive and gentrifying effect of the high-priced reconstruction of these neighbourhoods are present in almost all countries media (Proyecto de reurbanización de la favela..”; “77.000 Brazilians have been evicted from their homes”).
- Victims amongst construction workers (“O de Rio: Onze mortos sur les chantier, l’Inspection du travail s’allarme”) were generally reported before the event. Poverty as such is present in these pieces, but it seems to have moved to economic articles about Brazil in crisis. Poverty and money distribution were often mentioned in the context of favelas (“Rio Olympics: benefit or burden for poor communities in Brazil”).
- Urban violence and criminality, sometimes in combination with poverty, are the ingredients of a common narrative on the dangers tourists faced in Rio (“Opasnyj Rio: 5 glavnyh ugroz Olimpiady v Brasilii” – Dangerous Rio...; “Favelaverbot für australisches Olympiateam”; “Rio 2016: violence seeps back into city’s favelas”; “Violencia no Rio fura maior esquema de segurança da história”). Police brutality at times turned this narrative from a focus on dangerous classes to the repressive measures of official security (“..la letalidad de la policía de Rio de Janeiro, que el año pasado mató 307 personas..”; “Police killings have spiked in the months before the Olympics”; “Policia se envolveu em 217 tiroteios e 12 mortes durante a Rio 2016, diz ONG”).
- Many articles in all countries elaborate on the risk of terrorist attacks, e.g. “Como uma sombra que paira sobre os estádios, o terrorismo também se faz presente...” (terrorism overshadowing the stadia). “Extreme security measures” taken in France as an attempt to prevent terrorism, including the declaration of a prolonged period of “state of emergency”, which is widely reported on, gives additional power to the police and by the same token reduces individual rights (“Menschen ohne Richterbeschluss unter Hausarrest stellen”). The articles explicitly mention “restrictions of free movement” and extensive video “surveillance”.
- The “budget for security measures” has – as reported – been increased substantially, but there is no debate on whether these resources are reallocated from

education or social investment programs (“Chefe da polícia francesa receberá reforço contra ataques na Euro”).

- Articles mention the fact that security tasks are to a significant and growing extent contracted out to private security companies. Whether or not private companies are equipped and willing to give priority to rights-issues is hardly discussed.
- Hooliganism is mostly discussed as a conflict between the authorities and the hooligans about sustaining public order (“40 arrested in Paris over Euro 2016 violence”; “Fan-Gewalt in Marseille eskaliert”). It cannot be observed that media relate hooliganism directly to reduced access to public space or to physical harm for children.
- Terrorism in the context of an MSE potentially harms children and human rights. In some articles, the vulnerability of societies in the face of terrorist attacks is connected to issues of exclusion and the distribution of wealth and life chances (“..reageren met het schenken van meer aandacht aan de sociale factoren die mogelijk de voedingsbodem voor het geweld vormen”).
- Two articles mention an Islamophobic and racist dimension in hooligan violence (“Les supporter de la Turquie sont-ils en danger à Paris”; “Bühne der Rassisten”).

Some health issues have come up, such as the Zika virus, but it was mainly discussed as a threat for athletes and tourists; while another health issue specifically addressed was the water pollution in the bay of Rio. Unfortunately, both topics are usually not related to life chances of local inhabitants (“The environmental Crisis”; “Segeln im Dreck”; “Kosmetik für die Kloake von Rio [...] tausende toter Fische”).

In comparison with 2014, social and human rights issues were overshadowed by the security issues of terrorism and violence. This turned the general perspective on police and militant state intervention to a less critical mainstream. In addition to that, it seems to have crowded out part of the in-depth and child-related reporting and invigorated images of the dangerous classes. In 2014, it was stated, that “the selected articles as a whole represent very detailed and rich narratives of human rights and children rights issues around MSEs” (Petry and Müller-Schoell 2015), however have to concede that this is less frequent in 2016.

2.8 Discussion

What has been found is mostly sports or tourism related, very little human rights related, reporting on Copa America and World Youth Olympics in Lillehammer. In note of this, it is important to highlight four possible explanations for this result:

- There were human rights related conflicts and issues, but the media did not report, because journalists have a positive stereotype of western host countries preventing closer examination. This can explain why the security measures (e.g. during the UEFA EURO) were not intensively discussed as a potential threat to human rights. In the USA and Norway we find little evidence for actual conflict.
- There were no conflicts and issues about the hosting as such, the public expenditure, security measures, exploitation or working conditions, because there was broad consensus about the MSEs in the host countries, and the protection of human/children rights is well institutionalized. This seems the more plausible with smaller, less expensive events and less tourism.
- There were conflicts and issues about the consequences of hosting the event and the actual preparations, but mature democracies have incorporated these in debates around the bidding and hosting contracts long before the event (e.g. protests, hearings and referenda), which allows for compromise and reduces violent conflicts directly before and during MSEs.
- The size of and overall attention with respect to an MSE is an important prerequisite for reporting in the first place. Only given substantive interest in the MSE is there a chance of further interest in children rights and human rights effects.

Taking the quantitative and qualitative results together, a tentative grouping of countries can be established. Four clusters of human rights reporting in the context of MSEs are characterized by:

- **High awareness:** The UK represents an exceptional case of very high awareness. The USA, Brazil, Spain, France, and Norway report on MSE-related effects on human and children rights in a well developed fashion. General and indirect threats are widely reported and in-depth accounts of mechanisms directly violating children rights, such as poverty or sexual exploitation, are not absent. When looking at both years, France and Brazil can be understood as host-country effects. Spain shows growing awareness.
- **Medium awareness:** Germany and the Netherlands have a developed interest in the topic and regularly publish high quality articles, but in a lesser quantity.

- **Nascent awareness:** India, South Africa, Switzerland and Russia still remain at a fairly low level, but partly growing. This apparently has to do with direct involvement of citizens coming from the respective country⁶.
- **Minimal awareness:** Italy shows a persistent non-reporting. Our qualitative material consisted almost entirely of rather tangential and indirect treatments of the field.

2.9 Conclusions

To sum up the core results, there is a timing pattern of public awareness almost independent of the general level of awareness. Media coverage increases over two to five months before the MSE and peaks immediately before or at the very day of the opening ceremonies. After MSEs, media coverage of human rights and children rights issues is very low.

There is still need for further research to actually ascertain causality, but there seems to be a positive effect in host countries mainly driven by Brazil and France. The negative effect of infringements to the freedom of the press proposed earlier (Petry and Müller-Schoell 2015) and corroborated in a regression analysis (Müller-Schoell and Moustakas 2017) is less pronounced in 2016.

The obvious assumption that media coverage on human rights and children rights is very low, wherever the MSE in question does not command enough attention is supported. The coverage increases with national interest in the event as such (ibid.). Only four of the selected events fall into this category – in 2016 the Olympics and UEFA EURO, in 2014 the Sochi Olympics and the FIFA World Cup. In other words, the socio-cultural significance of MSEs is a precondition for media attention and reporting of human rights and children rights issues in the context of MSEs.

The countries fall into four groups with similar awareness patterns: high awareness, medium awareness, nascent awareness and minimal awareness. It is plausible that these groups represent differences in the structure of media and audience, but the above mentioned driving factors render this grouping more fluid, so that differences in opportunity structures for campaigning children rights can be overrun by trending topics driving awareness.

In which respect can this research contribute to lobbying and campaigning for children rights in the context of MSEs? First, the time structure of reporting strongly suggests campaigning in the

⁶ The figures for reporting on violence and police related topics in Russia are significantly higher in 2016 than in 2014 and these reports drive the upward trend in aggregate reporting in Russia. A plausible explanation is the high involvement of Russian hooligans in the violent conflicts around the UEFA EURO in France 2016, which was obviously of higher news value for Russian media than violent conflicts of other kinds in the context of the two Brazilian MSEs, where no Russians were involved.

weeks and months before the event, when attention is growing, but neither sport nor other trending news have captured public attention. Second, the polarisation of attention suggests concentrating on very few very visible MSEs with obvious children rights issues. Third, once the bandwagon runs in a certain direction (e.g. security/terrorism/hooliganism), it seems hard to place alternative topics. The focus could be on adding a children rights twist or a critical spin to the ongoing debate.

Finally, this exploratory study has limited comparability and the conclusions remain tentative. A more detailed and comprehensive study could contribute to solve this problem.

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4 Annex: Media sources and qualitative analysis

Source	Source Type	Country	Date	Event	Title
Terra.com	Online	Brazil	2 january	Rio Olympics	Faltando oito meses, io esta quase pronto para os Jogos Olimpicos
Terra.com	Online	Brazil	18 january	Rio Olympics	Rio 2016: o que vai acontecer com os milhares de operarios?
Terra.com	Online	Brazil	20 april	EURO	Euro e Volta da Franca podem ser realizadas sob estado de emergencia
Terra.com	Online	Brazil	6 june	EURO	Chefe da policia francesa recebera reforco contra ataques na euro
Terra.com	Online	Brazil	2 august	Rio Olympics	Pior olimpiada da historia. Problemas fazem rio 2016 ser alvo de escarnio na china
Terra.com	Online	Brazil	10 august	Rio Olympics	Violência no Rio fura maior esquema de segurança da história
O Globo	Print	Brazil	23 april	EURO	Uefa diz que Eurocopa pode ter jogos disputados com portoes fechados
O Globo	Print	Brazil	12 june	EURO	Após cenas de violência, França proíbe venda de bebidas alcoólicas na Euro
O Globo	Print	Brazil	14 june	EURO	Combinação de problemas na França põe organização da Euro em xeque
O Globo	Print	Brazil	5 august	Rio Olympics	Violência no Rio cruza o caminho da Olimpíada
20minutes.fr	Online	France	23 march	EURO	Euro 2016: Les solutions (extremes) pour minimiser les risqué d'attentats
20minutes.fr	Online	France	26 april	Rio Olympics	O de Rio: Onze morts sur les chantiers, l'inspection du travail s'alarme
20minutes.fr	Online	France	12 june	EURO	Euro 2016 : Les supporters de la Turquie sont-ils en danger à Paris ?
Le Monde	Print	France	26 april	Rio Olympics	Brésil : onze morts sur les chantiers des Jeux olympiques de Rio depuis 2013
Le Monde	Print	France	13 june	EURO	L'Euro face au défi de la violence
Le Monde	Print	France	7 july	Rio Olympics	Des milliers de manifestants contre les Jeux olympiques à Rio de Janeiro
Spiegel-Online	Online	Germany	25 february	Rio Olympics	Favela-Verbot für australisches Olympia-Team
Spiegel-Online	Online	Germany	12 april	Rio Olympics	Turnier in Frankreich. Deutsche Polizisten helfen beim Schutz der Fußball-Europameisterschaft



Spiegel-Online	Online	Germany	11 june	EURO	Fan-Gewalt in Marseille eskaliert
Spiegel-Online	Online	Germany	12 july	EURO	Vorfälle bei der EM 2016. Bühne der Rassisten
Spiegel-Online	Online	Germany	1 august	Rio Olympics	Olympische Spiele in Rio. Segeln im Dreck
FAZ	Print	Germany	23 february	Rio Olympics	Probleme in Brasilien. Rio improvisiert für Olympia
FAZ	Print	Germany	3 march	Rio Olympics	SegelRevier bei Olympia. Kosmetik für die Kloake von Rio
FAZ	Print	Germany	20 april	EURO	Wegen FußballEM - Frankreich will Ausnahmezustand um zwei Monate verlängern
FAZ	Print	Germany	26 april	Rio Olympics	Schon elf tote Arbeiter vor Olympia in Rio
FAZ	Print	Germany	5 august	Rio Olympics	Olympia 2016 in Rio. The Show must go on
Indiatoday.in	Online	India	15 june	EURO	Russians arrested, alcohol banned as France try to quell Euro fan violence
Times of India	Print	India	20 april	EURO	France to extend emergency for Euro 2016, Tour de France: PM
Times of India	Print	India	11 july	EURO	40 arrested in Paris over Euro 2016 violence
De Volkskrant	Print	Netherlands	25 may	EURO	Frankrijk zet 90 duizend man beveiliging in voor EK
Elsevier	Online	Netherlands	27 may	EURO	Komt EK in Frankrijk in gevaar door voortdurende rellen?
De Volkskrant	Print	Netherlands	5 july	Rio Olympics	Wie naar de Spelen in Rio de Janeiro komt, is niet veilig'
Elsevier	Online	Netherlands	10 july	EURO	Parijs 'stil en voorzichtig' tijdens EK-finale door terreurdreiging
De Volkskrant	Print	Netherlands	16 july	EURO	Zelfs als hij een gek was, heeft hij erover nagedacht
Elsevier	Online	Netherlands	4 august	Rio Olympics	Hoe noodlijdend Rio speelde met de financiering van de Olympische Spelen
De Volkskrant	Print	Netherlands	17 august	Rio Olympics	Brazilië blijkt geweldige gastheer van de Spelen
Aftenposten	Print	Norway	5 august	Rio Olympics	Da de olympiske lekene kom til Rio, startet families kamp for tilvaerelsen
Aftenposten	Print	Norway	28 december	Rio Olympics	Toppidrettsutøveren fant igjen gleden hos de hjemløse
AiF.ru	Online	Russia	5 february	Rio Olympics	Siloviki Brasili gotovjatsja k "chudshemy scenariju" na Olimpiade-2016
AiF.ru	Online	Russia	31 may	EURO	Rossijskie futbolnye huligany pugajut organizatorov Evro 2016



AiF.ru	Online	Russia	10 june	EURO	Evrouzhas-2016. Chih futbolnyh huliganov boitsya franciya
Isvestia	Print	Russia	23 march	EURO	Rossijskie bolelshchshiki poka ne sdajut bilety vo Franziju
Isvestia	Print	Russia	2 june	EURO	Franzia pered Evro 2016: strasti nakalajutsja
Timeslive.co.za	Online	South Africa	8 june	Rio Olympics	New research finds low risk of Zika virus at Rio Olympics
Timeslive.co.za	Online	South Africa	13 june	EURO	Euro 2016. Fans to facetrail while 150 Russians escape arrest prosecutor
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	29 janiary	World Youth Olympics	JJOO Juveniles de Invierno (y fiesta) en Lillehammer
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	9 march	Rio Olympics	Rio de Janeiro presenta el proyecto de reurbanisacion de la favela demolida por los Juegos Olimpicos
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	2 april	Rio Olympics	Una favela devorada por Rio 2016
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	26 april	Rio Olympics	Once personas han muerto en las obras para los Juegos Olimpicos
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	27 april	Rio Olympics	Cinco tareas pendientes en Rio a 100 dias para los Juegos
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	30 june	Rio Olympics	Los policías de Rio: "Bienvenidos al infierno"
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	11 july	EURO	Violentos incidentes durante la final en la Fan Zone de la Torre Eiffel
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	26 july	EURO	Más preocupaciones que ilusión a 10 días de los Juegos de Río
Elmundo.es	Online	Spain	23 august	Rio Olympics	Río de Janeiro: se acabaron los Juegos, ¿y ahora qué?
El Pais	Print	Spain	3 march	EURO	Francia se blindara para la Eurocopa
El Pais	Print	Spain	2 may	Rio Olympics	Carrera de obstaculos hacia Rio 2016
El Pais	Print	Spain	19 may	Rio Olympics	El biologo que destapa las letrinas del Rio olimpico
El Pais	Print	Spain	28 june	Rio Olympics	Luces y sombras de la pacificación en las favelas
El Pais	Print	Spain	5 august	Rio Olympics	Río 2016: Los habitantes de Vila Autódromo estrenan casa
El Pais	Print	Spain	5 august	Rio Olympics	O sonho agridoce das prostitutas da Olimpíada
20minuten.ch	Online	Switzerland	17 february	Rio Olympics	Räuber stechen Touristin nieder
20minuten.ch	Online	Switzerland	26 april	Rio Olympics	13 Arbeiter sterben auf Rios Olympia-Baustellen



20minuten.ch	Online	Switzerland	26 may	EURO	Frankreich versinkt kurz vor der EM im Chaos
NZZ	Print	Switzerland	9 january	Rio Olympics	Eine verlorene Dekade. Brasilien im freien Fall
NZZ	Print	Switzerland	1 march	EURO	EM 2016. Pläne bei Terrorgefahr
NZZ	Print	Switzerland	2 march	EURO	Fussball-EM in Frankreich. Allons enfants!
NZZ	Print	Switzerland	27 april	Rio Olympics	Olympische Spiele in Rio. Wer hat, dem wird gegeben
NZZ	Print	Switzerland	25 may	EURO	Sicherheit in Frankreich. Hauptprobe für die EM
NZZ	Print	Switzerland	11 july	EURO	EM-Final in Paris. Tränengas-Einsatz auf Champs-Élysées
BBC.co.uk	Online	UK	27 february	Rio Olympics	Rio shanty town cleared for Olympics
Guardian	Print	UK	9 march	Rio Olympics	Brazil: home of favela resident fighting eviction over Olympics razed
Guardian	Print	UK	18 march	Rio Olympics	What price an Olympics that protects the rights of children and their families?
Guardian	Print	UK	1 july	Rio Olympics	Rio Olympics benefit or burden poor communities brazil
Guardian	Print	UK	26 july	Rio Olympics	Build up rio 2016. Olympic games chaotic hosts
Huffington Post	Online	USA	29 march	Rio Olympics	Over 4,000 Families In Rio Have Been Evicted Ahead Of Olympics
Huffington Post	Online	USA	26 july	Rio Olympics	Everything Is Going Wrong In Brazil Ahead Of The Olympics
NY Times	Print	USA	23 march	EURO	UEFA affirms Euro 2016 Games will not be played behind closed doors
NY Times	Print	USA	16 may	Rio Olympics	Should brazil postpone the Olympics. On with the summergames and bring on the protests
NY Times	Print	USA	12 june	EURO	Euro 2016. Fan fighting Russia england germany ukraine
NY Times	Print	USA	17 june	Copa America	In wake of Orlando shootings Mexican soccerchant offends many
NY Times	Print	USA	28 june	Rio Olympics	The humiliating practice of sextesting female athletes