

'Let's Win This Game Together'

Documenting violations of children's rights around
the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil



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Executive summary

Background

Children's rights have been on the international agenda for over 25 years, yet there are still gaps in ensuring these rights are sufficiently protected. This is particularly relevant during Mega Sporting Events (MSEs) that may increase the exposure of children to violations of their rights as well as the worsening of their socio-economic situations. Researching children's lives in the context of MSEs, such as the FIFA World Cup, are key to understanding these impacts. Brackenridge et al (2013) highlight that while risks of child exploitation may increase during MSEs, there is no data to determine whether these risks translate to harm. The pilot research summarised here aims to gain a better understanding of rights violations against children in the context of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. It seeks to provide evidence to advocate that MSE organizers have a role in preventing or mitigating such violations.

Methodology

A qualitative approach was adopted over two stages. The first involved media analysis of local, national and international sources before, during and after the World Cup as well as the analysis of Government and Civil Society data and reports focusing on children's rights and MSEs. The second stage focused on a period of empirical data collection, just after the World Cup in 2014, in two Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro and Recife). This comprised in-depth interviews with 13 NGOs/Government Agencies working with children/human rights and participatory focus group workshops with children from favelas in each case study city.

Key Findings

This pilot research identified four key violations: police (and army) violence; displacement; sexual exploitation; and child labour. The additional violation of neglect also emerged as an issue during the MSE. It is important to highlight that not all children experience the same level of rights violations. Overall this pilot research suggests that poor children living in favelas were more at risk of experiencing rights violations. The Dial 100 hotline data suggests that the number of reported violations against children increased by 17% in the 12 host cities during the World Cup compared to 2013 (National Secretariat for Human Rights of the Federal Government, 2014). The interview data also stated that girls are more at risk from sexual exploitation and harassment while boys are especially at risk of police violence.

Before the World Cup: The intense media attention during his period signalled the media's potential to highlight key issues and campaign for children's rights to be upheld and protected.

- Police and army violence was a critical issue in the pre-cup period, relating to three issues: street clearances of street children; police occupation of favelas and displacement through forced removals; and the protests of 2013. These high profile protests received significant media attention and media and documentary analysis highlighted police violence during occupation and around removals. However, it is through empirical data that the issue of violence against street children emerged most strongly; along with some limited reporting in the media. More research is required as the stories of the most marginalised are least likely to be made visible.
- Displacement also received attention in the media and documentation analysis (ANCOP, 2012), with children from favelas providing contextual examples.
- Sexual exploitation and child labour were highlighted more in the media and documentation than by the empirical research, although this was still positioned as a significant problem facing vulnerable children. Furthermore, sexual harassment was raised as a problem for girls during favela occupation.

During the World Cup: In addition to the four main violations, neglect was also mentioned.

- The empirical data suggested that sexual exploitation and child labour were more prominent during the event than displacement and police violence. This latter point was related to clearance of street children as children still mentioned continued violence within occupied favelas. The media attention tailed off in favour of reporting on the games which took priority over issues of rights violations.
- Interviewees raised suspicions of possible sexual exploitation within stadium VIP areas as local professionals were not able to check these spaces. They also mentioned anecdotal reports of child labour in and around stadiums and at Fan Fests as well as the neglect of children at Fan Fests, through selling alcohol to under 18s and poor procedures for keeping children safe. These issues require further research.

After the World Cup: Media attention quickly turned to the presidential elections in Brazil and there were no accessible published documents discussing the post-event legacy and impact. Interviews with NGOs suggest further long-term research post-MSE is required for two key areas:

- Verification investigation of street children's stories of violence on their return to the cities post-MSE.
- The long-term impacts on children and families following relocation to areas that were seen to offer a lower quality of life at the point of displacement, was raised as requiring further research attention.

Actions minimizing violations against children: Positive outcomes emerged from the documentary analysis which identified significant collaboration between Government, NGOs and UN agencies to produce guidelines for eradicating violations and to use the MSE to achieve momentum for change. The National Agenda for Convergence Protect Brazil, National and UNICEF-led campaigns, as well as the Dial 100 hotline and the creation of the 'Protect Brazil' mobile phone app, which both sought to facilitate the reporting of violations, demonstrate positive steps for ensuring children receive protection. 'The Agenda of Convergence' established intersectoral Local Committees of Protection with the aim of preventing and intervening in situations of risk to children arising around the preparation for, and implementation of, MSEs. However, a review of procedures for improving action in key areas was suggested by interviewees, including: a longer time frame for better integration between organisations operating before during and after MSEs; better and more reliable data, including statistical data on rights violations; and meaningful participation of children within Local Committees. Finally, the empirical data also highlighted some positive influences on children's rights including the emotional benefits of MSEs for community and family cohesion during the event.

Recommendations

The research highlights two key areas for recommendation: policy (specifically MSE organisation) and research.

Policy recommendations: New standards should be developed that protect children within bidding criteria and include a 'social risk legacy assessment'. In addition, a review of and enforcement of well-developed local policies for children's rights should be implemented. Specifically, MSE organisers and local committees should ensure children's rights is part of security policy and provide advanced training for MSE and local security forces, including police. Finally MSEs could provide a valuable outlet for campaigning for change around the violation of children's rights.

Research recommendations: Better and more consistent research is required to fully analyse the impacts of MSEs on children. The development of systematic baseline data, over time before, during and after MSEs, would help to identify the type and frequency of violations. A research tool that would coordinate data between Government, Police and Civil Society could be particularly effective and should be trialled. More in-depth qualitative and longitudinal research is required to understand the specific impacts on particularly marginalised children such as girls and street children, including the longer-term impacts. Children's voices must be heard and children should participate fully in any research about their lives.

1. Introduction

This research was commissioned by the Oak Foundation – Child Abuse Programme – to gain a better understanding of human rights violations against children in the context of 2014 World Cup in Brazil. This section introduces the report by outlining the academic background to the research, offering a contextualisation of the key issues within Brazil, and presenting the research aim and key questions.

Despite the emergence of a wealth of information regarding children's rights, and indeed the upcoming 25th anniversary of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) this year, there are still gaps in ensuring these rights are protected. This is particularly relevant during Mega-Sporting Events (MSEs) that can increase the exposure of children to violations of their rights, as well as negatively impact on the socio-economic situation of children. Researching the situations around MSEs, such as the FIFA World Cup, is key to understanding the impact on children. As Brackenridge et al (2013) highlight, although the risks of child exploitation increase during MSEs, there is no data to determine whether these risks translate into harm. It is therefore timely to investigate these issues and this research seeks to contribute to filling a gap in knowledge. It aims to investigate the nature and extent of human rights violations for children as part of MSEs, and also seeks to provide some evidence to advocate that major sporting organizations have an end duty in preventing or mitigating such violations.

1.1 Research background

In the post 9/11 world, the relationships between security, surveillance and events like the Olympics, and FIFA World Cup finals has attracted increasing scholarly attention (see Giulianotto and Klauser, 2011). The focus has been on the ways in which mega event security acts as a catalyst to facilitate a range of public policies and developments designed to create 'orderly' cities and how the urban environment itself becomes increasingly splintered into zones, thoroughfares and enclaves that are intensively surveyed by a range of technologies (particularly CCTV) and bodies (the public, police, private security guards). This in turn raises important questions about the effects of such securitisation on the civil liberties of local populations, disproportionately the urban poor, including children, and particularly in terms of the freedom of movement and assembly.

The policing of mega events is increasingly based on global security plans taking a multi-sectorial approach to securitisation and building policing partnerships. For example, in the run up to the London 2012 Olympic Games, Newham Council's policing partnership joined up strategic security priorities with tactical policing, outlining a crime and disorder policy that focused on anti-social behaviour, community reassurance and violent crime (including street crime). The overarching theme of youth crime was also particularly pertinent, resulting in a targeting of resources in these areas (Fussey et al, 2011). This is interesting from an academic perspective where children are conceptualised as transgressive in public space, creating moral panics by their presence, with street children in particular considered to be dangerous deviants (Jones, 2011; Rogers and Coaffee, 2005). Jones (2011) notes that children in public spaces are likely to be managed by adults and while their navigation of space makes some streetwise, it disempowers others. His call to broaden our understanding of social agency to include political agency and freedom of expression in public space is hampered in the context of MSEs, resulting in the risk of human rights violations against children.

Managing MSEs: Rogerson (2009) notes that hosting mega events has development potential for countries, not least due to the international attention MSEs receive. Increasingly, 'rising power' economies are winning bids to host these large scale events (e.g. Commonwealth games 2010, Delhi, India; World Cup 2010, South Africa; World Cup 2014, Brazil; Olympics 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). A successful bid is a critical factor in urban entrepreneurialism that seeks to bring foreign investment into the country and foster advantage in the global economy (Robinson 2002; Rogerson 2009). However, there is evidence to suggest that hosting an MSE can have adverse economic effects in terms of debt and deficit position alongside winning bids (Baade and Matheson, 2004; Wlaldimir, 2012). In addition, the sheer scale of poverty and inequalities present in many societies now bidding to host MSEs means that any potential impact on the urban poor should be carefully considered. Currently FIFA has not stipulated concern for human rights issues as criteria for successful bids. This places pressure on governments to manage the paradox between using MSEs to boost global foreign investment and international tourism and to deal with the day-to-day poverty of many of its residents. For example, the security implications of managing a MSE not only focuses on reducing the terrorist risk or on spectator violence; but disproportionately must deal with poverty, inequality, deep social divisions and associated urban crime (Giulianotti and Klauser 2010). Cornelissen (2011), drawing on the context of the World Cup in South Africa, notes that the 'glocal' processes in the securitisation of MSEs results in a scaled management where international, national, and state and city level interests are brought together in securitisation processes.

Labelling such events as security risks provides legitimation for all these interests to establish rights and enforce bylaws in the context of ensuring the safety of the public in attendance. In turn, this can result in significant leverage by different groups to justify the intrusion in the daily lives of citizens and the violation of their human rights. For example, this can include the displacement of poor urban children from the streets as was identified around the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa (Cornelissen, 2011; van Blerk, 2012). There is therefore a need to investigate these issues further with Brazil offering an opportunity to examine the impact on children through the 2014 FIFA World Cup.

The Brazilian Context: Brazil, with its legacy of violence against marginalised and impoverished children, offers a critical opportunity to consider human rights violations before, during and after MSEs, in order to gain a better understanding of children's lives in this context. Furthermore, the rise of urban violence in Brazil over the last three decades has produced a dual process in the urban environment that can be characterized by the idea of 'phobopolis' (Souza, 2008) and the 'fragmentation of the socio-political and spatial urban fabric' (Souza, 2000). On one hand, the reconfiguration of urban dynamics, including the growth of middle class gated communities and new habits and practices linked to this phenomenon (Souza, 2000; Caldeira, 2000; Queiroz Ribeiro and Telles, 2000); and on the other, the rise of tough strategies of social control and the spatial enclosure of the poor. This duality is reflected not only in the key role played by the police but also in social policies designed to control social tension (Fernandes, 2009 and 2012). In this instance, such strategies have helped to stigmatise poor, marginalised children as a key target in the eyes of government and private agents. In particular, there is a stronger socio-economic driver with regards the case of homicides and imprisoning. This is higher for the young black population, and in particular, males living in the most deprived areas (Human Rights Council/United Nations, 2014).

The MSEs may intensify the stigmatization of children resulting in more control over children from favelas and an increase in their criminalization. Prior to the World Cup in Brazil, FIFA had not made any commitments towards ensuring human rights standards are upheld within host nations (The Guardian, 2014). However, such events can be an excellent opportunity for the development of positive strategies for violence reduction without disrespecting human rights. The Rio de Janeiro military police did begin to develop alternative strategies that may impact directly on these issues. The development of Pacifying Police Units (UPPs) in favelas has been producing good results with some positive impacts for communities. Yet, UPPs were also cleaning the streets in preparation for the World Cup, in particular the city centre and tourist areas but also the favelas close to the tourist venues in the South of the city. Other parts of the city then began to face more challenges including increased violence and intense drug-related activities in the much less policed areas (The Guardian, 2013; Rizzini 2013).

This leads on to the importance of investigating how this context may be impacting on human rights violations for children through a process of documenting the key issues. There is very little research on this issue in Brazil. However, one paper, by Brackenridge et al (2013) highlights specific risks for child exploitation before, during and after MSEs as: **child labour; displacement** of children from forced evictions for infrastructure development and street clearance, **child sexual exploitation** and **human trafficking**. Their interviewees specifically highlighted 'obvious' risks such as street round-ups; criminal activity; deceit by pimps and paedophiles to introduce women into the sex trade; child labour trafficking; and alcohol and drug consumption associated with a 'football mood'.

Given this brief background, this project focuses on the impacts and implications of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil on children's lives.

1.2 Research aim and questions

This research aims to document the nature and extent of harm as a result of human rights violations for children before, during and after MSEs and to explore the impact – both challenges and benefits – to children for influencing future policy and practice.

Research questions

1. In what ways, and to what extent, have human rights organisations documented the risks and harms to children before, during and after the World Cup?
2. What is the nature, disaggregated by age and gender, and experience of human rights violations by children, including their risks and harms before, during and after MSEs?
3. In what ways can projects, and MSE strategy, be strengthened to mitigate against the risks and harms to children before, during and after MSEs?

2. Children's Rights: understanding the context in Brazil

This section provides a more focussed account of the context of children's rights in Brazil and considers major policy developments, beginning by highlighting the scale of violations against children before moving on to provide a contemporary contextualisation of these issues. The section ends by considering the policy changes that have taken place to re-position children in Brazilian society and the difficulties encountered in endeavouring to meet these needs.

2.1 Children's rights violations: Key statistics

Despite significant progress over the last few decades, the violation of children's rights is still a sad reality, as evidenced by global data. There needs to be integrated actions for facing this phenomenon. The recent UNICEF (2014) report 'Hidden in Plain Sight: the statistical analysis of violence against children' is based on data from 190 countries and shows that children who are victims of violence are more likely to experience other situations of vulnerability including unemployment, living in poverty or violent interactions with others. The study also highlighted that globally in 2012 Brazil had the second highest rate of child homicide, especially among young males, aged 10-19 years.

The Human Rights Council/United Nations (2014) also highlighted that homicide is the main cause of death among young black males, living in popular territories such as favelas and impoverished suburbs, aged between 15 and 24 (51.6 per 100,000). In the states of Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco, in some age groups, the number of murders of young black men reaches more than 300 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants (INESC, 2009).

Young black women and girls face intersectional discrimination based on their gender and ethnicity, particularly in relation to employment and health care, and those belonging to traditional communities have also faced discrimination in relation to land rights where titles have not been forthcoming and they have faced forced removal (Human Rights Council/United Nations, 2014).

The reporting of human rights violations against children has made significant progress in Brazil in the last 10 years or so. There is now a national program for reporting violations called Dial Human Rights – Dial 100, which was established in 2003 by the Secretariat of Human Rights by the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil (2013). This registers reports of violations of the rights of children. Since its inception, the number of reports of violations has grown, making a total of 124,079 complaints up to the end of December 2013.

Specifically within the State of Rio de Janeiro and taking this as an exemplar, it is possible to develop a picture of the magnitude of human rights violations. The Civil Police has compiled statistical data for this State based on the database of the Records of Occurrence of the Civil Police in the State of Rio de Janeiro¹. Between 2005 and 2011, 151,751 children were victims of some kind of violence in the State of Rio de Janeiro. The increase from 2005 to 2011 was 35.2 %, which meant 6,945 more victims of crimes were recorded. The city of Rio de Janeiro was the municipality with the largest number of victims at 9,511, with a slight predominance of female victims (58.4 %). The age groups with the highest percentage of violations were aged between 13 and 15 years. According to a review of criminal incidences involving children in Rio de Janeiro in 2011 (Dirk and Moraes, 2012) approximately 26,689 (88.5%) children up to 17 years were affected as victims of crimes against their person or against their sexual dignity and 3,466 (11.5%) children aged between 12 and 17 were in conflict with the law. Further, the four offences most suffered by children were: bodily injury negligence (35.2% of cases), threat (16.2 %), intentional bodily harm (13.3 %) and rape (12.8 %).

This review of official figures demonstrates a picture where violations of rights are happening for children and such data allow us to visualize the conditions of vulnerability to violence for this segment of the population. However the data does not explore whether such vulnerability could be aggravated in context of MSEs, or indeed whether the types of violations occurring are different. This will be investigated later in this report.

¹ This data is compiled by the Institute of Public Security, with monthly reports available to the public (Portuguese only). <http://www.isp.rj.gov.br/>

2.2 The general context of children's lives in Brazil

In order to correctly position the context of children's rights in Brazil, it is useful to observe the wider context of violence in Brazilian society, in particular its socio-political and cultural drivers. In line with Silva and Silva (2005) it is essential to acknowledge that violence against children has to be understood as a social exercise of domination that is underpinned by prejudices widely present in day to day life such as sexism, racism, and 'adultcentrism'. This is additionally supported by a globalised culture of consumerism which emphasises individualism, and socio-centrism which emphasises social class hierarchy as the basis for valuing life.

By extension these mechanisms produce a disposability and the idea of a 'lost generation' (Fernandes, 2013a) through which many vulnerable children are perceived in Brazilian society. This idea of a 'lost generation' is reflected through the massive criminalisation of poor youth in Brazil, with high levels of imprisonment and death. This problem has a strong relationship with wider urban violence and socio-political issues in the country (Adorno, 2002; Cano and Santos, 2001; Cano, 2001; Ramos, 2009).

Strategies of social control have helped to stigmatise poor (usually male and black) children into a key target in the eyes of government and private agents as part of a complex socio-historical process that involves the denigration of groups that are considered worthless and disposable (Fernandes, 2014). As such, although the police appear to be the core agent of human rights violations by reproducing and performing stigmatising practices (Ramos and Musumesci, 2005), it is also necessary to consider the role of the mass media which can push public opinion against groups that are portrayed as a threat to public order (Ramos and Paiva, 2007). As a result, the creation of strategies of socio-spatial control and containment are shaping new forms of governance of the disposable in Brazil (Fernandes, 2013b). Such strategies are in line with major changes in the way neoliberal governments are responding to the advance of social insecurity (Wacquant, 2010). This tends to be maximized by major global events such as MSEs that play a crucial role in reshaping spaces and relationships as part of a process of 'creative destruction' (Harvey, 2011) of the socio-political, economic and cultural landscape.

MSE organisers are not intervening in a neutral environment: there may already be weaknesses in the enforcement of human rights policies. Therefore, hosting MSEs may intensify the responses to social insecurity through stigmatising policies and approaches against children. In line with historical processes of socio-spatial exclusion and violation of rights in Brazil, it may result in the intensification of criminalisation as well as more control over marginalised groups, with particular focus on children from favelas and other stigmatised neighbourhoods (Bush and Rizzini, 2011; Fernandes, 2014). The 'invisibility' of socially excluded groups in contrast to the maximum visibility of 'profitable' issues, such as the attraction of tourists and investors in the context of MSEs, can also create a harmful environment to children through, for example, child labour and sexual exploitation. Therefore bidding to host events such as the World Cup can place children more at risk if there are not measures put in place to assess the risks and minimize or eliminate any negative effects for children.

The issue of sexual exploitation is the target of several studies (Childhood, 2009; ECPAT INTERNATIONAL, 2008 and 2009; Leal et al, 2002; Silva, 2011) In Brazil, (CECRIA, 2002) shows that women, children are mostly involved in this type of violation. Although there are variations in terms of age, the report highlights the age range between 12 and 18 years old, as particularly prominent. The profile of the victims further indicates that they have already suffered some type of intrafamily violence (sexual abuse, rape, neglect, abandonment, abuse, violence, physical and psychological) and extrafamily violence (on the street, in schools, shelters, etc.). They are also from the popular classes, with low levels of education, living in homes with a lack of sanitation and transportation, and performing work activities which do not require high levels of qualifications.

In relation to child labour the Brazilian Government (2011) estimates that about two million children aged 5 to 15 years of age are working in different regions of the country. To tackle this, the National Plan, with the support of the ILO and the Ministry of Labour, is seeking to eradicate all child labour by 2020. To achieve this, it was necessary to analyse how the exploitation of children occurs in Brazil, considering different aspects, such as race, gender, economic status, type of occupation, and regional diversity, among others. A preliminary diagnosis on child labour (Di Giovanni, 2004) points out that until the 1980s, there was acceptance of work for children living in poverty, exclusion and social risk. This perception still persists in many industries and is expressed in the idea that it would be best for the child to work rather than staying on the streets, 'without doing anything; exposed to crimes' (Coimbra, 2003). This perspective, isolated from other issues, criminalises poverty, establishes a direct connection between unemployment (and/or lack of a regular activity in the life of children living in the slums) and access to crime. This vision perceives the favela as a miserable place, devoid of alternatives to crime (Silva & Barbosa, 2005, Zaluar, 1994, Fernandes, 2005).

Among the poorest populations it is common for children to begin to work at a young age to support their families. Data shows that the lower the income of the family and the educational level of the reference person in the family unit, the greater the risk of children entering the world of work. It is important to highlight that according to Brazilian law (Estatute on Child and Adolescent – ECA, 1990), the minimum age for working activity is 14, and then only as an apprentice. However, in many situations, poor children are working below this age, and in most of cases in the informal economy, which results in even more vulnerable conditions (ILO, 2011). The National Plan for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour seeks to create the conditions in which children are removed from work and guaranteed all the rights inherent in the ‘peculiar condition of people in development’ as stated in the ECA.

2.3 The context of children’s rights in Brazil

Although significant advances in social rights have been observed in recent decades – particularly after the advent of the democratic state in 1984, and the new constitution in 1988 (Brasil, 1988) – there is still a need to further consolidate social and civic rights among the most marginalised groups in Brazilian society. Most advances in policy and practice addressed to these groups still have to overcome the barriers of socio-symbolic denigration of parts of society that are considered worthless and by extension, without rights (or without ‘the right to have rights’). This is, for instance, the situation of children living in the most deprived areas in Brazil. Their social invisibility represents a challenge for rights in a society where ‘the right to have to rights’ seems to mirror their position in the social ladder (Costa, 2004).

However, the efforts made by Brazilian Civil Society as well as more progressive governments to push human rights agendas forward are commendable. For children, the advent of the Statute of Child and Adolescent (ECA) in 1990 is a benchmark policy (Brasil, 1990).

Studies on the history of children’s rights in the Brazilian context (Bulcao, 2002; Pilotti and Rizzini, 1995) emphasize that the ‘childhood’ associated with the term ‘minor’ which focussed on the idea of children being poor, abandoned and/or delinquent, has now been rescinded after a very long time in operation. The previous legislation for children before the Statute of the Child and the Adolescent was the Code of Minors of 1927 where a child was defined as: ‘The minor of one or the other sex, abandoned or delinquent, which has less than 18 years’. Based on principles of children in difficult situations, the Code of Minors considered children as objects of legal actions; punitives when some irregular situation was evidenced (abandoned children, orphans, young offenders). Only with the ECA in 1990 did Brazil start to adopt the doctrine of the full protection of children and begin to perceive them differently (Rizzini, 1993; Diniz and Cunha, 1998). This new vision sees children as people in a particular condition of development, and consequently, demanding differentiated, specialized and, total protection.

The ECA had its social and legal foundation underpinned by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) on 14 November 1989. As a result, the adoption of the UNCRC and the development of the ECA, children in Brazil began to be seen as subjects with rights rather than objects of judicial and political procedures. However, the promise of discourse is not always actually accomplished by law (Rizzini, 2011). Therefore, despite this important change in the discourse, where all children have rights, many sectors of Brazilian society have had difficulties in implementing them, and the System of Guarantee of Rights is still insufficient (Rizzini, 2011). Fundamentally there is a lack of resources to make this policy more effective, including a deficit of professionals working with children rights.

Rizzini et al (2012) also highlights that some key actors responsible for protecting all citizens, including children, require greater sensitization to children’s rights. For example, the police still may not always recognize the guaranteed rights of people if they are poor, non-white and living in favelas. A history of strong stigmatization and discrimination against these populations coming from many sectors of society is still prevalent and requires addressing. Therefore, there is still work required to consolidate such rights in concrete outcomes for the most vulnerable children in Brazil.

3. Research Design and Methods

This section introduces the research design and provides a detailed description of the methods used. It begins by highlighting the approach taken, sampling strategy adopted and any practical and ethical considerations. This section then moves on to describe in detail the two-stage process of the data collection phase of the research: mapping documentation and media representations of violations; and qualitative empirical research with key organisations and children in Brazil.

3.1 Research design

Fitting in with the recent academic commitment to deeper exploitation of existing major data sources for achieving maximum impact (ESRC, 2013); a qualitative approach was used combining analysis of secondary data with primary research. In particular, secondary data collected by organisations dealing with children's human rights, was invaluable for establishing the parameters within which to focus the research. This was complemented by qualitative and participatory research which is proven to be appropriate for work with children (van Blerk, 2012; Young and Barrett, 2001), as it facilitates children to be key actors in the process (Blazek, 2011; Punch, 2001). This approach is based on the premise that all children are experts on their lives and able to articulate their needs and requirements when opportunities are created for them to do so. This type of approach is essential when working with children who have experienced harm through violation of their human rights (Bemak, 1996; van Blerk, 2013). In practical terms this involves spending time with children developing trust, rapport and new ways of communicating through active engagement on their terms and in their territory. This must involve children throughout the process, enabling a dynamic approach, which is sensitive to changing conditions as they arise (Barker 2008). The unique culture of Brazilian cities and children's social contexts, as well as the nature of violence experienced by them, demands such adaptability (Fernandes 2012). Given this, the research team took into consideration a range of lessons learned from their own research and practical experience that has been built up from working with marginalised groups in Brazil (Rizzini, 2001; Fernandes and Rodriguez, 2009; 2015 forthcoming). As such, the work with children involved an active process of facilitation to enable their voices to be heard, through their own language, codes and lived experience. This was achieved through employing a creative approach that included drawing, theatre and open discussions. It is important to acknowledge that this research sought to include and listen to the voices of children particularly as their participation in events that affect their lives is still limited, despite advances in policy development (Rizzini et al, 2007).

The research focused specifically on the cities of Rio de Janeiro, in the State of Rio de Janeiro and Recife in Pernambuco. The main criteria used to select these cities was their status as host cities for the World Cup, as well as the fact that there is a historical record of violence against children as provided by data from the Brazilian Federal Government's National Secretariat for Human Rights.² The choice of location was important because it was not possible to cover all states participating in the FIFA World Cup, due to the short time frame for this project and the resources available, yet it was imperative to provide as great an understanding as possible of the wider realities for children. Rio de Janeiro was specifically selected as it was important to include one of the high profile venues and significant tourist entry points. Further, with the Olympics being hosted in Rio de Janeiro in 2016 this offered an opportunity to create a baseline that could be built upon for further research. Finally, the Brazilian partners in this project are based in Rio de Janeiro and therefore the accessibility of establishing contacts and local knowledge was an additional, yet minor, factor. An additional city was selected because it was important to establish if the same kinds of violations were occurring outside the key cities. Recife, in the State of Pernambuco, was selected as an outlying venue of the World Cup. This city hosted important matches but not specifically high profile games such as the opening match or final; it was therefore considered a useful second city to research. Furthermore, the development of helpful contacts with organisations in Recife meant it was possible to undertake work with children during the short field research period.

Ethical considerations and best practice was an important part of the overall research design and the research received a full ethical review from the University of Dundee Research Ethics Committee. The research adheres to key ethical imperatives as identified by social science research guidelines including consent, do no harm, confidentiality and respect (ESRC, 2010). Due to the special ethical considerations of involving children in research (Sibley, 1999), additional measures were put in place to ensure that children's rights were adhered to, including their right to participate and their right to be protected.

² Report 'The Councils of the cities hosting World Cup held campaign to protect children', on the site of ANDI. Communication and rights. Accessed 17 November 2014: <http://www.andi.org.br/infancia-e-juventude/pauta/conselhos-das-cidades-sede-da-copa-realizam-campanha-para-protetger-crianc>

An ethical framework for working with children was developed drawing on ethical guidelines for research with children (Alderson and Morrow, 2011) and covered: informed consent, access, ownership, confidentiality, anonymity and post-research debrief/dissemination. Further, the local ethical criteria for research with children were also adhered to. In Brazil, any research involving children below the age of 18 years requires written parental consent. The research assistant therefore worked with facilitatory partner organisations to ensure the research was properly explained and that all children who expressed a desire to participate also had such parental consent. Finally the Oak Foundation Child Safeguarding Policy was implemented and key staff had obtained prior Police Clearance.

3.2 Mapping documentation on human rights violations around the 2014 FIFA World Cup

The stage one documentary mapping exercise was undertaken in two phases. The first involved a media search to explore the level of reporting of human rights violations by age, gender and type, where possible. Due to limited time and resource constraints for this project a sample of media sources was selected. The selection included a major international source (BBC news), a Brazilian national newspaper, which also focused on Rio de Janeiro (Jornal O Globo), and a regional newspaper which focused on Recife (Folha de Pernambuco). In order to capture the reporting of violations before, during and after the World Cup, a systematic time sampling was put in place: two years before World Cup (from 12 June 2012 to 12 June 2014), during the World Cup (12 June 2014 to 13 July 2014) and two months afterwards (from 14 July 2014 to 14 September 2014). A series of search terms were developed informed by the project goals and by child exploitation risks around MSEs as categorised by Brackenridge et al (2013) – child labour, trafficking, sexual exploitation and displacement – as well as on the expert knowledge of the research team in order not to miss potentially new/different issues emerging. Relevant stories were imported into, and coded using, the qualitative analysis software package NVivo. This allowed key themes coming from media coverage to be identified, to get a sense of where the coverage can provide the most useful information, and to reflect on what might be driving such coverage.

The second type of documentation mapped in this stage came from documents and/or reports produced by four key sources as considered important based on the academic and local knowledge of the research team. These were Human Rights Organisations (including those working with children), the Brazilian Government, Civil Society in Brazil and the United Nations. Documents were accessed over a 6 month period through online searches. Additionally, as key contacts were made during stage two, both online and in person in Brazil, additional documents not available online were also accessed. The material collected could be mapped into two categories:

- Reports on Human Rights Violations in the World Cup Context in Brazil
- Principles and Guidelines to Prevent and to Overcome Human Rights Violations in the Context of MSEs.

Following the mapping procedure, it became clear that police violence was one area that emerged as significant, where children were at risk of violations of their rights, in addition to those identified by Brackenridge et al (2013), and that trafficking was less important. The second phase of the research therefore focused around the following four key violations, although did not seek to exclude trafficking or other issues should they emerge as important. They were: child labour; displacement; police violence; and sexual exploitation.

3.3 Participatory qualitative research

As noted above, Rio de Janeiro and Recife were the selected sites for the in-depth qualitative research. In both Rio and Recife, the four types of violation were examined through interviews with key organizations. The interviews were complemented by participatory focus groups with children aged 11-15 years old, who were also residents in favelas in both cities. The aim was to understand better the extent these forms of violation have on the lives of children in the context of the World Cup.

Interviews with organisations: This research has had the collaboration of key organisations in Brazil. Thirteen organisations accepted to participate in the research. The majority was based in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Recife, but there was also collaboration from a few organisations based in Brasília and São Paulo. The selection criteria for organisations took into consideration three aspects:

- Organisations working with the promotion of children's rights (though organisations working with education, youth and community development were also included);
- Organisation members of National and Local Popular Committees of the World Cup in both cities (Rio and Recife);
- Organisations that were part of the previous network of the research assistant, members of the project team, and contacts from the Oak Foundation CAP consultant.

Through a process of identification, using email, Skype and telephone, two months prior to fieldwork in Brazil, these key organisations were contacted and then invited for interview. In order to maintain momentum, the research assistant kept intensive contact with key personnel in each organisation as a way to consolidate the partnership as well as build trust. All communication was made in Portuguese as contact people had little knowledge of English.³

The table below presents the organisations surveyed in this study:

Organisation	Key area of intervention	City
1 - National Articulation of Centres for the Defence of Children's Rights (ANCED)	Children's rights	Brasília
2 - Childhood Brasil	Children's rights	São Paulo
3 - ECPAT-Brasil	Sexual exploitation against children	Rio de Janeiro
4 - Amnesty Internacional	Human rights	Rio de Janeiro
5 - UNICEF Brasil	Children's rights	Rio de Janeiro
6 - Network of Development of Maré (REDES)	Community development; Education and violence reduction	Rio de Janeiro
7 - Center for the Defense of the Rights of Children Rio de Janeiro – CEDECA Rio de Janeiro	Children's rights	Rio de Janeiro
8 - Brazilian Association Terra dos Homens	Human rights	Rio de Janeiro
9 - Guardianship Council Centro – Rio de Janeiro	Children's rights	Rio de Janeiro
10 - Network Children Rio	Street children	Rio de Janeiro
11 - Federation of Bodies to Social Assistance and Education – FASE	Human rights; Social and environmental development	Recife
12 - Diaconia	Human rights	Recife
13 - Secretariat of Child and Youth of Pernambuco	Children's rights	Recife

³ This is a relevant aspect of the research methodology. Having members of the team with native Portuguese language and lived experience in the subject area in Brazil was essential to connect with groups and organisations that would be excluded from international studies. In such the 'reading' of cultural and behavioural issues was straight forward for overcoming any potential barriers to the development of the research as a whole and specifically the primary data collection.

The interviews for these organisations involved the following axes:

Axis 1 – violations that have taken place against children before, during and after the World Cup in Brazil with respect to four specific areas and others (child labour, sexual exploitation, displacement and police violence).

In this axis the research explored the vision of organizations regarding how those four violations cited above (and any others identified) would be occurring in Brazil before, during and after the World Cup, and also what would be the groups most vulnerable to having their rights violated in this context. The questions included discussion of what types of violations occur, who would be the most vulnerable groups and why.

Axis 2 – actions of the Government and Civil Society to minimize violations in context of the World Cup

In this axis the research explored the initiatives of the Brazilian Government and/or Civil Society Organizations to prevent and/or minimize the violations against children before, during and after the World Cup.

Axis 3 – legacy to the country

In this axis the research was interested in understanding the perception of the organisations on the legacy of the World Cup in terms of benefits and challenges.

Axis 4 – recommendations

In this axis the interviews sought to gather basic recommendations of organizations for hosting future MSEs in Brazil and elsewhere, such as the 2016 Olympic Games and the 2018 World Cup, and how they might cause the least damage possible to the lives of children and their families.

The interviews were conducted at a time and place suggested by the interviewees in the period between July and August 2014. Two of these interviews could not be made in person because the local base of these organizations was not in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Recife; instead they were undertaken via Skype and e-mail. The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, recorded and transcribed in full. In line with the ethical procedures for the project, all interviewees signed an informed consent form agreeing to the recording and use of their speech. The interviews were then coded and analysed using a thematic content analysis as proposed by Bardin (2003).

Focus groups with children: In order to ensure that children's voices were central to the research, participatory focus groups were carried out with children living in favelas in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Recife (Favela da Maré and Morro da Conceição respectively). Using the same approach to the interviews with organisations, a managed process of relationship building over email and Skype was carried out by the research assistant in advance of travel to Brazil in order to maximise the effectiveness of the limited time available. The link organisations were crucial to supporting the process of gaining informed consent and written parental consent as well as ensuring the groups were representative of those in the favelas according to age and gender. However, it is important to note that no prescriptive sampling procedure was followed and rather children were offered the opportunity to participate.

More than one organisation in each city was initially approached in order to mitigate against unforeseen circumstances. Based on previous experience of working in favelas in Brazil, it was considered possible that situations could change radically disrupting the research process at any moment. For the professionals who work in social projects in favelas and poor communities in Brazil, it is quite common to experience disruption as a result of police operations or disputes over territorial hegemony and power by local criminal armed groups linked to the drugs trade (Rodriguez, 2013). These moments of tension can include exchanges of fire between police and drug traffickers, resulting in the death of local residents including children and forcing schools and local business to close. These disruptions to the daily routine of favelas can take hours, days and even weeks to resolve depending on the context of risk to residents.

The NGOs working in these territories typically maintain their activities during these tense periods. However, they usually suffer interference that affects the progress of the work such as a lack of participants in their activities as they prefer to stay home for safety reasons. Practitioners themselves have learned that in these situations it is best to stay within the institution and not to engage in external activities such as home visits or workshops on the street. Not surprisingly, we faced this situation in Rio de Janeiro, in the Complexo do Alemão, the favela first selected for data collection. Initially we had set the collaboration with the NGO CEDAPS (Centre for the Promotion of Health) that develops social projects in the field of health promotion in the Complex of Alemão.

A Police Pacifying Unit (UPP)⁴ and the military police have been in situ in this complex of favelas, composed of 15 communities in the northern part of the city, since 2010, facing conflicts between drug traffickers (who are still there, despite police occupation). Unfortunately the focus group could not take place because there were intense shoot-outs between police and drug traffickers (that continued for the following two weeks). As this event posed a risk to the safety of both participants and the research assistant this activity was cancelled and replaced with an alternative via contact with the NGO 'Instituto Vida Real' (Real Life Institute).

The Real Life Institute has worked since 2004 in Conjunto de Favelas da Maré, the biggest set of favelas in Brazil, with 16 communities and approximately 130,000 inhabitants. Maré has a strategic location in the context of mega events because their communities are located along the major routes between the Tom Jobim International Airport and the central areas of the city. For this reason, Maré received greater attention for security reasons, as the complex has three criminal groups engaged in drug trafficking.⁵

With its own methodology the Real Life Institute meets children between 12 and 18 years who are living in extreme social vulnerability. Through educational programs and occupational skills training in drawing, graphic arts, music, craft and silk, Vida Real promotes the social inclusion of children and provides instruction in ethical values and citizenship. The participatory focus group in Rio de Janeiro had the participation of 13 children enrolled in the Real Life Institute, aged between 12 and 15 years and of mixed gender.

The Focus Group in Recife took place through the partnership with the NGO Diaconia that focuses on human rights and youth participation. The group of participants was composed of seven children aged between 11 and 13 years (girls and boys), living in the favela Morro da Conceição. This group participates in the social project "Red Card for Sexual Exploitation in the World Cup" developed by Diaconia. The proposal of this project is to promote the prevention of sexual exploitation of children in the context of the World Cup and involves: awareness of the subject of sexual exploitation in public schools in the region, mobilization and articulation of children through political and cultural interventions in different points of the city, as well as influencing public policies of prevention and coping with the situation. The focus group occurred in Rui Barbosa School located within this community.

Activities proposed by the focus groups: Three activities were proposed during the focus group with children and adolescent in both cities. The first activity involved a discussion about positive and negative aspects related to the World Cup. This was to understand children's perceptions of the World Cup and what this event brought in terms of benefits and disadvantages for their lives. The second proposed activity was to determine their views on which violations of children's rights occurred before, during and after the World Cup. The third activity involved a reflection, based on their own experience, of what kind of recommendations they would suggest to minimize the violations against children in the context of MSEs. The children were given free choice in terms of how they would like to present these recommendations and could involve different forms of expression available to them (such letters, role play, music, and drawing). The recommendations were developed over a period of two weeks following the initial focus group discussions. The group in Rio de Janeiro chose to create a series of materials (graffiti wall, t-shirts and posters) to combat violations of their rights under the banner 'let's win this game together' while the Recife group chose to create a drama that signalled key messages for stopping violations of children's rights.

⁴ Since December 2008 Rio de Janeiro State Government implemented a new strategy for public security in Rio's favelas, with the creation of the Police Pacifying Units (UPP). The focus is the occupation of favelas dominated by drug trafficking armed groups with the setting up of a police unit as well as the implementation of a series of social interventions to restore trust between the community and the police. The results and impacts of the interventions of UPPs have not yet been systematically evaluated. However, it is possible to say that the inhabitants of the areas with UPPs are still divided between mistrust and fear (given the historical relationship of the police with them), and the uncertainty regarding the durability of this policy. For further analysis on the UPPs search Laboratorio de Review of Violence- LAV/UERJ (2012).

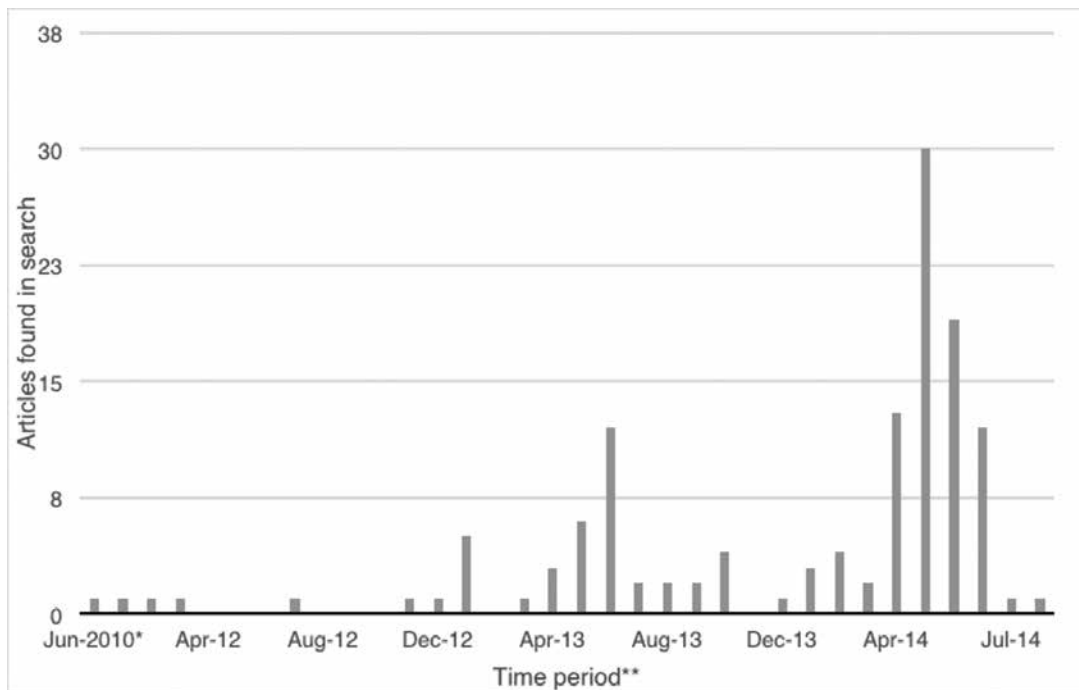
⁵ These three groups are composed of what Silva et al (2008) named 'criminal armed groups with a domain of territories': 'Comando Vermelho', 'Terceiro Comando' and 'Amigo dos Amigos'. A better contextualisation for drug gangs in Rio can be found for instance, in Fernandes (2013a); Cruz Neto et al (2001) and Dowdney (2003). In addition, a fourth criminal group has to be considered as a result of the advance of the militias in Rio (Alves, 2008) that are groups composed by former police officers and other state security agents (such as army, fire brigade, etc.) that took advantage of the lack state sovereignty to perform control of informal and illegal economic activities, except drugs trafficking (for instance, illegal cable TV, control of 'private security', control of distribution of essential goods, like bottled gas and water).

4. Mapping Media Reports and Documentation

This section explores the findings of stage one of the data collection and is the first of the analysis sections of the report. The media mapping is analysed and discussed followed by an analysis of the document mapping. Conclusions are drawn regarding what they show in relation to violations of children's rights.

4.1 Media mapping

The media search (focussing on the three sources identified in the methods section) found over 140 relevant sources. We found that coverage frequency built up in the few months before the start of the World Cup and then tailed off somewhat during (with some of the coverage during the World Cup being coverage of this project). There was also a cluster of coverage around June 2013, coinciding with protests in Brazil. Coverage tailed off significantly after the World Cup. The graph below highlights these trends:



This drop in news coverage of news by the media when a MSE is finished is considered common by professionals in the field. After the World Cup in Brazil, many seemed to lose interest in this subject: the focus shifted to be the elections for President, something that also may have influenced the journalistic coverage on violations of rights. This topic – potentially perceived as ‘negative’ – seemed not to be of interest for the current government (aiming for re-election).⁶

Focusing on before the World Cup, the most-covered topic – within the 129 sources we found – was sexual exploitation: 37 sources were coded to this. This category was followed by child labour and displacement, although police violence and government actions also received some significant coverage (over ten sources coded to each). However, some of the risks flagged up by Brackenridge et al (2013), for example, trafficking and substance misuse, received little coverage. Displacement and police violence received less prominence in the media coverage than might be suggested by the discussions of these topics coming from our fieldwork (see section 5). This might be explained by the focus of the National Secretariat of Human Rights on the themes of sexual exploitation and child labour instead of other types of violation present in the context of the World Cup. On account of the government focus on these sexual exploitation and child labour it is expected that this helped to increase awareness of these two types of violation. This focus was also visible in the journalistic coverage.⁷

⁶ The 9 July 2014 edition of the O Globo newspaper published the report ‘Defeat of Brazil in Copa makes government change strategy to avoid losses’; after the humiliating defeat by Germany, the Brazilian government would link the image of the President Dilma Rousseff only to the organization of the event and not the outcome of the game, lest the 7-1 defeat affect the President’s re-election. Opposition parties however sought to use the outcome of the game and the World Cup itself (financial impact and the population affected by removals) to attack President Dilma during the election campaign. <http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/derrota-do-brasil-no-mundial-faz-governo-mudar-estrategia-para-evitar-prejuizos-13188398>.

⁷ What looks to be an over-representation of sexual exploitation-related topics links in with concern about how, in other fields, sexual exploitation (as opposed to other types of rights violation) may be especially prominent, as ‘imagination seems to have filled the gaps of our knowledge’ (Zhang 2009; see also Mustow and Boyd 2014).

This raises the question of whether there were significant gaps in coverage, or some risks proved less significant in Brazil than one might have expected from the academic literature. There have also been questions about whether the media over-represents topics such as trafficking, so the media sources may have been acting to correct this (Nick, 2009). In addition, the media coverage analysed here did not engage with issues regarding increased vulnerability by age which emerged from our empirical data (see section 5).

Using NVivo to cluster data by coding similarity indicates that preventative action and government information campaigns around sexual exploitation and abuse were linked together in the coverage – suggesting these at least had a media impact. This clustering also indicates that displacement and police violence are sometimes linked in the media coverage – suggesting impact from the protests.

While there were similarities with the topics focussed on before the World Cup, too few stories appeared during and after the World Cup to draw firm conclusions from the topics covered. During the World Cup, 12 stories were identified (two of which referred to this research project). The only codes used more than once were protests (five times), prostitution and/or sexual exploitation (four times), police violence (four times), child labour (three times) and campaign (twice). After the World Cup, only two relevant news stories were found. One discussed questions of prostitution and research; the other was coded to displacements, protests, violence and lack of popular participation.

Therefore, according to the news found in three newspapers in two years prior to the World Cup in Brazil, the news about violations of children's rights in this context have focused on issues of sexual exploitation and child labour. The majority of news stories underscored the concerns of the Brazilian Government about a possible increase of these violations on account of the World Cup. In this case there was the wide dissemination by media campaigns developed by the Federal Government and by Civil Society organizations that sought to increase awareness of the population about the problem and also encourage the reporting of these cases to competent bodies.

Other materials have made reference to the initiatives of the government to increase the supervision and the repression of the crimes of sexual exploitation and child labour, with greater emphasis on cases of sexual exploitation. One of these stories in the O Globo newspaper, stated that the headquarters of those specializing in crimes against children in 12 cities (Police, Guardianship Council and Justice System to protect children) stepped up operations against the sexual exploitation of children before the World Cup and carried out at least 39 joint operations since March of 2014, resulting in the redemption of at least 20 children.

Less news coverage was found regarding removals and police violence in the context of the World Cup during this period, but it contained relevant data on the situation of families that have been affected by the removals and those that resisted leaving their homes. In many of these cases the news highlights the violent action of the police. Complaints about under- or even non-payment of reparations were also reported. In terms of police violence, there was substantial coverage of the protests that took place throughout the country in 2013 in response to the increase in transport fees and criticism of World Cup expenses. The use of tear gas, pepper spray and batons to contain the demonstrators also registered in many of these sources, and the occupation of slums by the army before the World Cup was also reported, but without highlighting violations arising from this intervention. During the World Cup the sources were equally divided between the themes of police violence (occupation of the slums by police and army), child labour and government campaigns to inhibit the violations of children's rights (specifically in the area of sexual exploitation). After the World Cup a sharp drop in media reports on violations was identified with just two themes covered: sexual exploitation and displacement.

While this mapping of media sources was limited by the time and resources available, it suggests that the potential role of media/investigative journalism should be further explored in relation to MSEs as a source of evidence and in order to help human rights organizations to speedily report violations. Further reporting on events as they happen can seek to raise awareness of key issues. The significant drop-off in reporting after the world cup also suggests that other means are required to investigate the full impact of MSEs post-event.

4.2 Documentation Mapping

Following the systematic search on documents and reports from the four key sources (Human Right Organisations, United Nations, Brazilian Government and Civil Society Organisations in Brazil), the content was divided into two key areas. Each of which will be discussed in turn:

- Report on violations against children in the Brazilian World Cup context.
- Principle Guides to prevent and to overcome human rights violations around World Cup and MSEs.

Report on violations against children in the Brazilian World Cup context

Several sources were identified that reported on the violations against children. These were: National Coordination of Popular Committees of the Cup (ANCOP; Articulação Nacional dos Comitês Populares da Copa), Popular Committee of the World Cup and the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro (Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro), Popular Committee of the World Cup and the Olympics in Pernambuco (Comitê Popular da Copa em Pernambuco), The Institute for Human Rights and Business (2013), Heinrich Böll Brazil Institute, UNICEF Brasil, Amnesty International (Anistia Internacional) and the National Secretariat of Human Rights (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República).

Beginning with ANCOP, this material highlights that there was a concerted effort to produce data on the violation of human rights in Brazil due to MSEs. ANCOP gathered views and data from a group of NGOs and social movements and reported that there was criticism of the way in which urban transformations for the World Cup had occurred in the host-cities. Since 2010 popular committees have been created in each of the 12 host-cities (Manaus, Cuiabá, Fortaleza, Natal, Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Brasília, Curitiba and Porto Alegre) and these committees have produced data regarding the actions of the Government that were in disagreement with articles of the Federal constitution of the Republic of Brazil.

ANCOP (Articulação Nacional dos Comitês Populares da Copa) published two national reports in 2012 and 2014 called 'Mega-sporting events and violations on Human Rights in Brazil'. For the first time in the history of the World Cup local groups were responsible for monitoring the actions of the World Cup preparation on local and national levels. This document analysed the following topics: housing, work, information, participation, environment, access to public services, mobility and security and examined the experiences of the population during the years that preceded the World Cup. The document is a useful reference for thinking about the major impacts of MSEs and provides a national overview regarding rights violations in each of the 12 host-cities. Further, the report makes harsh criticisms of the use of public money for meeting economic interests that were not connected with the real demands of the population.

However, ANCOP does not bring specific data on violations against children, rather just reporting the number of families affected in some of the areas analysed. Although it is not possible to determine differences related to age and gender in these reports, it is possible to infer that a large number of children would have had their rights violated as part of families. For example, in terms of displacement, ANCOP estimated in 2012 that at least 250,000 people were being removed from their homes to make space for the urban infrastructure that would serve the World Cup.

Following the same structure, and after the success of the national report from ANCOP the Popular Committee of the World Cup and the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro launched two local versions (Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro, 2013 and 2014) on these violations plus a series of videos (the 'Curadoria de Vídeos'; Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro, 2013) that were compiled from several sources. Both reports and the series of videos collected in the context of World Cup provide data on violations in the Rio de Janeiro context. In terms of displacement there was an update on removals and an increase in the number of families targeted from 2013 to 2014 was noted. In total, approximately 16,700 people in 29 communities were affected as mapped by the committee from 2013 until 2014. These figures do have to be interpreted with caution and regarded as an estimate, given that no official statistics were released by the Government. Also related to displacement, the reports noted an increasing disrespect for the population's right to the city involving curtailment of urban mobility, environment, work, and popular participation. In relation to the other key violations that affect children, both reports also highlighted some of the strategies of militarisation and the criminalization of black people and poor communities within Rio de Janeiro, through the Police Pacifying Units (UPP) and the militarisation of the police in the context of providing security for the World Cup.

The report on the videos (Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro, 2013), also produced by the popular committee in Rio de Janeiro, focussed specifically on forced removals. 114 videos were collected between 2008 and 2012 which illustrate the forced removals of 21 communities in Rio de Janeiro, on account of the preparation for the World Cup. The material involves short clips made by filmmakers and the media as well as amateur videos captured by cell phones and cameras of the affected residents during the checkout process of their homes. A team made up of members of social organizations, journalists and filmmakers involved in this Committee analysed the content of videos and identified several violations of rights. The main conclusion of the report demonstrates that the resettlement areas established due to MSE clearances offered worse living conditions for the families affected and also served as an argument for social cleansing in poor areas of Rio de Janeiro. According to the report the removals violated a series of rights such as the right to information (in 44% of videos), and the right to possession of land (in 37% of videos), while the provision of inappropriate proposals of resettlement and the sense of belonging of the families with their place of residence was disregarded (some communities had been in existence for up to 50 years). There was also a lack of appropriate notice for displacement (in 17% of videos) and intimidation and threats (in 13% of videos) for families to leave their homes without question. The report on the videos also shows that during the processes of removals there were numerous cases of verbal aggression towards residents (in 44% of videos), and the partial demolition of the communities to put pressure on those who still remained in their homes (38% of videos). In some cases the demolition took place before final resettlement was put in place (in 29% of videos), leaving many families without anywhere to live. Health was a significant factor, including for children, with almost a quarter of videos highlighting that the removals did not provide specific care for persons with special health needs such as the elderly and children (in 24% of videos) and almost one fifth showed physical violence from the police and public authorities (in 18% of videos). Further one fifth (20% of videos) showed that people were without proper medical treatment because their new placement did not offer the same health services as were provided in their previous location. Education of children was also a key feature of the videos with 20% showing situations in which children had been unable to study because they moved to areas well away from their old homes and could not access a school place in the new region. Many parents lost their jobs because they could not cope with the distance to work and the additional cost of transportation. Others who had to travel for longer to get to work could not spend time with their children during the day. Therefore children ended up alone and without supervision at home. All of these situations were reported to have greatly affected the lives of many children.

In Pernambuco the Local Committee local organized a seminar called 'Legacy and Relegated the World Cup: when the right to the city is violated' in 2013 (Comitê Popular da Copa de Pernambuco, 2013). This Seminar shared experiences and learning in the context of the execution of works for MSEs, in particular the 2014 World Cup. The seminar engaged the Popular Committees of the World Cup in the Northeast (committees of Bahia, Ceará, Rio Grande do Sul and Pernambuco) and had the presence of the United Nations' Special Rapporteur for the right to adequate housing, Raquel Rolnik. In this report there is an assessment of the impacts of the works on populations affected by removals, and an analysis of their impacts on Human Rights in Brazil.

UNICEF was other active actor which had undertaken efforts to produce material on human rights of children in the world of sport. The publication 'Children Enter the Playing Arena in 2014: Risks and opportunities for children in football' is part of the cooperation program for 2012-2016 (UNICEF, 2014). In this period UNICEF has adopted sport as a transversal strategy for reducing inequalities and promoting social change with a view to universalizing rights. The World Cup 2014 and other events that Brazil has already hosted has shown UNICEF that efforts must be made to build and strengthen suitable, effective mechanisms in the country to protect children engaged in sports. This publication offers a preliminary diagnosis about how football, when played by children, is not always performed safely and with the necessary guarantee of rights. The qualitative information that was collected indicates that many boys and girls engaged in sporting activities are exposed to different situations where they are vulnerable and their basic rights are violated. Some of these scenarios involve threats to their health and full development, interference in school attendance, deprivation of a family and community life, denial of the right to take part in decisions that affect them, and physical and/or psychological violence, among other problems. The study also showed the lack of integrated actions by the System of Guarantee Rights and the sports industry.

Another report that deserves attention is the paper 'Striving for Excellence: Mega-sporting Events and Human Rights' (Institute for Human Rights and Business, 2013). The paper focused on two MSEs, the Olympics and FIFA World Cup and aims to analyse the extent to which human rights concerns are being addressed by sport governing bodies and the hosts of MSEs. Cases from the 2004 Athens Olympics, 2008 Beijing Olympics, 2012 London Olympics, the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, among others, were discussed presenting human rights risks and impacts across the MSE life-cycle. According to this report there are five stages requiring attention for the key actors in that field, who include governing bodies, host authorities, organising committees, and construction companies. The stages are: bidding criteria and planning; designing venue construction and infrastructure development; sustainable sourcing; violations during the event; and human rights challenges and MSE sporting competition. In Brazil examples were used from the FIFA Confederations Cup in 2013 associated with the wave of protests in June that year. Here over a million people took to the streets to show their concerns regarding the costs to the public purse for hosting the MSE despite significant poverty in the country. These protests were also a visible expression of popular disagreement for the use of public money to host the 2014 World Cup in 2014 and 2016 Olympic Games.

The report 'Cup for whom and for what? A look at the legacy of the world in Brazil, South Africa and Germany' was launched in 2014 by the Heinrich Böll Brazil Institute (De Paula and Bartelt, 2014). This document discusses what MSEs bring for the populations of the host-countries, especially for the most underprivileged sectors in terms of social policies. The results of this analysis suggest that for Brazil and South Africa there was an increase in violations of rights at several levels, in particular for the poorest people. Forced removals were the major violations identified in this field. For both these countries, actions to clean up the city during the weeks prior to and during the games especially homeless people, was carried out. This 'cleaning' meant the expulsion of certain groups seen as dangerous (the street population, prostitutes, children, informal workers, among others) out of the areas with the greatest concentration of tourists.

The Amnesty International 2014 report 'They use a strategy of fear. Protection of the right to protest in Brazil' discusses police violence in the context of the popular demonstrations that occurred around June 2013 (Anistia Internacional, 2014). According to the report, the reaction of the police was violent and abusive on a number of occasions. Cases were reported involving the indiscriminate use of tear gas and rubber bullets against the demonstrators, many of them under the age of 18 years. In other cases people arrested on the basis of laws to combat organised crime, without any indication that they were involved in criminal activities. Also in this report are five testimonies of people who were arrested during the protests who reported on the lack of preparation of the police to deal with situations of this type and the occurrence of arbitrary arrests, beatings, denial of access to legal assistance and medical care, and even the misuse of laws. Amnesty International makes a number of recommendations at the end of this document suggesting the urgent investigation of complaints against police that resulted in death or harm to people participating in these protests, including children.

Finally, the National Secretariat for Human Rights of the Federal Government report (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidencia da República, 2013) presents quantitative data on violations of rights in the context of the World Cup. This was the only official report by the Brazilian Government (of which were able to access in the period for this documentation mapping) that presents data related to the information from the Dial Human Right or Dial 100 program. Dial 100 is a telephone service for the protection of human rights. It is a channel of communication between civil society and the public authorities, which makes it possible to know and assess the extent of human rights violations, as well as guide the elaboration of public policies.

The Dial 100 operates daily from 8am to 2pm, including weekends and holidays. The reports received are analysed and forwarded to public bodies for protection, defence and accountability. In situations involving children the Guardianship Council is prioritized as an entrance door to receive these cases. The Secretariat of Human Rights by the Presidency of the Republic through its 2013 publication reveals that there was an increase of 58.35% in the number of reports in 2012 as compared to 2011. The year of 2013 saw a reduction of 4.58% in the number of complaints as compared to 2012. However it is important to stress that increases in reports may have been due to information campaigns to raise awareness of Dial 100 rather than an increase in violations. Furthermore, despite a reduction in the registry of cases in Dial 100 the following year, it cannot be said that there has been a reduction in the incidence of violations against children. Such a conclusion should take into account a number of factors and link to data from specialized services for children and adolescent victims, of which we have no access. The reduction in the number of reports may have different causes such as a smaller number of campaigns to increase the awareness of the population on this issue in that period for the direct routing of these reports to a specialized system of justice and not to Dial 100.

In the first half of 2013, in absolute terms, the cities with the highest number of reports were Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Minas Gerais. Of the total number of reports with information of the victims, 55% are female; 60% are black. The age group most frequently mentioned were those aged 8 to 11 years followed by 12 to 14 years.

In terms of the context of the World Cup 2014 the National Secretariat published a report after this event making an assessment (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidencia da República, 2014). According to the data of Dial 100 there were reports on violations against children during the World Cup in those 12 host-cities.

It is important to interpret these figures with caution as they are reports of violations rather than actual violations. However, this data, coupled with the other mapped documentation in this section, identifies that violations are occurring, but also that awareness of the issues are being reported by national bodies; suggesting a momentum for change.

Principles and guidelines to prevent and to overcome human rights violations around World Cup and mega-sporting events

The better reporting of violations identified was also coupled with the development of guidelines to prevent and overcome such violations and significant policy efforts were made by Federal Government/Civil Society/UN in this area.

The Federal Government, in partnership with UNICEF, Itaú Social Foundation and Childhood published the report 'Reference Guide to the Committees of Integral Protection of Children in the host-cities of FIFA World Cup Brazil 2014 and Major Events: Agenda of Convergence Protect Brazil' in 2012. The document was the result of a broad articulation and mobilization between the Secretariat of Human Rights by the Presidency of the Republic (SDH-PR), the National Council for the Rights of the Child and the Adolescent (CONANDA) and of the National Networks of Defence of the Rights of the Child and the Adolescent, formed by the National Committee of Coping with Sexual Violence Against Children, the National Association of Centres for the Defence of Children (ANCED), the National Forum on the Rights of the Child and the Adolescent Forum (DCA), ECPAT Brasil, and the National Forum for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour (PETI Forum). The significance of this range of actors, including government, again suggests there is a collective momentum to combat violations against children's rights.

The 'Agenda of Convergence Protect Brazil' report seeks to prevent and intervene in situations of risk and threat to the rights of children arising specifically in the preparation and implementation of MSEs. The intention was to put a set of actions together with the bodies and institutions that make up the System of Guaranteed Rights that can be used as a methodological reference for all large events including music festivals, religious meetings, artistic performances, and carnivals.

The publication provides subsidies for the creation and operation of local committees during MSEs. The role of these committees is to identify the network of care and full protection at the local level, and to articulate the actions to be undertaken by a variety of bodies. They also aim to plan and implement actions negotiated collectively by members of the Agenda of Convergence. In the guide there is a roadmap of steps for the creation and operation of Local Committees, and technical guidelines for the preparation of Plans of Action. The expectation is that this guide would be an important tool to support Local Committees in their tasks to develop concrete actions to protect children before, during and after MSEs in Brazil.

Still in the context of SDH-PR and in Partnership with POLIS Institute, the booklet 'Knowing the Right: protection and guarantee of human rights in the context of megaprojects and mega-sporting events' was also published in 2012. This publication aims to raise awareness, inform and empower vulnerable urban groups, communities, organizations, social movements and residents of areas affected by MSEs to disseminate information and knowledge about human rights and popular participation. In an easily accessible language the booklet explains what human rights are and their relationship with MSEs. This is a useful contribution for helping people to identify when their rights are being violated and how to seek the support of specialised bodies that are legally competent to receive complaints. Violations relating to the right to the city, housing, urban mobility, protection of the environment, employment and democratic management are presented precisely with the suggestion to develop an outlet for collective and individual complaints, this would also include children although they are not specifically mentioned in the report.

Focussing specifically on children, Childhood Brasil produced two reports focussing on sexual exploitation in 2012. The first, entitled 'Project World Cup 2014: Prevention and coping with the sexual exploitation of children in the context of the mega-sporting events' (2012a) presents a map of actions and discussions undertaken by federal, state and municipal governments in the 12 host-cities. In addition to this the report presents articulations of Civil Society organizations addressed to prevent and overcome sexual violence against children in view of the preparations for the World Cup 2014.

In the national sphere Childhood Brasil emphasize the action of Dial 100 highlighting that between May 2003 and March 2011 it registered 275,638 complaints of violations of rights for children. Of this total, 27,664 were cases of sexual exploitation, an average of 294 complaints per month. They state that data from Dial 100 confirms that the 12 host-cities in Brazil are areas with high vulnerability to the practice of sexual exploitation, regardless of the World Cup. Therefore any interpretation of this data with regards to the World Cup must be carried out with caution. However, according to the analysis of Childhood Brasil action was taken with regard to combatting sexual exploitation in the context of the 2014 World Cup through the Sustainable Tourism program launched in 2012. This Program was a partnership established with the Ministry of Tourism, involving a tourism network (including hotels, travel agencies, tourist establishments), and the National Network of Coping with Sexual Violence to increase dialogue among them in order to understand each other's perspectives as well as seeking to achieve common goals that contribute to eradicating sexual exploitation. The document also presents 23 initiatives at the national level to combat the violation of children's rights who were, or would suffer adaptations, to serve the demands of the World Cup. In its general assessment until that moment the performances of governmental and non-governmental organizations in the field of prevention of violations and the promotion of rights for the Cup were not integrated in their planning or execution of actions.

The second report produced by Childhood Brasil (2012b), was a result of an agreement between the Federal Road Police, the Human Rights Secretariat of Parana State and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The report 'Mapping vulnerable areas for sexual exploitation of children in Brazilian federal motorways' is the fifth mapping done in this field which identified 1,776 points of occurrence of this practice on the roads throughout the country. Vulnerable points are identified as commercial establishments along the roads with poor lighting, the presence of adults practising prostitution, a lack of private surveillance, an agglomeration of transit vehicles and high levels of alcohol consumption. The central-west region of Brazil was highlighted as the most favourable region for the practice of this crime, with 398 areas mapped. The northeast region was the second highest with 371 points conducive to sexual exploitation of children, followed by the north (333), south west (358) and south (316). General numbers showed a reduction of 2.42% in the number of vulnerable points in comparison to the previous survey (2009/2010), when 1,820 places were identified where children could be vulnerable to exploitation.

The mapping is aimed at broadening and strengthening actions of prevention and coping with the sexual violence against children in the Brazilian territory. Through the implementation and update of vulnerable points along the federal highways in the country, it is expected subsidize the development of repressive actions of the police and other relevant bodies, as well as the creation of new public policies of social assistance in this field coordinated by the Secretariat of Human Rights by the Presidency of the Republic.

Last, but no less important, UNICEF produced the 2012 document 'International Standards for Safeguarding and Protecting Children in Sport'. As a first attempt to outline the things that should be put in practice by any organisation providing sports activities to children, the document states the existence of certain factors that leave some children more vulnerable to abuse and how some steps need to be taken to address this. The document emphasizes the need for all organisations providing sports activities to children to act in the best interests of the child considering they have a duty of care to them.

This guide is meant to be used as a minimum benchmark of good practice rather than an end point. The Standards will be reviewed and finalised at the conclusion of the piloting process in 2014. The main principle of that document affirms that:

- All children have the right to participate, enjoy and develop through sport, in a safe and inclusive environment, free from all forms of abuse, violence, neglect and exploitation.
- Everyone, both organisations and individuals, service providers and funders, has a responsibility to support the care and protection of children
- Children have a right to be involved in shaping safeguarding policy and practice
- The processes and activities for the creation, development and implementation of safeguarding measures should be inclusive.

4.3 Conclusion

This section has identified from mapping media reports and available documentation that there are four key areas of violations of children and adolescent rights during MSEs. The media analysis identified that more reporting of violations takes in the pre-event period and in the case of the World Cup in Brazil this focused more on sexual exploitation of children and child labour, but also on police violence and displacement. It is interesting to note this reporting may be in part related to Government-led campaigns regarding awareness raising and condemnation of sexual exploitation and child labour. The documentary analysis also highlighted these four key violations with much pre-World Cup material examining the impacts of forced removals, street cleaning of homeless populations, and police violence related to protests. However the only official government report, produced by the National Secretariat of Human Rights focused on sexual exploitation and the Dial 100 telephone campaign (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidencia da República, 2013 and 2014). These violations were seen to have increased, at least before the World Cup or, in the case of Dial 100, to have witnessed an increase in reporting of violations. This latter data suggests that those aged 8 -11 then 12-14 year olds receive the most reports of violations against them and that girls (55%), and black children (60%) also feature in higher numbers of reports of violations.

However, the documentary analysis also identified significant collaborative effort between the Brazilian Government, NGO community and UN agencies to produce guidelines for eradicating violations and use the MSE to achieve momentum for change. The Agenda for Convergence Protect Brazil, as well as Dial 100 demonstrate positive steps for ensuring children receive protection.

5. Human Rights Violations Against Children: Analysis of empirical data

This section analyses the interview data provided by key organisations and children as listed in the methods section. The analysis explains their views on what violations occurred for children before, during and after the World Cup in Brazil. This section is organised around the four key violations that emerged across the data from this research and considered before, during and after the MSE. They are: police violence; displacement; sexual exploitation and child labour. Additional issues emerged from the empirical data around the issue of neglect during the World Cup and this is also considered.

5.1 Violations before the World Cup

The following table presents an overview of the key violations and the groups most affected by them in the period that preceded the World Cup, based on the interview data from Rio de Janeiro and Recife. The interviewees identified that police violence, displacement, sexual exploitation and child labour were key issues affecting children. Additionally the children participating in focus groups also highlighted the first three of these as significant, not really raising child labour as a pre-MSE concern. Each of these key violations will be explained further.

Police (and army) violence

According to the respondents, police violence during this pre-cup period affected three major groups: street children, residents in favelas and young people during the 2013 protests.

Street children: The first national research census (SDH-PR & IDEST, 2011) on children in street situations is quite recent. It was developed in 75 cities in Brazil and has identified 23,973 children in this condition in 2010. The cities of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo have the largest numbers with 21% and 19% of the total, respectively. With respect to gender and age 72% are boys aged between 12 and 15 years and around 12% said they suffer violence in government shelters. Among the main reasons for them to go to the street is domestic violence and the use of alcohol and drugs by their parents. The majority beg for money in the streets or sell products of small value to survive. Over one third, 36%, have already been placed inside young offenders institutions at least once and subsequently returned to the streets. Almost half, 44% were noted to not receive any benefits from the government.

Types of Violations of Rights	Most Affected Groups and/or scenarios where the violence happened	Consequences
Police violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Street children - Residents in favelas (including children) - Young people in the popular protests during the Confederations Cup in 2013 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Forced removals; - Physical violence; - Sent to young offenders institutions without committing crime; - Torture; - Disappearance; - Increase in the number of police operations in favelas and through Army occupation in some of these territories; - Militarization and criminalisation of people living in these communities. - Physical violence during arrest; - Irregularity in arrests
Displacement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children removed by the development of urban infrastructure, and/or construction of stadiums 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Worsening of living conditions and vulnerability; - Families went to live in the streets; - Psychological: Government threat & intimidation forcing displacement; - Fear & uncertainty over the future; - Physical violence during removal process (tear gas & pepper spray); - Loss of family members who are ill as a consequence of eviction; - Loss of community bonds; - Difficulties with studying (lack of places in school of the region where they were re-situated) - Lack of specialized medical care - Lack of safety for children at home, presence of militia and other armed groups.
Sexual exploitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children (girls) near to prostitution zones next to refurbished stadiums 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presence of children in prostitution zones
Child labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informal sales in tourists areas

Soares and Brito (2013) discuss one of the most successful networks in the area of childhood and youth with a focus on the situation of street children in Rio de Janeiro, the Network Rio Child. However such efforts of civil society have not been sufficient to avoid street children having their rights even more violated by public power in contexts of major events in Brazil. The forced removal of street children, almost always based on violence, was highlighted to not be accompanied by a set of articulated actions between various sectors of government that seek to deal with the causes that lead a large number of children to the streets.

In the interviews, violence against street children was mainly discussed with respect to forced removal through the process of street cleaning which was highlighted as an operation that regularly occurs before and during MSEs (see Center for the Defense of the Rights of Children Rio de Janeiro, CEDECA; quotation below). This issue emerged particularly in interviews where NGOs worked specifically with street children or children's rights but was not mentioned by the children from the favela communities, perhaps because they are not living in street situations and had no direct experience of this.

"Always when you have large events in Brazil, the first action is to make a social cleansing, a sanitization in the city, then they collect the street population, collect the children. This logic already existed quite time ago, with the called Operation of Public Order, then the Public Order means to remove these people from the street as if they were a rubbish." CEDECA – RJ

The Impact of the Operation of Public Order mentioned by this organization was created in the beginning of 2009 by the current mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes. This intervention already had interests focused on the implementation of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics. It is a set of actions of the Special Secretariat of Public Order, where the Municipal Guard in conjunction with other supervisory bodies, such as the Department of Road Transport in the State of Rio de Janeiro (Detro-RJ) and the Municipal Company of Urban Cleaning (Comlurb), engage in cleaning through some neighbourhoods of the city (usually those located in the wealthiest areas) collecting garbage, illegal goods from vendors, and also removing people who are living on the streets.

In 2011 the Secretary of Social Assistance of the city of Rio de Janeiro, despite criticisms from human rights organisations, also implemented the compulsory collection of children living in street situations. According to some interviewees this approach was highly violent. They revealed that the professionals employed in this secretariat were selected more for their body size (strong men) than by any other criteria. In addition, Government bodies such as the military police, municipal guards and civil police were responsible for removing street children using physical force and not by gradual persuasion or a friendly approach as used by professionals who work in the streets. Since then the NGOs mentioned a greater number of reports of abuse and violence by the police during the collection of children, particularly boys, living in these conditions.

"We have serious reports of violence against the boys, complaint of ill-treatment, torture inside the vehicles used to transport them" Rede Rio Criança

Another violation of rights associated with the forced removal of street children, in the case of Rio de Janeiro, was the disappearance of many of them without their peers aware of where they were. Allied to this, the interviewees noted, was the immediate forwarding of street children to young offenders' institutions in the Department of General Social Actions and Education – DEGASE. This is a component of the Executive Branch of the State of Rio de Janeiro, responsible for the implementation of socio-educational measures recommended by the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA), and applied by the Judiciary System to those who has committed crime. However, the sending of many of these children to the institutions of DEGASE was not associated with their involvement in any criminal offence. The interviewees who highlighted these issues stated that the real reason was to keep them hidden until the end of the World Cup.

"In Rio we have cases, but we couldn't confirm it, but there have been reports of children who have disappeared, five to eight children and that neither the boys in the streets who know them have information about them. And there is also another issue that is the question of admission of them in measured socio-educational. Everyone knew that in many cases these children were being sent to units in the childcare system, as a way to keep them away from the streets during the period of the World Cup, without them having done anything wrong" ANCED

From this analysis street children, particularly boys, appear to be one group who are identified as experiencing violation of their rights both through displacement from the streets and violence towards their physical person. Given the hidden nature of this group and evidence to suggest that this has occurred in other MSE contexts such as the 2010 World Cup in South Africa (van Blerk, 2013), more research is required to explore their experiences.

Violations against residents in favelas: Both NGOs and children identified that there was an increase in police violence in the favelas in the period prior to the World Cup. This violation occurred through the growing number of police operations in these territories. Taking as a reference the city of Rio de Janeiro, these operations resulted in the death of many young residents, indicated as belonging to drug trafficking in the region although there is no official confirmation of these connections. The analysis of transcripts, as exemplified by Amnesty International, indicates that there is a pattern of action from security forces in favelas during MSEs that has been responsible for the process of criminalization of these areas and their inhabitants.

"The profile of these operations, in fact which justified these operations was the exact location of them (favelas) in the city. They have relation with emblematic places around the Cup and everyone knows the city has a long history of bad police operations for mega events, the Chacina do Alemão was in a period pre-Pan-American, what happened in Mare last year was pre-Confederations Cup..."
Amnesty International.

The Complexo do Alemão (slum) massacre, mentioned in the quotation is used as an illustration of the nature of violence in favelas, and was the result of an ongoing conflict between drug dealers and the police. The massacre happened in June 2007, when a large Military and Civil Police operation killed 19 people and injured several others. At that time Rio de Janeiro was hosting the XV Pan-American Games and therefore military operations in the region aimed to secure the safety of the international event.

Interviewees also mentioned the implementation of the new security public policy that was developed and implemented in 2008 through the creation of Police Pacifying Units (UPP) which were placed in several favelas of Rio de Janeiro State. This policy was pointed out by some respondents as part of a government action that aims to reach certain areas of the city that are not seen well. NGO interviewees, such as REDES da Maré, noted that these actions intensified and became more easily justified in context of hosting MSEs.

"I think that in this period prior to Cup the favelas were places that in some way the Government thought about what to do? Then was not without reason that the UPPs began in 2008. So I think that the actions in fact were to reach a certain population that necessarily was not only of child and adolescent, but all people residents in favelas" **REDES da Maré.**

It is worth noting that a little before the World Cup, in March 2014; approximately 1200 police entered Favela da Maré as part of the actions of implementation of 39 UPPs in the State. After a week it was the turn of the army to occupy the 16 communities in Maré. The entry of the military police and the army brought a large number of violations against residents, including children. The violations reported in these cases include house searches without judicial authorization, theft and damage to belongings of residents during these examinations, verbal aggression and physical violence during body searching, and sexual harassment against girls.

"The Army entered two months before the World Cup, because the location of Maré, between the Red Line, the Yellow Line...So everyone who went or came from the international airport passed there, then there was a preparation for the period of the World Cup and the Army was there too. They were very violent, to the point that the Federal Public Ministry⁸ called the Army on account of our reports in relation to the approach to children, especially males. The reports are: they beat, embarrass, speak thus: stop, leaning against the wall, back side, do not move and if the children does not do it very soon they give them a punch ... with the girls, they get flirting." **REDES da Maré.**

⁸ The Federal Public Ministry defends the social and individual rights (right to life, dignity, freedom) of Brazilian citizens.

Both groups of children mentioned this police violence and offer a nuanced account of the difficulties they faced in their own communities that provides support to the views expressed by the NGOs. The group from Recife provided more specific details about the attitude of police during the searches in their community, while the group from Rio de Janeiro offered their knowledge of the impact of the army action in Favela de Maré. Both groups spoke about many cases involving rubber bullets, slaps on their heads, furniture and belongings being broken during house searches, as well as physical and verbal aggression towards them or people they know. This quote from the focus group in Rio de Janeiro highlights that children were present at home during this unsettling period when the army entered houses.

"My aunt left the door open, so they (the army) came, my cousin was lying on the sofa and her sister was in the bathroom, it was then that my cousin spoke this: calm there, my sister is in the bathroom, and they went anyway... they touched everything, the house got a big messy after... Looks like they have pleasure to do that..." **Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.**

Further the children spoke directly of the fear they felt when Maré was occupied by the army two months before the World Cup. For them, they felt very sad and fearful seeing the soldiers, tanks and weapons so close to them, in their territory.

"We felt fear. Entered tank, many tanks, until today we have it here. They began putting soldiers in all exits of favela, the soldiers heavily armed, it seemed like a war!" **Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.**

The same group also mentioned the death of a 14 year-old teenager before the World Cup. This case had a great impact on people in the research during the period of data collection particularly because the victim lived in Maré, and some of the focus group participants knew him. This case was also mentioned several times by NGOs during interviews because of the great national repercussion on the action of military police. Two military police arrested three young men (two teenagers, 14 and 15 years and a young man over 18 years) suspected of stealing in a busy street in the city centre. They were placed inside a police car and driven to a certain point in the city, away from the place where they were originally caught. The young man was allowed to go while the two teenagers were shot at and then left in a secluded area. One of the boys survived and managed to call for help. He was rescued and accused the police. There was a video camera in the police car recording all the action with the young boys, except the moment they were shot – unfortunately this passage was lost without a plausible explanation given by the police. At the time of data collection the officers involved had been removed from their duties and were waiting for the investigation to come to a close. This story was reported in the O Globo newspaper on 20 September 2014, yet the incident occurred one day before the start of the World Cup. However, to protect the image of country to the rest of the world this news was only allowed to be disclosed in newspapers and on television after the end of the World Cup.

"The teenager was caught by two policemen in President Vargas (a street in the centre of the city) and he was murdered so cowardly ... but on account of the event, the World Cup and everything else, this was in the dark, and only after the world Cup finished the fact is brought to light by the press" **Guardianship Council – RJ.**

Although the children were upset by this sort of event they also highlighted that situations like that usually occurs with some regularity, and independent of MSEs.

"We have a police station here and the police catch the boys and gives a lesson in there, they beaten, that was I saw they did with my cousin. (R: what age is he?) 16 years. My mother was there, she caught him and he was all bleeding. (R: This usually occurs sometimes here in the community?) Yes, happens quite often". **Focus Group in Recife.**

The group in Recife showed a very clear sense of injustice speaking about the different attitudes and procedures adopted from police in specific areas in the city. For them residents in favelas should have the "same rights" as people living in rich areas.

"I have never been seen a police beat in a rich person because if they do that they will directly to court!" **Focus Group Recife.**

This data suggests that police and army violence within favelas before the World Cup significantly impacted on children, as part of their communities. The impacts were not just physical, although in some case these were severe and included death, but also emotional as they demonstrated feelings of fear and sadness associated with the occupation. Further the types of physical violence appear to vary according to gender with girls more likely to suffer from sexual harassment and boys from beatings and more severe forms of physical harm. However, the data also suggests that these violations take place on a regular basis during occupations, without MSEs, and a more sustained long-term research is required to identify to what extent MSEs influence the way in which favelas are occupied.

Violence during the popular protests in 2013: The third situation of violence highlighted by respondents in the research was police violence against young people during the 2013 protests around the Confederations Cup. The protests in Brazil were initially to contest the increases in the cost of public transport. This quickly accelerated, supported by significant numbers of Brazilians who entered the streets protesting for a wider range of issues, beyond the rise in bus fares, to include issues such as public spending on MSEs, particularly the upcoming World Cup; the poor quality of public services; and indignation at political corruption in general. The strong police repression against demonstrators resulted in further protests which quickly won great support from human rights organisations across the country.

The interviewees mentioned that the protests were attended by a considerable number of young people from the student movement in schools and universities. The military police called to contain the demonstrators were highlighted as having committed a number of irregularities by arresting children below the age of 18 and then violating many of their rights by not following the specific legislative guidelines (ECA) and procedures for children.

The ECA declares that in situations of arrest of children should be forwarded to a special police station, the Police Protection of the Child and the Adolescent (DPCA), and parents/responsible guardians should be informed immediately. However, some interviewees revealed that in many cases this did not happen. Teenagers arrested during the protests in 2013 and also in some events in 2014 had been taken along with adults direct to common police stations. The interviewees stated that the parents or relatives were not immediately informed and many children suffered from police aggression inside police cars and/or were detained inside these cars for several hours (in the sun, with heat, without water or food). Further, they were not allowed to call for the presence of lawyers.

The following example of a 16 year old girl, narrated by Amnesty International, exemplifies this issue:

*“The situation was really bad because she was trapped in a unit of DEGASE and it reports the condition of cell, dramatic, she had to sleep on the floor, the toilet clogged, a weep hole open, then you can imagine how much that is sleeping on the floor with a hole open where she could see all type of insects climbing... and she was handcuffed in a window, feeling cold by not know how many hours. She and all the girls were beaten every day when the agents count them in the morning and in the evening. The count was in fact giving slaps in their head; or in their back of the neck. The agents were all male, in a female unit, which is absolutely unthinkable”. **Amnesty International***

The data shows that police violence against children took place during the protests at the time of the Confederations Cup and demonstrates that children's rights were violated in several ways with the qualitative data giving a clear insight into the nuanced ways in which this occurred.

Displacement

The second form of human rights violation most frequently quoted by the research participants was the process of removals of families to meet the needs of major infrastructure works and urban mobility in the 12 host-cities. From their point of view (see also the discussion of the ANCOP documentation in Section 4) the removals negatively impacted upon the living condition and housing of these families, including children. There were cases reported which removals resulted in a move to streets.

*“The removals send people to a place far away, where they cannot live, first because their work is here, then what they are going to spend on travel is not worth it, so they give up, they prefer staying on the street... with these removals this happened, a significant number of these cases” **Network Rio Crianca.***

Even if there is no specific data on the number of children that were removed before the World Cup, the interviews once again confirm the information contained in the ANCOP reports (see section 4). The violations of basic rights in this process were multiple. The lack of information about when and where families would be moved created an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty about the future that affected all people in the household. Intimidation and threats from the government and the police during negotiations were also mentioned as common and children were to not immune to, or unaware of, what was going on.

On the contrary, children were reported to have witnessed the anguish of parents and other family members and the interview with FASE demonstrates how children suffered along with their parents at all stages of removals, although this is not captured by statistics.

“When we were talking with the families, especially the mothers, they said: what more hurts me is the suffering that this situation is imposing on our kids because they are the hardest hit. I understood the speech of those mothers, I mean, they (children) do not appear in the statistic numbers, but they are part of it, because it is a concatenation of violations, a snow ball...” FASE.

The children in both groups reflected on the forced removals also demonstrating their awareness of the negative impacts that displacement had either on themselves or others in their families. The two groups mentioned that the families removed before the World Cup had many rights violated and they were very upset. In Rio de Janeiro they stressed that the payment offered by the government for the re-housing of inhabitants was far below what should have been paid.

“Told me that the value of the house was like, a hundred thousand, so they destroy it and gives only fifty thousand” Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.

Furthermore, the participants noted that during the forced removals those families who resisted leaving commonly experienced police violence. They reported the police using tear gas and pepper spray which also reached children without distinction. In addition many families saw their homes being destroyed including with the furniture inside and/or had many of their belongings lost or damaged during transportation to the new place. Interviewees suggested that this was not done with care as a refuse collection truck was used for this transportation.

After removals some organisations working directly with this issue reported cases of depression, especially in the elderly, grandmothers and grandfathers. They are generally the main carers for children while parents are working, highlighting a ripple effect filtering through generations of families where children are also indirectly impacted. With the illness of older family members, including cases of death, resulting from situations of stress generated by the processes of removal (such as heart attacks, strokes, and depression), children suffered doubly, both by the loss of a family member as well as by the need to undertake responsibilities that were previously performed by these same family members.

“The families asked us: we need a psychologist or I’ll lose my father, he is fallen ill, he silent, he no longer speaks, because he lived in this community for 50 years ... Six or seven died as well of depression. But the society and public opinion does not accept that, we cannot make this connection immediately (removals and death of residents), because they are going to say that he died because he was already old, but the families declare and associate the death with this process of removals.” FASE

Therefore children, although also victims of removals, were reported to have started to take care of the house, of younger siblings and take on the responsibility of administering medication and care to these members of the family who were sick.

The data therefore highlights that the general actions implemented in removals during the period that preceded the World Cup encompassed a lack of information or the appropriate notification to residents. They did not have sufficient time to find another place to live or they were not actually relocated into conditions equal to what they had before. The new homes were often in areas far from their original home leaving children void of some of their basic rights such as school (right to education), specialized medical care (right to health), without adequate transport to go to school, without security (right to be protected), and without the preservation of community bonds (right to family and community life). The following quote by Amnesty International highlights many of these issues as were experienced by the children they had contact with.

*"We have reports of children who have lost the school year because the removal was in the middle of the year and there were no vacancies in schools nearby the new house. The other issue is that because of the new location, before the children went walking to the school, and now it is in very isolated area without public transport, then there was a report of a child, for example, he had to walk about half an hour to reach a bus stop, waiting to catch the bus and go to school. This has a direct impact on the quality of his life, including the security, because if he is studying in the afternoon and in the winter is already dark, does not have lighting in the way, he is at risk..." **Amnesty International.***

The representative from Amnesty goes on to highlight how children with special needs were particularly affected by displacement through the story of Ravel⁹, a 17 year old boy whose autistic brother was negatively affected.

*"He lived in a community that was removed by the Cup. In 15 days the community was removed, a tragedy, but this boy is a promise of Olympic volleyball, and then his history became known. He is a teenager, the mother has two other children, one of them is autistic, and she gave a testimony in last year very sad about how this change affected in particular the life of this autistic son. He already had a recognition of the area where he lived before, he had medical and psychological assistance and a whole structure of assistance he needed, and the removing not only breaks all ties with his community, which for an autistic child is very bad, as he has lost all the structure of assistance because where she is currently his mother does not have the same services anymore." **Amnesty International.***

The children in the focus groups were particularly vocal about the injustices they suffered as a result of displacement using the situation of the Vila Autódromo (in Rio de Janeiro). This was a high profile example because the displacement here was in fact not related to the World Cup directly other than builders of the expensive apartments wanted to gain profit as the association of the forthcoming MSEs had caused a rise in house prices in the area.

*"In Vila Autódromo has happened, the people came out, they said it was to be built the new racetrack, but what in fact is being built is buildings of luxury, I mean, they takes the poor and those who? The rich. The Cup took just the poor" **Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.***

Children felt that displacement was particularly targeted at the poor and displayed a sense of anger at this injustice. The quote below highlights the conscious way in which they understood how processes of stigmatisation and violation of rights affecting them was only due to their socio-spatial marginalised position in the city.

*"Because the people who are poor worth nothing to the mayor, to the governor. The rich has value, the rich every day can buy a thing expensive, different. Our parents struggle to give us study, everyone kills himself to study, and you have success at school, and if someone says: you are very smart, where you live? Is over... I am rejected, only because I live in a favela... If the Maracanã was here and the side was the home of a rich I doubt they would want to take home from rich to be able to reform the Maracanã!" **Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro***

This quote also elucidates that the children felt they were more likely to have their rights violated because they were considered economically poor. Their visions were clear that only those with economic power in the city would be considered full citizens in terms of having their rights respected and that poor people do not have the same recognition from the government.

⁹ To learn more about this case see <http://oglobo.globo.com/esportes/da-areia-aos-escombros-legado-de-ravel-7742765>

Sexual Exploitation

Despite the high profile attention given to sexual exploitation in both documents and newspapers (see section 3) this was less significantly reported in the empirical data. However, in both cities, the interviewees drew attention to an increase in cases of sexual exploitation through the creation of new areas of prostitution by account of renovations at the stadiums.

"In the area of construction of stadiums there was the issue of sexual exploitation of children, we have reports in Sao Paulo, in Fortaleza, Recife, I mean, have begun to organize certain exploitation networks around the stadiums for the male contingent of the works allocated there." ANCED.

For the interviewees the most vulnerable communities to suffer this type of violation were those living in poverty, with unemployment parents, in families with large numbers of children and where they were not attending school.

"We have too much male labour in the region of São Lourenço for the construction of the stadium and the surrounding communities are already quite vulnerable, poor, then you can say that it is them who suffers most there in the region with this type of violation". Real Life Institute, Recife

The children also highlighted that even before the World Cup began the number of cars touring inside their areas looking for prostitutes increased. They also felt that this was a result of tourists in the area because the cars were expensive and foreign.

"The sexual tourism was with the crack users, with the women...and still nowadays that happens. [R: How?] Simple, the guy comes from Avenida Brasil and he remained inside the car for a long time just talking with them (crack users) and the after they took them...(R: How do you know they were foreigners?) because they had imported cars." Focus Group, Rio de Janeiro

Child Labour

Finally child labour was mentioned as an issue in the pre-cup period but this was mentioned much less than issues of police violence and displacement. In fact, similarly to sexual exploitation, working children were seen around areas of construction where new markets became available. Interviewees noted that the use of child labour in the context of the World Cup was very similar to what already happens in other major events and festivals such as the Carnival and the São João parties in the Northeast of the country. On these occasions many children go to the streets and locations where there is a large movement of people, especially tourists, and use the opportunity for working in the informal sale of food and drinks.

The persistence of the discourse of child labour as beneficial for children, particularly poor children, as way to prevent disruptive behaviour still prevails for some sectors of Brazilian society (see section 2). Therefore as Terra dos Homens highlights, the acceptance by society of children working means that children are more vulnerable to violations of their rights in this way.

"On child labour, the higher vulnerability presents on children that make the sale of products on the streets easier by sensitivity of people in relation to see a child working." Brazilian Association Terra dos Homens.

5.2 Violations during the World Cup

The following table presents an overview of the key violations and the groups most affected by them in the period of the World Cup, from 12 June to 13 July 2014, based on the empirical data from Rio de Janeiro and Recife. The participants identified that police violence, displacement, sexual exploitation and child labour were key issues affecting children. Additionally the NGO interviewees highlighted neglect as an additional issue causing concern during the event itself. Each of these key violations will be explained further.

Type of Violation	Most affected groups and/or scenarios where the violence happened	Consequences
Police and army violence	Children resident in favelas during the army and police occupation in these territories.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aggressive body and house searches - Sexual harassment towards girls under 18 years old
Displacement	Children	Maintenance of the worsening of their living conditions and housing.
Sexual Exploitation	Children, especially girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children in prostitution zones which already exist - Potential cases suspected in private or VIP areas in stadiums
Child Labour	Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Street selling food, drinks and products in Fan Fests, beaches, around stadiums. - Children taking cans to sell at recycling points. - Those working as Gandula in stadiums.
Neglect	Children at Fan Fests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children consuming alcohol in Fan Fests - Lost children in Fan Fests and the resistance of FIFA to announce these cases during the events

Police (and army) violence

According to the interviewees the violence by the police and the army continued against residents in favelas, especially through body searching on the streets of those communities where UPPs were present. The harassment of girls by soldiers also remained constant during the World Cup.

Children in the focus groups supported this in their discussions. In Recife the children talked of aggression against a young boy during the World Cup in their community, which they mentioned was also reported on local television. In this example they stated that a black teenager, who was around the stadium on a game day, was beaten by police officers. The groups felt that his type of violence perpetrated by police was wrong but justified by the police because of children's residential location in favelas and the colour of their skin.

"A police officer cannot beat a person, but he did it, why? What is his right? I saw on television, the boy did nothing and the police was hitting him...he was going to stadium but he was poor and black". Focus Group in Recife.

In Rio de Janeiro, children also discussed how they were still fearful of the army occupation which continued during the MSE and relatives did not like to leave girls at home alone.

"My grandmother doesn't like me stay at home alone, kind of; I always am with the neighbour. She is afraid of me to stay home alone and they (army) come and do something with me." **Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.**

However, the number of police operations aimed at gathering children living on the streets was reported by interviewees to have reduced during the World Cup. They highlighted that this reduction may have been a tactic used by Government preferring to minimise the visibility of these actions during the period of the MSE. Also because significant efforts had been made to remove street children before the Cup, some respondents suggested that the success of the operation meant it was not required during the World Cup, as noted by Network Rio Criança.

"During the World Cup as they (police) had already done lots of damage to this people, had already reached the goal of them then during the Cup there have been periods of reflux, understood? Such, they think, we will not act more, does not need more work throughout the day with recollection, because currently we does not have any child here... I am not saying that we had no policing on the streets during the World Cup, but we were not seeing many more of these operations to collect them. In the end they had greatly reduced this population on the streets, and many of them came out of the Centre and the South Zone and were for the Northern Zone, at least who managed to go ... Away from the tourist areas, the stadiums, they could be without problems." **Network Rio Criança**

The lack of visibility of children living in the streets during the World Cup does not mean that they did not have their rights violated during this period. UNICEF suggested that because of the round ups, it is likely that children migrated to other parts of the city, away from the area of events and therefore were able to be on the streets without much police supervision. Therefore violations may have occurred without the knowledge of institutions of protection. This phenomenon also occurred in South Africa in 2010 (van Blerk, 2013).

"The police force was concentrated in locations where the Cup was more evident ... then perhaps the committees to protect children has been looking very closely at the Copacabana Beach, to the surroundings of the Maracanã Stadium, and in the rest of the city, where the police may have decreased, these migrations (of street children) have promoted another context. These children may have had their rights violated, have suffered more violence, and then how the eyes of society were not there, they could not register. This is another hypothesis that can also be placed."
UNICEF.

Displacement

Similarly, the respondents in both interviews and focus groups noted that displacement did not emerge as an issue during the World Cup itself as the clearances of areas required for building stadiums and upgrading infrastructure had taken place. However, this violation was still mentioned as continuing during the World Cup because families who had recently been moved were still dealing with their new situation and experiencing significant negative impacts on their quality of life and housing. The act of displacement in itself was difficult for many families, including children, but it was highlighted as a long-term issue and therefore the effects of these moves were still being felt during the MSE.

Sexual Exploitation

Sexual exploitation of children during the World Cup was noted to be taking place in prostitution zones which were already in existence in both cities. Some respondents felt that although there had been significant fear among the professional community that sexual exploitation would increase, this had not really happened.

"People had a great fear of the Cup as a time of great risk for childhood and adolescence, and it seems that it did not cause greater risk than there is already, I think that this was a sense of relief, but on the other hand there was also no gain."
UNICEF

However, others felt that this was merely that no new visible prostitution points emerged during the MSE, like they had in the pre-cup period, but that there was still an increase in the number of children engaging in prostitution. The young participants in particular provided some examples in their focus groups that suggest more children were engaging in prostitution. In Recife they said they were aware of this because there is an area of prostitution at the bottom of the hill where they live. This hill is also one of Recife's tourist attractions receiving several visitors when major events take place in the city. The children stated that they could identify children from their communities working at the bottom of the hill and that the number increased in the period of the World Cup. Similarly, in Rio de Janeiro the group spoke about child crack users who were removed from Avenue Brasil before the World Cup resulting in their re-location to the first street inside the Favela de Mare, just behind that important and visible Avenue Brasil. In their perceptions the movement of cars looking for sex in that street increased during the event (as well as just before) and they supposed the new clients were foreigners because they had expensive cars.

The ambiguity around whether sexual exploitation as an issue during the MSE that is highlighted here among the respondents was coupled with a related issue regarding the difficulty in notifying these cases as they can be often obscured by other violations.

*"Sexual exploitation is not identified in a manner that is clear, you understand me? It appears with other aspects, through another violation that presents first, but not necessarily as sexual exploitation. For example, there is the girl who was attacked, forced to being exploited (sexually) and she went to the hospital, and there on account of aggression we are called to meet her, to work in the case but the case of physical violence not of sexual exploitation." **Guardianship Council Rio de Janeiro.***

Finally some interviewees highlighted that stadiums could be places where sexual exploitation might have taken place. ANCED discussed how the football stadiums were policed by FIFA private security and that the local military police or other security groups could not make inspections. Therefore although no organisations had concrete evidence that prostitution was occurring, some, like ANCED, suspected VIP areas may have been used in this way.

*"There (stadiums) was the territory of FIFA ... professional teams were not supervising or monitoring there and they could not move around or inside these areas, and this (sexual exploitation) is one thing that the people will not know if it happened or not unless if we have a report, but, for example, everyone knows that if you have money you can have these cabins privé in stadiums, which are super expensive, and where you have a private party, drink and so on. We don't know who was inside, if there was a scheme of sexual exploitation for example, within these spaces. I don't know because everything was very private, everything was very hidden." **ANCED***

Child Labour

In the same way that child labour was noted in the pre-cup period, this violation of children rights continued during the event. Most examples given were related to the sale of football merchandise (flags, shirts, balls) and food and drinks, around the stadiums, in Fan Fests and at other tourist points where there was a high concentration of people (beaches, bars, squares). This was supported with evidence from the focus groups where the young participants were either themselves involved in this type of activity or at least knew friends and relatives who were.

"My cousin works with crafts and in the Cup she went to Copacabana beach."
Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.

"A friend sold cookies, popcorn and water also, here on the yellow line. "
Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.

In addition, especially in Recife, respondents mentioned a large number of children collecting tin cans after the evening matches. This material is then sold to recycling centres. Children as young as five years old were seen performing this type of work after the Fan Fests, in the early hours of the morning.

*"The Fan Fests we had children taking cans after the events ... small children and when you try get close they run..." **Secretariat of Child and Youth of Pernambuco.***

The interviewees further explained that collecting cans is a job that can bring risk to the health and physical integrity of children because they are picking heavy loads that weigh more than they can safely carry and they are sometimes also injured while squashing the cans to squeeze more into their plastic bag. In Recife, however, the group also mentioned this work and that some mothers were asking their children to go and collect cans after Fan Fests. In these cases only, where the mother requires the child to go to work, did the group see this as wrongdoing, noting that some children chose to entrepreneurially engage in work by their own choice.

Child labour during the World Cup was quoted by the interviewees as done mainly in the company of parents and/or family. It was highlighted that many families from poor communities had taken advantage of the World Cup for undertaking work on the streets. In such cases, the families felt they had no other option but to take their children with them because they were not in school and afraid to leave them at home due to UPP occupation. As ECPAT Brasil explains, for some families this was seen as a form of protection.

“The families were in the streets with their children, grandchildren, because sometimes they are not even at home to eat, you see ... This has the exploitation (child labour) because sometimes they do not have anyone to leave them with and they prefer to bring them near than leave within the community, alone. Then they feel that is more protection for that child” ECPAT Brasil.

In some ways this issue was highlighted by the children in the focus groups because they talked about the school closures that occurred for the duration of the World Cup. For them, although it was initially seen as a good thing because they could stay at home and relax, they were also doing nothing and even unable to study. This increased situations of children being alone, or as the other examples highlight accompanying their parents in informal work.

Another important aspect in relation to child labour during the Cup was the non-compliance with the Brazilian Federal Constitution regarding the prohibition of work for children, which includes protective conditions of the child and the adolescent, such as prohibition of work at night time or in dangerous activities.

In 2004 the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF) banned *gandula* work in stadiums for those under 18 years old. *Gandula* is the term for those responsible for picking up the balls that leave the field during football matches. However, the National Council of Justice (CNJ) issued a resolution in 2013 that allowed children to do this work in the World Cup. FIFA and the companies sponsoring the World Cup were then allowed to recruit children from 12 years to work on promotional activities related to football, one of them being *Gandula*. This decision was considered to be a major setback in the legislation that was already being effectively applied.

*“Some things have fallen by, for example, the *gandulas*. During the Cup the minors they could work as *gandulas*, because it was an honour for them, they were in the match with their idols of football, because it was a project of FIFA that prepared children throughout the world for being there as *gandula* ... but here we have a law that says that no one under eighteen years can be *gandula*, then we run the risk of losing this conquest, and it was not an easy conquest”. ECPAT Brasil.*

Neglect

Finally, neglect during the World Cup Fan Fests was mentioned by some respondents as a form of violation of rights, although it was not something that emerged as an issue in the media or documentary analysis. Neglect against children during the Fan Fests occurred in two ways. Firstly, through the sale of alcoholic drinks to children under 18 years without any apparent strict supervision in these sales. Secondly, neglect was observed by respondents during the Fan Fests related to the numerous cases of children who became separated from their parents and got lost. Although this was not always related to parental neglect interviewees highlighted that FIFA and Fan Fest organisers resisted/refused to allow professionals to call for children over the sound system in order that they could be found.

“We had a lot of people losing children and so we had some difficulty in Fan Fests to announce that. This was difficult, they (FIFA) did not want to leave us do that, we had to engage the federal government, the SDH that intermediated with the organizers of Fan Fests to allow what was not propaganda, merchandising, just a missing child that needed to find his family, then we had several occurrences of this type.” ANCED.

During the World Cup then, several forms of violation of rights were identified. Some short term acts such as child labour, neglect and in some cases violence and sexual exploitation were noted. However, according to the respondents, displacement and police round ups of street children seemed to decrease, although this was not to suggest that the effects of these violations in the pre-cup period were not still being felt.

5.3 After the World Cup: violations and legacy

Despite the interviews and focus groups taking place in the period immediately after the World Cup most respondents were unable to comment directly on whether violations against children were occurring. However, two issues emerged which suggested that follow up of violations should continue in the post-MSE period. The longer term issues such as the effects of displacement were again touched upon by respondents as they felt the full impacts of the removals had not yet been identified. Some also felt that after the MSE the effects of these moves would become more apparent.

"Those families are surviving in totally different conditions to how they were living before. They used to live in a urban centre with hospital, public transport, with a long and strong community bond and they were separated, each one went to a distant place, far a way to the town and there the life is harder than was before"

FASE

Furthermore, at this time some NGOs reported that street children who had been forcibly removed to detention centres were now re-appearing in the city centre and reporting on their experiences. In particular NGOs highlighted police violence against street children reported after the World Cup that had taken place during the event while in young offenders' institutions or inside government agencies.

"Then they hide these people, and when the mega event finishes people are being sent back, they are allowed to return to the street and the problem is still there"

CEDECA Rio de Janeiro.

It is worth noting that the lack of information on the post-cup period is perhaps related to the short time frame for reflection on these issues due to the time restrictions of this research, where interviews were conducted between 10 and 45 days after the end of the MSE.

*"We knew that the lack of data that precede the World Cup would be a big problem to make the comparison in the post. In addition, when we are talking about a social phenomenon of this type the consequences and possible outcomes are not measured as 'temporal'. Unfortunately we are not in the country, and the world, numbers that show us the 'before' and 'after'. **Childhood.**"*

However, the research also prompted respondents to think about the potential legacy of the World Cup in relation to children's rights. Some felt it was too early to see any type of legacy although perhaps upgrades to urban infrastructure carried out in host-cities could have been considered improvements to the population, but as yet this had not been felt.

"Improvements? I still don't know, I think we had some important projects for the city, but they are not yet signifying a change ... Taking the stadiums that had to be ready for the World Cup, a lot of places in the city are still in work, then everyone is suffering a lot with the heavy traffic, everyone is still on the injury for a legacy that might we have, you understand? Then, I didn't know that legacy. A series of works that promise to be something good and that the people not experienced yet?"

REDES da Mare

For the children, they felt the legacy of the World Cup had just caused the city to be dirty, created congestion in the cities and caused food prices to increase well beyond the means of local people.

"The city was all dirty and the rich did not take fare, if it were out there (in another country), he had to pay! But here nothing happens."

Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.

"They think we became rich, we win the lottery?"

Focus Group in Recife.

They also felt not enough had been done for them and both groups emphasized the need for greater investment in health and education. The lack of hospital places and the lack of teachers in schools were the main complaints and their perceptions were related to the concrete experiences of their families. One young person joked with the situation of lack of places in public schools and suggested that the Maracanã was used as a school, illustrating disgust with the way public money had been invested in the wrong infrastructure. Another highlighted the impact on their future noting that because of extended school holidays they were not engaging in lessons.

"I think we should study at Maracanã Stadium!" Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro.

"I like to study; I did not like to get without class!" Focus Group in Recife

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the reform of the Maracanã stadium was pointed out as a legacy but one that is not intended for children in poor communities because of the cost of tickets. For them the 'new brand Maracanã' will serve the use of elitist groups in the city. The population in the end lost a product of leisure which before was accessible to most of citizens.

"What is the legacy? The revitalized streets? The Maracanã? I didn't go there, I do not know if it was beautiful, but I know that they (street children) do not have access to it, you understand? Even the popular public they cannot go into the space that was once was for them, the Maracanã Stadium. I, honestly, I don't see any legacy, for me nothing has changed, the Cup came, the Cup has ended and is the same thing." Network Rio Crianca.

The area of public security also has been quoted as an area in which was promised but where they felt that it had not materialised.

"This legacy that they proposed to public safety not happened, in fact, the legacy was the increase in homicides, the increase in the number of admissions of children in DEGASE." Amnesty International

A second group felt that there was no legacy when positioned in the context of the defence and promotion of children's rights.

"I do not think the Cup has left legacy... I mean, we couldn't put on the agenda the issue of the children, in the agenda of FIFA". ECPAT-Brasil.

However some, with a positive outlook suggested that some of the policies such as the Agenda of Convergence and the Application of Cellular Protect Brazil, were important parts of the legacy left by the World Cup. The emotional benefits of hosting MSEs were, however touched upon by the children suggesting that there was a positive advantage to the hosting of the event in Brazil. The children mentioned that tourists spent a lot of money in Brazil and in some ways this benefitted them as family members engaged in informal trade around the stadiums and tourist areas were successful. Others talked about the social gatherings, barbecues and the creation of a happy environment with unity and celebration as families and communities came together to watch the matches. This did however; abruptly end when Brazil was no longer part of the competition.

"The Cup brought happiness for us, when Brazil was winning we got very happy." Focus Group in Recife.

"I cried a lot when Brazil lost." Focus Group in Recife.

5.4 Conclusion

The empirical data from this research identifies that for children four key violations occurred before the World Cup. They were: police violence, displacement, sexual exploitation and child labour. The data suggests that police violence, especially related to clearances of street children, UPP occupation in favelas and during forced removals, and during street protests, was particularly heightened as was the more general impacts of displacement. During the World Cup the same four violations were highlighted but at this time specific issues related to the actual matches were also raised. This included child labour in and around stadiums and at Fan Fests as well as the neglect of children attending Fan Fests. Further sexual exploitation was suspected within stadiums but more research is required to confirm this. After the MSE, fewer violations were discussed although the need to further investigate the longer term impacts of forced removals and street clearances was highlighted.

Despite the negative impacts mentioned when discussing the legacy of the World Cup, children highlighted the positive emotional aspects of Brazil hosting the FIFA World Cup including happiness at watching matches together with family and community and the sense of belonging that this brings.

6. Overall Conclusions and Recommendations

This section of the report draws out the main findings from both stages of the research process and offers recommendations for policy and research based on these conclusions.

6.1 Conclusions from the research

The research identified four key violations although the additional violation of neglect was also raised as an issue during the MSE. Therefore the key violations identified are:

- Police (and army) violence
- Displacement
- Sexual exploitation
- Child labour
- Neglect

These violations are related but slightly different to those highlighted by Brackenridge et al (2013). However the research was also able to differentiate between the significance of these violations before, during and after the World Cup and to highlight key groups of children who suffer most from particular violations of their rights. It is important to note that the findings contained herein are based on pilot research, which was small scale and based in only two host-cities. The issues raised suggest that further research in this area is urgently required with the pilot identifying key areas for further investigation.

Before the World Cup: The period before the World Cup received the greatest level of media attention signalling the potential of media/investigative journalism for highlighting key issues and campaigning for children's rights to be upheld and protected. This potential is seen in the amount of media coverage given over to issues that were prioritised by the Government, notably sexual exploitation and child labour.

The documentary mapping, media analysis and empirical data all demonstrated that police and army violence was a critical issue in the pre-cup period related to three issues: street clearances of street children; UPP occupation of favelas and displacement through forced removals and during the protests of 2013. However it is interesting to note how each of these groups differently emphasise these issues. The high profile protests received significant media attention at the time and both the media and documentary analysis highlighted the impacts of police during occupation and around removals. However only through discussion with children-focussed agencies and NGOs does the issue of violence against street children receive significant attention. This suggests that more research is required for the most marginalised children, those without adult support, as their stories are least likely to be reported as high profile cases.

Other violations related to displacement also received attention from the media, documentary evidence and empirical data with children from favelas able to provide contextual examples of the impacts of such moves on children. Sexual exploitation and child labour were highlighted more in the media and documentation than by the interviewees, although still positioned as a significant problem facing vulnerable children. Further, these issues were inter-connected with sexual harassment raised as a problem for girls during favela occupation and displacement procedures.

During the World Cup: During the period of the World Cup the same four violations, listed above, were highlighted although this time specific issues related to the actual matches were also raised, including the additional issue of neglect. In particular the empirical data suggested that sexual exploitation and child labour were more prominent during the event than displacement and police violence. This latter point was especially related to clearance of street children as children still mentioned continued violence within occupied favelas. The mapping of violations through media and documentary analysis was less available and more evidence emerged from the empirical work. For instance, media attention around violations tended to tail off during the World Cup, attention turning more to the event itself, and there was also little documented evidence available for this period. Only the Dial 100 data was accessible in the lifetime of this project, which suggested that more reports of sexual exploitation occurred in June/July 2014 than in 2013. Although it is not confirmed that this was related to more violations (rather than more reporting), it does suggest that campaigns to eradicate sexual exploitation during MSEs had achieved some success in raising awareness.

Specific issues related to the actual matches emerged as important during the World Cup and this requires further investigation to confirm these issues, particularly where interviewees raised suspicion of sexual exploitation within stadiums in VIP areas as local professionals were not able to check these spaces. The specific event related violations also included child labour in and around stadiums and at Fan Fests as well as the neglect of children attending Fan Fests, particular through selling alcohol to children and poor procedures for keeping children safe in Fan Fest areas.

After the World Cup: The timing and short-time frame of the research means that it was not easy to understand the longer term impacts of the World Cup on children. Media attention switched post-MSE to the presidential elections and there were no accessible published documents discussing the post-event legacy and impact. Even within the empirical data, few violations were highlighted, due to the fieldwork being undertaken almost as soon as the World Cup was over. However, interestingly the key issues emerging from the data for this time period suggests that activities associated with the preparations for MSE can have much longer term hidden impacts post-event. Reports of street children returning to the cities and telling stories of violence towards them is one area which requires further investigation. A second area for research is related to displacement and the long-term impacts on families and communities following relocation to areas that were highlighted to offer a lower quality of life.

Groups more vulnerable by age and gender

Overall it is important to highlight how children are also differently impacted by MSEs with some more at risk of having their rights violated in certain ways than others. Children and organisation staff all felt that poor children, especially poor black children living in favela communities were more at risk of experiencing human rights violations. The Dial 100 data suggests that those aged 8-11 then 12-14 year olds receive the most reports of violations against them and girls (55%), and black children (60%) also feature in higher numbers of reports of violations. However, the data often did not disaggregate for age and gender although two significant differences emerged. For police violence boys were highlighted to be at particular risk especially if they were living in street situations as 72% of street children in Brazil are boys aged between 12 and 17 years old. In terms of sexual exploitation and harassment, girls were more likely to be at risk especially those aged between 9 and 17 and living in favelas.

Actions to minimize the violations against children

Positive outcomes emerged from the documentary analysis which identified significant collaborative effort between the Brazilian Government, NGO community and UN agencies to produce guidelines for eradicating violations and to use the MSE to achieve momentum for change. The Agenda for Convergence Protect Brazil, as well as Dial 100 demonstrate positive steps for ensuring children receive protection. The table below highlights key actions that were produced as a result of this collaborative effort that interviewees from organisations felt were highly positive for building better outcomes for children during MSEs.

Programmes and initiatives to prevent and to reduce the violations in that context	Actions developed
Agenda of Convergence Protect Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The creation of local committees of protection - The attempt to integrate actions of the government and civil society - The creation of technical shifts to work in the days of games to meet risk situations involving children - The creation of social spaces for children in a situation of vulnerability during the day of games and events related to the World Cup - The production of information material on the different forms of violations against children in this context. - A pilot project of training in human rights and the rights of children to some sectors of society (Police, hotel chain, Cooperatives of taxi drivers)
- The National Campaign “Voce tem o poder de proteger nossas Crianças” (You have the power to protect our children) by UNICEF and Federal Government.	- The Creation of a mobile phone app called “Protect Brazil” (http://www.protejabrasil.com.br/br/)
The Campaign ‘Atenção Redobrada’ (Double attention) by Secretariat of Child and Youth in Pernambuco which already was running but undertaken new actions applicable to the World Cup context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seminars on sexual exploitation against children towards hotels, consulates, taxi drivers, military police - Distribution of preventative material on sexual exploitation and about to hot line “Dial 100”
The Ministries of Justice and Human Rights created a decree to challenge Sexual Exploitation	The visa permit to entrance in the country was not allowed to those had involvement in sexual crimes
The Dial 100 (SDH-PR) received improvements to the World Cup period	The capacity to receive calls was expanded 30% during the World Cup, temporary contract to professionals fluent in English and Spanish to receive the calls
Approval of the law which increases the level of punishment for the crime of sexual exploitation	Increased from 4 to 10 years in prison without bail

Trying to win this game: Initiatives created for the World Cup

The Agenda of Convergence was commented upon positively by the interviewees. There was the undeniable recognition of efforts made by the government in an attempt to, for the first time in the history of the country, bring together different actors in an integrated action focusing on the same goal: minimize the violations against children during MSEs.

“The agenda was progress, it is undeniable, we had no dialog with police, no dialog with the Public Prosecutor, and with the judiciary in a way that we have today ... then it was a big plus. The booklet of care to children in a situation of vulnerability in major events also is a legacy that will remain” **Secretariat of Child and Youth of Pernambuco.**

However, some criticisms have been made by NGOs to contribute to an assessment of this Agenda and perhaps a review of procedures. The suggestions focused on improving this action were:

- The timing of the Agenda of Convergence was insufficient for effective communication and real integration between the Government and Civil Society leading to this MSE. More time and space needs to be given to deliberately connecting groups across a range of issues, particularly those investigating and acting on violations of rights (including human rights), housing and evictions, and those working on aspects of preventing harm.
- The focus of the actions was concentrated in the field of sexual exploitation and child labour but with limited insight and actions for the prevention of abuse and exploitation. There was also a lack of reliable data on the extent of violations of children's rights with little or almost no action toward the case of removals and police violence, especially against street children and young offenders.
- The Local Committees of Protection implemented by the Agenda of Convergence were limited to operating only during the days of World Cup games. This was considered an isolated action that in future should be extended to cover before, during and after MSEs.
- Meaningful participation of children from areas where MSE related investments are envisioned should also be a priority within the Local Committees, reviewing the extent to which children's issues are connected to the circumstances of their parents.
- There is a large gap in terms of the collection of statistical data on the number of cases received before, during and after the World Cup divided by age, gender and type of rights violation. Analysis of any monitoring of cases received during the event by Local Committees needs to be subsequently carried out and actioned.

Other policies were also highlighted as having positive impacts. The creation of the mobile phone app 'Protect Brazil' was considered important in the context of Brazilian MSEs. This is an app¹⁰ for mobile phones created to facilitate the reporting of violations against children. The app provides the addresses and phone numbers for the most effective means of contacting those specializing in childhood and youth, such as guardianship councils, and organizations of the justice system in the main Brazilian cities.

Two changes in the context of legislation that represses sexual abuse and violence against children were also mentioned as important strategies created in the context of the World Cup by the interview respondents that deserve recognition. The first was the signing of the decree 876/14 that prohibited tourists or immigrants previously sentenced or involved in cases related to pornography or sexual exploitation of children, from entering the country. This decree was implemented by the Ministry of Justice and the Department of Human Rights (SDH) of the Presidency of the Republic. This action was passed on May 2014 with the aim to avoid cases of abuse of children by foreigners during the World Cup. The second initiative was the approval of the crime of sexual exploitation of children as a heinous crime in the country. According to this new law (PL 7220/14), the person condemned in this type of crime will not be entitled to amnesty or any type of pardon, not be able to pay bail and will have to be met the penalty in closed system.

Finally, despite the negative impacts of MSEs highlighted in this report and the call for action both in research and policy terms, it is important to mention that work with children also highlighted positive emotional benefits to Brazil hosting the World Cup that should be harnessed and built upon. In particular, children highlighted the positive emotional aspects including experiencing happiness at watching matches together with family and community members as well as the positive sense of belonging that this brings.

The findings from this research demonstrate some parallels with the review conducted by Brackenridge et al (2013) as well as respond to some of the recommendations for research they identified. This research identified the lack of rigorous data available for fully documenting the risks to children around MSEs, supporting Brackenridge et al's (2013) review. However, the inclusion of empirical research as well as children's voices, also highlighted that the media and policy attention given to some violations which are currently on international agendas such as sexual exploitation, and trafficking may mask other violations. Trafficking did not emerge as a significant violation in this research whereas police violence featured prominently. Further, through the inclusion of some empirical data collection this research was able to identify that the temporality of MSEs is often not captured, particularly after the event has taken place. Therefore, our research compliments and extends the findings of Brackenridge et al (2013) and suggests that more effort and investigation is required. The following recommendations for policy and research aim to outline key areas for further work.

¹⁰ According data provided by SDH-PR in the Cup, between 12 June and July 13, 2014, there were 8,928 download this application for Android and 5,084 for iPhone. The connections made in the application to the Dial 100 were 642. In terms of statistics accumulated since June 15, 2013 the July 13, 2014 this application had 27,490 download for Android and 16,363 for iPhone, totalling 43,853. The reports using this way accounted for 4,862 and the connections to the Dial 100 through this application reached 3,873.

6.2 Recommendations for policy and research

This research, despite limitations of time and resources, has identified significant conclusions regarding the impact of MSEs on children through an examination of the context of the World Cup in Brazil. Key violations were highlighted that are variously significant before, during and after MSEs. Therefore several recommendations have been developed both for policy and future research, drawing on the findings emerging from this report. Prior to outlining the overall recommendations the participatory nature of the research meant that participants were asked to offer their own key messages for those involved in urban planning and event organising specifically within Brazil. In order to ensure that their voices are heard specifically, the tables below present the direct views of participants before they are integrated into the overall recommendations from the research.

Giving voice to participants: specific recommendations from NGOs and children

In order to give voice to the research participants, key recommendations from the NGOs were collated. Although many of these points have been helpful in designing the overall recommendations, it was important also to highlight their views here.

Recommendations from NGOs in Brazil
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan for the future when developing new infrastructure for MSEs not in terms of a temporary fix.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop research about the violations in the context of MSEs well in advance of hosting an event and use the results to strengthen actions for prevention before, during and after MSEs. The most affected groups should be closely followed so they can be best supported to realise their rights.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Government needs to strengthen the System of Guarantee of Rights to children.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is very good legislation in Brazil for protecting children's rights but this needs to be more fully respected.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater negotiation with FIFA in early stages of preparations for the event, to ensure rights are not violated.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not allow the submission requirements of FIFA/MSE organisers if they do not comply with rights of children.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International organizations for the protection of human rights need to have influence in the bidding criteria for MSEs.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that areas further away from events locations are not neglected in terms of supervision and protection.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Showcase successful experiences.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invest in the training of police and other professionals for the protection and promotion of children's rights.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen democratic processes on decision making with more popular participation to define priorities to invest, specifically recognizing the knowledge and lived experience of those from favela communities and marginalized groups.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater collaboration of sectors of government with civil society and the general population.

Similarly, it was a key objective of this process to ensure that children's voices could be heard and so it was important to not only subsume their views within a set of overall recommendations that are applicable beyond their context but to provide an opportunity for young participants to represent their own views and recommendations, which are naturally specific to their own context, yet pertinent to our overall claim that MSE organising committees need to address human rights violations against children through the bidding process.

The children in each city were asked to think through what they would like to say to Governments and policy-makers regarding violations of human rights around MSEs. Following their discussion of recommendations the participants of Recife chose a mime performance that they created to emphasise the importance of increasing awareness of sexual exploitation during MSEs. The group was split in two with one half taking on the role of artists and the other half the clay. The group that represented the clay was lying on the floor, in a foetal position with their eyes closed. The group of artists then slowly began to mould the clay. The work was done slowly, carefully and with great concentration of participants. At the end there were four statues of clay, each representing an idea to be disseminated as a way to combat sexual exploitation. They were: 'Stop the violence', 'Report', 'Do not touch my body' and 'I have rights'.

The groups in Rio de Janeiro assembled a list of promises from the sentence: 'If I were the president I ...'. At the end of the discussion each group chose a representative to explain the ideas to the others. Working with the staff of the Real Life Institute who has expertise in graffiti and serigraphy the children produced three products with their slogan 'let's win this game together': graffiti art on a wall of Avenue Brazil, a screen of the graffiti and a t-shirt with the same design (see front cover illustration).

The children participating in the groups offer these recommendations for Brazil, many of which are applicable for MSE organisers more generally to consider:

Recommendations from children in Brazil
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spend less money on stadiums and more on basic services such education and hospitals.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make sure the security forces are better prepared, so that the police are less violent.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Combat corruption among the police.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create more job opportunities for low-income parents during the MSEs.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure a culture of more respect for everybody, and do not allow sexual exploitation.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make sure there is less prejudice for people from favelas.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not allow parents to be violent with children or neglect them.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instead of removing street children and drug users from being visible in the city, provide more professionals to help them.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government should give houses to those who need them.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The next President should come from the favelas in order to better understand the problems experienced by people from these territories.

Finally, following the main conclusions from the research, documentation and in collaboration with the specific recommendations outlined above, several recommendations for policy and further research are presented.

Overall policy recommendations

From the example of Brazil, it is clear that children, and their families from the most marginalised backgrounds are most at risk from policies of infrastructure development through displacement and police violence as well as associated risks of exploitation, labour and neglect. Further, this research highlighted that campaigning against sexual exploitation and child labour prior to the World Cup resulted in some media attention. The empirical data revealed that children's rights organisations felt this had had an impact on change and reduced the potential for significantly higher numbers of violations against children. Therefore the following inputs are recommended for bidding and hosting criteria:

- MSE organisers should ensure the development of new standards that protect children within countries bidding to host an event. In the same way as the International Olympic Committee's Agenda 2020 seeks to improve standards, including environmental protection and human rights standards, a specific equivalent should be developed by MSE organisers that sets a precedent for the protection of children from violations of their rights.
- MSE organisers should ensure 'social risk legacy impact assessment' that is meaningful to the situation of children is part of any successful bid. This should explain how the children will be protected from risks including the main violations identified in this report. Strategies such as reporting to the UN Human Rights Council may be effective.
- MSE organisers should seek to enforce already-well developed policies that are in place for the protection of children's rights. International guidelines (such as the UNCRC) should be adhered to alongside local laws. This research identified that although there were some excellent human rights policies for children these were not very well enforced and in some cases over-ridden by FIFA (e.g. children working as gandula in the stadiums when this is currently not Brazilian policy). We recommend that collaboration between Government and civil society is used as a platform to ensure children's rights policies are more strictly kept in place during MSEs. This enforcement should be complimented by a review of all existing policies already in place in any host nation to identify where impacts on children may emerge. This could include policies related to all aspects of MSE organisation and preparation, for example, those related to construction, transport and security.
- Specifically, the police (and army) emerged as significant violators of children's rights in the context of the World Cup. Therefore a specific recommendation is required for MSE security policy. We recommend that MSE organisers ensure Governments, and Local Organising Committees work with local security forces for the safety of visitors but also the general population and marginalised children in particular. Advanced training in children's rights for police and other security (including the army) should be required as part of hosting arrangements. Further we recommend greater collaboration between external (in this case FIFA) security and local security forces. This would reduce suspicion and enable the implementation of local laws that are in place to protect children. This is especially important within stadiums and Fan Fests where local police were not present. Here violations against children remain unknown due to a lack of access. Local police are prepared to follow all protocols and regulations set by governments in line with international rules but they are also under the public scrutiny and, for this reason, are much more controlled than private security. Their presence should ensure no rights are violated.
- Finally the attention that MSEs receive suggest that they could be a very useful outlet for MSE organisers in collaboration with host nations to develop campaigning strategies through public venues and the media to outlaw violations of children's rights. We recommend MSE organisers support host nations to identify potential issues in their local areas and develop strategies for campaigning for change including through raising awareness and ensuring/enforcing children's rights within policy.

Overall research recommendations

This pilot project identified that more extensive research is required to fully investigate the impacts of MSEs on violations of children's rights. In the context of Brazil, very little quantitative data was found in order to understand the magnitude and severity of rights violations and very little existing qualitative data understanding the experiences of those whose rights are violated. In order for MSE committees to fully implement strategies for minimising and eradicating rights violations against children in the preparation and execution of MSEs, this report advocates for further research to be carried out. Although some information of violations of rights was noted from media coverage, this research has shown that this is generally limited to before the event, with little coverage of longer-term impacts. Further, violations affecting particularly marginalised groups such as street children, were only highlighted through empirical data collection. The following research recommendations are made:

- Research is required to establish better quantitative data sets for analysing the impacts of MSEs. In Brazil, this research identified the Dial 100 hotline as beginning to capture some of this information. Building on this model, a simple online system of reporting and recording violations, which collects data related to violations reported, violations recorded, type of violation, where and when it occurred along with anonymised data on the children such as age, gender, ethnicity and family status should be trialled. A model that could coordinate between Government and social services departments, Police and NGOs could be investigated and piloted. In order to ensure the temporal nature of rights violations is captured and to monitor changes in violations before, during and after MSEs, the implementation of baseline data sets as a bid is announced would be necessary. This could then be monitored throughout the MSE and for some time afterwards. For FIFA and other MSE organisers to take the eradication of rights violations as a by-product of MSEs seriously, their backing for the development of such baseline data sets that could be monitored over time, and for all new host nations as part of their bidding criteria, is essential.
- This research identified that certain violations are more prominent at different times and more longitudinal research that re-engages participants before, during and significantly after an MSE is required to more fully understand these dynamics. In particular, research associated with the impacts of MSEs need to explore the longer-term social, economic, and psychological impacts of labour, violence, displacement, exploitation and neglect on children.
- Street boys aged 12 to 17 and poor marginalised girls aged 9 to 17 were identified as particularly at risk from street clearances and associated violence and sexual exploitation respectively. More in-depth qualitative research with these groups is required to uncover their experiences of MSEs so that these groups might be better supported in the future by host nations and organising committees.
- Finally, this research identified that children are highly knowledgeable regarding the impacts of MSEs on themselves and their peers. It is recommended that any research investigating violations of children's rights incorporates the voices of children in the design, implementation, analysis and recommendations.

7. Glossary of terms

To ensure consistency this glossary of terms has been taken from Brackenridge et al (2013), the report from which this study emerged.

Child: Article 1 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) defines a child as 'every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier'. (Article 1 of the UN CRC, OHCHR, 1989)

Child Abuse: 'A deliberate act of ill treatment that can harm or is likely to cause harm to a child's safety, well-being, dignity and development. Abuse includes all forms of physical, sexual, psychological or emotional ill treatment. The term 'abuse' is, in some contexts, used to refer primarily to such acts when committed 'in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust, or power' such as by someone who has the care of the child including parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child even temporarily such as a teacher, a community worker, a babysitter or nanny etc. In most contexts though, 'child abuse' is understood to refer to all such acts of ill treatment including when committed by a stranger. Child abuse will be committed regardless of any justification or reason that may be provided for the ill treatment including discipline, legal sanction, economic necessity, the child's own consent to it, or in the name of cultural and religious practice.

- **Physical Abuse** involves the use of violent physical force so as to cause actual or likely physical injury or suffering, (e.g. hitting, shaking, burning, female genital mutilation, torture)
- **Emotional or Psychological Abuse** includes humiliating and degrading treatment such as bad name calling, constant criticism, belittling, persistent shaming, solitary confinement and isolation)
- **Sexual Abuse** includes all forms of sexual violence including incest, early and forced marriage, rape, involvement in pornography, and sexual slavery. Child sexual abuse may also include indecent touching or exposure, using sexually explicit language towards a child and showing children pornographic material.' (Save the Children, 2010)

Child Exploitation: 'Child exploitation refers to the use of children for someone else's advantage, gratification or profit often resulting in unjust, cruel and harmful treatment of the child. These activities are to the detriment of the child's physical or mental health, education, moral or social-emotional development. It covers situations of manipulation, misuse, abuse, victimization, oppression or ill treatment.

- **Child Sexual exploitation** is the abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust for sexual purposes; this includes profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the exploitation of another as well as personal sexual gratification. For example child prostitution, trafficking of children for sexual abuse and exploitation, child sex tourism, and child marriages.
- **Economic exploitation of a child** is the use of the child in work or other activities for the benefit of others. This includes, but is not limited to, child labour. Economic exploitation implies the idea of a certain gain or profit through the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. This material interest has an impact on the economy of a certain unit, be it the State, the community or the family. For example child domestic work, child soldiers and the recruitment and involvement of children in armed conflict, child bondage, the use of children from criminal activities including the sale and distribution of narcotics, the involvement of children in any harmful or hazardous work.'

Child Labour: 'Child labour can be divided into six categories: domestic, non-domestic, non-monetary, bonded labour, wage labour and marginal economic activity. It includes any work performed by a child that is detrimental to his or her health, education, physical, mental, spiritual, moral, physical or social development.' (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2013)

Neglect: 'Deliberately, or through carelessness or negligence, failing to provide for, or secure for a child, their rights to physical safety and development. Neglect is sometimes called the 'passive' form of abuse in that it relates to the failure to carry out some key aspect of the care and protection of children which results in significant impairment of the child's health or development including a failure to thrive emotionally and socially. Neglect includes abandonment, the failure to properly supervise and protect children from harm as much as is feasible, the deliberate failure to carry out important aspects of care which results or is likely to result in harm to the child, the deliberate failure to provide medical care or carelessly exposing a child to harm for examples can amount to neglect.' (Save the Children, 2010)

Violence: There are a number of definitions of violence used depending on the focus and approach taken to it. For example, whether it is defined for legal, medical, sociological purposes. The UN Study on Violence Against Children (2006) definition of violence draws on Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child: "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury and abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse" as well as the definition used by WHO in the World Report on Violence and Health (2002): "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a child, by an individual or group, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity". Violence can be committed by individuals or by the State as well as groups and organisations through their members and their policies. It results not only in fear of/ or actual injury but also in fundamental interference with personal freedom.

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