CHILDREN'S RIGHTS AND MEGA SPORTING EVENTS: AN EVIDENCE-BASED REVIEW OF SELECTED INTERSECTING THEMES

FINAL REPORT

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SPEAR
SPORT, PHYSICAL EDUCATION
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Research Centre for
Children, Families and Communities

Children's Rights and Mega Sporting Events

An evidence-based review of the intersections in relation to the following themes:
Labour, LGBT, Women, Environment, Housing, Security

By

The Centre for Sport, Physical Education and Activity Research
and
The Research Centre for Children, Families and Communities

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FOREWORD

In May 2014 FIFA's Secretary General expressed exasperation at my lobbying for child rights to be reflected in the bidding process for awarding Mega Sporting Events, despite such lobbying being based on a clear evidence base. FIFA's Secretary General's response was: "Children are one of 110 topics I have on my list. How do you expect me to manage the weekly demands I receive from organisations to include additional concerns on the agenda?"

The question I came back with from this conversation was: "What should we change to generate interest on child rights at the level of the decision makers?"

Influenced by the conversations in which we were involved around child rights on what is now called the '2030 Development Agenda'[1], this political intelligence led us to engage much more in strategic alliances and to fully endorse the perspective that most abuses affect the lives of children. Having said that, our strategy to increase opportunities and reduce risks for children shifted towards a child-centred approach within a wider set of goals.

Our perspective is that a greater effort to put child rights in the bidding process will be more successful and effective when advocating for child rights within a broader framework. In this context, a united effort was then strengthened around the 'Sport and Rights Alliance' (SRA), a coalition of leading NGOs, sport organizations and trade unions engaged to address decision makers of international sport governing bodies to introduce measures to ensure these events are organized in a way that respects human rights, including child rights, labour rights, LGBT rights, the environment and anti-corruption requirements at all stages of the process – from bidding, infrastructure development to delivery and final reporting.

Borrowed from the world of engineers, the innovation is to "bridge" between the different 'sectors' impacted by Mega Sporting Events and child rights perspectives to inform more coherent approaches and form a child rights standpoint.

Commissioned from the Centre for Sport, Physical Education and Activity Research (SPEAR) and the Research Centre for Children, Families and Communities at Canterbury Christ Church University, the series of "bridges" intends to get us all out of our silos and start to collaborate with a more united influential capacity, respecting the specificities that make our organizations specialists in some strands of work.

Really good players don't just "keep their eyes on the ball".
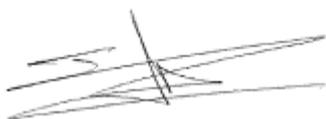
Ignacio Packer
Secretary General, Terre des Hommes

Terre des Hommes
International Federation

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[1] https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld

STANDPOINT OF THE 'CHILDREN WIN' CAMPAIGN

The Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup™, and other Mega Sporting Events are some of the world's great unifying moments, bringing people and cultures together in an international celebration of the greatest human physical achievements. Yet, while it is undeniable that these events provide many social opportunities and reasons for public pride, it is equally undeniable that they are not positive for everyone. For example, research conducted by the Transforming Childhoods Research Network (TCRN) at Dundee University[2] identified four key violations to children's rights in Brazil related to hosting Mega Sporting Events. These violations were police (and army) violence, displacement, sexual exploitation; and child labour. This research also highlighted how some children are more vulnerable to rights violations than others, for example, children in street situations, residents in favelas and young people were identified as most at risk of police violence. The available evidence also draws attention to the fact that children do not live in isolation and are also vulnerable to the rights violations experienced by their families and communities. This recognition is important, particularly when one considers that in Rio, according to the Popular Committee, an estimated 12,275 people in 24 communities have been displaced due to projects directly linked to the World Cup and the Olympics and forced evictions have been found to increase a child's risk of exploitation, physical violence, psychological harm and reduced access to health care and education[3].

The negative outcomes for children and their communities are at complete odds with the position of social responsibility that event owners like the International Olympic Committee suggest is a core aim of their activities. For example, the Olympic Charter sets out the aim of the Olympic Movement to promote development, freedom and respect, by placing "sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity".[4] Likewise FIFA's Statutes (2015) prohibit discrimination "of any kind against a country, private person or group of people on account of race, skin colour, ethnic, national or social origin, gender, language, religion, political opinion or any other opinion, wealth, birth or any other status, sexual orientation or any other reason.[5] Clearly the failure of these organisations to ensure that these principles are reflected in the delivery of their events fundamentally undermines the credibility of their commitment to these responsibilities and no Mega Sporting Event should be considered truly successful when it leads to the harm of local populations, including and especially, its children.

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[2] TCRN (2015) 'Let's win this Game together' Documenting violations of children's rights around the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil, University of Dundee: Transforming Childhoods Research Network.
[3] Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro, "Megaeventos e Violações dos Direitos Humanos no Rio de Janeiro" (2014):https://comitepopulario.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/dossiecomiterio2014_web.pdf (accessed 07-10-2015).
[4] International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Charter" (in force as from 2 August 2015), Fundamental Principles of Olympism n. 2. This citation needs completing e.g. (Chapter 1, Rule 2, Paragraph 13 of the 2015 Charter - http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf).
[5] http://www.fifa.com/mm/Document/AFFederation/Generic/02/58/14/48/2015FIFAStatutesEN_Neutral.pdf (accessed 07-10-2015).

The responsibility to ensure that local populations are protected from the risks created by Mega Sporting Event delivery processes is, however, not the sole responsibility of the sport governing body that owns them. National and local governments, public authorities and sponsors are all involved in hosting processes and are therefore also obliged to ensure that human rights are protected across the wide range of areas that are involved with delivery, from event related labour practices, to infrastructure development and security. These stakeholders also have to recognise that different social groups will have different vulnerabilities and that these vulnerabilities exist at all phases of the event life-cycle, from the bid phase right through to the 'legacy' period.

The clear message is, therefore, that stakeholders involved in pursuing and hosting Mega Sporting Events must recognise and meet their responsibilities to minimise and mitigate the risks of harm hosting processes raise. They must also ensure that positive opportunities are enjoyed by the local population, especially children, throughout the event life-cycle. This positive change will not happen until clear leadership is provided from the very top by the event owners and an explicit commitment to human rights is made a core requirement of the bid criteria which is overseen by an effective framework for implementation that includes access to remedy, human rights due diligence and risk assessment. Event owners must also recognize that not all hosts will have equal capacity to achieve the human rights commitments expected and in such cases any decision to award an event must be supported by a commitment to support local capacities so that host communities do not suffer as a result.

We do not deny that achieving this meaningful and positive progress will be challenging, but it is possible and Terre des Hommes alongside partners in the Sport and Rights Alliance is committed to supporting this change. The research presented here is part of this support which is intended to provide a clearer picture of the many and varied ways in which children and their family and community networks are affected by hosting processes so that the true range of risks and opportunities can be understood and, subsequently, appropriately addressed.

The 'Children Win' Team

CONTENTS

HEADLINE FINDINGS

Labour

- Children 'left behind' by migrant workers are at risk of physical and psychological harm and MSEs may exacerbate this
- MSEs are an opportunity to focus attention on manufacturing supply chains to improve workforce conditions and related impacts on children
- Poor labour conditions in event supply chains risk children's survival, development, protection and participation rights
- MSEs may adversely impact local economies and traders which may disproportionately affect children in the lowest income households

LGBT

- MSEs could help extend understanding of child protection to include the creation and maintenance of non-discriminatory social environments
- MSEs may provide opportunities to demonstrate that sport is inclusive of LGBT communities
- Young LGBT communities may be at greater risk of exclusion from MSE planning processes than their peers
- MSEs provide an opportunity to raise global awareness of LGBT discrimination in host countries

Women

- Women may be disproportionately affected by negative impacts of MSEs, which has related impacts on children
- Risks concerning sexual exploitation may be higher in the pre-event period
- Policies and practices around MSEs may affect the rights, health and safety of sex workers
- MSEs may provide particularly useful opportunities to target men with messages regarding women's and children's rights, health and well-being

Environment

- The recognition of children's rights in Olympic Agenda 21 may provide momentum for other MSEs to do the same
- MSE associated environmental impact assessments that do not address children's rights to survival, development, protection and participation are incomplete
- Environmental processes introduced for MSEs can improve a child's quality of life

Housing

- MSEs displace communities and when this happens children are impacted. The nature and scale of this impact varies
- Forced evictions may cause long-term trauma to children of affected communities
- The long-term consequences of event-led relocation for children are not monitored and therefore unknown
- Event-led regeneration processes may exacerbate the existing risks of harm to children

Security

- The increased policing and surveillance that accompanies MSEs can exacerbate the exclusion and injustice experienced by children, particularly those at risk of discrimination
- MSEs can exacerbate risks of violence experienced by poor, vulnerable and marginalised children, particularly in the event preparation period
- Event related security and city beautification legacies for children are not monitored and therefore unknown

1. INTRODUCTION

This research was commissioned by 'Terre des Hommes International Federation' to support the 'Children Win' (www.childrenwin.org) initiative through the provision of a series of evidence-based briefing papers that set out the ways in which children's rights intersect with mega sporting events (MSEs). The purpose of the papers is to clarify linkages, gaps and differences, encourage joint thinking and inform more coherent approaches from a children's rights standpoint. By developing this knowledge base Terre des Hommes seeks to inform advocacy measures and activities targeting MSE organizers and contribute to collective efforts to respect human rights at all stages of the event lifecycle: bidding, preparation, delivery and legacy. In line with these objectives, the papers have been designed as 'stand-alone' briefings that are accessible to a non-specialist audience. This necessarily has implications for the level of detail that has been included and attention is also drawn to the fact that although designed to 'stand-alone' the 'bigger picture' for children's rights and interests will be clearer when the papers are read together.

The review generated six briefing papers of seven themes initially identified by Terre des Hommes: labour rights, LGBT rights, women's rights, the environment, housing rights and security. The seventh issue area of corruption was not developed into a stand-alone paper as it became clear through the course of the review that it is more suitably understood as a cross-cutting consideration with implication for all themes because risks of human rights abuses are invariably exacerbated by corrupt practices and a lack of transparency. The briefing papers follow an agreed format which is set out in table 1.1 below. The intention of this approach was to provide consistency and guide the focus of discussions. However, an additional benefit is that it provides the basis for expanding the suite of research themes should this be deemed desirable. The analysis provided is grounded in the framework of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC) and uses the UN's definition of a child as anyone under the age of 18.

Table 1.1: Briefing Paper Structure

Thematic area e.g. labour	Content
What do we know?	What the literature says and the links that are or can be made to children's rights.
Evidence available	The data available, including discussion of monitoring and evaluation processes in place as appropriate
Children's voice	Whether and how children have been engaged in research
Debate Points	What do we need to know more about? What counter-perspectives are available? Conflicting issues that have been identified
Good practice	Examples of specific advocacy measures that have worked in this area and positive rights promotion initiatives implemented in the event lifecycle
Recommendations	Ways to move forward

2. RESEARCH APPROACH and BACKGROUND

In order to provide the briefing papers within the relatively short time-frame available a rapid evidence review was conducted, which is a more pragmatic and policy focused version of a full systematic review. The review incorporated inclusion criteria and a search strategy targeting a focused range of electronic databases and key sources (including academic literature, policy documentation and the views of key stakeholders). Relevant stakeholders were interviewed throughout the project, both to inform the literature and document search, and to explore insights provided by the literature and documents.

The review was conducted in two stages with the first focusing on the retrieval of empirical data (quantitative or qualitative) that explored the impact of hosting processes on rights broadly. The purpose of this stage was to: identify which interests and rights of children are or could be affected by MSEs and the point at which this impact is catalysed; facilitate the identification of previously unexplored issues and opportunities and; highlight potential cross-cutting themes. The second stage explored the material thematically to determine how children's rights connect with key interest areas in the MSE process in a way that provided scope to flexibly accommodate the 'living rights' of the children affected (Reynolds, *et al,* 2006). Resources cited and stakeholders interviewed are listed in appendices 1 and 2.

Research Background

Mega sporting events (MSEs) are undoubtedly significant social occasions that provide politically important opportunities to invest in targeted areas of need, improve policy and practice, communicate with domestic and international audiences, and provide valuable moments of collective celebration. They are also expensive and disruptive interventions that happen in community spaces and are predominantly publically funded. This means that from the moment a government makes the decision to pursue a hosting opportunity they also make themselves responsible for managing the subsequent impacts on *all* affected communities. Yet, as media reports concerning event-related community displacement in Brazil and environmental damage in Russia demonstrate much more needs to be done to manage the risks presented by hosting opportunities that can have devastating consequences that endure long after the event is over.

Developing the event-planning approach so that it is capable of recognising and responding to the opportunities and risks presented by hosting opportunities is well recognised. However, as research carried about by Weed *et al* (2012) into the use of MSEs to advance sport participation highlights, the knowledge to support effective policy making is still developing. It is also clear from Dowse's (2014) study of the political implications of the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa that government officers tasked with event delivery may need support to understand the full implications of the commitments made with event owners in terms of delivery plans and, subsequently, the rights and interests of affected communities. These issues are highly important in relation to children's rights and interests, because a low level of awareness among policy makers about their specific needs and interests can result in them being overlooked in planning processes as Bartlett's (1999) review of children's experience of urban planning highlights. To improve this situation Bartlett recommended the expansion of policy and associated processes to include a child-

centred and child-informed focus. However, over a decade later it appears that there is still much to do to achieve this as UNICEF *et al* (2012: 2) highlight in their more recent observation that children continue to be among the most "marginalized and vulnerable" members of society who are frequently excluded from decision-making processes. There are many reasons that children experience this level of disadvantage and discrimination, including, as the Children's Rights Alliance for England's (CRAE) (2015:2) recent evaluation of the UK's implementation of the UNCRC identifies, the failure of governments to establish a child-focus as routine practice in policy development. Another reason for this situation is the lack of adequate leadership on children's rights which, in political contexts, results in the "invisibility of children within the machinery of government (*ibid.)*."

Children's Rights and MSEs: the intersections

The research presented in the briefing papers clearly demonstrate that the "invisibility" of children identified by CRAE (2015) extends to MSE hosting processes, which in no small way reflects the fact that MSEs are essentially a national mega-project delivered by the "machinery of government." By association this raises a number of concerns, however, it is also clear that MSE hosting processes also provide opportunities to improve outcomes for children (see table 1.2). The risks and opportunities that were identified clearly align to the understanding, established in the UN CRC, that children's rights can be affected at three distinct, but interrelated and overlapping levels; the individual (direct), the family (indirect) and the broader community and physical environment (indirect). MSE delivery processes intersect with children's rights and interests at each of these levels raising the potential for direct and indirect consequences. Examples of the possible indirect effects include the opportunity presented to promote inclusive community environments which may benefit children as they negotiate evolving identities, while the potential for a direct effect could include the risk to a child's right to development presented by community relocation plans that fail to consider access to education. However, when considering these impacts it is important to keep in mind that MSEs are not inherently positive or negative and the outcomes generated cannot be considered in isolation from the contextual characteristics of the host society or the efficacy of associated planning processes. For example, events hosted in countries were social violence is a prevalent concern clearly have the potential to exacerbate this by introducing a new focus of social tension. However, at the same time they may also offer a means of improving social cohesion, at least temporarily, in a way that may reduce this risk profile. Consequently, event planning needs to take account of the potential for both effects, which may occur simultaneously, and utilise a proactive and strategic approach that is informed by the existing social risk profile and meaningful engagement of those that will be affected. Possible ways forward to achieve this are explored in the conclusion.

Table 1.2: MSEs and Children's Rights and Interests

Risks	Intersection with Events	Contextual Variables	Opportunities

• Survival
   • loss of housing
   • inadequate living standards
 • Development
   • lost or inaccessible education facilities
   • destruction of community networks
 • Protection
   • forced displacement
   • exploitation
 • Participation
   • exclusion
   • freedom of association
	• Infrastructure development
	 • Poor labour conditions
	
	 • Community relocation
	 • Gentrification
	
	 • City beautification
	 • Social stress
	
	 • Planning
	 • Security
		• Political system
		
		 • Stage of development
		
		 • Type & scale of event
		
		 • Approach to policy planning
		
		 • Existing risk profile for children & vulnerable communities
			• Survival
			   • Enhanced quality of life
			   • Safer environments
			 • Development
			   • Improved access to social facilities
			   • Community cohesion
			 • Protection
			   • More inclusive social practices
			   • Focused pro-child exploitation protection
			 • Participation
			   • Opportunities to engage in decision-making
			   • Improved social status

(Model adapted from Adams and Piekarz, 2015: 7)

Research that explores the specific consequences for children of MSEs hosting processes and could therefore support this more strategic approach is, unfortunately, relatively limited as a result of the dominance of thematic, adult or outcomes focused approaches. There are notable exceptions, for example, Brackenridge *et al's* (2013) study of child exploitation and the FIFA Football World Cup; the Transforming Childhoods Research Network's (TCRN, 2014) research into the impact of the 2014 FIFA Football World Cup on children's rights in Brazil; and Kennelly and Watt's (2011) study of homeless and street involved children and young adult's experience of the Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 Olympic Games. These studies demonstrate that the risks and opportunities for children are gaining increasing recognition, but the scale, nature and consequences are less well understood. Therefore, the extent to which risks evolve into harm cannot be determined (Brackenridge *et al* , 2013). This knowledge gap is another consequence of the "invisibility" of children which underpins the failure to monitor how they are affected by MSE delivery processes by, for example, developing data collection approaches that capture demographic profiles and have the capacity to attribute MSE impact. However, as Brackenridge *et al* also observe, the absence of data does not equate to the absence of risk or harm. Indeed, each of these studies provide support for broader research into MSE impacts that suggests that adverse impacts of MSE hosting processes are most likely to disadvantage the host's more marginalised and vulnerable community members which has already been established as including children (UNICEF *et al*, 2012). Consequently, there is a clear need for MSE research to develop critical mass around children's rights and interests, and this could certainly be informed by childhood studies which have yet to develop a substantive focus on MSEs. In the interim by cross-referencing research in related areas of childhood studies to the issues that have emerged as important features of hosting processes it is possible to gain an understanding of the nature of the potential outcomes for children and how these could be addressed. For example, as explored in the briefing paper on housing, understanding of the long-term consequences for children of event-associated, forced displacement can be supported by considering the research that has been carried out with children that have experienced this in non-MSE contexts. To be clear, the examples provided in the briefing papers that follow are not exhaustive, but they do provide the basis for understanding potential impacts.

HEADLINES

- **Children 'left behind' by migrant workers are at risk of physical and psychological harm and MSEs may exacerbate this**
- **MSEs are an opportunity to focus attention on manufacturing supply chains to improve workforce conditions and related impacts on children.**
- **Poor labour conditions in event supply chains risk children's survival, development, protection and participation rights**
- **MSEs may adversely impact local economies and traders which may disproportionately affect children in the lowest income households**

What do we know?

Issues concerning labour receive a lot of attention in the context of MSE hosting processes. Events are widely promoted for their employment creation potential which in the current contemporary economic climate makes them extremely attractive. However, these claims are heavily debated and the evidence suggests that employment benefits are oversold and outcomes generally fail to meet expectations (see for example, Hagn and Maennig, 2007). The employment creation potential is, however, only one feature associated with this aspect of MSEs. The other side of the labour dimension involves concerns regarding the potential for hosting processes to have negative impacts on local economies and the violation of labour rights within the event supply chain, particularly in the construction and manufacturing industries. These concerns have direct and indirect implications for children's rights, health and well-being, the obvious being the right to be protected from harmful and exploitative work (UN CRC: Art. 32), which Brackenridge *et al* (2013) highlight is a recognised risk associated with MSEs. However, less obvious is a child's right to an adequate standard of living and to be with or able to contact their parents (UN CRC: Arts. 9, 10 and 27), all of which are jeopardised if the labour rights of their parents are violated.

- **Children 'left behind' by migrant workers are at risk of physical and psychological harm and MSEs may exacerbate this**

The violation of labour rights of those building event required infrastructure has received significant international attention, particularly in relation to Russia and Qatar the recent hosts of the 2014 Winter Olympics and upcoming 2022 Football World Cup respectively.[6] The list of concerns levelled against construction operations in these countries is extensive and includes dangerous working and living conditions, non-payment of salaries, and the withholding of documents needed to change employment or return home (Amnesty International; 2013, 2014; Human Rights Watch, 2013). These rights abuses are justifiably a cause for concern, however, what receives limited attention in the associated discussions is the impact they have on the families 'left-behind' by the workers affected. Some insight into this impact is provided by Amnesty International's (2013: 21-59) research with migrant workers in Qatar which highlights, for example, how the non-payment of salaries may

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[6] See, for example, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/16/business/international/senate-fifa-inquiry-to-include-plight-of-construction-workers-in-qatar.html?_r=0 & http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2013/02/sochi-olympics (accessed 27/07/2015)

lead to a left-behind family's inability to buy basic necessities or pay rent, mortgages or school fees. This research also suggests that as a result of the financial hardship created the affected families may experience harassment by money lenders or be forced to sell personal belonging. No information is provided on the specific implications for the children in the affected families. However, this "collateral damage" receives very little attention as Brackenridge *et al's* (2013: 7) study of MSE associated child exploitation establishes. Children's rights experts interviewed for this study suggested the consequences could include more children becoming 'street-involved' or entering paid employment. A review of the research into the impact of migrant working on children left behind in non-MSE contexts also suggests that these labour violations are likely to exacerbate the existing physical and psychological risks experienced by left-behind children. For example, Castaneda and Buck's (2011: 105-6) research into the long-term emotional effects of migration on children left-behind found that families involved in remittance-led migration may "pay" for the economic benefit obtained with "psychological traumas." They also highlight how uncertainty about the duration of separation, such as would be caused by the issue of withheld documents in Qatar, is particularly unhelpful as it places the family in a state of continued instability. Research with migrant worker families in China, reported in the media, suggests that being left-behind increases a child's risk of depression, anxiety, low self-esteem and insecurity (Branigan, 2014). If these findings are overlaid with the concerns about migrant workers in MSE construction projects regarding labour violations that preclude remittances or return home it would suggest that the risks identified would be enhanced for the affected children.

- **MSEs are an opportunity to focus attention on manufacturing supply chains to improve workforce conditions and related impacts on children.**

The campaigns led by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch demonstrate that MSEs provide a platform for raising the profile of labour and human rights issues, like the Kafala system,[7] that may otherwise receive more limited attention (Dorsey, 2014). In the same way MSEs provide a platform for encouraging better management of industries within their supply chains. This has been demonstrated by the London 2012 Organising Committee's (LOCOG) adoption of the Ethical Trading Initiative Base (ETIB), which is a code of conduct covering labour standards including decent work, the elimination of child labour and appropriate health and safety arrangements, as a contractual obligation for suppliers of licensed Olympic goods (Labour Behind the Label, 2012). Although The London 2012 Organising Committee (LOCOG) was criticised for poor management of the implementation of the ETIB, the fact that a host city agreed that labour standards must be operationalized within the event supply chain establishes an important benchmark that subsequent hosts may struggle to ignore. In addition, the acceptance of the ETIB also provided campaigners with a framework for evaluating the performance of LOCOG and its delivery partners and identifying achievements and where additional action is required (Labour Behind the Label, 2012). The research carried out to support the Fair Play Campaign and evaluate LOCOG's performance with respect to the ETIB established that child labour remains a problem in event supply chains, but it is not clear how pervasive it is (Labour behind the Label, 2012). This research also noted reports of child labourers being hidden from factor audits which suggest that the prohibitions against child labour are at least recognised in Olympic supply chains, although how far this is related to broader national legislation or, in this case, the LOCOG's ETIB requirements is impossible to determine. What can be said is that LOCOG's action in adopting the ETIB was at least supportive of recognised safeguarding

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[7] The Kafala system is a sponsorship system used by Gulf Cooperation Council countries to manage their migrant workforces. Under this system foreign workers need to be sponsored by a local citizen or local company in order for their work visas and residency to be valid and they are unable to change jobs, resign or enter or leave the country without the permission of their employer. For more information see Priyanka Motaparthy's explanation on http://www.migrant-rights.org/2015/03/understanding-kafala-an-archaic-law-at-cross-purposes-with-modern-development/ (accessed 27/07/2015)

provisions. This is not always the case as appears evident with respect to the 2014 Football World Cup in Brazil which led to the lifting of the prohibition on under-18s participating in 'Gandula' work (retrieving footballs that have left the playing field) introduced by the Brazilian Football Federation in 2004 (TCRN, 2014).

- **Poor labour conditions in event supply chains risk children's survival, development, protection and participation rights**

Evidence presented by UNICEF and the International Labour Organisation (ILO and UNICEF, 2013) makes clear that the implications of poor working conditions for children are multiple, extend beyond their direct employment and are not in any way unique to MSEs. This is illustrated by research carried out with children of textile factory workers[8] which highlights how a range of survival, protection and development rights are put at risk by the poor working conditions and low pay of their parents (Swedwatch, 2014). For the children affected this can include the assumption of parental responsibilities and associated anxieties when unable to provide for siblings in their care and a restricted ability to access education. It can also include developmental harm from the malnutrition caused by the parents' inability to provide for basic needs as a result of poor wages, and the risk of injury and death due the absence of adult supervision. UNICEF and ILO (2013) also suggest that girls will be disproportionately affected by these issues as gender norms tend to place them in care giving roles. The Swedwatch (2014) research also highlights how, under these circumstances, some children come to perceive themselves as a burden and as a result may accept physical violence against them. Labour rights violations that include the absence of maternity provision, as has been identified in research into MSE supply chains, suggests that these risks are also likely to affect children in early childhood years as well as during the pre-natal stage. This is because the lack of these provisions together with low pay is likely to increase pressure on the female workforce to work long hours during pregnancy and remain at or return to work longer or sooner than is safe to do so for their personal health and that of the unborn or young child. A statistical analysis conducted by UNICEF (2014: 12), although unrelated to MSEs, highlights how stress caused by violence[9] experienced by the mother and child in pre-natal period and early childhood periods may damage foetal growth, childhood development and, as a consequence, health in adulthood.

- **MSEs may adversely impact local economies and traders which may disproportionately affect children in the lowest income households**

MSEs are frequently promoted as a means of encouraging or accelerating economic development in official narratives that frequently fail to acknowledge the risk they present to the livelihoods of those within the host community and the associated impact on existing levels of poverty. Examples of these risks are evident in research reports concerning the London 2012 Games which identified the potential for adverse consequences in local business economies as a result of event-related transport strategies that displaced possible trade (Giulianotti *et al*, 2015). They are also evident in concerns raised by rights advocates about the impact of commercial exclusion zones required by FIFA for the 2010 Football World Cup which affected access to traditional markets around event venues (Wintour, 2010). It is important to recognise that these community level economic impacts are not homogenous and where outcomes are positive, they represent a potential benefit for children who would be expected to gain from the improved economic circumstances of the family. Conversely, where outcomes are negative and household finances are depressed the consequences could include increased risks of harm and reduced access to basic necessities for the children of

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[8] Not known to be related to MSEs
[9] The UN CRC General Comment 13 (2011) sets out the full definition of violence to children. The main categories concern physical violence, sexual violence, mental violence and neglect or negligent treatment.

affected households. This observation flows from research explored by UNICEF (2014: 11) which found that "those who suffered severe neglect were 60% more likely… to have had a financially harmful job loss in their household in the past year." It seems reasonable to suggest that if the economic situation of those affected was already fragile, as was the case for many of the street traders identified as at risk by the 2010 exclusion zones, the associated risks for children are likely to be more severe. This risk is also not specific to developing countries as MSEs are frequently adopted as tools for the regeneration of highly deprived areas in developed countries which means the impact identified by Giulianotti *et al* (2015) potentially carries the same risk profile for children.

The evidence available

Research that explores the specific consequences for children of MSEs hosting processes is relatively limited. The findings of this theme are aligned with that reflected in the research by Brackenridge *et al* (2013) and TCRN (2014) which confirms that risks and opportunities for children's' rights and interests exist, but highlights that the scale, nature and consequences are frequently unclear. This knowledge gap is a consequence of the "invisibility" of children in event processes which manifests as the failure to monitor how they are impacted by, for example, developing data collection approaches that capture demographic profiles and have the capacity to attribute MSE effects. However, discussions in child-specific research also suggest that this gap is not unique to this aspect of MSEs. For example Castaneda and Buck (2011) highlight that there is relatively little research into the impact of remittance-led migration on the children left behind. Added to this problem in relation to labour issues are the challenges involved in gathering the required information which current debates concerning the numbers of migrant workers involved in event-related construction work demonstrates is difficult, even in relation to adults.[10] These challenges include poor recording of employment details, complex and frequently undisclosed sub-contracting arrangements, and the reluctance of workers to discuss poor conditions for fear of jeopardising unprotected employment. PlayFair 2008 (2007) and Labour Behind the Label's (2012) respective studies of factories within MSE supply chains also reflect differences which suggest that generalising from the samples used would be inappropriate. In terms of impacts on local economies and the financial situation of the urban poor, the availability of data is similarly limited by the absence of monitoring and contextual challenges which include the transient nature of informal trading communities, the acceptance of child labour, and the size of the geographical area covered by multi-site events like the Football World Cup. Children's rights experts also suggest that measuring the economic impact alone would provide for a partial understanding which to be complete would need to explore the broader social and psychological implications for the families affected. However, while it is not possible to determine the scale of event-specific impact, given the numbers of workers involved in event-related construction, manufacturing and local economies, even a most conservative calculation would indicate at least a significant minority of children could be affected worldwide.[11] In terms of the nature of the impact, the picture is clearer in places as a result of the ability to cross-reference concerns raised in MSE hosting processes with empirical data from studies that explore the impact on children of the same issues in non-MSE contexts. This cross-referencing also provides opportunities to identify where risks may be present or exacerbated. An example of this is the review of the impact of the violation of migrant worker rights on children left behind.

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[10] See for example, http://blogs.channel4.com/factcheck/factcheck-migrant-workers-dying-qatar/20977 (accessed 27/07/2015)

[11] By way of illustration, figures reported for construction workers in Sochi in relation to the 2010 Winter Olympic Games suggest that over 200,000 foreign workers may have been involved in the construction of games related infrastructure (Human Rights Watch, 2013: 20). While reports from South Africa estimate that 300 traders were displaced in one host city alone (Burrocco, 2014)

The voice of the children

The limited profile of children in the context of MSEs is reflected in the relatively low amount of information about children's participation in MSE related decision-making processes or child-centred research that has been accessed for this briefing paper. This is not to say that this participation is not happening, there are clearly lots of child-focused initiatives linked to MSEs which provide numerous opportunities for this to take place. However, because what happens is likely to be very specific to individual hosts and conducted through local organisations it is equally likely that it is not being systematically documented or made widely available. Beyond this there is also the issue that despite an encouraging growth in the attention given to children's right to participation, as Thomas's (2007) review of the related literature makes clear, the practical outcomes could be more limited because power in decision-making is infrequently delegated, certain groups of children, particularly those already disadvantaged and marginalised, are not being included and children have few opportunities to come together as a social group to express common interests. Linked to these issues, concerns identified by Thomas include approaches to participation that involve informing or placating children rather than engaging them in long-term dialogue about relevant issues and interests and a focus on needs over wishes or ideas. The research carried out for this briefing paper suggests that these concerns extend to MSE delivery processes, although it is also clear that children have participated in research conducted around labour issues and have also been the specific focus of labour impact studies. For example, Swedwatch's (2014) research into the impact of poor working conditions on children in Bangladesh involved 44 children aged between 2 and 13 whose parents worked in textile factories and who may be internal migrant labourers. Nothing in the report indicates that these factories are within any MSE event supply chains. However given that the textile industry is a key supply for MSEs it is reasonable to accept the children's feedback as illustrative of the issues that would be experienced elsewhere, which offers an insight that is currently unavailable in MSE research. For example, children involved in parenting responsibilities reflected how being unable to provide for those in their care made them feel helpless, while those looked after by others when their parents worked away reflected how missing their parents made them sad and it appears that for some children these different factors come together to leave them feeling like a burden on adults and, as a result, physical violence experienced is accepted.

Debate Points

- The extent of the associated risk experienced by the children of migrant workers on MSE construction projects is unknown and therefore requires investigation. A programme of work that includes identifying the impact of MSEs specifically and the support available to affected families would also offer opportunities to raise the profile of this issue.

- Issues concerning child labour in relation to MSEs cannot be divorced from the broader social context within which the event takes place. Where forms of child labour are socially accepted opportunities created by an event are likely to be positively perceived, particularly if they provide a means of improve family circumstances or constructive occupation (TCRN, 2014). With respect to a child's living rights engagement in paid work may represent a conscious response to their circumstances and by association the greater priority may be to support their right to work in dignity and participate in forums regulating child labour (Hanson and Vandaele, 2003).

- Concern was raised by interviewees regarding the potential for MSE-led attention on manufacturing supply chains to catalyse improvements in relation to event specific production lines alone. This could present a risk to achieving progress if the profiling of these achievements detracts attention from continuing worker rights violations.

Good practice in advocacy or social programmes

The approach adopted by the Play Fair Campaign which combined constructive engagement with the event organisers alongside public campaigning provides an example of good practice that other campaigns could learn from. The benefits of this approach is that it facilitates progress towards mutually acceptable solutions while at the same time ensuring that pressure for change is maintained. Feedback from those involved in international campaigning highlights that this is a challenging approach to resource. However, its value is indicated by observations made by Dorsey (2014) on the comments by Qatari officials concerning migrant workers issues which suggest that engagement is more likely if those campaigning for reform are perceived as genuinely interested in supporting progress and demonstrate this by contributing to improvement processes that recognise the practical challenges that may be involved.

There is evidence of collaborative work between multi-national organisations and civil society groups to provide support for families with migrant worker parents. For example, in China one partnership worked to support distance parenting by enabling regular parent-to-child contact through the provision of telephone cards. This programme also supported left-behind families with education and guidance services (UNICEF *et al*, 2012). These projects could provide models for MSE-led support programmes for migrant workers that would enable associated industries that are dependent on migrant labour to help offset the impacts on children left behind.

Recommendations

- Programmes of reform need to ensure a 'golden thread' flows from the event owner right down to the workers and families in delivery supply chains and the broader community. For example, it makes little sense to require a host city to protect the interests of local traders without accommodating this requirement within contractual obligations concerning commercial 'exclusion zones.' In the same way event owners cannot demand that a country respects prohibitions on the use of child labour, but at the same time accepts changes to national mechanisms established for this purpose as for example in Brazil with respect to the Gandula system.

- The requirement for adherence to specific labour standards in event supply chains has to be led by event owners. Until this happens the adoption of protective frameworks like the ETIB will be piecemeal and implementation undermined by the absence of body of knowledge concerning what works in what contexts and how.

HEADLINES

- **MSEs could help extend understanding of child protection to include the creation and maintenance of non-discriminatory social environments**
- **MSEs may provide opportunities to demonstrate that sport is inclusive of LGBT communities**
- **Young LGBT communities may be at greater risk of exclusion from MSE planning processes than their peers**
- **MSEs provide an opportunity to raise global awareness of LGBT discrimination in host countries**

What do we know?

The findings of research into MSEs consistently indicate that the communities most likely to be negatively impacted by hosting processes are those that already experience social disadvantaged and marginalisation (COHRE, 2007; Gustafson, 2015; Kennelly, 2015). However, while the body of knowledge concerning the social impact of MSEs is growing, it is predominantly organised with an adult or theme focus. This means that with few exceptions (Kennelly and Watt, 2011; Brackenridge *et al*, 2013; TCRN, 2014) children as a special interest group with specific rights has received relatively little attention and LGBT communities, who are likely to experience additional challenges, receive even less focused attention. Consequently, because children's rights do not exist in isolation from their broader family and community environments, it appears that the intersection between LGBT issues, MSEs and children operates at three levels of impact. Firstly, in relation to the support available for children with evolving or established sexual identities. Secondly, in relation to LGBT households, where children may be affected by the discrimination experienced by parents and other family members, and finally children in society at a general level in relation to the development of positive and inclusive behaviours.

- **MSEs could help extend understanding of child protection to include the creation and maintenance of non-discriminatory social environments**

The Sochi 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Russia stands out as an example of the way in which MSEs can be used to draw attention to discrimination experienced by LGBT communities in Russia. The use of events as a means of protesting against social injustice is well established as the international anti-Apartheid sports boycott against South Africa demonstrates. However, the Sochi example has a particularly important intersection with children's rights because the focus of the international and domestic protest was Russian legislation that criminalises the promotion of LGBT relations to those

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[12] There are a variety of acronyms, LGBT, LGBTI, LGBTIQ, that are used collectively to refer to lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender, queer or questioning and intersexed identities and sometimes the letter 'A' is also included to denote 'Allies'. In the absence of an agreed terminology (as demonstrated in this news article http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/10/fashion/generation-lgbtqia.html) this paper uses the acronym LGBT as shorthand for these identities, but recognises the range of alternative options and associated debates that exist.

under 18 and uses the language of child protection to justify these measures. The unfortunate reality is that contrary to protection, measures that preclude the acceptance of homosexuality as normal and deny children opportunities to discuss their evolving and established sexual identities are more likely to increase their risks of harm. This observation is supported by LGBT focused social rights advocacy organisations, like Stonewall, who have highlighted how this legislation may reinforce the prevalent view in Russia that 'non-traditional' relations are abnormal.[13] This social situation means that there are relatively few support structures available to those that do not fit this model and this legislation risks precluding children from what little there is. Interviewees for this study with experience in child rights and LGBT social justice related advocacy were therefore of the opinion that the approach of the Russian government represented a misrepresentation and abuse of the concept of child protection. They also felt that while this had been recognised what had not happened was an explicit statement of what child protection should be understood as and how this legislation violated these principles. In terms of promoting the rights and interests of children this could be considered a missed opportunity, particularly with respect to the right to protection from all forms of violence which, UNICEF (2014) research suggests, LGBT children are particularly vulnerable to, and which to address requires a change in social norms and attitudes and the education of parents who are crucial to a child's supportive environment.

- **MSEs may provide opportunities to demonstrate that sport is inclusive of LGBT communities**

While research suggests that homosexuality within sport is becoming increasingly more acceptable in some contexts, the examples of Russia and Qatar highlight that this is not uniformly the case (Anderson, 2011). Consequently, MSEs could provide a powerful champion for gay-positive cultures and lead the development and promotion of novel approaches to inclusive sport programmes. Currently it does not appear that this opportunity is being utilised. For example, LGTB organisation representatives highlighted how the failure to accommodate children with evolving or established LGBT identities as a special interest group in event planning was unhelpful in relation to established low levels of engagement with sport and physical activity. This concern had two, inter-related dimensions, firstly the missed opportunities to encourage more inclusivity in established social institutions and secondly, the risk presented of reinforcing an existing social stigma that 'gays do not do sport' (Anderson, 2011). This latter observation is supported by research into the re-imaging potential of MSEs which highlights the risk of reinforcing dominant stereotypes when the messages communicated support existing social understandings and practices (Dimeo and Kay, 2004). However, it is possible to modify these perceptions if counter-messages are consistent, from credible sources and supported with evidence. The implications are therefore that the established stigmatisation of sport with respect to LGBT participants and the way in which existing practices, like PE, do not accommodate complex social identities will be reinforced, rather than challenged by MSE hosting processes that do not include additional measures that recognise the special needs and interests of LGBT communities. Conversely MSE processes that challenge this stigmatisation by, for example, actively promoting inclusion and positive role models provide opportunities to advance the social situation of LGBT communities.

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[13] See for example the documentary 'Young and Gay in Putin's Russia' available from Stonewall at http://www.stonewall.org.uk/what_we_do/9434.asp (accessed 27/07/15)

- **Young LGBT communities may be at greater risk of exclusion from MSE planning processes than their peers**

MSE hosting processes are generally criticised for their failure to include the affected communities in meaningful dialogue about the issues will affect their lives and interests (for example see the briefing paper on women). It also appears that the more marginalised and vulnerable a community is the greater the likelihood of exclusion (Deering *et al,* 2012). This lack of engagement raises two key issues for MSE planning processes, firstly the ability to ensure that the interests that will be affected are identified and secondly the ability to determine appropriate responses. Feedback from children's rights advocates and those that work with LGBT communities interviewed for this study suggested that this issue was highly relevant to children who may be at risk of exclusion from consultations altogether or informed about plans made rather than engaged in activities that provide opportunities to influence planning processes. Within these related discussions it was suggested that this twin process of exclusion was the perceived experience for at least some young LGBT communities in London in relation to the 2012 Olympic Games and the possibility was raised that this approach is particularly exclusionary for LGBT communities. This was explained in relation to the second aspect in particular which placed the onus on the children to engage with pre-set 'for all' programmes which was inappropriate due to their higher level of disengagement from sport. Overcoming this disengagement requires meaningful engagement to identify perceived barriers and responses that can respond flexibly to articulated interests. Studies that consider the intersections between MSEs and issues of social justice more broadly highlight that the problems raised by this exclusion is not unique to official event planning processes. For example, Sykes and Lloyd (2012) review of the 2010 Vancouver Games in relation to the rights and interests of indigenous and LGBT communities suggests that the failure to identify and consult with children as a special interest group within civil society LGBT initiatives may lead to negative consequences. In this case, this possibility related to the use of LGBT community facilities as venues for games-related social spaces which may have displaced young local users from the support available to them.

- **MSEs provide an opportunity to raise global awareness of LGBT discrimination in host countries**

MSEs provided an effective platform for raising international awareness of LGBT discrimination and this has been recognised in relation to events in Sochi and Qatar. It has also gained important recognition through the amendment of Principle 6 of the Olympic Charter to include the specific prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of sex and sexual orientation.[14] Theoretically, this amendment should prevent the award of future Olympic Games to countries that demonstrate the discrimination evident in Russia and Qatar, although this is yet to be proven. However, while this opportunity has been recognised, less attention is focused on the debates about the appropriate way to use this positive potential, particularly with regards to international action on behalf of domestic communities. For example, the wisdom of the demands for an international boycott of the 2014 Sochi Games was not universally agreed. Those in support of this approach promoted the view

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[14] See for example, http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/08/us-olympics-changes-rights-idUSKBN0JM1UE20141208 / (accessed 27/07/2015)

that it represented a means of demonstrating the worldwide disapproval of Russian law. Those that opposed a boycott suggested that it would be more useful if international supporters remained engaged.[15] This latter tactic was certainly the preferred option of some in Russia who were using the opportunity presented by the Sochi Games to profile their concerns, but stated that they were against a boycott in principle as it could provide another reason for persecuting LGBT communities in Russia.[16] As an alternative they encouraged the international community to support their activities through, for example, symbolic measures like waving the multi-coloured flag in associated ceremonies.

Evidence available

Research that explores the specific consequences for children of MSEs hosting processes is relatively limited. The findings of this theme are aligned with that reflected in the research by Brackenridge *et al* (2013) and TCRN (2014) which confirms that risks and opportunities for children's' rights and interests exist, but highlights that the scale, nature and consequences are frequently unclear. This knowledge gap is a consequence of the "invisibility" of children in event processes which manifests as the failure to monitor how they are impacted by, for example, developing data collection approaches that capture demographic profiles and have the capacity to attribute MSE effects. However, discussions in child-specific research also suggest that this gap is not unique to MSEs, rather it reflects the broader discrimination experienced by LGBT communities. For example, Saewyc's (2012: 268) review of the research into adolescent sexual orientation development and health identified that despite a significant increase in the body of knowledge available "far more work to be done to achieve equity with heterosexual teens." One researcher interviewed for this study highlighted how the absence of inclusive research approaches contributes to the inappropriately low profile that people with evolving or established transgender identities have in terms of risk profiling for sexual exploitation in relation to MSEs where the focus on women and children collectively exacerbates existing exclusion and risk of harm. Consequently, there is limited information available to inform understandings of the impact of MSEs on children with established or evolving LGBT identities, in LGBT involved households or on the LGBT perceptions of children more broadly. Therefore, while the issues highlighted in this paper are likely to be very real and immediate for those affected, they are inferred from general LGBT research rather than research in MSEs specifically.

The Voice of Children

The limited profile of children in the context of MSEs is reflected in the relatively low amount of information about children's participation in MSE related decision-making processes or child-centred research that has been accessed for this briefing paper. This is not to say that this participation is not happening, there are clearly lots of child-focused initiatives linked to MSEs which provide numerous opportunities for this to take place. However, because what happens is likely to be very specific to individual hosts and conducted through local organisations it is equally likely that it is not being

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[15] For examples of these debates see http://www.channel4.com/news/russia-lbgt-winter-olympics-persecution-anti-gay-law-putin (accessed 27/07/2015)
[16] This is discussed in the documentary *Young & Gay in Putin's Russia* available at http://www.stonewall.org.uk/what_we_do/9434.asp (accessed 27/07/2015)

systematically documented or made widely available. Beyond this there is also the issue that despite an encouraging growth in the attention given to children's right to participation, as Thomas's (2007) review of the related literature makes clear, the practical outcomes could be more limited because power in decision-making is infrequently delegated, certain groups of children, particularly those already disadvantaged and marginalised, are not being included and children have few opportunities to come together as a social group to express common interests. Linked to these issues, concerns identified by Thomas include approaches to participation that involve informing or placating children rather than engaging them in long-term dialogue about relevant issues and interests and a focus on needs over wishes or ideas. The research carried out for this briefing paper suggests that these concerns extend to MSE delivery processes and the relatively new focus on LGBT related issues points to the additional exclusion experienced by these communities.

Debate Points

- Much more needs to be known about the impact of MSEs on children with established or evolving LGBT identities, in LGBT involved households or on the perceptions of children more broadly of LGBT communities and identities.

- The risks presented by uncoordinated social justice campaigns that may promote the rights of one marginalised group at the expense of another and expose young people within those groups to additional exclusion.

- Whether the use of MSEs to profile discrimination in host countries risks exposing vulnerable communities by drawing attention to them, particularly as international attention tends to move on at the close of the event.

Good practice

Social justice advocates interviewed as part of this research suggested that the best way to identify appropriate approaches to using international MSE focused campaigns to support communities that experience discrimination in host countries is to engage with those affected where possible. The focus of this engagement should be to identify the support sought, approach preferred, and the associated language to use.

Recommendations

- There is a clear gap in knowledge in relation to the experiences of LGBT communities in MSE contexts. Work to address this deficit could include a programme of research which explores the scale and nature of the impacts generated and the measures that need to be included in event planning. Another valuable dimension of this work would be to explore how an inclusive environment for LGBT communities can be promoted through MSEs broadly.
- Social justice organisations need to develop a more coordinated approach to MSE-focused campaigning in order to ensure that interventions are complementary, address risk profiles in host countries and minimise the potential for adverse consequences.

5. EVIDENCE BASED BRIEFING PAPERS: INTERSECTING THEMES
WOMEN

HEADLINES

- **Women may be disproportionately affected by negative impacts of MSEs, which has related impacts on children**
- **Risks concerning sexual exploitation may be higher in the pre-event period**
- **Policies and practices around MSEs may affect the rights, health and safety of sex workers**
- **MSEs may provide particularly useful opportunities to target men with messages regarding women's and children's rights, health and well-being**

What do we know?

It is well established that women are routinely disadvantaged by exclusion and discrimination[17] and while the severity of this may vary across different social contexts, the dominant themes are essentially the same; women have fewer choices and less control over their lives as a result of discriminatory social norms, values, institutions, and public policies. Research also suggests that this social inequality and disadvantage will be exacerbated if women also happen to be poor, disabled, LGBT and/or from minority ethnic communities because the discrimination these identities experience individually are exacerbated when combined (See for example Parker *et al*, 2007). While research presented by the ILO and UNICEF (2012) suggests that this discrimination may begin in childhood with life-long consequences. Consequently, women falling into these groups have fewer resources in terms of time, money and personal skills with which to organise and protect their interests and engage with the bureaucratic processes that condition their life choices. This is a particular problem in relation to children as women tend to be the primary care giver and are most likely to be the care giver in one-parent households which means children are highly likely to be impacted by discrimination or harm experienced by their parents. Children in society at a general level may also be affected in relation to the development of positive and inclusive behaviours towards women. Finally, children will also be affected at an individual level as a consequence of MSE impacts on the popular perception of social issues that may divert attention from, or misrepresent, the risks they face or limit the associated support available to them. With respect to MSEs it is recognised that they are not exclusive to men, but as a result of the existing social structures concerning sport they are likely to be predominantly male in terms of audience, participants and governing structures. For this reason, despite the fact that women are not a minority per se, women's interests may be approached as such and as a result the associated planning may fail to capture the full range of potential impacts.

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[17] As demonstrated by the continuing work to address this issue, for example as within the United Nations Development programme
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/concept_note_iceland_gender_conference_04222015.final_.pdf
(accessed 27/07/2015)

- **Women may be disproportionately affected by negative impacts of MSEs, which has related impacts on children**

Research that explores the social impacts of MSE hosting processes suggests that women's additional vulnerabilities are not routinely accommodated within official event planning processes, beyond a focus on sport participation based inequalities. There is far more evidence of targeted civil society led activities which mean that the risks and opportunities presented for women are addressed in different ways across and even within host countries. The research is similarly clear that the lack of a strategic approach is an omission because there are a number of issues raised by event hosting processes that are disproportionately associated with women and therefore have the potential to disproportionately affect children. These include the potential to increase risks of domestic violence (Brimicomb and Café, 2012) and sexual exploitation (TCRN, 2014). Although it is important to recognise that the concerns raised may also be nuanced according to the hosts prevailing social structures, as for example, the predominance of females in the informal economy in South Africa which meant that the commercial restrictions imposed by the 2010 Football World Cup had the potential to disadvantage poor women in particular (Wintour, 2010). There are implications for children's rights and well-being flowing from each of these issues of concern although these too will be nuanced according to the issue and the profile of the child most at risk.

- **Risks concerning sexual exploitation may be higher in the pre-event period**

The potential for MSEs to increase the opportunities and motivations for sexual exploitation and prostitution driven trafficking receive significant media and political attention. This is generally based on the perception that event-led increases in tourism will elevate the demand for commercial sex services, while the risk of exploitation is exacerbated by hosting processes that intensify the vulnerability of disadvantaged groups (Hicks, 2010). At present the data to determine the true nature of this relationship is unavailable and how far increases in risk evolve into harm is unknown (Brackenridge *et al*, 2013). However, this does not mean that the relationship does not exist nor does it mean that there is no associated risk or associated harm. What it does mean is a great deal of uncertainty and an inability to inform political and public debates which are currently vulnerable to misrepresentation and sensationalism. It also means that it is difficult to determine how far the attention received is appropriate or whether it is diverting attention from more acute risks to women and children. Evidence to support this latter concern is available. For example, separate research into the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games (Deering *et al*, 2012) and the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa (Delva *et al*, 2011) did not identify an increase in the demand for commercial sex work. In contrast, in Vancouver it appears that demand was lower, potentially due to factors including restricted access to public roads and increased police presence. While in South Africa demand remained relatively constant, but foreign clients appeared to temporarily displace the usual custom of some sex workers. Neither study identified a significant decrease in the age of sex workers, in South Africa for example, the average age decreased from 28.6 years to 26.9 years (Delva *et al*, 2011: 2). Nor did they identify evidence of trafficking. In terms of the implication for children, the findings therefore offer some support for the potential raised by, *inter alia*, children's rights experts that MSEs do not fit the model associated with those that travel for sex with children who tend to prefer opportunities that protect their anonymity. This is not to suggest that it does not happen, but this is more likely to be "situational offending" where opportunities are taken as

presented. Taken together this suggests that the focus on 'games time' and sport tourists as the main risk point in the event lifecycle may be misplaced. For example, if concentrations of men are a risk factor then the growth in demand and opportunities for sexual exploitation may be higher in the preparation period around un-policed construction sites which concentrate male workforces near vulnerable communities in which children may be unsupervised. Research carried out by Childhood Brazil in 2009[18] certainly suggests that construction sites are a cause for concern and research carried out by the TCRN (2014) confirms that event related construction sites have been identified as concerns by for those working in affected communities in Brazil. One interviewee also noted how similar concerns had been raised but unproven in relation to the 'African Games' in Ghana.[19] It was also suggested that risks may be higher where construction workers are detached from their family structures or suffer poor living conditions, and during the preparation period, as a result of the additional vulnerabilities caused by displacement and the increased number of foreign nationals involved in project start-ups who may feel more anonymous in short-term placements. Alongside these issues concerns was raised that the dominant focus on women and children obscured the risks faced by male children and those with evolving or established LGBT identities.

- **Policies and practices around MSEs may affect the rights, health and safety of sex workers**

Concern has been raised by civil society sex work advocacy groups that although host organisers and event owners engage in public discussions about the risks created by MSEs in relation to trafficking, sex work and exploitation this is rarely accompanied by practical strategies to ensure the safety of those that would be affected. For example, Richter and Massawe's (2010) report on the lessons learned for sex work advocacy from the 2010 Football World Cup suggests that FIFA and the South African government failed to use the opportunity to raise awareness about the rights of sex workers or take practical steps to ensure their safety. This means that event owners and organisers are at risk of recognising a socially sensitive issue, but failing to engage with the more challenging task of assessing the risk in the context of the broader social impacts, informing the public debate and targeting interventions to identified need and opportunity. The available evidence suggests that in the absence of this approach increases the vulnerability of women sex workers. For example, Deering *et al*'s (2012) research, which was carried out with sex workers aged 14 and over, raised the possibility that the displacement of sex workers to more isolated areas can increase risks of sexually transmitted disease transmission and violence as a result of reduced access to health support services and visibility. Consequently, the key message of the authors was host cities should focus on developing strategies that respond to the risks generated by the criminalisation and displacement of sex workers.

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[18] Childhood Brazil is part of the World Childhood Foundation and works to prevent the sexual exploitation of children. It was not possible to obtain the full report "The Sexuality of the Construction Worker" and the findings referenced here are detailed on organisation's website www.childhood.org.br/dimensions-and-impacts#risks (Accessed 19/08/15)

[19] It is believed that the interviewee was referring to the 2008 Africa Cup of Nations

- **MSEs may provide particularly useful opportunities to target men with messages regarding women's and children's rights, health and well-being**

While women are not the only victims of domestic violence, they are more likely to be the most negatively affected and there are significant implications for children of bearing witness to violence in the home. For example, children who witness violence may grow up believing that it is acceptable and are more likely to experience abuse or perpetrate violence in their own relationships (UNICEF, 2014: 131-2).A relationship between events and an increased risk of domestic violence has been identified and is perceived to flow from the combination of increased alcohol consumption and the emotional heat generated by sport competitions (United Kingdom, Home Office: Police and Crime Standards Directorate, 2006: 36). However, caution has been raised concerning the potential for a focus on events to obscure the fact that domestic violence is a much broader concern and more significant increases are observed during Christmas and New Year periods (Brimicombe and Café, 2012). Research that has explored the risk factors for violence against women more broadly has found that alcohol abuse, young age, social attitudes supportive of violence against women, experiencing abuse as a child and growing up with domestic violence (Abramsky *et al*, 2011). The identification of these risk factors highlights the need for interventions that engage men and women to challenge gender norms and perceptions of acceptable behaviour and the preventative possibility of support for children exposed to domestic violence which may reduce the risk that they engage in violent behaviour in later life. As these risk factors are likely to be present in MSE delivery contexts, it is therefore possible that MSEs, which represent an opportunity to capture the attention of men in particular, could provide a particularly useful channel for supporting attitudes and behaviour changes towards alcohol and the acceptability of violence against females. This possibility was supported by feedback from child rights advocates interviewed for this study who highlighted how sport events offer incredible opportunities to support survival and development rights by raising awareness among men and boys of important health care messages and the support available for those affected by issues like domestic violence in the home.

The Evidence Available

Research that explores the specific consequences for children of MSEs hosting processes is relatively limited. The findings of this theme are aligned with that reflected in the research by Brackenridge et al (2013) and the Transforming Childhoods Research Network (2014) which confirms that risks and opportunities for children's' rights and interests exist, but highlights that the scale, nature and consequences are frequently unclear. This knowledge gap is a consequence of the "invisibility" of children in event processes which manifests as the failure to monitor how they are impacted by, for example, developing data collection approaches that capture demographic profiles and have the capacity to attribute MSE effects. However, discussions in child-specific research also suggest that this gap is not unique to MSEs. A similar gap also appears to exist in relation the intersection between MSEs and women and this is surprising given the high level of attention received by some of the issues raised. For example, as Delva, *et al* (2011) and Deering *et al* (2011) point out, despite the intense debate concerning the relationship between MSEs and commercial sex work, research that explores the actual nature of this relationship and the implications for those involved is relatively scarce. The illegal and illicit nature of prostitution and trafficking, particularly where it involves children is clearly one reason for the gaps in knowledge that exist. However, interviewees

for this study also highlighted a problem specific to the issue of sexual exploitation which relates to policy and research approaches that are informed by a focus on female children and may, as a result, fail to appropriately accommodate adults at risk and by association the implications for their dependents and the risks experienced by boys and children with evolving and established LGBT identities. However, while robust and comprehensive statistics on the issue area are not available, local experiences are identifying a different interpretation of the risk profile and identifying sites where informative social investigations could take place.

In terms of the data concerning domestic violence, the oft cited UK Home Office report which identified a link in relation to the 2006 Football World Cup was tested by Brimicombe and Café (2012) using police crime data obtained through Freedom of Information requests[20]. They report their findings as providing "irrefutable" support for the Home Office's results and additionally identify that the increases identified occurred whether England won or lost matches (Brimicombe and Café, 2012: 34). Brimicome and Café acknowledge that evidence at the level of the individual to confirm that the reported figures resulted from or could be associated with watching football is absent. However, they also observe that the event was the only known consistent variable across the data studied which if discounted leaves open the question of what else would be sufficient enough to have had the same effect, yet at the same time escape identification as a potential contributing factor.

In terms of a disproportional effect on women of MSE processes, as Wintour's (2010) discussion of the gender focus of the World Class City for All (WCCA) campaign in South Africa makes clear this is likely to be contextually specific to the socio-economic structures of the host country. Consequently, data concerning the scale of the direct impact will only be possible if social impact studies incorporate demographic profiling of risks and opportunities. This does not appear to be happening consistently and the information available which identifies where disproportionate effects may be occurring tends to be more prominent through civil society reports and social justice organisations. For example, Hicks' (2010) discussion on impacts and risks from the perspective of the South African Commission for Gender which outlines pertinent issues and examples. This data is clearly important for illustrating the nature of problems created by MSE processes and providing some detail of the scale, but it is not possible to use it to generate data sets due to the diversity of methodological approaches used and it gives little insight into the scale and nature of indirect effects on the children of those affected.

The Voice of Children

The limited profile of children in the context of MSEs is reflected in the relatively low amount of information about children's participation in MSE related decision-making processes or child-centred research that has been accessed for this briefing paper. This is not to say that this participation is not happening, there are clearly lots of child-focused initiatives linked to MSEs which provide numerous opportunities for this to take place. However, because what happens is likely to be very specific to

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[20] Under the UK Freedom of Information Act 2000 members of the public are entitled to access information (subject to certain restrictions) held by public authorities in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Information held by Scottish public authorities is covered by a separate law, the Freedom of Information (Scotland) Act 2002.

individual hosts and conducted through local organisations it is equally likely that it is not being systematically documented or made widely available. Beyond this there is also the issue that despite an encouraging growth in the attention given to children's right to participation, as Thomas's (2007) review of the related literature makes clear, the practical outcomes could be more limited because power in decision-making is infrequently delegated, certain groups of children, particularly those already disadvantaged and marginalised, are not being included and children have few opportunities to come together as a social group to express common interests. Linked to these issues, concerns identified by Thomas include approaches to participation that involve informing or placating children rather than engaging them in long-term dialogue about relevant issues and interests and a focus on needs over wishes or ideas. The research carried out for this briefing paper suggests that these concerns extend to MSE delivery processes, although there is evidence of engagement with children in the research projects detailed in this paper. For example, the research carried out by Deering *et al* (2012) included sex workers aged 14 and over. However, the 'invisibility' of children was notable in relation to this theme and it is possible that this is due to the low profile of women as a special interest group which necessarily limits the attention that would be received by their dependents. The failure to enable participation of women is reflected in feedback given by traders interviewed in relation to work around the exclusion zones in South Africa which highlighted their exclusion from the decision-making processes concerning the by-laws that would govern these restrictions (Chingamuka, 2010; Wintour, 2010).

Debate Points

- Campaigns focused on the relationship between MSEs, trafficking and sex work which promote weak data as evidence appear to represent a risk to the credibility of the problem and the associated organisations.

- The risks of exploitation in and around construction sites in the event preparation phase are unmonitored and therefore unknown. This issue requires further investigation, which could begin with pilot study in a sample of event venues.

- The public profiling opportunities presented by MSEs could be utilised to support the positive empowerment of women.

Good practice

MSEs are an established platform for raising the profile of social concerns and issues of social justice, but they are not risk-free tools. This is demonstrated by Kimm and Sauer's (2010) research into MSE targeted trafficking and sex work related campaigns which found that unmanaged public debates risked conflating exploitation, trafficking and forced prostitution with all forms of commercial sex services in ways that compromised efforts to protect the rights of sex workers. However, they also identified good practice which demonstrated how these challenges can be addressed if interested parties collaborate and agree their core concerns at an early stage. For example, the Vienna based LEFÖ organisation which brought interested parties together to discuss the foundational question "why at all a campaign on the occasion of the EURO [the 2008 European Football Championship held in Austria] ?" and used lessons learned from the German 2006 FIFA Football World Cup experience

to critically review the problematic positioning of sex work that had emerged (Kimm and Sauer, 2010: 823). Following this discussion, the involved parties decided to avoid referring to trafficking within their campaigns and focus, instead, on improving sex worker rights and raising awareness about gender based violence which would be relevant to children.

Children's rights advocates interviewed for this study drew attention to UNICEF work involving training sport commentators, journalists and media editors in the provision of public health and positive social behaviour messages which was viewed as a valuable opportunity to reach men and boys in particular. Information on similar programmes can be found on the UNICEF Nigeria website which highlights that the training provided helped to generate in the region of 345 stories on children in print, radio and television.[21]

Public authorities and civil society groups implemented campaigns around events in order to raise awareness about domestic violence. For example, Newham Borough Council led one such campaign through their Safer Newham Partnership during the London 2012 Olympic Games (Brimicombe and Café, 2012). Child rights experts interviewed for this study suggested that these campaigns should feature an element targeted at children to raise awareness of the support services available to them as this knowledge is generally low. These discussions made clear that while it is undoubtedly important to raise MSE owners and organisers awareness of children's rights, it is equally important to help children become more aware of their own rights broadly and in relation to MSEs.

Recommendations

- Recognition that MSE processes may disproportionately affect women and, as a consequence, children should be built into event planning processes. This could be achieved through social impact studies that use national data to determine where risks and opportunities are likely to occur. These studies need to ensure an inclusive approach that involves affected communities to ensure that plans respond to actual rather than presumed needs and interests.

- The potential for increased risks of sexual exploitation in and around construction sites and for sex workers displaced by event-related developments in the pre-event period requires investigation. This could begin with focused studies around construction sites and with sex workers around event venues.

- Awareness raising campaigns aligned to MSEs would add value if they incorporated a child-focused element as standard. This would offer a consistent channel for promoting the rights of children and support services available to children and raising awareness more generally with the public and policy planners.

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[21] See http://www.unicef.org/nigeria/2294_2304.html for more information (accessed 27/07/2015)

6. EVIDENCE BASED BRIEFING PAPERS: INTERSECTING THEMES
ENVIRONMENT

HEADLINES
- **The recognition of children's rights in Olympic Agenda 21 may provide momentum for other MSEs to do the same**
- **MSE associated environmental impact assessments that do not address children's rights to survival, development, protection and participation are incomplete**
- **Environmental processes introduced for MSEs can improve a child's quality of life**

What do we know?

The formalisation of environmental sustainability as a specific feature of Olympic Games bidding criteria is recognised as a significant area of progress for the Olympic movement which followed the high profile environmental impacts caused by the 1992 Albertville Winter Games (Jin *et al*, 2011; Pentifallo and Van Wynsberghe, 2012; Samuel and Stubbs, 2013). However, as criticism of the degradation caused by developments associated with the Sochi 2014 Winter Games[22] demonstrates, this formalisation, which includes the requirement for a comprehensive environmental protection plan, has not guaranteed respect for the environment in planning processes. Nor has the IOC's approach been universally adopted by other MSE owners.

- **The recognition of children's rights in Olympic Agenda 21 may provide momentum for other MSEs to do the same**

The IOC's Olympic Agenda 21[23] sets out the framework for environmental sustainability that should govern the delivery of the Olympic Games and it is clear that some hosts invest a great deal in this aspect of delivery. For example, Pentifallo and Van Wynsberghe's (2012) discussion of environmental protection and sustainability in the Olympic Movement highlights the greater engagement of NGOs in the planning processes for this work as well as acceptance of international standards like ISO 14001 both noted with respect to hosts including Beijing, London, Sochi and Rio. Pentifallo and Van Wynsberghe also highlight how MSEs are characterised by the host's desire to exceed the achievements of their predecessor which provides the basis for continued development which is supported by an institutionalised process of knowledge transfer through the host candidate

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[22] See for example media reports on the damage that have been assessed by the United Nations Environment Programme http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/mar/15/russia-sochi-olympics-un-report (accessed 27/07/2015)

[23] The IOC's Agenda 21 provides the framework for integrating environmental responsibility and sustainable development into Olympic activities which is a requirement of the Olympic Charter (Chapter 1, Rule 2, Paragraph 13 of the 2015 Charter - http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf) which sets out the IOC's role to promote this and require that the Games are held accordingly. Today the Environment and Sustainable Development is regarded as the 'third pillar' of Olympism, however, how this is operationalised in terms of the Games is not prescribed or made accountable through an official process of monitoring or sanction. For more information see Paquette, J., Stevens, J. & Mallen, C., (2011) 'The interpretation of environmental sustainability by the International Olympic Committee & Organizing Committees of the Olympic Games from 1994 to 2008'. *Sport in Society*, 14(3): 355-369.

files as well the Olympic impact study programme. This is important as Agenda 21 specifies children as a special interest group, along with women and indigenous communities that should receive additional consideration in planning processes (IOC, undated). The nature of these considerations is also set out in detail. It is therefore unfortunate that the three groups are frequently subsumed under the opaquely named core principle of "strengthening the role of major groups" which obscures the fact that the risks and opportunities experienced by each group may be individual and consequently require independent evaluation and consultation (IOC, undated: 232). It is also unfortunate that the language of Agenda 21 is not directive, which is illustrated by the invitation to hosts to comply to the best of their abilities. These two issues together with a potential lack of clarity about enforcement processes could explain the variable nature of host city adoption of the sustainability agenda and profile that children may have within it (Pentifallo and Van Wynsberghe, 2012).

- **MSE associated environmental impact assessments that do not address children's rights to survival, development, protection and participation are incomplete**

The ability to manage environmental impacts effectively requires effective environmental impact assessments (EIAs). However, the extent to which EIAs for MSEs are robust and how far they evaluate the implications for affected communities, including children as a special interest group is unclear. A report by the United Nation's Environmental Programme into the environmental impacts of the 2014 Sochi Winter Games demonstrates that they are not always carried out with appropriate robustness and this weakness increases the risk of environmental damage and the potential for adverse outcomes for affected communities (UNEP, 2010). The absence of robust environmental assessments in MSE delivery processes is illustrated in the briefing paper on housing in the discussion on event-led community displacement which identifies the use of relocation sites characterised by toxic waste and sewage. As Bartlett (2002) points out, while inadequate water and sanitation will affect all community members, children are particularly vulnerable. This point is demonstrated by WHO figures for 2004 regarding deaths by diarrhoeal diseases (including cholera) which state that 90% of the 1.8 million people that die every year are children under five and attribute the vast majority of these diseases to unsafe water supply, inadequate sanitation and hygiene.[24] However, there is a broader risk to children of poor environments, for example a review of literature concerning environments of poverty and child protection carried out by Bartlett (2009: 14) draws attention to the links identified between child maltreatment and neglect and the stresses created by difficult living conditions such as crowding, dilapidation and the absence of basic amenities which do not support "responsive, flexible parenting" or offer safe play spaces. Similarly, it seems unlikely that the closure of factories in Beijing, which formed part of the programme of activity to improve air quality around the 2008 Olympic Games, was assessed in terms of the potential impact on affected employees and the ability to provide for dependents if income was lost as a result (Horton and Zakus, 2010).

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[24] For further information see WHO Facts & figures for Water, sanitation and hygiene links to health available from http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_health/publications/factsfigures04/en/ (Accessed 27/07/2015)

- **Environmental processes introduced for MSEs can improve a child's quality of life**

There is evidence to suggest that the environmental activities generated by MSEs may help to improve the quality of life enjoyed by host communities. This improvement can take place in several ways. For example, research carried out by Mead and Brajer (2008: 292) into the health impacts of the environmental improvement programmes for the Beijing Olympic Games suggest that completed and planned air pollution focused activities may benefit society (and the economy) through the aversion of 55,000 deaths and over 1.4 million cases of morbidity. Whereas the completed and projected water improvement projects may reduce cases of dysentery and cancer deaths annually by 6,700 and 2,600 respectively. If these achievements are realised the implications for children are positive, for as the WHO figures above demonstrate diarrhoeal diseases are a major cause of death for children under five worldwide and unsafe water and inadequate sanitation are two significant risk factors for this death. This suggests that a key risk to children can be improved by MSE-related initiatives that improve water and sewage infrastructures. In addition to the direct health benefits that may be obtained through these physical developments, there are also opportunities to use the MSE-led focus on the environment to improve aspects of life quality through the promotion of environmental stewardship at the community level. This particular aspect may have increased relevance to children as the appeal of an MSE is frequently used to support education in a school setting[25] which can encourage the development of environmental sensitivity.

The Evidence Available

Research that explores the specific consequences for children of MSEs hosting processes is relatively limited. The findings of this theme are aligned with that reflected in the research by Brackenridge et al (2013) and TCRN (2014) which confirms that risks and opportunities for children's' rights and interests exist, but highlights that the scale, nature and consequences are frequently unclear. This knowledge gap is a consequence of the "invisibility" of children in event processes which manifests as the failure to monitor how they are impacted by, for example, developing data collection approaches that capture demographic profiles and have the capacity to attribute MSE effects. However, discussions in child-specific research also suggest that this gap is not unique to this aspect of MSEs. In relation to the environmental aspect of MSEs this reflects a more general tendency to focus on how event processes and infrastructure requirements may improve or damage host environments rather than the implications of these impacts for affected communities as is reflected in Greenpeace's (2008) evaluation of the impacts of the 2008 Games in Beijing. This is unfortunate, for as Bartlett's (2009) review of the links between children's rights and their physical environment sets out, a child's quality of life and emotional and physical health and well-being are connected to their environment in numerous and varied ways. Bartlett suggests that this relationship is not well understood by agencies and policy makers involved in environmental planning activities which by association suggests that event organisers involved in MSE planning decisions may also be unfamiliar with the links and the implications for children's rights and interests.

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[25] See for example the Environment and Sustainability resources made available through the UK 'Get Set' school programme https://www.getset.co.uk/resources?page=9 (accessed 27/05/2015)

The Voice of Children

The limited profile of children in the context of MSEs is reflected in the relatively low amount of information about children's participation in MSE related decision-making processes or child-centred research that has been accessed for this briefing paper. This is not to say that this participation is not happening, there are clearly lots of child-focused initiatives linked to MSEs which provide numerous opportunities for this to take place. However, because what happens is likely to be very specific to individual hosts and conducted through local organisations it is equally likely that it is not being systematically documented or made widely available. Beyond this there is also the issue that despite an encouraging growth in the attention given to children's right to participation, as Thomas's (2007) review of the related literature makes clear, the practical outcomes could be more limited because power in decision-making is infrequently delegated, certain groups of children, particularly those already disadvantaged and marginalised, are not being included and children have few opportunities to come together as a social group to express common interests. Linked to these issues, concerns identified by Thomas include approaches to participation that involve informing or placating children rather than engaging them in long-term dialogue about relevant issues and interests and a focus on needs over wishes or ideas. The research carried out for this briefing paper suggests that these concerns extend to MSE delivery processes as none of the studies on environmental impacts reviewed specified the engagement of children.

Debate Points

- China has received particular praise for the attainment of the green objectives established for the 2008 Games (Greenpeace, 2008) which stands in stark contrast to the country's poor performance on the rights of, for example, displaced communities (COHRE, 2007). This suggests that progress in relation to one area of children's rights and interests may detract attention from other concerns.

- Environmental considerations can be represented in a variety of ways. For example, Cheyne (2009: 406) highlights how a valued community area which included a woodland and stream was described as "scrubland" in evidence presented by the London Development Agency (LDA) to support compulsory purchase orders for the London 2012 Games. Child rights advocates interviewed for this study highlighted how these decisions could affect children in terms of the right to play and availability of safe play spaces. However, whether this is recognised and monitored by event owners or organisers was unclear.

Good practice

Examples of good practice in the approach to environmental management include, the inclusion of an integrated sustainability management system in Vancouver's bid for the 2010 Olympic Winter Games, the early use of EIAs for London 2012 planning processes and the use of performance indicators in delivery contracts (Samuel and Stubbs, 2013). While these are not directly related to child-centred rights based approach they do highlight points at which planning processes could be usefully developed to incorporate such considerations. For example, a child-focus in EIAs carried out

for the London 2012 Games would help to address concerns related to play opportunities by providing an auditing point which would set out current availability and the impacts of games-related developments.

The establishment of the Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 as an independent 'watchdog' was highlighted by one interviewee for this study as a positive feature of the 2012 Games which offered a valuable, although not perfect, mechanism for holding the host to account for promises made. The Organising Committee for the London 2012 Olympic Games (LOCOG) also regarded the Commission favourably in an evaluation that determined that it provided "excellent value for money" (at a cost of approximately 0.02% of the overall programme budget) not least because of the savings that could be made in areas of consultancy and auditing and "the de-risking of reputation issues",[26] which is an important consideration for event owners and organisers.

Recommendations

- There appears to be great scope to increase awareness of the specific implications of the environmental impacts of MSEs on children's rights and interests. The integration of these concerns could also provide both interest groups with a means of attracting a new audience of support.

- Consider how Greenpeace's (2008) recommendation for the establishment of a set of specific and mandatory base-line environmental commitments for host cities that is supported by a monitoring and evaluation framework could be developed to accommodate the rights of the child.

- Review the model provided by the Commission for Sustainable London 2012 and consider how it could be developed as a mechanism for overseeing a child-focused rights based approach to event planning and delivery.

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[26] For further information see the LOCOG lessons learned briefing paper *Assuring the sustainability of the Games*, available online http://learninglegacy.independent.gov.uk/publications/assuring-the-sustainability-of-the-games.php (Accessed 27/07/2015)

HEADLINES

- **MSEs displace communities and when this happens children are impacted. The nature and scale of this impact varies**
- **Forced evictions may cause long-term trauma to children of affected communities**
- **The long-term consequences of event-led relocation for children are not monitored and therefore unknown**
- **Event-led regeneration processes may exacerbate the existing risks of harm to children**

What do we know?

The home lies at the heart of the family and community environments that shape childhood experiences and form the basis of children's ability to access the services and development opportunities that are crucial to their emotional and physical health and wellbeing. It is therefore no surprise that an adequate standard of living which includes housing (Art. 27) and the protection of the family and a community way of life (Art. 16) are set out as specific children's rights under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. MSEs intersect with these rights as they present a range of opportunities to enhance the quality of life in host communities by, for example, enabling focused support for the regeneration of deprived urban areas, as is evident in relation to the London 2012 Olympics and the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games. MSEs also intersect with these rights as a series of challenges and adverse impacts which may prevent children from living in appropriate accommodation that is located within safe environments and supportive community networks. The literature and those interviewed suggests that these impacts are a core area of risk and opportunities for children's rights and interests.

- **MSEs displace communities and when this happens children are impacted. The nature and scale of this impact varies**

Research suggests that community displacement is a routine consequence of hosting MSEs and this takes place in predominantly two ways. The first and most visible is the physical relocation of residents and community groups away from areas required for event and event-associated infrastructure. The second form is less obvious and emerges through processes of 'gentrification' which results from concentrated investment and development in an area which can displace, low income groups in particular by, for example, increasing the cost of living and changing the nature of local networks and services. Evidence provided by the Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE, 2007) suggests that these forms of displacement are characteristic of MSEs and frequently happen on a significant scale. For example, the 1988 Seoul Olympics for which an estimated 720, 000 people were forcibly evicted from their homes, the 1996 Atlanta Games which is estimated as displacing 30, 000 poor families through gentrification processes and the 2008 Beijing Games which was predicted to result in the displacement of 1.5 *million* people (COHRE, 2007: 11, 113). Displacement clearly continues as information concerning Brazil's experience of hosting

demonstrates. For example, Marinho *et al*, (2014: 37-40) cite reports from the civil society group, the National Articulation of World Cup Popular Committee (ANCOP), which estimate that 250, 000 people are being displaced as a result of event-associated developments and figures released by Rio de Janeiro's City Housing Office which place a figure of 65,000 for Rio alone. There is insufficient detail to determine specifically how many children were among those recorded as displaced, but the reports are clear that children were affected. The numbers reported also provide little indication of how the processes of displacement are experienced and it appears that this may vary from the devastation of forced eviction to the potential to benefit from improved access to affordable housing options.[27] The importance of qualitative and child-centred accounts of these impacts is illustrated by Kennelly and Watt's (2011) research into homeless and poorly housed children and young adults' experience of hosting impacts related to the Olympic Games which suggests "hidden legacies" of "loss, marginalisation and injustice" are created (Porter, 2009: 397).

- **Forced evictions may cause long-term trauma to children of affected communities**

COHRE's (2007) research into forced evictions highlights how families and communities suffer from the experience of the loss and destruction of property, social networks and access to essential services, facilities and employment. Research with children that have lived through this kind of displacement carried out by TCRN (2014) provides some insight into this experience and draws attention to the fear created by police operations and of the police themselves which is also generated by the poor treatment of friends and family generally as well as in relation to MSEs. Research carried out with children that have experienced forced evictions unrelated to MSEs reviewed by Bartlett (1999) highlights the potential for long-term trauma and suggests that the pre-verbal children and those under ten years old may be the most severely affected. Bartlett (1999: 70) illustrates these findings by citing research which found that children as young as four remember the violence involved, the presence of heavily armed police and the loss of family possessions. The cited research also identified evidence of enduring trauma which manifest as anxiety, recurring nightmares and panic, and resulted in children becoming "apathetic and withdrawn". Of note was the observation that the fear exhibited by children involved in this study was perceived as "similar to that among children in situations of armed conflict".

- **The long-term consequences of event-led relocation for children are not monitored and therefore unknown**

The general tendency for event-related issues to receive relatively little attention in the post-event period is reflected in the limited information available on relocation legacies. What is available highlights the potential for positive and negative experiences. For example, the early indications from the Glasgow Commonwealth Games suggest that the event has supported existing regeneration activities by facilitating affordable housing and encouraging greater diversity (Green, 2015). Elsewhere, Burocco's (2014) review of social impacts of the 2010 Football World Cup in South

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[27] Compare for example, media reports concerning the Glasgow Commonwealth Games http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/commonwealth-games-glasgow-legacy-is-cashed-in-as-residents-move-into-athletes-village-10412045.html and those concerning the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/apr/01/south-africa-world-cup-blikkiesdorp (accessed 13/08/2015)

Africa highlights the potential for negative legacies of relocation, which include poor quality and over-crowded housing and the absence of accessible registration structures for babies born in relocation sites. These findings are also reflected in the research carried out by TCRN (2014) into Brazil's MSE experience which identifies instances of poor sanitation infrastructures and adverse impacts on the accessibility of employment, education and basic support services like health care. The risks present in these relocation sites are significant for all those affected, however the implications for children are likely to be more significant due to their heightened vulnerability to the consequences of poor living conditions and increased risk of maltreatment in environments characterised by poverty, inadequate housing and adverse community environments (Bartlett, 1999, 2009). The key point is that until these legacies are monitored the extent to which outcomes are positive or negative will remain largely unknown.

- **Event-led regeneration processes may exacerbate the existing risks of harm to children**

Research into the impacts of event-led regeneration highlights the potential for outcomes to be experienced by young and marginalised community members as exclusionary, de-valuing and a risk to the ability to access an adequate standard of living (Kennelly and Watt, 2011; Watt, 2013; Gustafson, 2015). For example, Kennelly and Watt's (2011) study of the homeless and poorly housed children and young adults experiences of the Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 Olympic Games draws attention to the way in which the prioritisation of luxury developments associated with the events over the improvement of poor supported housing accommodation was interpreted the desire to displace them from the local area (Watt, 2013). While it is not possible to confirm this intention, research suggests that MSE delivery processes can reduce the ability to access adequate standards of living by, for example, reducing the availability of low income housing and sheltered accommodation. For example, research carried out by Gustafson (2015) into the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games suggests that event associated developments led to the loss of public housing projects and shelter provisions that had provided accommodation and support for vulnerable families and homeless people. The extent to which children are affected by these processes is unknown as calculations concerning the social housing opportunities presented for MSEs infrequently account for the losses created (Pentifallo and Van Wynsberghe, 2015). However, these examples highlight the potential for existing risks to be exacerbated where they exist. Further examples of this issue are available in the briefing paper on security.

The Evidence Available

Research that explores the specific consequences for children of MSEs hosting processes is relatively limited. The findings of this theme are aligned with that reflected in the research by Brackenridge et al (2013) and TCRN (2014) which confirms that risks and opportunities for children's' rights and interests exist, but highlights that the scale, nature and consequences are frequently unclear. This knowledge gap is a consequence of the "invisibility" of children in event processes which manifests as the failure to monitor how they are impacted by, for example, developing data collection approaches that capture demographic profiles and have the capacity to attribute MSE effects. However, discussions in child-specific research also suggest that this gap is not unique to this aspect of MSEs. For example Bartlett (1999:63) highlights in her review of children's rights and the physical environment that "children's needs are routinely ignored or misunderstood by urban development

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policy, plans and practices". The neglect that Bartlett observes may explain why the figures for the housing-related impacts of MSEs are generally given in overall numbers which do not provide a breakdown of the demographics of those affected. Added to this problem are the challenges involved in collating information on housing impacts generally, particularly in countries like South Africa where poor housing, forceful removal and high levels of social crime are not unusual and therefore complicates the ability to obtain reliable data about impacts that are MSE-specific. These issues are reflected in Marinho *et al's* (2014) review of the impacts of MSEs in Brazil which cites social and official reports but highlights how the robustness of the figures presented may be influenced by factors including a lack of government transparency and reliance on the collation of data from a range of informal sources. In addition to these weaknesses, knowledge about the longer-term legacies of relocation and regeneration is currently compromised by the little attention the area receives which is reflected in the limited nature of the data available. However, in terms of the nature of the impact, the picture is somewhat clearer as a result of the repeated nature of the core concerns raised and ability to cross-reference these concerns with empirical data from studies that explore the impact on children of the same issues in non-MSE contexts. This cross-referencing also provides opportunities to identify where risks may be present or exacerbated. An example of this is the review of the impact of forced evictions on children in displaced communities.

The Voice of Children

The limited profile of children in the context of MSEs is reflected in the relatively low amount of information about children's participation in MSE related decision-making processes or child-centred research that has been accessed for this briefing paper. This is not to say that this participation is not happening, there are clearly lots of child-focused initiatives linked to MSEs which provide numerous opportunities for this to take place. However, because what happens is likely to be very specific to individual hosts and conducted through local organisations it is equally likely that it is not being systematically documented or made widely available. Beyond this there is also the issue that despite an encouraging growth in the attention given to children's right to participation, as Thomas's (2007) review of the related literature makes clear, the practical outcomes could be more limited because power in decision-making is infrequently delegated, certain groups of children, particularly those already disadvantaged and marginalised, are not being included and children have few opportunities to come together as a social group to express common interests. Linked to these issues, concerns identified by Thomas include approaches to participation that involve informing or placating children rather than engaging them in long-term dialogue about relevant issues and interests and a focus on needs over wishes or ideas. The research carried out for this briefing paper suggests that these concerns extend to MSE delivery processes, however children's experience of housing-related issues has received focused attention in MSE related research. For example, TCRN (2014) which explored children's experiences of MSE hosting processes in Brazil included primary research with children. This research gave affected children an opportunity to develop knowledge about MSE impacts by providing insights into the ways in which children are affected which may be different to that of the broader community (Bartlett, 1999). For example, the children discussed the issue of the violence they had experienced which has previously not received significant attention in an MSE context. The reflections offered by children align with the findings of forced displacement more generally which suggests that the long-term risk of trauma may be equally present and draws attention to the potential for longer term consequences that may not be immediately apparent at the time of the event. It also suggests that a child's right to be protected from all forms of violence should be a

particular concern when events are hosted in countries where violence is an established social problem. The feedback given by children in Brazil also aligns with the feelings of injustice and marginalisation identified in Kennelly and Watt's (2011) study of the impacts of event-led regeneration on homeless and poorly housed children and young adults. This common theme indicates that MSE processes risk lowering children's self-perceived value while at the same time increasing the challenges that they experience.

Debate Points

- There is a clear need to collate more information about the experiences of relocated communities and how the loss of community networks impacts on children and their families.

- The long-term legacies of community displacement needs further investigation in order to determine the nature of the consequences experienced by children and inform planning processes which may include the provision of on-going support services and therapeutic interventions.

- MSE delivery processes can be used opportunistically to support the pursuit of potentially unpopular social planning policies, delivery requirements that enable this misuse to be identified offer event owners with a means of responding to allegations of poor practice.

Good practice

Marinho *et al* (2014) provide details of an innovative community redevelopment proposal designed by Federal Fluminense and Rio de Janeiro Federal Universities in Brazil that demonstrates event-planning can align with community interests. The proposal was not adopted by the city government, but it did win the global Urban Age Award in 2013 which highlights how a pro-community approach to MSE delivery can provide the host with additional opportunities to gain international recognition.

Lenskyj's (2006) review of MSE housing impacts draws attention to the social impact study commissioned for Melbourne's bid for the 1990 Olympic Games which identified housing, the diversion of public funds and a post-games reduction in employment as potential negative outcomes. A version of this model developed to include a child-focus could support delivery processes going forward.

The "Inner City Inclusive Commitment Statement" developed for the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games provides an example of good practice *potential* on the basis that the reportedly largely "ignored" agreement represents a model for securing commitments in relation to affordable housing, the avoidance of displacements and meaningful consultation on arrangements that may affect the homelessness or poor housed in particular (Porter, 2009: 411).

Recommendations

- Social impact assessments to support bids for events must have a targeted child-focus to ensure that specific needs and vulnerabilities are not overlooked or assumed to be the same as the broader community. The assessments need to be carried out as part of the initial planning processes to ensure that risks and opportunities can be identified at the point where effective and responsive strategies can be embedded into delivery plans. The absence of these assessments provides the grounds for challenging any claims made about the community impacts of events and how risks and opportunities will be addressed. However, it should be recognised that event organisers are likely to require support in assessing and consulting on these needs and interests.

- There is a gap in knowledge concerning the legacies of displacement for children. Work to address this deficit will support the development of event related social impact assessments and associated planning.

HEADLINES

- **The increased policing and surveillance that accompanies MSE can exacerbate the exclusion and injustice experienced by children, particularly those at risk of discrimination**
- **MSEs can exacerbate risks of violence experienced by poor, vulnerable and marginalised children, particularly in the event preparation period**
- **Event related security and city beautification legacies for children are not monitored and therefore unknown**

What do we know?

Contemporary MSE delivery is characterised by extremely high levels of policing which may include the presence of the armed forces as well as extensive surveillance capacity. For example, Yu *et al* (2009: 394) highlight media reports concerning security measures for the 2008 Beijing Olympics which suggest that the host district of Chaoyang gained a surveillance camera 'footprint' that covered over half of the district's surface (54.2%) and included face and license recognition technology. However, little is known about the social and legacy implications of this expanding security infrastructure because the focus of research generally tends to concentrate on the operational dimension (Taylor and Toohey, 2007; Yu, *et al*, 2009; Hassan, 2014). There is evidence to suggest that these arrangements represent a risk to socially marginalised groups, which include children, however, those that have conducted research in this area also raise the possibility that they could prove positive over time by, for example, reducing the need for visible police presence in areas where relations with the community are poor (Toohey and Taylor, 2012).

- **The increased policing and surveillance that accompanies MSE can exacerbate the exclusion and injustice experienced by children, particularly those at risk of discrimination**

The social impact of overt physical policing appears to be the most reviewed aspect of MSE security strategies. These reviews highlight how event associated security measures frequently involve high levels of police presence around event venues and the implementation of social control measures, such as stop and search powers and dispersal orders, which may endure beyond the event. For example Toohey and Taylor's (2012) review of the security and surveillance measures introduced for the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games identified that legislation to support the event prohibited public protest and allowed for the removal of people by enforcement officers whose powers could exceed the police. They also highlight this legislation risked the criminalisation of children and homeless people because it introduced prohibitions on things like skateboarding and sleeping in certain areas. The concerns raised by Toohey and Taylor are also evident in Lindsay's (2013) research into the impacts of the 2012 London Olympic Games on communities in East London which identified local fears for children's civil liberties in relation to stop and search powers and the expectation that intensified policing was a risk to those with historically contentious relations with the police. These concerns were reflected in the implementation of a community-based Olympic policing monitoring

project and the evaluation of this project which details negative stop and search incidents experienced by young people and the perception that dispersal zones targeted the young and the homeless people (Blowe and du Boulay, 2013). The possibility that event-related security measures may adversely affect children and exacerbate existing marginalisation and exclusion is also supported by Kennelly's (2015) study of homeless and street involved children and young people's[28] experience of the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games which found that increased police activity was experienced as increased harassment, displacement, violence and unfair treatment. The study also found that these measures increased the participants' feelings of fear and insecurity and, in subordinating their acute needs to the perceived interests of more affluent sections of society, enhanced de-valuing feelings of social rejection. The broader implications of these issues for children's rights is reflected in Crawford and Lister's (2007) research into dispersal orders in the UK which highlights how these measures can make children feel unfairly stigmatised for being in public places. This finding leads Crawford and Lister to observe how these powers may compromise children's rights by undermining their social status and reinforcing the perception that they are a risk to, rather than potentially at risk from, society. They also suggested that the associated restrictions on freedom of movement and association may adversely affect children's development rights by limiting opportunities to negotiate evolving identities and learn how to manage risks and danger.

- **MSEs can exacerbate risks of violence experienced by poor, vulnerable and marginalised children, particularly in the event preparation period**

Cornelissen's (2011) review of the security processes for the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa draws attention to the potential for event-related security measures to be used to demonstrate the power of the state, particularly where state society relations are weak, in part due to the need to reassure international concerns regarding the safety of event. These tendencies have been observed in relation to Brazil's MSE preparations and are considered as exacerbating the risks and experience of harm experienced by poor, socially deprived and marginalised young people (Marinho *et al*, 2014). This can be considered a significant concern as violence in Brazil and in particular against children is an established problem; the country has the one of the highest child homicide rates in the world and the commercial sexual exploitation of children is believed to be "the most prevalent in the Western hemisphere, possibly second only to Thailand" (CEOP: 16). Brazil's hosting projects are therefore being introduced into a social situation characterised by extreme vulnerability. Data to determine how far hosting MSEs has increased existing risks is unavailable. However, reports concerning security and infrastructure-development related interventions in poor communities associated with delivery processes confirm that risks have evolved into harm in some cases. For example, Marinho *et al's* (2014: 31-2) discussion of the use of permanent police forces, commonly referred to as Pacifying Police Units or UPPS, in the poor areas of Rio cites a report to the United Nations by the NGO justiça global[29] which includes details of 15 instances of police caused death and harm in Brazil's favelas[30] in which four children died, one was injured and a family of six lost their father. Children's risk of violence has also been identified in MSE associated city beautification

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[28] The sample of participants was aged between 15 and 24.
[29] justiça global (Global Justice www.global.org.br/en/) is a human rights organisation that works to protect and promote human rights, civil society and democracy.
[30] Favela is the term used to describe informal housing settlements in Brazil that are characterised by poor housing & low-income communities.

strategies designed to present positive national images. For example, Burocco's (2014: 80) review of the social impacts of the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa highlights how indiscriminate street cleaning policies in Durban resulted in the incarceration of children in the Westville prison. It appears, although the source is not disclosed, that the level of trauma incurred during this time was significant and emerged during therapy subsequently received. The poor treatment of street-involved young people is not unique to South Africa or to developing country hosts as research by the TCRN (2014) and Kennelly (2015) demonstrates in relation to Brazil and Vancouver respectively.

- **Event related security and city beautification legacies for children are not monitored and therefore unknown**

The legacies of the security and city beautification strategies have yet to receive consistent critical attention and are therefore unknown. This is problematic because the significance of the issues raised in the pre-event and event period raises the possibility of long-term consequences, but there is currently no way of determining nature or scale. For example, Kennelly's study of homeless and street involved young people's experience in Vancouver highlights how the increased levels of harassment and displacement suffered during the event preparation period were followed by a marked reduction during 'games time' when access to community spaces was extended. However what is not known is whether this access was subsequently retracted in the post-event phase. Similarly, reports from South Africa concerning the adverse impacts of city beautification do not cover the post-event period and so it is not possible to determine the long-term implications for street children there.

Evidence available

Research that explores the specific consequences for children of MSEs hosting processes is relatively limited. The findings of this theme are aligned with that reflected in the research by Brackenridge et al (2013) and TCRN (2014) which confirms that risks and opportunities for children's' rights and interests exist, but highlights that the scale, nature and consequences are frequently unclear. This knowledge gap is a consequence of the "invisibility" of children in event processes which manifests as the failure to monitor how they are impacted by, for example, developing data collection approaches that capture demographic profiles and have the capacity to attribute MSE effects. For example figures for the national Human Right/Dial 100 help line in Brazil have been used to illustrate the issue of human rights abuses in the country and they certainly demonstrate that it is a significant national problem (TCRN, 2014). This is evident in figures provided by Childhood Brazil which state that the total number of reports to the helpline rose from 82,117 in 2011 to 130,029 in 2012 before falling to 124,079 in 2013.[31] TCRN (2014) draw attention to the profile of victims of the violations reported in the first half of 2013[32] which sets out that the majority were female (55%), black (60%) and most frequently aged between 8 and 11. It is therefore clear that the violation of children's rights in Brazil is a pervasive and serious problem that certain groups of children are more vulnerable to. This data, if reviewed in the context of a social impact study to support planning for events would also provide a basis for identifying significant risk profiles. What it does not clarify is the extent to

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[31] Information available from the Childhood Brazil website at www.childhood.org.br/available-data (accessed 27/07/2015)

[32] Note that this data reflects violations reported not confirmed.

which MSE hosting processes have influenced the type and number of reports made. For example, as TCRN (2014) point out the fluctuation in the number of report may have been influenced by a rise then fall in the number of national campaigns to promote the availability of the helpline rather than changes in the number of violations experienced by children. In terms of the broader issue of security, the level of public interest ensures that it is well reported in the media and there is also a growing body of information from civil society groups. However, combining the figures generated may be inappropriate due to the inability to confirm the reports that are MSE specific as distinct from an incident that happened in a MSE-associated area. With respect to issues concerning homeless and street involved children, the complexity of the problem intensifies due to transient nature of these populations and a general lack of records. Finally, the evidence available for the legacy period is generally unavailable, largely as a result of the recurrent loss of interest in the post-event phase.

The Voice of Children

The limited profile of children in the context of MSEs is reflected in the relatively low amount of information about children's participation in MSE related decision-making processes or child-centred research that has been accessed for this briefing paper. This is not to say that this participation is not happening, there are clearly lots of child-focused initiatives linked to MSEs which provide numerous opportunities for this to take place. However, because what happens is likely to be very specific to individual hosts and conducted through local organisations it is equally likely that it is not being systematically documented or made widely available. Beyond this there is also the issue that despite an encouraging growth in the attention given to children's right to participation, as Thomas's (2007) review of the related literature makes clear, the practical outcomes could be more limited because power in decision-making is infrequently delegated, certain groups of children, particularly those already disadvantaged and marginalised, are not being included and children have few opportunities to come together as a social group to express common interests. Linked to these issues, concerns identified by Thomas include approaches to participation that involve informing or placating children rather than engaging them in long-term dialogue about relevant issues and interests and a focus on needs over wishes or ideas. The research carried out for this briefing paper suggests that these concerns extend to MSE delivery processes, although it is clear that children and young adults from low-income and marginalised communities have been included in research that explores, or reports that document, the impacts of event-led securitisation and urban beautification processes (Blowe and Du Boulay, 2013; TCRN, 2014; Kennelly, 2015). A consistent theme to emerge from these sources is a sense of injustice at the harm created by a national project that is presented as a social opportunity but is instead experienced as something exclusionary that contributes to the existing challenges they face. For example, those involved in Kennelly's (2015) research describe feeling expendable and sub-ordinate to 'desirable' society which suggests that the experience was de-humanising. It also appears that children may be disadvantaged by a general lack of knowledge about what their rights are. For example, feedback received by volunteers for the community based project which observed Olympic 2012 policing drew attention to instances were young people may have been disadvantaged in their engagements with police by a lack of knowledge concerning their rights and the appropriate procedure for a stop and search (Blowe and Du Boulay, 2013). The issues raised by the children and child-centred organisations also demonstrate that understandings of event impacts will be incomplete if children are not involved. For example, as TCRN (2014:5) found

in their research in Brazil, the issue of violence against street children emerged "most strongly" through empirical research and highlights how "the stories of the most marginalised are least likely to be made visible." The implications are that planning approaches that fail to adopt inclusive approaches to consultation are unlikely to comprehensively reflect the true range of risks and opportunities or appropriate responses.

Debate Points

- There is a clear need to develop a body of knowledge concerning the legacy effects of displacement on homeless and street involved children.

- Crawford and Lister's (2007) research into dispersal orders in the UK highlights how MSE related security policies may compromise children's rights in ways that do not appear to have been systematically mapped.

- Legacies are frequently assumed to be positive and planned, but the reality is that they can also be unplanned and negative. A prioritised list of legacies for children's rights is likely to vary among hosts and may need to be developed on an individual event basis

Good Practice

The Newham Monitoring Project's[33] 'Community Legal Observers' initiative provides an example of how civil society can support and reassure communities that will experience intensified policing as a result of MSE hosting. Through this initiative policing practices were observed in order to record and challenge, where necessary, impacts on community members which included children. It is possible that this type of intervention could be emulated to provide a means of promoting and protecting children's rights, particularly in area where children and young adults frequently fall under police attention. Organisers of the Newham project highlighted the following key features that could be replicated in other MSE contexts, the provision of a visible monitoring presence to deter poor practice, advice on how to respond to stop and search requests and basic rights and an emergency helpline (Blowe and Du Boulay, 2013). As the model provided by the Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 demonstrates, this independent assurance service could be resourced by the event owner or organiser.

The Convergence Agenda initiative co-ordinated by the Brazilian Government's Ministry for Human Rights provides a good practice example of efforts to engage a wide range of stakeholders together to protect and promote the rights of children and young adults. Through this initiative local committees were established to co-ordinate government and civil society activities in the host cities for the 2014 Football World Cup. Notable activities led by these committees included the creation of safe social spaces around match days and associated events, human and children's rights training for relevant groups including the police and hoteliers and taxi drivers and the production of children's rights awareness material (TCRN, 2014). Stakeholders involved in activities associated with the

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[33] The Newham Monitoring Project (www.nmp.org.uk) is a civil society organisation which works to address racism and promote and protect civil rights in East London.

Agenda highlight how it provided an opportunity to bring communities of shared interest together and facilitated a collaborative approach to solving local problems which included data sharing.

Recommendations

- A framework for collating data across different events and social contexts is necessary if the prevalence, severity and nature of the issues MSEs raise for children is to be established. One way forward could be the development of a toolkit to support the collection of this information alongside broader community impacts so that data is collected with the level of detail and similarity required to inform analysis.

- Greater use should be made of existing data concerning social risk profiles as they relate to children so that event planning takes account of the contextual features of each host state area.

- Children must be engaged in data collection processes as this deficit reduces the potential to make appropriate assessments of risks and opportunities or plan to manage them.

- There appears to be great scope to uses MSEs to promote the rights and interests of children broadly, by raising awareness about the implications of restricted access to social spaces, and specifically with children in relation to their rights with respect to measures like stop and search.

9. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This research has shown that MSEs undoubtedly present a range of risks and opportunities to children's rights and interests and highlights that between event owners, organisers and civil society groups there is a lot of activity on the ground to promote and protect them. However, what is also clear is that the current approach to MSE hosting opportunities is fragmented and fails to capture the range of issues and risks presented holistically or consistently across individual hosts. As a result, while there is evidence of proactive and planned child-focused activities, the majority appears to be more ad-hoc and dependent on individual government or NGO initiatives. As a result MSE delivery processes are absent the kind of co-ordinated and coherent approach required to ensure the risks and opportunities, that may be individual to a particular host, are appropriately understood, identified, prioritised and acted up.

In order to achieve an efficient and effective pro-child approach to MSE hosting opportunities there needs to be a 'golden thread' which starts at the very top with clear leadership from the event owner. This leadership will involve establishing children's rights as a feature of hosting criteria and making this requirement a practical reality through host organisers using a supportive monitoring, evaluation and, where necessary, sanction framework. It will also require a review of the existing bid criteria to ensure that hosting requirements, policies and practices established by the event owner do not restrict the event deliverers' ability to fulfil their duty to protect and promote the rights of children even where they are affected indirectly through MSE-led impacts on family and community networks. Currently, this 'golden thread' is absent as is evident by, for example, contractual requirements concerning commercial exclusion zones that do not take account for local trader interests. This is not to suggest that the commercial interests of the event owner are not important, rather that the requirement should be to manage these interests in a way that does not adversely impact the rights and interests of those in the host state. There have been many encouraging developments recently that point to the possibility of this leadership, for example, the IOC's Agenda 2020[34] and FIFA's recognition of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.[35] However, what is also clear from the research presented through the briefing papers is the risk that the rights and interests of children are frequently overlooked in planning, consultation and evaluation approaches that are adult-centred or thematic evaluations which do not appropriately account for children's specific needs and interests or embed children's participation. It therefore appears likely that a general rights-based approach will also be highly vulnerable to this problem unless it features a specific child-centred focus that is grounded in Children's rights as set out in the UN CRC.

A pro-child framework should be embedded within the human rights requirements established for MSE hosting opportunities

The engagement of UNICEF as a partner in the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games highlights how a coherent child-centred approach to MSE delivery is entirely possible. A notable aspect of the work

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[34] See http://www.olympic.org/olympic-agenda-2020 for more information
[35] See http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/news/y=2015/m=7/news=fifa-executive-committee-sets-presidential-election-for-26-february-20-2666448.html for more information (accessed 28/08/2015)

carried out within this partnership was the use of the UN CRC Business Principles (UN CRC BP) to map the impact of the event on the rights and interests of children as established in the CRC. The appeal of the business principles is that they facilitate the assessment of these rights and interests within the context of a commercial operation. It is recognised that the Children's Rights and Business Principles are not a perfect fit for MSEs because as temporary entities do not follow the commercial business model that the Principles were designed for. However, they can help deliverers understand what promoting and protecting children's rights looks like in the context of event delivery policy, planning and practice. There also appears little to prevent them being developed to respond to the specific features of MSE delivery processes through a process of applying the broader questions and considerations they raise into a specifically event focused environment as illustrated in table 9.1. What is important, as the UNICEF experience confirms, is that the assessment framework is embedded in hosting processes from the very beginning so that the assessment facilitated can be used to inform planning processes and enable a coherent and proactive approach to delivery and evaluation.

Table 9.1:
Illustrative use of the Children's Rights Business Principles in the Context of MSE Planning

		In practice this may involve identifying whether…	How?
Survival	•the right to life and basic needs (nutrition, shelter, an adequate living standard, & access to medical services)	land acquisition processes reduce or enhance caregivers access to employment or a child's access to medical services	Conduct robust impact assessments that explore how relocation plans will affect community work, health, social and educational needs
Development	•the right to education, play, leisure, cultural activities, access to information, and freedom of thought, conscience and religion	event preparation, delivery or legacy plans affect a child's ability to access educational or play facilities	Audit local facilities and map how planning will affect access to existing provision and community priorities.
Protection	•against abuse, neglect & exploitation, including safeguards for children in the criminal justice system and in employment. The protection and rehabilitation for children who have suffered exploitation or abuse of any kind	working conditions in supply chains increase or reduce risks of harm and neglect and security personnel are in a position to recognise children's rights	Review contracts to ensure that decent working conditions are explicitly required Ensure that security personnel are appropriately trained
Participation	•the right to express opinions and influence decisions that affect their living environments & the issues they care about. To join associations and to assemble peacefully. Proportionate to capacity, the opportunity to participate in the activities of society, in preparation for adulthood	the approach adopted is the most suitable for the communities affected and how far they have been meaningfully engaged in this determination	Ensure consultation is representative, age appropriate and offers genuine opportunities to influence planning. Feedback on decisions taken, the rationale and accountability mechanisms

APPENDIX I: REFERENCE LIST

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Liz Twyford	UNICEF UK
Lukasz Konieczka	Mosaic Youth
Nicole Bryan	Rutgers University
Sylvia Schenk	Transparency International

Terre des Hommes
International Federation

The Terre des Hommes is a network of 10 national organizations working for the rights of children and to promote equitable development without racial, religious, political, cultural or gender-based discrimination. To this end, TDH supports and implements 840 development and humanitarian aid projects in 68 countries designed to improve the living conditions of disadvantaged children, of their families and communities. The Convention on the Rights of the Child is the conceptual framework guiding the activities of TDH.

Terre des Hommes launched the Children Win campaign in February 2014 to ensure that leading sports bodies mitigate risks and enhance opportunities of Mega Sporting Events on children, both direct and indirect. Terre des Hommes has commissioned and collected – articles and videos – featuring views and opinions of children linked to Mega Sporting Events: 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa; 2014 FIFA World Cup™ in Brazil; 2016 Olympic Summer Games in Rio. We encourage leaders of the sport-governing bodies, industry, business, media, and the broad public to meet these children on www.childrenwin.org.

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