

*Child Exploitation and the FIFA
World Cup: A review of risks
and protective interventions*

July 2013

**BC.SHaW, School of Sport and Education,
Brunel University London
Kingston Lane
Uxbridge
Middlesex
UB8 3PH**

BC•SHaW

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Authors: Celia Brackenridge, Sarah Palmer-Felgate, Daniel Rhind, Laura Hills, Tess Kay, Anne Tiivas, Lucy Faulkner, Iain Lindsay

Author contact: celia.brackenridge@brunel.ac.uk

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Acronyms

AISTS	International Academy of Sports Science and Technology
CoE	Council of Europe
CPSU	NSPCC Child Protection in Sport Unit (England)
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
EU	European Union
FIFA	International Federation of Football Associations
GAATW	Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOC	International Olympic Committee
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
LCSG	London Children's Safeguarding Board
LOCOG	London Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games (2012)
NSPCC	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (England)
SAD	Swiss Academy for Development
SWEAT	Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund
UNCSDP	United Nations Committee for Sport Development and Peace

Contents		Page
Copyright details	.	1
Acknowledgements	.	2
Acronyms	.	3
Executive Summary	.	6
1.0 Introduction	.	9
1.1 Oak Foundation and sport		
1.2 Aim		
1.3 Wider context		
1.4 Structure of this review		
1.5 Research design and methods		
2.0 Knowledge about child exploitation risks in sport settings	.	11
2.1 Introduction		
2.2 Constraints on analysing risks to children associated with MSEs		
2.3 Specific risks		
2.4 Conclusion		
3.0 Programmes and advocacy interventions to address specific risks to children associated with major sporting events	.	20
3.1 Introduction		
3.2 Human trafficking affecting children		
3.3 Child sexual exploitation		
3.4 General advocacy		
3.5 Conclusion		
4.0 Messages for international sport event planners and advocates	.	32
4.1 Lessons from the review		
4.2 The art of the possible		
5.0 Call for action and future research	.	34
5.1 Call for action		
5.2 Future research		

CASE STUDIES

One: The Human Trafficking and London 2012 Network	21
Two: 2010 Street Child World Cup in Durban, South Africa	22
Three: ECPAT and the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism	23
Four: The “Don’t Lose!” campaign at EURO 2012	25
Five: INEQE safeguarding Smart Phone application	26
Six: Using the 2010 FIFA World Cup as a platform for addressing poverty and child exploitation	26
Seven: Play Fair	27
Eight: Red Card Campaigns at the 2010 FIFA World Cup	29

FIGURE

1: Framework for analysing risks to children associated with MSEs	11
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TABLES

1: Presumed sources of risk to children associated with major sporting events	13
2: Evidence of human trafficking at major sporting events	19
3: Factors inhibiting good child protection work at major sporting events.	30
4: Main findings and advice to event planners and advocates	32
5: Some future research questions	35

APPENDICES

1: Glossary	36
2: Sample interview guide	38

ANNEX

References and search terms [see separate pdf]

Executive summary

This review was commissioned by the Child Abuse Programme (CAP) of Oak Foundation, a large international philanthropic organisation. It forms part of CAP's effort to win societal rejection of practices such as the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents around major sporting events (MSEs), and to embed prevention and protection from exploitation as a permanent concern for global sports-related bodies.

This review is intended to inform action in countries that host MSEs and to provide some suggestions on how hosting countries can avoid past pitfalls and mistakes in relation to child exploitation, especially economic and sexual exploitation. Importantly, it also acts as a call to action by those responsible for commissioning and staging MSEs, such as FIFA and the IOC, to anticipate, prepare for and adopt risk mitigation strategies and interventions. Positive leadership from these culturally powerful bodies could prove decisive in shifting hearts, minds and actions in the direction of improved safety for children.

A three-pronged research design was adopted: more than 70 experts in NGOs, sport organisations and government departments were approached for interviews; a systematic search of relevant literature was conducted; and, several case studies were selected from past child protective interventions associated with MSEs.

The work was intended to discover the extent of the evidence base supporting protective interventions associated with MSEs that address risk mitigation in general and child economic and sexual exploitation in particular.

The many benefits of MSEs for child development related to learning, healthy lifelong physical activity, civic pride and multi-cultural sensitisation are well documented. These benefits should obviously be weighed against concerns about child exploitation and MSEs. The review found that:

- some commercial enterprises associated with MSEs - both legal and illegal - still use child labour;
- children are frequently victims of the community displacement typically associated with MSEs;
- child sexual exploitation linked to MSEs appears to be hidden behind other social problems such as diverted services, family stress, poverty and domestic violence;
- human trafficking for sexual exploitation associated with MSEs appears adult-focused, responsive to advocacy interventions and difficult to measure. Where it does occur it is likely to mask harms to children.

Whilst the risks of child exploitation were found to have increased during some of MSEs, the examples discussed all highlight the universal rarity of reliable empirical data concerning child exploitation around these events. In future, robust research designs, focused specifically on children, are essential in order to verify the many assertions that were uncovered.

Responses to minimise the impact of risks for children associated with MSEs were found to be wide-ranging. It is evident from the literature, and from our consultations, that dedicated child-focussed responses are scarce. Very few programmatic or advocacy interventions are age-specific and most address general rather than particular risks. Also, human trafficking appears to overshadow all other risks in relation to the attention, resources and priority afforded to it by programmers, irrespective of the relative significance of this risk for children. There is very little material on programmes and advocacy related specifically to child labour, child sexual exploitation and displacement. This skew in the literature opens up interesting issues for future research. Importantly, it also masks the fact that children are all-too-often victims when adults close to them are exploited. So, whilst many of the initiatives described in the review are targeted at adults it should be recognised that they can also have important prevention benefits for children.

A number of headline findings emerged from this review that might assist those developing risk mitigation work at future MSEs.

First, we know that there are significant risks to children around major sporting events.

Secondly, we have no data to determine whether, how and to what extent those risks translate into harm.

Thirdly, most attention is given to trafficking and sexual exploitation when labour and displacement are probably bigger problems.

Fourthly, we pay little attention to the impact on children of being "collateral damage" to the injustices visited on the adults around them.

Finally, we should not assume that no data = no problem.

Main messages for event planners and advocates
Establish a coalition of all relevant partners as early as possible and develop a coherent strategy that allocates clear responsibilities and avoids disrupting the everyday work of local NGOs
Secure a Memorandum of Cooperation, or similar, among all coalition partners to place the interests of children above those of the partners agencies
Ensure that the exploitation of children is also made visible in all interventions
Ensure that all interventions have built in from the very beginning robust monitoring and evaluation plans
Ensure that M&E plans adopt multi-method designs that provide both quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (experiential) evidence
Do not assume that no data = no problem
Broaden the gaze of policy makers, programmers and advocates to include potential child exploitation associated with other MSE-related issues e.g. displacement and construction labour
Hold MSE hosts accountable to their social development legacy claims through longitudinal M&E
Adopt child exploitation criteria and child protection assessments as a requirement of bidding for all MSEs
Ensure that children are clearly targeted in any risk mitigation activity
Involve and listen to children from a range of demographic backgrounds in the design and delivery of all child-protective interventions

The review offers a multitude of possibilities for programmatic interventions and advocacy initiatives to mitigate the risks of child exploitation at MSEs. It will be for the local agencies within host countries and cities to decide, however, exactly which interventions might be best suited to their own conditions and state of readiness. For some hosts, cultural, historical, financial and legal limitations mean that the delivery of risk mitigation is likely to be less than ideal. However, there seems no reason why – at least beginning at the level of vision and strategy – governments, NGOs, human rights organisations and civil society in general should not accept their social and moral responsibilities that align with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The lack of evidence connecting child exploitation and other abuses causally with MSEs is one of the main findings from this review. But we need to ask why this is the case? There are many possible reasons, among them:

1. the problem is not there – which is most unlikely given the reports and case studies we have heard from NGO workers on the ground;
2. the problem is masked by the attention given to adult exploitation – which is probable since age-specific advocacy work appears to be uncommon;
3. monitoring and evaluation research is absent or not designed to capture the data with enough rigour – which is highly likely given the relative scarcity of research and data that we have uncovered.

Neither absence of data nor moral panics, however, are excuses for inaction. Risks to children are clearly evident in the context of MSEs, so there is a need to mitigate these risks, to prevent and to respond to harm. Good protective interventions need not wait for research to catch up but the long-term prospects for funding and political support for such work depend crucially on demonstrating that such interventions are effective.

This review stands as a **call for action** - to child advocates and major sport organisations including FIFA and the IOC – to work together to mitigate risk of exploitation to children. The resulting collaboration should ensure that strategies to protect children are not just a temporary priority attached to a single MSE but part of a sustainable long-term plan, as has already occurred with environmental standards. Also, the social impact assessments that are already embedded in the criteria for many MSEs should **prioritise the voices, needs and rights of children**. Overall, whilst events like the FIFA World Cup have not been shown to be a direct *cause* of an increase in child exploitation, they present a significant opportunity for MSE organisations to act as a *catalyst* for the adoption of policies and practices by host countries that will enhance child protection.

Professor Celia Brackenridge OBE
Brunel University London
July 12th 2013

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Oak Foundation and sport

Oak is a major philanthropic organisation, whose Child Abuse Programme (CAP) invests in initiatives that catalyse action of stakeholders, including children, in order to improve practice, influence policy and increase funding to address the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children. It has not previously been involved in the institution of sport but has decided that the time is now right to explore how its own agenda of preventing and mitigating abuse and exploitation might be aligned with those of major sporting bodies. Oak, working with a number of actors, has chosen to begin this quest by examining what is known about the risks of child exploitation related to major sporting events (MSEs) and how FIFA, arguably the supreme guardian of the world's largest sport, is working to prevent child exploitation in relation to its premier event - the FIFA football (soccer) World Cup which will be hosted next in Brazil in 2014.

1.2 Aim

This review is intended to inform action in countries that host MSEs and to provide some suggestions on how hosting countries can avoid past pitfalls and mistakes in relation to child exploitation. Importantly, it also acts as a call to action by those responsible for commissioning and staging MSEs, such as FIFA, the IOC, governments and civil society, to anticipate, prepare for and adopt risk mitigation strategies and interventions. Positive leadership from these culturally powerful bodies could prove decisive in shifting hearts, minds and actions in the direction of improved safety for children.

Specifically, the programme aims to establish points of policy leverage within the international football/soccer federation (FIFA) so that the FIFA World Cup in Brazil and beyond has a clear and embedded child protection policy. The CAP recognises that the different stakeholder organisations with vested interests in sport, children and development have different organisational missions that might affect their interpretation of priorities.

1.3 Wider context

This review is timely as it complements ongoing work being done by UNICEF, the International Olympic Committee and other agencies involved in sport, development and humanitarian environments to make sport a safer place for children. One especially relevant initiative in this regard is the launch of a set of *International Standards for Safeguarding and Protecting Children in Sport* that were first publicised by UNICEF at the 2012 Beyond Sport Summit in London (Paramasivan, 2012).

The review builds upon a number of child rights set out in various articles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and subsequent General Comments on the Convention (David, 2005; OHCHR, 2013). In particular, these reinforce the need for all professionals working with children in sport and cultural settings to adopt and apply ethics

codes and appropriate standards and also for children to be protected from harms perpetrated by other young people (UNCRC, art. 31).

1.4 Structure of this review

The document begins by summarising the current evidence about child exploitation in the context of sport (section 2.2). It moves on to identify specific risks to children associated with FIFA World Cups and similar MSEs, before during and after these occur (section 2.3). It then assesses the evidence for effectiveness of risk mitigation programmes and advocacy interventions (section 3.0). A set of options for future risk mitigation is offered for international sport event planners and advocates (section 4.0). The review ends with conclusions and some priorities for future research in this field (section 5.0).

We recognise that many different terms are used to refer to abuses and harms to children and that the term ‘child protection’ is not universally understood or applied. The general term ‘exploitation’ is used here to refer to harms to children, particularly economic and sexual exploitation. ‘Child protection’ is used here to refer to harm prevention strategies and interventions. A Glossary is included in Appendix 1. All references for this review are available in a separate Annex.

1.4 Research design and methods

A three-pronged research design was adopted:

Consultative interviews - over 70 key stakeholders were identified who had expertise in sport, sport for development, child protection or various forms of child exploitation such as child labour, human slavery and trafficking for commercial sex. All were approached and asked for an interview (see Acknowledgements for a list of those who responded). Among these, we felt it important to listen to dissenting voices as well as those who are highly committed to the prevention of child exploitation: to that end we attempted to hear from individuals and groups whose organisational missions or standpoints might reflect conflicting approaches. (See Appendix 2 for sample interview guide.) Interviews were conducted by email, telephone, Skype or face-to-face.

Literature reviews - these were focused mainly in sport, sport for development and various terms associated with sexual exploitation of children such as human trafficking, abuse, child protection. (See Annex for search strategy.)

Case studies - these are presented throughout this report as exemplars of prevention practice at World Cups and other MSEs.

2.0 Knowledge about child exploitation risks in sport settings

2.1 Introduction

This section examines findings from research and practice about the risks to children associated with FIFA World Cups and other similar MSEs. It assesses the assumptions and evidence of what might expose children to abuse and exploitation before, during, and after these events.

2.2 Constraints on analysing risks to children associated with MSEs

There appears to be no universally adopted conceptual approach to childhood risk analysis. The UN Secretary General's global study on violence against children (Pinheiro, 2006) adopted a *settings* approach (home and family; schools and education; care and justice institutions; community and work). It drew on Bronfenbrenner's (1977 and 1979) ecological model of human development, which was also applied by Krug (2002) to understand risk and protective factors in violence (individual, relationship, community and society). Others have focussed on children's exploitation *experiences* - sexual abuse, physical punishment and so on (e.g. Cawson *et al.*, 2000; Radford *et al.*, 2011).

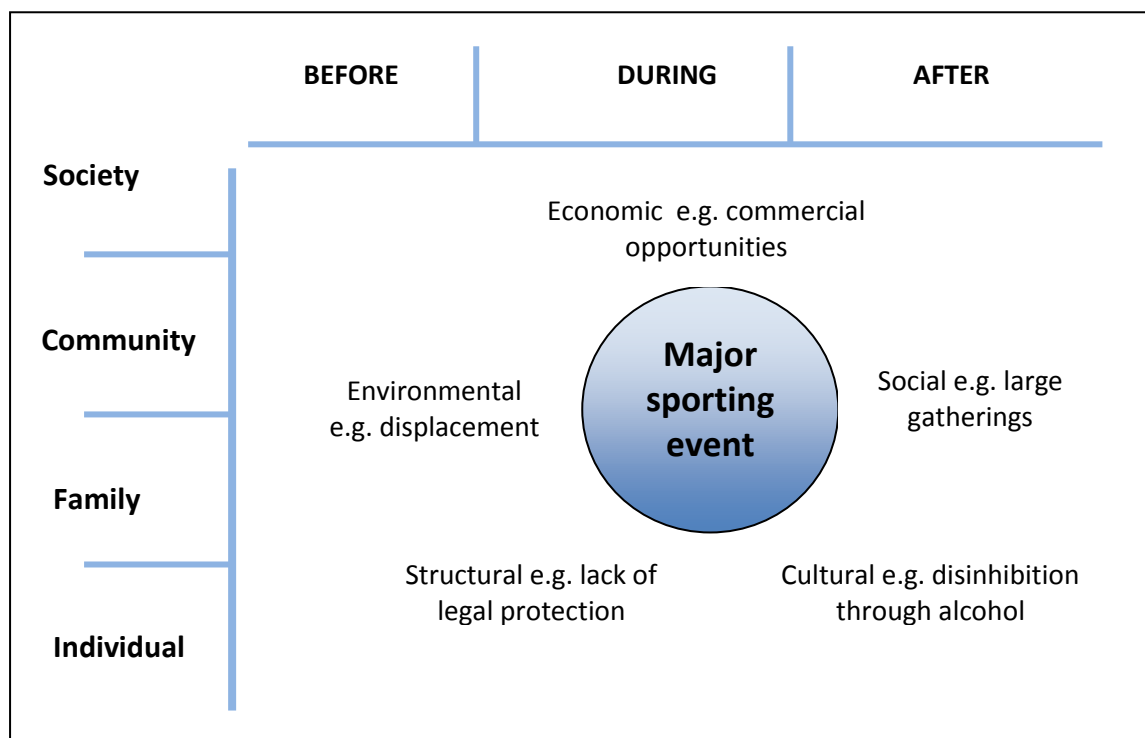


Figure 1: Framework for analysing risks to children associated with MSEs

What is clear is that risks emerge at all levels - individual, family, community and society (Oak Foundation, 2012, 13). These risks result from a combination of social, economic, cultural, environmental and structural factors that can disempower children and weaken their protective environment (Mbecke, 2010, 100). Unravelling the determinants of risk to

children and their cause-effect relationship is a highly complex task. Doing so in relation to a timeline - before, during and after MSEs (Figure 1) - is even more difficult in a field replete with assumptions but often lacking evidence. In the absence of a common conceptual framework for examining the risks to children associated with MSEs, we have followed the literature, which typically addresses risk experiences.

Many assertions have been made, both in the publications we looked at and in our interviews, about the sources of risk for child exploitation associated with MSEs. In relation to the FIFA World Cup, for example, interviewees talked about the 'obvious' risks of high numbers of people gathering in one place, opportunities for criminal activity, violence and abuse through street round-ups, deceit by pimps and agencies to drive women and children into the paid sex workforce, trafficking for child labour, the dangerous influences of paedophiles, and increased alcohol and drug consumption associated with the 'soccer mood'. Equally, whilst these issues sound alarming, interviewees were also clear that they might rest on weak evidence, propaganda by vested interests and pre-existing social problems in the vicinity of MSEs. The difficulty here, then, is to unravel both hard evidence of these problems and their precise association with the sport event.

In order to verify the many assertions about exploitation problems, robust research designs and reliable data are essential. However, the very nature of child exploitation does not lend itself to conventional hypothesis testing and the illicit, sensitive, personal and hidden qualities of exploitation problems render them hard to reach by researchers.

The following have all been suggested as correlates of risks to children at World Cups and other MSEs:

- unemployment;
- poverty;
- lack of access to services including education and healthcare;
- HIV/AIDS resulting in orphans and child-headed households;
- Conflict;
- alcohol and drug fuelled social crime and violence;
- porous borders;
- poor law enforcement;
- forced displacement and migration;
- gender inequality;
- local cultural, societal and religious practices - for example the normalising of sexual violence, the subordination of children, and hegemonic masculinity commonly associated with some participants in football culture.

Whilst these may be considered general socio-cultural and economic forces, they intersect in specific ways within each MSE locality. For example, it has been suggested that certain characteristics of Vancouver's locality increased the risk of human trafficking connected to the 2010 Winter Olympics. These included its close proximity to the US border, relatively unrestricted immigration laws, high demand for sexual services and high level of organised crime (The Future Group, 2007, 7). Likewise, it has been claimed that risks of trafficking for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa were connected to the local socio-economic conditions that included high crime rates, economic inequality, lack of anti-human

trafficking legislation, relaxation of visa controls during the event, and lack of experience in hosting large sporting events (Jelbert, 2010, 3; Hamman, 2011, 15). Yet, despite such allegations, no studies were found that demonstrate specific *causal* conditions of risk for child exploitation before, during or after MSEs.

2.3 Mapping specific risks

Some of our respondents ruled out special protective work for children at MSEs on the grounds that child abuse risks were not anticipated. Others suggested a wide range of event-specific risks, with or without supporting evidence (Table 1). Despite the difficulty of substantiating these sources of risk, an extensive review of literature (see separate Annex) shows that some child exploitation at MSEs does occur universally (Williams, 2011). Specific risks for child exploitation before, during and after MSEs can be broadly categorised into the following: child labour, displacement of children resulting from forced evictions for infrastructure development and street clearance, child sexual exploitation (CSE), and human trafficking affecting children.

Table 1: Presumed sources of risk to children associated with MSEs

Sources of risk	Before	During	After
Accelerated construction timetables with large numbers of men separated from their families and turning to commercial – and underage – sex	✓	✓	
Negative impacts on children arising from labour migration and high but temporary demands for commercial labour e.g. illegal passports and age verification documents enabling use of underage labour, involvement in street selling	✓	✓	
Media messaging that downplays bad news (child abuses)	✓	✓	
Detainment and unlawful stop and search, including of children	✓	✓	
Displacement of children from their established homes to temporary and/or unfamiliar locations	✓	✓	✓
Child coercion into illegal activities such as drug dealing, theft, sectarian or ethnic violence, especially if they stay in the area after the event	✓	✓	✓
Questionable celebrity, media and/or tourist activities dressed up as ‘sport for development’ yet distracting agencies from their normal child risk screening procedures	✓	✓	
Migrant labour not having access to childcare, education, health services	✓	✓	
Extension of school holidays without supervision or without holiday programmes for children		✓	
Elevated levels of sexual and physical abuse due to increased partying activity		✓	
Negative effects on children’s mental and physical health caused by contagious diseases if they are abused and/or forced to consume drugs	✓	✓	✓

Child labour

The literature suggests that child labour has been the most long-standing form of child exploitation associated with MSEs, and may be the main cause of human trafficking to these events (Pemberton Ford, 2012). Incidents include children's involvement in the manufacturing of sporting goods, the construction of stadiums, and forced begging or selling of goods on the street (Gustafson, 2011, 446; Morrow, 2008).

The first evidence found of child labour linked to MSEs came from media reports of child labourers in India and Pakistan hand-stitching soccer balls before the 1998 World Cup in France (Donnelly *et al.*, 2004, 304). Children were also involved in the manufacturing of Olympic logo goods for the 2004 Olympic Games in Greece, despite child labour legislation: the factories had been awarded licences to produce goods worthy of the spirit of 'Olympism' (Playfair, 2008, 29). Four years later, the same organisation found evidence of children as young as 12 years old producing Olympic merchandise for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. Before the London 2012 Olympics concerns were again raised over the conditions of a factory in China contracted to supply Olympics mascot toys (Coordination Group on Human Trafficking and London 2012 Network, 2011).

The construction of new stadia and infrastructure for the 2010 Commonwealth Games in India involved another example of forced child labour (BBC News, 2010; CNN, 2010). Academic Siddharth Kara found 14 cases of children involved specifically in construction related to the Games (Pemberton Ford, 2012). He reports that whole households were moved to 'sub human' conditions on construction sites with unfulfilled promises of adult and child wages. Whilst Commonwealth Games officials acted rapidly to remove children from these landmark building projects, photographs of Indian child labourers working on infrastructure for the Games remain plentiful on internet search sites. One key challenge in this particular locality is that child labour is not 'abnormal' for India. India's labour force demographic includes 12% who are children as young as five (*ibid*). Similarly, in Brazil, statistics suggest that 1.4 million children are forced into child labour, mainly by poverty, yet no evidence was found of children working on the 2014 FIFA World Cup stadium development (Latino Daily News, 2012).

Forced child begging associated with MSEs was reported by NGOs after both the 2004 Olympic Games in Greece (Pemberton Ford, 2012) and the South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup (Conteh, 2009). This risk was also identified by Cherti *et al.* (2012, 15) in relation to the London 2012 Olympic Games. Media reports cited an increase in Eastern European migrants, mostly Romanians, trafficked into London by organised crime gangs for this purpose. But such allegations are not supported by evaluation studies (Dottridge interview; Pemberton Ford, 2012). Indeed, according to Pemberton Ford (2012), during the 2004 Olympic Games the number of street children registered by NGO support workers actually declined. It is not clear whether this was due to higher than usual policing of the streets – a deterrent effect – and/or the difficulties involved in monitoring child exploitation.

Summary: Some commercial enterprises associated with MSEs - both legal and illegal - still use child labour.

Displacement of children through forced evictions for infrastructure development and street clearances

Displacement of communities for infrastructure development is commonplace before major sporting events. The literature is vague with regard to when displacement becomes forced eviction, and even more so regarding when this constitutes child exploitation. For the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, 720,000 people were forcibly displaced for stadium and infrastructure development leading up to the Games. According to Czeglédy (2009, 236) and COHRE (2007, 396), displacement increased poverty, divided families and heavily impacted on children who witnessed their parents being beaten and their houses torn down.

Child exploitation resulting from forced eviction for infrastructure development largely affects children from families that are already marginalised and vulnerable:

- before the 1992 Barcelona and 2004 Greece Olympic Games, 90-100% of the Roma community were displaced away from the Olympic village (Thomas, 2008, 2);
- the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games reportedly displaced 1.25 million residents, with an additional 400,000 migrants from rural areas living temporarily in extreme insecurity (Advocates for Human Dignity, 2012);
- the Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games led to the eviction of 300,000 people from city slums. COHRE (2007, 53) reports that some of these were violent and unplanned with no entitlements for the evictees who now live in resettlement camps far from schools and economic opportunities in Delhi;
- before the South Africa 2007 FIFA Preliminary Draw, street children were 'housed' in Westville Prison, exposing them to violence, rape and possible HIV (Ngonyama, 2010, 174);
- media coverage of riots in Brazilian slums raised allegations of child exploitation associated with World Cup and Olympic infrastructure development (BBC News, 2011).

These cases illustrate how specific risks to children are interconnected. For example, the forced eviction of children for infrastructure and stadium development further increases vulnerability to risks such as sexual or labour exploitation as economic alternatives are removed and traditional support systems are broken down.

The displacement of street children and poor communities as part of event 'clean-up' has been a regular concern of child welfare advocates and researchers at past MSEs:

- Seoul 1988 Olympic Games - informal street vendors were banned from the area, increasing the risk of their children being lured into sexual or labour exploitation due to a lack of income alternatives (COHRE, 2007);
- Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games - Roma communities and informal traders were strategically removed from the streets during the event as part of a longer-term political agenda by the Spanish authorities (Czeglédy, 2009, 236);
- Sydney 2000 Olympic Games – homeless were cleared from the streets and bussed to towns across the State (Beadnell, 2000);
- Japan and Korea 2002 FIFA World Cup - 300 homeless were 'cleaned up' from Osaka and in Seoul city officials set up 'off-limits' areas for homeless people. It is alleged that the city had originally intended to send homeless people to rehabilitation programmes outside the city during the World Cup but that those plans were

- cancelled under pressure from media and human rights groups (COHRE, 2007;)
- Ghana 2008 African Cup of Nations – there were reports of street hawkers being forcibly evicted from the venues (Broadbent, 2012);
 - Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games – ‘migrant courts’ were set up to evict beggars from the streets, and media reports alleged that street vendors were forced to leave Delhi during the event;
 - South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup – 600 street children and youth were moved to an apartheid-style relocation or transit camp 30 km from Cape Town, leading to an increase in social problems including sexual violence against children (Samara, 2010; van Blerk, 2011, 35; Maharaj, 2011, 58). Other reports suggest youths and some adults with young children were charged with loitering and punished with fines that they could not afford to pay just so they would be arrested and removed from the streets (Ngonyama, 2010, 174);
 - Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games – Kennelly *et al.* (2011) alleged that vulnerable youth were further marginalised with street clearance programmes targeting the homeless and investment in the Games redirecting funding away from their existing support networks and structures;
 - Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games – one report suggests that the ‘Choque de Ordem’ (Order Shock) operation, which aims to promote law and order in preparation for the World Cup, is responsible for increased violence towards street children and the criminalizing of street children who are street vendors (Consortium for Street Children, 2012).

Where levels of poverty and inequality are more extreme, such as in parts of the Global South, there is increased pressure on MSE organisers to clear the streets in an effort to portray a safe and desirable image. Country governments therefore have to manage the paradox of boosting foreign investment and tourism at the same time as managing day-to-day poverty and social problems (Robinson, 2002; Rogerson, 2009). This was a particular issue for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. Fear that crime and poverty would frighten away global tourism and investment from international trade stimulated a solution centred on security, policing and prisons, including clearing the streets of ‘undesirable elements’ (SANTAC, 2007). Ironically, despite reports of street children being forcibly evicted as part of this street clearance, vulnerable children were only a minor feature in legacy planning and large-scale assessments of broader national, social and economic development resulting from hosting the World Cup (Maharaj, 2011, 58).

Summary: Children are frequently victims of the community displacement typically associated with MSEs.

Child sexual exploitation

Solid evidence of CSE taking place before and during MSEs is scarce. The examples uncovered largely indicate risk rather than incidence of CSE, or their explicit connection to the event is difficult to verify. For example, before the 2008 African Cup of Nations in Ghana police uncovered plans to recruit children into prostitution during the event (Morrow, 2008, 260). The Institute of Migration also reported on young girls rescued from a brothel in the days prior to this event (IOM, 2008).

A general rise in child prostitution was predicted by NGOs over the period of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa: but since this was part of a general rising trend in the country its exact connection to the event was unclear (Molo Songololo in Jelbert, 2010). Also, the numbers could be attributable to raised awareness. Whilst many of the underage girls encountered by the Vice Squad during the World Cup *appeared* to originate from poor rural areas of South Africa, and to have been groomed and coerced into the sex trade, there is no hard data to support this perception (London Councils, 2011, 19). Another risk of CSE during the 2010 World Cup arose from the extended school holidays, which left children unsupervised and vulnerable to sexual violence and exploitation (Hayes, 2010, 1105). The banning of street traders and hawkers from 'FIFA zones' also placed economic strain upon families, potentially fuelling domestic violence and increasing risks of CSE for economic purposes (Maharaj, 2011, 59).

A UK-based study into the connection between domestic violence and the 2006 World Cup indicated a link between CSE, increased alcohol consumption and MSEs (Braaf and Gilbert, 2007). Football events are arguably particularly risky due to the sexist culture of 'boys behaving badly' that is culturally associated with the game (Palmer, 2011). Comparing two Domestic Violence Enforcement Campaigns, the second deliberately run during the 2006 FIFA World Cup finals, it was found that on weekdays during the World Cup Finals (on days when England played), domestic violence incidents rose on average between 11.69% and 31.42% compared with the same weekday during the first, non-football campaign.

Summary: Child sexual exploitation linked to MSEs appears to be hidden behind other social problems such as diverted services, family stress, poverty and domestic violence.

Human trafficking for sexual exploitation affecting children

Very few studies focus *only* on sexual exploitation of children at or around MSEs. Significant attention has been paid, however, to the alleged connection of these events with street grooming, human trafficking and prostitution more generally. It cannot be ruled out that these reports do, in some part, reflect likely impacts upon children (Hennig *et al.*, 2006; Morrow, 2008, 263).

Predicted rises in demand for commercial sex services from visitors and tourists at MSEs have been attributed to the assumed connection between sexual exploitation and these events (Palmer, 2011, 4; SANTAC, 2007). Other than a few reported cases there seems to be no robust evidence to support these predictions.

The 2004 Olympic Games in Greece was the first MSE where this issue drew significant public interest. The number of human trafficking victims increased by 94% in 2004 and remained high in subsequent years (Gustafson, 2011, 434) yet none of these cases were linked by the Greek authorities to the event itself (GAATW, 2011). The 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany also attracted media speculation and claims that 40,000 women would be trafficked to the event in response to a surge in demand for commercial sex (Morrow, 2008). '*... in [the] World Cup in 2006 there was debate about prostitutes from Eastern Europe – the figure was 40,000 – but it was really unsubstantiated.*' (Jens Sejer Andersen, Play the Game). Only five cases of human trafficking with a direct link to the World Cup were actually reported (Tavella, 2007; Gustafson, 2011, 446; SANTAC, 2007), although the

German Government did report an increase in legalised prostitution as a result of the World Cup (The Future Group, 2007). Media and anti-prostitution groups also referenced the 40,000 estimate before the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver. Yet, according to British Columbia's Office to Combat Trafficking in Persons, no referrals or explicit evidence of sexual exploitation in connection with the event were received (Pemberton Ford, 2012). More recently, the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa attracted similar media attention concerning an anticipated increase in sex workers (Richter and Delva, 2011, 8). Estimates broadly ranged from 40,000-100,000 but, again, no evidence was found to support such speculation.

A causal relationship between human trafficking for sexual exploitation and MSEs is therefore unverified. Supporting Gould (2010, 40) in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Delva *et al.* (2010, 3) say *'the data does not support the widely disseminated hypothesis that thousands of foreign women and children were trafficked into South Africa to meet the increase in demand in paid sex'*. Richter and Delva (2011, 7) and Hayes (2001, 1105) remark that whilst the *'rationale for fear is logical'* there is little systematic research that yields supporting evidence for the impact of MSEs on sex work. It is difficult to assess whether this evidence gap is a reflection of the success of mitigation strategies, or of the non-existence of the problem (Hayes, 201, 1105), or perhaps of the weakness of monitoring and evaluation designs. The absence of baseline data about CSE means it is not possible to know whether prostitution figures during MSEs are an increase on the norm. For example, whilst one study asserts that 10,000 women were involved in prostitution during the 2000 Sydney Olympics (Coordination Group for the Human Trafficking and London 2012 Network, 2011), it cannot be known whether or not this is atypical.

The 2011 GAAWT report goes so far to say that resources are wasted in tackling the assumed but false link between sporting events and trafficking for prostitution. Opponents argue that the link is highly unlikely because:

1. statistics are not feasible;
 2. short-term events are not financially viable for traffickers or sex workers;
 3. not only men attend the events (for example the demographic of visitors was mainly families during 2006 World Cup in Germany);
 4. paid sexual services are unaffordable by visitors;
- (Coordination Group for the Human Trafficking, London 2012 Network, 2011; Richter and Massawe 2010, 222).

Several critics of the alleged connection between human trafficking and MSEs argue that it is *'highly manufactured for use as a tool in morally charged campaigns about the nature of prostitution'* (Hayes, 2010, 1107). For example, Chris Smith (in Morrow, 2008, 258) asserts that the predicted figure of 40,000 trafficking victims associated with the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany was more about a political agenda to de-legalise prostitution than raising awareness of concerns over exploitation. This view was endorsed by a human rights consultant (Dottridge interview).

Table 2: Evidence of human trafficking at MSEs (Source: GAATW, 2011, 8)

Event	What was predicted?	What actually happened?
2010 World Cup (South Africa)	40,000 foreign sex workers/trafficked women would be 'imported' for the event	South African Department of Justice and Constitutional Development reported no cases of trafficking during the event
2010 Olympics (Canada)	"An explosion in human trafficking"	Data are being finalized: anecdotal and preliminary reports suggest no trafficking cases were identified and business fell for sex workers
2006 World Cup (Germany)	40,000 foreign sex workers/trafficked women would be 'imported' for the event	Five trafficking cases were found to be linked to the 2006 World Cup
2004 Olympics (Greece)	Increase in trafficking for prostitution	No instances of trafficking for prostitution were reported as linked to the 2004 Olympics
2011, 2009, 2008 Super Bowl (US)	10,000-100,000 sex workers invading, flooding or trafficked for the event	Law enforcement agencies observed no increases in sex work-related arrests during the event

Getting beneath the personal and organisational ideologies and political agendas of these assertions requires that time and resources be invested in accurately reporting precise evidence of what abuse is taking place (Cherti *et al.*, 2012). The current overreliance on media reporting is problematic, as shown in Hamman's (2011, 56) research on media coverage before, during and after the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. Prior to the event, anti-trafficking campaigns hyped the issue and prevalence of human trafficking in the media. During and after the event, however, coverage was low as a result of alternative stories taking the limelight as media priorities. As a result, the public was misinformed, making it difficult to differentiate between allegations and evidence of what actually took place. (See Table 2 for further examples.)

Summary: Human trafficking for sexual exploitation associated with MSEs appears adult-focused, responsive to advocacy interventions and difficult to measure. Where it does occur it is likely to mask harms to children.

2.4 Conclusion

The impacts of child exploitation associated with MSEs are tangible and direct but also intangible and indirect (Bob *et al.*, 2010, 2). Giulianotti and Klauser (2009) argue for moving away from a narrow focus on security issues, like terrorist risk or spectator violence, towards broader considerations of poverty, inequality, deep social divisions and associated urban crime. For example, when a host nation redirects resources away from service delivery in poor areas into infrastructure projects this lead to problems of poverty-driven child exploitation elsewhere. Jelbert (2010, 12) exemplified this, alleging that there was an increase in juvenile gang rapes in Kwa Zulu Natal during the 2010 World Cup due to police being redeployed closer to FIFA venue areas. The literature is clearly dominated by the issue of human trafficking yet this masks exploitation of children that lies *behind* the exploitation of adults. Whilst the risks of child exploitation *per se* certainly increased during some of these events, the examples discussed all highlight the universal rarity of reliable empirical data concerning child exploitation around MSEs (Hayes, 2001, 1105). Robust research designs, focused specifically on children, are essential in order to verify these assertions.

3.0 Programmes and advocacy interventions to address specific risks to children associated with major sporting events

3.1 Introduction

Responses to minimise the impact of risks for children associated with MSEs are wide-ranging: some align with one element of the risk framework (Figure 1) and others attempt to address the diversity of specific risks. It is evident from past literature, and from our consultations, that dedicated child-focussed responses are scarce. Very few programmatic or advocacy interventions are age-specific and most address general rather than particular risks. Also, as is reflected below, human trafficking appears to overshadow all other risks in relation to the attention, resources and priority afforded to it by programmers, irrespective of the relative significance of this risk for children. There is very little material on programmes and advocacy related to child labour, CSE and displacement. This skew in the literature opens up interesting issues for future research (see Section 5.0). Importantly, as highlighted above, it also masks the fact that children are all-too-often victims when adults close to them are exploited. So, whilst many of the initiatives described below are targeted at adults they can also have important prevention benefits for children.

Interventions are discussed here under the following headings: Human trafficking affecting children; Child sexual exploitation; and, General advocacy.

3.2 Human trafficking affecting children

Cooperation at international, national and local levels occurred before the 2004 Olympic Games in Greece in response to the 'moral panic' instigated through media reports on the risks of human trafficking connected to the event (Gould, 2010). Multi-agency initiatives implemented at both this and subsequent MSEs to address risks to children included: law enforcement, child protection strategies, and HIV/AIDS awareness.

Law enforcement:

Focusing specifically on the risk of human trafficking, the Greek authorities developed a National Action Plan against trafficking, agreed just before the 2004 Olympics by various Secretary Generals. This was centred upon increased law enforcement efforts with implementation of extensive police patrols and the establishment of a legal aid programme. The government, again for the first time, took some punitive action against police complicity in trafficking including: making trafficking a Criminal Code offence; introducing temporary visas and services for victims; and, tightening legislation to stop work visas being used to traffic women (Bowen and Shannon, 2009, 17). Implementation and funding were, however, key issues. In practice, no prosecutions were made directly under the Criminal Code and few victims were supported with visa applications prior to the Games (Pemberton Ford, 2012).

Interventions to reduce risks associated with the Germany 2006 FIFA World Cup also focused on human trafficking, with debates often confusing the issue as synonymous with prostitution (Hennig *et al.*, 2006). This prompted the legalisation of sex work in the country, partly in anticipation of hosting the World Cup (Richter and Massawe, 2010, 222). Law enforcement efforts on the ground differed in each host city but included large increases in

police presence and specialised counselling centres. National and international level law enforcement agencies strongly cooperated, culminating in the European Parliament resolution in the context of world sports events and support for the 'Red Card to Forced Prostitution' campaign for the 2006 World Cup (Hennig *et al.*, 2006).

Legal processes were also successfully streamlined for the 2010 South African World Cup, where special courts were set up and delivered

... incredibly speedy justice that would normally take years and years and years. In some ways what the World Cup offered to South Africa was a moment when government decided it finally was going to do its job properly. We may never see the same kind of political will again. Dean Peacock, Sonke Gender Justice

The approach taken in Vancouver for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games also focused on trafficking law enforcement. It was coordinated by British Columbia's Office to Combat Trafficking in Persons (OCTIP), set up in 2007 through the UN Palermo Protocol on trafficking: its aim was to coordinate all law enforcement and front-line interventions as well as to conduct monitoring and surveillance. Although not specifically developed for the Games, the strategy was the first of its kind in that it was designed preceding the Games yet also looked *beyond* the Games to the future (Lepp, 2010, 49).

Coordination and governance of responses to the risk of trafficking associated with MSEs was particularly strong at the 2012 London Olympic Games (see Case Study One). The UK Government opted into the EU directive 'on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims' and released a Home Office Human Trafficking Strategy in July 2011. The United Kingdom Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) and the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) also worked with their counterparts in source and transit countries in their joint efforts to disrupt and prevent human trafficking (Bowen and Shannon, 2009, 25). According to Cherti *et al.* (2012, 19), a real strength of the UK's trafficking strategy for the Olympics was its strong focus on legacy and building an understanding of risk to help inform the anti-trafficking measures for future Olympic host countries. Evidence confirming the efficacy of these measures is yet to be assessed.

Case Study One: The Human Trafficking and London 2012 Network

Governmental and non-governmental agencies partnered together here to address risks of trafficking and prostitution before, during and after the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Coordinated by the Greater London Authority, Network members included: the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, Metropolitan Police Service, London Safeguarding Children Board, Home Office, Ministry of Justice, Eaves, Anti-Slavery International, Stop the Traffik and the Salvation Army. The Network ran a number of initiatives responding both to the ongoing issue of trafficking and to specific risks around the Olympic Games. Activities addressed: demand for trafficking, ensuring that people who have been trafficked know how to access support, ensuring the public know how to respond if they suspect trafficking, raising awareness of the dangers of trafficking in source countries, and improving support in the criminal justice sector for victims of trafficking, sexual exploitation and forced labour. Although it is difficult to assess yet the success of the London 2012 response, the UK authorities took the risks posed by the Games seriously and the Network improved on multiple uncoordinated campaigns that were problematic at previous MSEs.

Source: London Councils website (2013) and <http://cfab.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/15-107-safeguarding-children-in-the-olympic-co-ordination-zone.pdf>

Child protection strategies

Multi-agency initiatives preventing and protecting children from risk of exploitation before, during and after MSEs have predominantly been led by child protection strategies of the host country government. The first evidence of such a strategy was the National Security Strategy for the 2006 World Cup that included specific national safeguards for children. A 2007 report by the German Government following the World Cup asserted that the strategy proved successful in increasing police presence and improving information sharing. Yet, there are significant gaps in the evidence that the mitigation of risks was actually attributable to preventative measures structured specifically for the World Cup (Morrow, 2008).

The South African Government, in partnership with NGOs, adopted a child protection strategy specifically for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This came about largely in response to advocacy and lobbying from the child rights NGO Molo Songololo (Conteh, 2009, 386). Whilst the strategy appears comprehensive in stressing the need to minimise risk factors for the abuse, exploitation and trafficking of children during the event, it does not address the allocation of financial and other resources for implementation (ibid). The Government was also widely critiqued for being slow to act (Richter and Massawe, 2010, 222) and no evidence has been found evaluating the impact and effectiveness of child protection planning for this event. The 2010 Street Child World Cup in Durban, South Africa, was arguably more effective (Case Study Two).

Case Study Two: 2010 Street Child World Cup in Durban, South Africa

The First Street Child World Cup was held in Durban, South Africa, in March 2010. Sponsored by Deloitte, the event brought together eight teams of street children and former street children, boys and girls, aged 14-16 years old from street child organisations around the world. The countries represented included Brazil, South Africa, Nicaragua, Ukraine, India, the Philippines and Tanzania. The concept was initiated by the UK human rights NGO Amos Trust and hosted by Durban-based NGO Umthombo Street Children. As well as competing in a football tournament, the children created artworks for an exhibition and took part in a youth participation conference. The outcomes of this conference were published in November 2010 as the Durban Declaration, calling for street children's rights to be recognised and upheld. Girls participating in the Street Child World Cup also produced a Street Girl's Manifesto. The event was a strong advocacy initiative raising awareness of street children's right to be heard, right to a home, right to protection from violence, and right to health and education, and has begun to instigate legislative changes concerning street children in the respective team countries. It is claimed that awareness around the event also led to the banning of Police round-ups of street children in Durban that would often take place prior to international visits or major sporting events such as the World Cup. Many of the children participating in the event also benefitted, returning to their home countries and receiving scholarships or being rehomed. As a result of its perceived success, a Street Child World Cup event is now being planned to take place in Brazil in 2014.

Source: Street Child World Cup website (2013) <http://streetchildworldcup.org>

ECPAT have successfully promoted a Code of Conduct related to child protection and tourism which has clear relevance for the influxes of visitors to MSEs (Case Study Three).

Case Study Three: ECPAT and the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism

The Code of Conduct is a multi-stakeholder initiative driven by the travel and tourism industry to provide awareness, tools and support to the tourism industry in order to combat the sexual exploitation of children in tourism destinations. Initiated by ECPAT, the Code is now an independent organization supported by the World Tourism Organisation, UNICEF and ECPAT groups around the world. Tour operators and tourism organisations that sign the Code of Conduct commit to informing customers of their child protection policy, training staff in children's rights, reporting cases of child sexual exploitation and applying other measures to protect children. The Code is one of the first initiatives to define the role and obligations of tourism organisations regarding child sexual exploitation.

Source: The Code website (2013) <http://www.thecode.org>

Learning from the criticisms of the lack of collaboration at previous major sporting events, the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games organisers (LOCOG) placed particular importance on partnership working to respond to the needs of children at risk. London's Single Point of Contact (SPOC) for safeguarding (child protection) issues run by the London Safeguarding Children Board (2012) is one example of this (ECPAT, 2012). The Board's Trafficking Group (Case Study One) was also established to ensure that London and other relevant city Safeguarding Children Boards, Olympic Boroughs and partner agencies were prepared for the potential challenges of safeguarding children at the Games, and to influence the Olympic delivery agencies in relation to prioritising safeguarding children at all points in planning and delivering. For example, LOCOG developed a 'Procedure for the Escalation of Safeguarding Concerns relating to Children and Vulnerable Adults', which worked as a control document for everybody who had contact with children and vulnerable adults during the months of the Games (Pemberton Ford, 2012). The Board also developed a toolkit for assisting social services and other responsible authorities to identify potential cases of child trafficking as well as preparing best-practice assessment and identification techniques (London Safeguarding Children Board, 2012). As with child protection strategies at past MSEs, monitoring and evaluation was neglected so very little research data exists that examines the effectiveness of these interventions.

Programmatic approaches to address specific risks to children at MSEs have been pioneered and implemented mostly by NGOs, although there is evidence of government involvement or funding at certain events. The Greek Government, for example, gave three million Euros to NGOs to assist trafficking victims during the 2004 Olympic Games. Three new government shelters were also opened to provide additional capacity to existing NGO shelters and resources were provided to NGOs to conduct street assessments, which led directly to the identification and repatriation of six trafficked children (Bowen and Shannon, 2009, 17).

NGO programmatic activities have dramatically increased since the 2004 Olympic Games in Greece and the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany:

- 2004 Olympic Games Greece – International NGO Terre des Hommes, in partnership with the Greek NGO Arsis, set up operations in the field under the Emergency Response Against Child Trafficking (ERACT) project;

- 2006 FIFA World Cup Germany – NGOs increased shelter capacities: the focus of NGO interventions was on awareness raising and campaigns to reduce demand, as funding was scarce for practical work like counselling or victim assistance (Hennig *et al.*, 2006);
- 2010 Winter Olympic Games Vancouver – The Salvation Army opened a safe house for sex trafficked women in 2010 but there is no evidence of programmatic efforts targeting children at risk before, during or after the Games (Vancouver Observer, 2010);
- 2012 Olympic Games London – The Salvation Army was given GB £6m by the UK Government to lead the care of adult trafficking victims (Weir, 2012).

3.3 Child sexual exploitation

There is little evidence of multi-agency initiatives using MSEs as a platform to address the wider cultural and socio-economic conditions that may increase risk of CSE. A rare example is from the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. The SANAC Sport and Entertainment Sector coordinated and managed a multi-sector approach using the World Cup as a platform to promote HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention. The major focus of NGO programmes for this event was on reducing risks of sexual exploitation through sex work-specific health programmes and activities, for example by SWEAT and Sisonke. For the first time, however, NGOs also responded specifically to address risks to children before, during and after the World Cup. Initiatives included:

- concerned Parents for Missing Children’s holiday program for school kids (Langenberg, 2011);
- Childline ‘food stations’, to feed the children during the extended school break during the World Cup (USAID 2010);
- World Vision South Africa’s partnership with the Johannesburg Child Welfare and Olive Leaf Foundation to manage a Child-Friendly Space at the Elkah Stadium in Soweto;
- The Ultimate Goal’s involvement in coordinating training and mobilising 2000 churches in about 600 South African towns and cities to run events;
- Ambassadors in Sport Africa who worked with churches involved in running holiday clubs, soccer camps, soccer clinics and tournaments aimed at keeping children safe;
- Mr Price (a retail store) which responded to the risk of child trafficking by partnering with Open Door, Development House, Childline and eThekweni Municipality to make their stores safe;
- Kidz Clinic KwaZulu - Natal which ran a three week Holiday Club for children;
- three Childline Provincial offices which ran child friendly spaces at fan parks;
- Umthombo Street Children and Durban University of Technology who hosted the Deloitte Street Child World Cup;
- a local project, Keeping Them Safe, developed by the Stellenbosch Municipality as a holiday project to protect the children of Stellenbosch (Jelbert, 2010).

In 2012, ECPAT also ran the Don’t Lose campaign (Case Study Four).

Case Study Four: The “Don’t Lose!” campaign at EURO 2012

This was a large awareness raising campaign implemented in Poland and the Ukraine before and during the hosting of EURO 2012 in these two countries. It is an example of a comprehensive awareness raising campaign in that it engaged relevant stakeholders, targeted key audiences and addressed all forms of [commercial] child sexual exploitation (CSEC). It should therefore serve as an example for future CSEC awareness raising efforts in Poland. NCF in Poland and the Child Well-being Fund and La Strada in the Ukraine, in cooperation with government institutions, to prevent the sexual exploitation of children during this large sporting event, initiated “Don’t Lose!” The campaign was unique in Poland in that it addressed all forms of CSEC and targeted both youth and potential exploiters of child victims that may fuel the demand for CSEC.

The campaign included the production and dissemination of educational materials for using in classrooms throughout the school year and training for relevant professionals that work with children. Children and youth were also informed of available support services for potential victims of CSEC, including raising awareness about the national help line. Also as part of this campaign, posters, brochures and leaflets that informed football fans, tourists and other travellers about Poland’s or the Ukraine’s CSEC-related laws were published in Polish, English, Russian and Ukrainian and widely disseminated throughout the countries, with the assistance of private sector partners (including hotels, airports, etc.). To further engage the private sector, the campaign was used as a platform to implement and promote the Code.

Source: ECPAT (2012b)

Technology has also been used for various interventions. Hotlines, for example, were first implemented during the 2004 Olympic Games where a national victims’ hotline was launched by the Greek government (GAATW, 2011). At the 2006 World Cup in Germany three national hotlines were established - two for victims and one for clients to report suspicious cases (Bowen and Shannon, 2009, 21). The NGOs Solwodi and FiM also set up their own hotlines for trafficking victims during the event (Hennig *et al.*, 2006). During the 2010 World Cup in South Africa IOM’s SACTAP hotline extended its hours, the Salvation Army ran a hotline in seven different languages, SWEAT ran a helpline for sex workers, Childline offered an online counselling service, and there was also a Life Line and Rape Crisis toll free number. Evaluations of these initiatives show that NGOs were not aware of one another’s activities, underlining the need for better partnerships and better communication in future interventions (Langenberg, 2011). Nevertheless, hotlines were still valued as a tool for addressing risk at the event. The Salvation Army set up a 24-hour trafficking hotline for victims for the duration of the London 2012 Olympic Games (Weir, 2012), and a child trafficking telephone advice line was also in place (Bowen and Shannon, 2009, 26). The Human Trafficking and London 2012 Network also set up a hotline for reporting trafficking, facilitated by the Metropolitan Police (Pemberton Ford, 2012). Again, at this time, there is a lack of evaluation data about these initiatives. A new technology that may be used for future MSEs is an App developed by INEQE (Case Study Five).

Case Study Five: INEQE safeguarding Smart Phone application

The charity Children and Families Across Borders commissioned the development of this child safeguarding training resource as part of preparations before the 2012 London Olympic Games. Funded by Comic Relief, and developed by the innovative technology company INEQE Safe and Secure, the Child Trafficking Basics Smart Phone and Web app is a specific intervention to address risks of sexual exploitation to children. Designed specifically for key practitioners in policing, social care, health, education and immigration, as well as for broader child protection training, the app contains information to assist users in identifying, protecting and rescuing child victims of trafficking.

Source: Children and Families Across Borders (2013) <http://www.cfab.org.uk>

As illustrated in Case Study Six, UNICEF's 4-fold approach at the South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup included them setting up child friendly spaces at FIFA Fan Fests. At each entrance there was a banding station where parents and children could voluntarily take an identification wristband to wear. This system enabled trained staff to reunite lost children with their parents.

Whilst FIFA implemented its own social development initiatives in South Africa during the 2010 World Cup, Harper *et al.* (2010, 4) allege that they did not collaborate in those run by other groups and ignored all the partnerships recommendations, except male condom distribution at the stadia. A large number of NGOs responded to the risks of child exploitation associated with the World Cup yet there was little coordination of them. The same authors argue that the South African government and FIFA were notably absent partners from special programmes addressing risks of sexual exploitation (Harper *et al.*, 2010, 3).

Case Study Six: Using the 2010 FIFA World Cup as a platform for addressing poverty and child exploitation

The South Africa World Cup was the first major sporting event where special programmes addressed children's vulnerability to exploitation through poverty-reduction programmes:

UNICEF South Africa's (2010) 4-fold approach:

- (1) Child Protection (training of 1,000 child and social workers, deployed to hot spots in each of the host cities; Red Card information campaign first launched by ILO in 2002; Adoption of The International Code against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism; child friendly spaces at 4 FIFA Fan Fests)
- (2) Sport-for-Development (21 Community Sports Festivals nationwide)
- (3) Promoting the MDGs (advocacy on the vision of 2015)
- (4) Media and internet (cooperation from private sector partners in distributing child-protection and sport-for-development messaging)

FIFA Social Development Initiatives:

- '20 centres for 2010' campaign (health and education services for youth)
- 'Win in Africa with Africa' programme (supporting local social development organisations)

Currently there is no evidence or systematic monitoring of the impacts of these community development programmes on children's vulnerability to exploitation. It would seem that, while demonstrating legacy benefits are key issues in bidding for major sporting events, no critical appraisal of the long-term legacy benefits of such initiatives has taken place. Whether the elusive promises of World Cup legacy exist to further personal agendas or to meet collective needs remains to be seen (Bob *et al.*, 2010, 7; Czeglédy, 2009, 243).

3.4 General advocacy

Advocacy interventions – via media, education and lobbying - have been prominent in efforts to address risks of child exploitation associated with MSEs. Specific risks targeted via advocacy, discussed below, are child labour and human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Advocacy on child labour

Child labour was the first issue connected with MSEs campaigned against by NGOs. The ILRF Foul Ball Campaign launched in 1996 followed concerns of labour exploitation in the manufacturing of soccer balls (ILRF, 2001). Advocacy regarding child labour was the only type of intervention during the 2002 World Cup in Japan and Korea with the Global March against Child Labour starting a major campaign ('Kick Child Labour out of Soccer') before the event. This campaign successfully resulted in an agreement between FIFA, the World Federation of Sports Goods Industry (including Adidas-Salomon, Nike, Puma, Decathlon and Reebok), and the Sports Goods Foundation of India (SGFI) that none of the balls used in the World Cup would be products of child labour, and that the companies would no longer use child labour in the manufacture of soccer balls (Donnelly and Petherick, 2004). Arguably the best known advocacy campaign of its type is Play Fair (Case Study Seven).

Case Study Seven: Play Fair

'Play Fair at the Olympics Campaign' is one of the biggest ever global mobilisations against human working conditions. It was launched at the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens with an aim to eliminate the exploitation and abuse of (mostly women) workers in the global sporting goods industry (Playfair, 2008, 4). The campaign focuses on lobbying sportswear and athletic footwear companies, the International Olympics Committee (IOC), its organising committees (OCOGs) and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs), as well as national governments, into taking identifiable and concrete measures to end labour exploitation. It is particularly focused on getting the IOC to commit to support fundamental workers' rights in the Olympic Charter and developing a mechanism to report cases of exploitation in the sports industry. Play Fair remains a strong advocacy intervention. The campaign has had a presence at all major sporting events since, including the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games, and has recently developed into the Play Fair 2012 campaign which ran for three years in the lead up to the 2012 London Olympic Games. Play Fair is currently lobbying for decent work conditions in Brazil in the lead up to the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, running one of the first advocacy interventions focused on the issue of labour exploitation around stadium infrastructure development.

Source: Playfair (2013) website <http://play-fair.org>

Whilst no evidence was found of major information campaigns during the 2010 Commonwealth Games in Delhi, there were a few NGO lobbying initiatives focused on the issue of child labour. These included The NGO Kingsway Camp lobbying the government to undertake a 'Scheme for the Rehabilitation of Child Beggars & Street Children in NCT of Delhi' (Juvenile Justice National Desk, 2013) and a campaign by NGO Child Rights and You (CRY) around the violation of child rights at the Commonwealth Games construction sites (Child Rights and You, 2011).

Advocacy on human trafficking for sexual exploitation

Most attention has been paid to the issue of human trafficking and sexual exploitation in advocacy interventions at MSEs. These approaches began at the 2004 Olympic Games in Greece with several campaign initiatives using the media to raise awareness of trafficking. The NGO Terre des Hommes sponsored travel leaflets distributed by travel agencies to inform persons travelling to the Games about child trafficking issues (Hennig *et al.*, 2006, 19). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also financed free legal aid for victims of trafficking (GAATW, 2011). There does not appear to be any assessment of such counter-trafficking activities, however.

Advocacy interventions aimed at reducing demand for sex work were a primary strategy in addressing the risks of human trafficking connected to the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany. Five major information campaigns ran during the event:

- 1) 'Final Whistle – Stop Forced Prostitution' by the German Women's Council;
- 2) 'Red Card for Sexual Exploitation and Forced Prostitution' by the NGO Solwodi;
- 3) 'Stop Forced Prostitution' by the NGO Frauenrecht ist Menschenrecht (FiM);
- 4) 'Action Against Forced Prostitution' by the Diakonie welfare organisation of the Protestant Church;
- 5) a campaign launched by the IOM and MTV Europe Foundation, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and the World Childhood Foundation.

In addition, many NGOs implemented their own, smaller, regional campaigns on trafficking issues, using Public Service Announcements (PSAs), leaflets, posters, postcards and the internet (Hennig *et al.*, 2006). Several international organisations also released press statements on the issue, including the ILO, UNICEF and Amnesty International and a PSA was offered free of charge to broadcasters which directed viewers to a website for further information on how to report suspected trafficking cases anonymously (Bowen and Shannon, 2009, 21). No evidence was found of specific messaging around CSE. Despite claims made by the European Parliament, ILO and NGOs on the impact of these advocacy initiatives on the non-emergence of the predicted influx of sex workers, there is also no credible empirical data to demonstrate this (Henning *et al.*, 2006, 7).

The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa addressed CSE first time at an MSE. Several major campaigns and education programmes took place before, during and after the event with a notable prominence of religious organisations raising awareness around the risks of human trafficking:

- SWEAT and Sisonke distributed safer sex materials and organised programs that trained sex workers how to deal with the media including signing proper consent forms;
- World AIDS Campaign (WAC) developed an information booklet that focused on sex work, human rights and the criminal law;
- sex work leaders from Sisonke Johannesburg and Cape Town were educated in human rights and psycho-social care;
- a 'Red Card Campaign' was run (Case Study Eight);
- the Department for Social Development, in cooperation with the Nelson Mandela

Children's Fund and numerous civil society organisations, launched the 'Champions For Children' campaign to ensure the protection and safety of children during the World Cup (USAID, 2010;)

- Fair Trade Tourism South Africa launched the International Code Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism, with 39 code signatories, raising awareness about commercial sexual exploitation of children in tourism immediately prior to and during the World Cup;
- information campaigns (print, radio and internet) included: Straatwerk 'Valuable to Jezus', Not for Sale – stop slavery, STOP CARE campaign, Girl Guides - anti-TIP education campaign, Salvation Army – peer education (Jelbert, 2010);
- educational presentations were taken to schools, civil groups and the police by the following: IOM and Justice ACTS – Traffick Proof, KZN Task Team, Salvation Army, New Life Centre for Girls, Child Welfare Group, Mother Tongue programme, Ambassadors in Sport Africa, Molo Songololo (Jelbert, 2010).

Case Study Eight: Red Card Campaigns at the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Two main Red Card Campaigns took place at the 2010 World Cup in South Africa:

- Adopted by the ILO, UNICEF, Salvation Army, and the Not For Sale campaign, the 'Give the Red Card to Child Exploitation' campaign aimed to reduce children's, especially girls, vulnerability to exploitation during and after event. The cards raised awareness of sexual exploitation, increasing the ability and willingness of people to intervene to prevent and/or report it, and aimed to change attitudes and behaviours especially among men and boys
- The Sonke Gender Justice Network, Grassroot Soccer and Matchboxology also ran a Red Card Campaign. Funded mainly by Oak Foundation the Red Cards were also aimed to prevent child sexual exploitation, sexual harassment and sexual violence in Southern Africa. In response to positive feedback from the campaign, Sonke has continued to implement this 'bystander' intervention since the end of the World Cup with an aim to prevent men's violence against women

Studies suggest that the Red Cards worked well in terms of its strong multi-partner approach, the framework it provided within which to interpret and judge sexual relationships beyond familiar injunctions against premarital sex, and powerful use of symbolism that triggered reflection and discussion amongst the general public. The primary weakness of this campaign was, however, that it was not able to tell people 'what next'. Feedback indicated that more concrete advice was required on the resources available and how individuals and communities could mobilise themselves to take action (Colvin, 2011, 1). The campaign has also been critiqued for failing to address the prevailing gender norms within society upon which exploitation of children is based or to look at the root causes of exploitation (Colvin, 2011, 8).

Similar to the Red Card Campaign, the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics featured an advocacy approach focused on 'Pocket cards'. These educational kits on human trafficking were distributed at border controls, in social gathering venues, in Canadian schools and in ticket packages (Lepp, 2010, 49). Details of the services provided by the British Columbia's Office to Combat Trafficking in Persons were also included in all Safe Games backpacks, which were distributed amongst Games spectators. Various NGOs and faith-based groups also initiated a series of public awareness campaigns in anticipation of the influx of visitors into the city. For example, in May 2009, REED, a Christian-based organisation, officially launched its 'Buying Sex is Not a Sport' campaign and the Salvation Army launched a similar 'The Truth is Not Sexy' campaign (ibid). NGOs, including Anti-Slavery, Hope for Justice, CARE, ECPAT and Beyond the Streets, also ran campaigns and e-learning resources about the risk of sexual exploitation at the London 2012 Olympic Games (Weir, 2012).

Evidence of the effectiveness of advocacy interventions is limited with no studies providing solid data of their impact in reducing vulnerability to CSE at MSEs. On their own, advocacy efforts do not appear sufficient to diminish vulnerability to sexual exploitation as they fail to address root causes of exploitation such as poverty (Hamman, 2011, 21). Additional evidence of the connection between increased awareness and occurrence of CSE is required before the value of such interventions can be reliably understood. Furthermore, risks of CSE appear to be overshadowed by the human trafficking agenda within advocacy approaches. Advocates of such approaches must be conscious not to reinforce the idea that such risks operate in far off places only around MSEs but should use the platform of such events as a catalyst for host countries to place child protection on the agenda more widely.

3.5 Conclusion

Multi-agency initiatives that are focussed solely on legislation are important but are just a start (Hamman, 2011, 14). Actions to address the wider global, national and individual circumstances that increase children’s vulnerability to exploitation are just as important as demand-side interventions in, for example, risks associated with the Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup (Morrow, 2008, 264). Whilst Brazil’s human trafficking law is alleged to be corruptly enforced, 24% of the population are also presently living below the poverty line and estimates suggest 250,000 – 400,000 children are forced into domestic prostitution (US Dept of State, Trafficking in Persons report 85, 2009, in Gustafson, 2011, 474). Tackling these on-going problems whilst investing public money in stadium infrastructure (which includes \$3.5billion for stadium renovation for the Olympic Games and \$1.5+ billion for the World Cup stadiums and sporting facilities (Alm, 2012, 80)) is therefore a key challenge for the Brazilian Government and 2014 World Cup organisers.

Table 3: Factors inhibiting good child protection work at MSEs

ATTITUDINAL	ORGANISATIONAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignorance and lack of awareness and understanding • Fear • Secrecy • Denial • The taboo of sexual violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of leadership, especially by senior managers • Political and legislative inertia • Obsession with money • Pressure on time, energy and resources (‘no capacity for international lobbying or collection of evidence’) • Vested interests • Jurisdiction (‘silo’ mentality, ‘not our problem’, ‘head in the sand approach’) • The sheer scale and complexity of some of the organisations involved • Difficulty in tailoring responses appropriately to different types and sizes of organisation • Insufficient data to persuade the private sector to adopt the issue in their corporate social responsibility and sustainability work • Lack of transparency/democracy in governance • Getting sponsors to pay attention to the issue • Concerns about reputational risks of associating with the issue • Resource allocation skewed to elite sport performance • Partnership with inappropriate sponsors e.g. alcohol
<p>PROCEDURAL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure to report abuses • The difficulty of going from policy to practice • Lack of a learning legacy shared between MSEs • Lack of involvement of children/ participatory approaches • Lack of verifiable data • Absence of policies and procedures • Lack of risk assessments • Lack of mandatory child protection within MSE host bid criteria • Absence of continuous improvement models of quality • Lack of long term planning 	

Notwithstanding the lack of evaluation data, agencies reported to us that their intervention strategies worked best when they were well coordinated, with a clear concept of child safety that adds value to existing work by protection agencies.

Our consultees reported a range of factors that inhibit good child protection work for MSEs (Table 3). All of these factors mean that researchers and interventionists are working on what one interviewee called 'soft ground'. It is clear that past advocacy and programmatic interventions to address specific risks to children associated with MSEs have been strongly influenced by the prominence of the issue of human trafficking. Although the most recent FIFA World Cup in South Africa did implement a few child-specific interventions, such as identity wristbands and holiday programmes, very few multi-agency initiatives or advocacy interventions were targeted specifically at preventing child exploitation.

4.0 Messages for international sport event planners and advocates

4.1 Lessons from the review

No-one working in child protection, and who understands the issues in relation to MSEs, expects their work to be easy. Indeed, one respondent described it as *'an enormous gorilla of a challenge'*! Those involved every day in exploitation prevention told us they sometimes found their work hindered by the sheer number of other agencies 'coming to town' for MSEs. Yet a number of detailed findings from this review might assist those developing risk mitigation work at future MSEs (Table 4).

Table 4: Main findings and advice to event planners and advocates

Finding	Advice to event planners and advocates
Some NGOs and advocates find their regular work is disrupted or repeated by incoming NGOs during MSEs	Establish a coalition of all relevant partners as early as possible and develop a coherent strategy that allocates clear responsibilities and avoids disrupting the everyday work of local NGOs
For a variety of reasons (brand promotion/loyalty, competition for income streams, turf wars, personal agendas and egos etc.) there is a often lack of coordination by event planners and advocacy groups, even where they have common concerns	Secure a Memorandum of Cooperation, or similar, among all coalition partners to place the interests of children above those of the partner agencies
Exploitation of adults – whether sex workers or construction workers – often masks abuses to children	Ensure that the exploitation of children is also made visible in all interventions
There is a severe lack of monitoring and evaluation activity and thus of systematic data to demonstrate the efficacy and impacts of previous interventions	Ensure that all interventions have robust monitoring and evaluation plans built in from the very beginning
Quantitative research designs, such as surveys, yield only limited evidence of children's experiences of risk and safety at MSEs	Ensure that M&E plans adopt multi-method designs that provide both quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (experiential) evidence
It is often difficult to identify causality between child exploitation risks and MSEs because of the sheer complexity of the issues	Do not assume that no data = no problem
Human trafficking is the overwhelming priority of current risk mitigation programmes associated with MSEs	Broaden the gaze of policy makers, programmers and advocates to include potential child exploitation associated with other MSE-related issues e.g. displacement and construction labour
Legacy claims by bidding cities about social development benefits are usually very strong	Hold MSE hosts accountable to their social development legacy claims through

yet rarely followed through with supporting evidence	longitudinal M&E
Risk mitigation for child exploitation is not yet mandatory for MSE host bidders	Adopt child exploitation criteria and child protection assessments as a requirement of bidding for all MSEs
Where prevention work is being done at MSEs it all too often fails to distinguish between adult and child beneficiaries	Ensure that children are clearly targeted in any risk mitigation activity
Children are rarely consulted about or involved in any meaningful way in the development of child-protective interventions	Involve and listen to children from a range of demographic backgrounds in the design and delivery of all child-protective interventions

Many of the strategies highlighted in this review reveal a lack of involvement of children, underlining the *'urgent need to unlock the potential of children's initiative, participation and creativity so that they too, as social actors, have a chance to contribute to long-term solutions'* (Oak Foundation, 2012, 3). It seems important, therefore, to find ways to involve children in both the design and delivery of risk mitigation work. Because of this, we have added the final line to Table 4.

In summary:

1. we know that there are significant risks to children around major sporting events;
2. we have no data to determine whether, how and to what extent those risks translate into harm;
3. most attention is given to trafficking and sexual exploitation when labour and displacement are probably bigger problems;
4. we pay little attention to the impact on children of being "collateral damage" to the injustices visited on the adults around them;
5. we should not assume that no data=no problem.

4.5 The art of the possible

The boundaries of moral and social liability are contentious, especially where international sport organisations like FIFA or the International Olympic Committee are perceived to have unlimited funds and are therefore expected to invest in resolving every conceivable social ill. This review offers a multitude of possibilities for programmatic interventions and advocacy initiatives to mitigate the risks of child exploitation at MSEs. It will be for the local agencies within host countries and cities to decide, however, exactly which interventions might be best suited to their own conditions and state of readiness. For some hosts, cultural, historical, financial and legal limitations mean that the delivery of risk mitigation is likely to be less than ideal. However, there seems no reason why – at least beginning at the level of vision and strategy – governments, NGOs, human rights organisations and civil society in general should not accept their social and moral responsibilities that align with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

5.0 Call for action and future research

5.1 Call for action

The many benefits of MSEs for child development related to learning, healthy lifelong physical activity, civic pride and multi-cultural sensitisation are well documented. These benefits should obviously be weighed against concerns about child exploitation and MSEs.

The lack of evidence connecting child exploitation and other abuses causally with MSEs is one of the main findings from this review. But we need to ask why this is the case? There are many possible reasons, among them:

1. the problem does not exist – which is **most unlikely** given the reports and case studies we have heard from NGO workers on the ground;
2. the problem is masked by the attention given to adult exploitation – which is **probable** since age-specific advocacy work appears to be uncommon;
3. monitoring and evaluation research is absent or not designed to capture the data with enough rigour – which is **highly likely** given the relative scarcity of research and data that we have uncovered.

Neither absence of data nor moral panics, however, are excuses for inaction. Risks to children are clearly evident in the context of MSEs, so there is a need to mitigate these risks, to prevent and to respond to harm. Good protective interventions need not wait for research to catch up but the long-term prospects for funding and political support for such work depend crucially on demonstrating that such interventions are effective.

This review stands as a **call for action** - to child advocates and major sport organisations including FIFA and the IOC – to work together to mitigate risk of exploitation to children. The resulting collaboration should ensure that strategies to protect children are not just a temporary priority attached to a single MSE but part of a sustainable long-term plan, as has already occurred with environmental standards. Also, the social impact assessments that are already embedded in the criteria for many MSEs should **prioritise the voices, needs and rights of children**. Overall, whilst events like the FIFA World Cup have not been shown to be a direct *cause* an increase in child exploitation, they present a significant opportunity for MSE organisations to act as a *catalyst* for the adoption of policies and practices by host countries that will enhance child protection.

5.2 Future research

Evidence based policy is a mantra for many governments and NGOs yet this review reveals that much of the practice to mitigate risk of child exploitation is assumption-based. Given the data gaps mentioned above, it will be important to develop a research agenda that assists organisers and hosts of MSEs in general - and the FIFA World Cup in particular – in working with child rights advocates to implement the most effective possible protective

interventions for children. One way to do this would be to agree a set of research questions that are priorities for these agencies. Some examples are listed in Table 5.

Table 5: Some future research questions

Does the incidence of harms to children alter during an MSE in their community and do these data vary by gender and other demographic factors? If so, to what extent can a causal link be established between such harms and MSEs?
How do children themselves perceive the risks associated with MSEs before, during and after they take place?
How can the benefits and costs of MSEs for children (social, educational, psychological, interpersonal etc.) be measured and weighed?
What is the impact of increased diligence (police, social workers, advocacy campaigns etc.) on the reported incidence of harms to children before, during and after MSEs?
What impacts, if any, does an MSE have on indigenous children’s use of referral systems (support, health and legal services) before during and after an MSE in their community?
What collateral risks and harms to children arise from different forms of adult exploitation before, during and after MSEs (e.g. displacement from housing, break up of family units and disruption to schooling, family separation from construction workers, recruitment into sex work)?
How many children are involved in MSE-related commercial activity associated with MSEs (street selling, sex work, equipment manufacture, construction labour, hotel and catering services) and how do these numbers fluctuate before, during and after such events?
What is the most effective form of partnership working to mitigate risks to children associated with MSEs? Which agencies should be involved? How and when should they establish a joint plan? How can their experiences and examples of effective practice be captured longitudinally? What performance indicators should be adopted to monitor effectiveness of risk mitigation?
What personal, social, economic and other dynamics affect increases and decreases in risk to children associated with MSEs?
How can survivor accounts of child exploitation associated with MSEs inform future risk mitigation planning?

Appendix 1: Glossary of terms

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

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

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

‘Sexual abuse becomes sexual exploitation when a second party benefits through sexual activity involving a child, making profit or through a quid pro quo. This may include prostitution and child pornography.’ (Subgroup Against the Sexual Exploitation of Children, 2005, 16).

‘The right of the child to be protected from abuse and neglect is set out in Article 19 of the CRC. States Parties are required to take all appropriate measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.’ (OHCHR, 1989)

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

- **Child Sexual exploitation** is the abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust for sexual purposes; this includes profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the exploitation of another as well as personal sexual gratification. For example child prostitution, trafficking of children for sexual abuse and exploitation, child sex tourism, and child marriages.
[The right of the child to protection against all forms of sexual exploitation, including child pornography and child prostitution, is set forth in Article 34 of the UNCRC.]
- **Economic exploitation of a child** is the use of the child in work or other activities for the benefit of others. This includes, but is not limited to, child labour. Economic exploitation implies the idea of a certain gain or profit through the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. This material interest has an impact on the economy of a certain unit, be it the State, the community or the family. For example child domestic work, child soldiers and the recruitment and involvement of children in armed conflict, child bondage, the use of children from criminal activities including the sale and distribution of narcotics, the involvement of children in any harmful or hazardous work.’

The right of the child to protection against economic exploitation is set forth in Article 32 of the CRC. States Parties are required to take appropriate measures for the implementation of this right, in particular they are

required to provide for: a minimum age or minimum age(s) for admission to employment; appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment; and appropriate sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the provisions of Article 32. (Save the Children, 2010; UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2013)

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

Child Prostitution: *'The use of a child in sexual activities for remuneration or any other form of consideration.'* (OHCHR, 2002)

Child Sex Tourism: *'Child sex tourism is the commercial sexual exploitation of children by foreigners. It usually refers to persons who travel from their own country to another to engage in sexual acts with children, or foreigners who engage in sexual activity with a child while overseas.'* (ECPAT, 2013)

Child Trafficking: *'The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does not involve any of these means.'* (UNODC, 2013)

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

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

Article 39 (Rehabilitation of child victims): *Children who have been neglected, abused or exploited should receive special help to physically and psychologically recover and reintegrate into society. Particular attention should be paid to restoring the health, self-respect and dignity of the child.* (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child)

Appendix 2: Sample interview guide

Interviewees were contacted in two stages. First, a preliminary email or telephone call was used to set out the context of the project and the terms and ethical guidelines for an interview. Those who agreed to participate were offered the option of either an e-mail or telephone interview at a mutually convenient time. Partial transcripts were compiled and interrogated for overlaps, contradictions and case study examples.

1. Please confirm your name, your organisation and its main purpose
 2. What is your role?
 3. What specific exploitation risks do you think arise for children involved before, during and after football World Cups (fWCs)?
 4. What is your sense of the risk of sexual exploitation of children in comparison with other forms of exploitation?
 5. What work, if any, has your organisation done to prevent and mitigate exploitation risks to children before, during and after fWCs?
What was the result? Impact?
 6. How effectively have you been able to mitigate exploitation risks to children associated with fWCs?
 7. What have been the main barriers to promoting action to prevent such risks before during and after fWCs?
How have you overcome those barriers?
 8. What child exploitation prevention requirements are you aware of for fWCs?
What monitoring and evaluation data is available on these? May we access this?
 9. Are you aware of any tensions between development and sport objectives of your organisation/programme?
If yes: Please describe them
 10. What are the main challenges for advocates wishing to embed sexual exploitation prevention within fWCs?
 11. What specific interventions, if any, has your organisation been involved with to reduce child exploitation – including in association with fWCs?
Have you any monitoring and evaluation data about these interventions? If yes, may we access this?
May we consider using them as case studies in our report?
 12. Would you like to say anything more about the effectiveness of such prevention measures in the context of major sport events like fWCs?
 13. What is the single most useful step that could be taken to prevent child exploitation in the context of fWCs?
 14. What would be the most useful research on this topic for your organisation?
 15. Can you recommend any studies – research – gray material – or key resources or people who we can learn more from about the prevention of child exploitation at fWCs?
 16. Would you be prepared to talk to me again if necessary?
 17. May we use your name in our report/would you prefer to be anonymous?
- Thank you for your time.