Protesting Sport

A Comparative Study of Media Representations of the London
Olympics, Sochi Olympics and Brazil World Cup in AJE, BBCW and RT

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Abstract

Global sport competitions such as the Olympics and the World Cup were founded following universal principles of unity and peace and aiming to be celebrations of sportsmanship. Nowadays, however, they go beyond sport, being constructed as global media events in which both politics and media play an essential role. Caught in this triangle, the Olympics and the World Cup have re-emerged in the past years as sites of protests, after decades of relative calmness in this sense. This represents the point of entry into the analysis of global broadcasters, giving the chance to examine the way in which Al Jazeera English, BBC World News and Russia Today represent the protests they put in relation to sport competitions happening in different parts of the world. The chosen case studies are the London Olympics 2012, Sochi Olympics 2014 and Brazil World Cup 2014. The comparative analysis allows the drawing of similarities and differences between both the case studies and the broadcasters overall. The findings show that protests are dealt with differently according to the sport event they are related to, since some of them are legitimized and others are not. A major distinction, therefore, results in the manner in which the broadcasters use the protests in order to depict a certain version of the world. Global broadcasters offer, thus, multiple perspectives on the world as they carry what appears to be a heavy cultural baggage of the societies of origin.

Keywords

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List of Acronyms

LOG – London Summer Olympic Games 2012

SOG – Sochi Winter Olympic Games 2014

BWC – Brazil Men's Football World Cup 2014

OG – Olympic Games

WC – Men's Football World Cup

IOC – International Olympic Committee

FIFA – *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (International Federation of Association Football)

AJE – Al Jazeera English

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

BBCW – BBC World News

RT – Russia Today

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction

In an article published four months before the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing, the BBC journalist Paul Reynolds documents the history of Olympic protests and expresses the concern that, following almost two decades of peaceful games, "protests are always ready to erupt. London can hardly be immune"[1]. Besides the fact that the most recent global sport events proved the BBC journalist's statement to be correct, the chronology of Olympic protests he compiles highlights an interesting development of manifestation of dissent over decades. That is, while state boycotts or individual political statements displayed by athletes have been for a long time the most common form of protest in sport (Real 1989, Bairner & Molnar 2010, Cottrell & Nelson 2010), the most recent Olympics and World Cups have marked the growth of another type of manifestation of dissent – demonstrations attended by large numbers of people, not necessarily directly involved in the competition, manifesting in a public space *against* a social or political status quo (Ottosen, Hyde-Clarke & Miller 2012).

As these sport competitions have grown to become global events in the past decades, media has proved its nowadays undeniable role in the spread of the Olympics and World Cup (Real 1989, Dayan & Katz 1992, Giulianotti & Robertson 2009, Couldry, Hepp & Krotz 2010). Moreover, television has imposed itself as an integrative part of sport competitions even "controlling large sections of contemporary sport" (Boyle & Haynes 2000:67).

The Olympics and the World Cup are described in the literature (Grix & Houlihan 2014, Tomlinson & Young 2006, Dayan 2010, Panagiatopoulou 2010, Blain & Boyle 2010) as the only global media events in sport, due to their ceremonial character (Dayan & Katz 1992) and their reach, being watched by half of the population of the globe[2]. In this sense, it can be argued that media has used these sport events as opportunities to display global unity and celebration, becoming "metaphoric garden parties, staged and well organized events celebrating elite athletes and international competition" (Van Rheenen 2014:127). On the other hand, the global

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[1] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7334362.stm, published: 07/04/2008, last accessed 28/02/2016

[2] According to IOC and FIFA data, the London Olympics were watched by 3.6 billion people, the Sochi Olympics by 2.1 billion people, while the Brazil World Cup had an audience of 3.2 billion people (more: https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/IOC_Marketing/Broadcasting/London_2012_Global_%20Broadcast_Report.pdf; https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/IOC_Marketing/Sochi_2014/sochi-2014-global-coverage-audience-summary-vaug14.pdf ;http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2015/m=12/news=2014-fifa-world-cuptm-reached-3-2-billion-viewers-one-billion-watched--2745519.html)

community is gathered together under the umbrella of international sport competitions due to the large pool of nations that are given the identity and therefore, the legitimacy to participate. For instance, the number of nations taking part in the Summer Olympics (206)[3] is bigger than that of the nations belonging to the United Nations Organization. At the same time, 211 nations are members of FIFA[4], the body that organizes the World Cup, while the UN brings together 193 member states. The most recent such competitions, which are the case studies for this analysis, are the London Summer Olympics 2012, the Sochi Winter Olympics 2014 and the football Brazil World Cup 2014[5].

The previous observations serve as point of entry for this study, which explores not the sport events in themselves but their media representations, due to relevance given by "their privileged role in framing our experiences of the social, and thereby defining what the 'reality' of our society is" (Couldry 2002:12). As for global sport events, Real (1989:244) affirms that the media coverage of the Olympics is a "tribal fire" around which people worldwide can "gather to celebrate shared events and values" and, at the same, learn about "usually remote human grouping" from other countries or continents. He then voices the concern regarding the national media as interfering with the ideal of global unity of these events (ibid.). Global broadcasters, therefore, appear to be more suited for the study of global sport events. In order to fill this gap, the present analysis explores three global television channels and their respective website, deemed relevant for this study due to their characteristics and relation with the sport events in focus (see chapter 2.4): *Al Jazeera English* (AJE), *BBC World News* (BBCW), and *Russia Today* (RT). Given the scarcity of scholarship on global media (Robertson 2015:23) and of comparative analysis of the television "news" coverage of sport events (Hayashi et al. 2015:2), the present study aims at contributing to filling these gaps.

Referring to the research conducted, though, in relation to global sport events, two main directions exploring their above-mentioned celebratory dimension can be identified. The first one concerns the construction of national identities and promotion of nationalism through sport, reason why only the opening ceremony, often regarded as a highlight of the sport events (Hayashi et al. 2015, Panagiatopoulou 2010), was the focus of a large part of the studies conducted in media studies. The second direction regards the "industry" created around global

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[3] https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-institution

[4] http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/index.html

[5] At the time when the study was conducted, the Rio Summer Olympic Games 2016 did not begin yet. However, by the time it is published, the Olympics will have been over.

sport events, in which television, corporations and sport government bodies struggle to defend their financial interests (Timms 2012).

However, this study explores what Elihu Katz and Tamar Liebes (2010) label as "disruption" of these ceremonial events in focus, documenting what the global broadcasters' general news talk actually about when referring to the Olympics or the World Cup. Further, the research is centered on protest as form of disruption, due to the recent developments identified in the beginning of this chapter.

1.1 Research Aim and Questions

Sport generally and global sport events in particular represent relevant frames within which social movements can be studied. As John Horne argues, "occasions such as the Olympic Games, the football World Cup and other sport mega events, act as socio-cultural reference points" for communities (Horne 2010:27). In recent years, international sport events have emerged as "focal points for protest" (Cottrell & Nelson 2010:730), coming to represent arenas for counterhegemonic expressions and manifestations of dissent (Van Rheenen 2014). Although little research has been conducted in media studies on protest related to global sport events, Lenskyj (2010) gives an account of the large range of actors who have started to use sport as site of protest and of the variety of issues they address – from specific social problems to transnational matters such as environmental concerns.

Therefore, **the aim** of this research is to explore the ways in which the London Summer Olympics 2012, Sochi Winter Olympics 2014 and the football Brazil World Cup 2014 are presented in AJE, BBCW and RT while focusing on identifying the features of protests related to each of the events, in order to gain insights into the representation of sport-related protests in global media broadcasters and, more broadly, into the worlds described by the media outlets in focus; the comparative dimension of the study is essential here, in order to indicate how these representations are similar and/or different.

Consequently, the research questions this study is trying to answer are the following:

RQ1: To what extent are the three global sport events in focus presented in connection with a form of disruption in AJE, BBCW and RT? Out of all forms of disruption, what is the place protest occupies in the news coverage of the three sport events in focus in AJE, BBCW and RT?

RQ2: How are the protests related to each sport event in focus described by AJE, BBCW and RT in terms of location, size, type, issue, actors and presence of violence?

RQ3: Can any similarities and/or differences be identified between AJE, BBCW and RT regarding the manners in which they deal with protest as form of disruption (in terms of whether legitimizing it or not and solving it) in the case of each sport event in focus?

1.2 Expected Outcome

In order to answer the first question, a quantitative analysis will be carried out using the articles available on the websites of the three chosen broadcasters. For the second question, a more extensive and detailed quantitative content analysis will be conducted on a smaller sample of material, while the findings for the last question will result from the narrative analysis of television reports. Given the distinct cultural and institutional backgrounds of the broadcasters in focus, differences in their coverage of the London OG, Sochi OG and Brazil WC are expected to be found, even when placing this discussion under the effects of globalization. The narrative analysis is supposed to show in which ways this happens.

This study makes no claims regarding the protests broadcasters chose to cover out of those happening in reality but it does account for the diverse forms protests in relation with sport events take nowadays. More precisely, this analysis acknowledges the differences between the protests related to one sport event to another (e.g. violent protest in Brazil versus non-violent protest in London OG), so what it does is to describe the features of protests related to each sport competition as illustrated by the broadcasters in focus. The study builds on previous literature describing the protests but it does not attempt to identify the protests that made it in the news and those which did not or explore the reasons for which this happened. At the same time, the investigation is conducted at the media content level and, thus, it does not intend to explain why these events were covered in a certain way or to find out how the audience received the messages of the broadcasters in focus.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The methods and material used for this research will be explained in detail in a separate chapter, after the discussion of relevant theoretical approaches and concepts in the next one. Then, the results of the empirical research will be discussed following the order of the research questions. Each case study is analyzed separately in order to capture the differences in media representation of the same sport event in AJE, BBCW and RT. Afterwards, the three case studies will be

compared in order to discuss the overall representation of the London OG, Sochi OG and Brazil WC in the three broadcasters, drawing some comparison lines between the worlds of AJE, BBCW and RT. Last, the Conclusions chapter lies out the main findings of this study.

It should be noted here that the present study was carried out within the framework of the Screening Protest Project[6]. While the idea of the project – comparing the media representation of protest over a decade in eight global broadcasters – was the ground for this undertaking, the study was conducted independently. It used as point of departure the code book employed in the Screening Protest Project for the content analysis (to which the author brought a small contribution, as coder in the project), which was adapted to the material. At the same time, Screening Protest recordings were used here as primary source.

2. Theoretical Framework and Earlier Research

This chapter connects the three main concepts this study builds on: media, protest and sport. The first section explains the relevance of sport as object of study, while the rest of the chapter builds around the focal point of this study, media representation, by grasping the television-protest in sport relation from different angles.

2.1 Sport and Protest

Although this study investigates the media representation of protest related to sport competitions, the first nexus discussed in the paper is sport-protest, due to the fact that this will help place the study in a wider social and political context, thus justifying the relevance of sport as object of

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[6]The Screening Protest Project is financed by the Swedish Research Council and is managed by Professor Alexa Robertson (Stockholm University); more at www.screeningprotest.com

research. More importantly, this section explains the necessity and relevance of further looking into protest connected to global sport competitions.

2.1.1 Why Sport Matters

Sport has historically had its place in people's lives being played either for fun (as leisure) or professionally or simply watched for entertainment. While this goes without saying, stating that ties between sport and politics have been established for millennia now falls under the same label. Triesman (1984:18) noted more than three decades ago that "all sport is political and the Olympics most political of all", while numerous authors (Hobberman 1977, Tomlinson & Young 2006, Jackson & Haigh 2008, Van Rheenen 2014) have indicated that sport events have been used for political and ideological motives throughout history by all sorts of civilizations from the ancient Greece and Rome to modern Western societies and by all types of regimes, from liberal democracies to military dictatorships and totalitarian systems.

More specifically, sport in general, and global competitions such as the Olympics and World Cup in particular, have been exploited in this sense due to their capacity to unite communities, contributing to the formation of identities, especially national ones (Boyle & Haynes 2000, Tomlinson & Young 2006). But whereas sport has the power to unite, it also has the potential to heighten politics of difference (Van Rheenen 2014), may it be at a national or international level. Global competitions can be used by states to exercise their power (Nelson & Cottrell 2010:730-731) and can become "theatres of struggle between rival ideologies" (Giulianotti & Robertson 2009:25).

To tie up the above-mentioned perspectives on the Olympics and World Cup, it is worth looking at the rationales their founders had for promoting the necessity of their existence. Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the Olympics, expressed his belief that a competition between athletes could be "a force for international harmony and universal peace", his project having an educational dimension manifested in the fight against "ignorance, chauvinism and war" (Tomlinson & Young 2006:5). Similarly, Jules Rimet, the man who laid the foundation of modern football by created FIFA and the World Cup, believed football could bring people and nations together creating a global "football family" (Giullianotti & Robertson 2009:151). The Olympics and World Cup were born, therefore, from visions about the world that correspond to the principles of cosmopolitanism: the world as one, in which differences are recognized, given the fact that the events suppose a competition resulting in performances ranked in a hierarchy, but do not divide. Studying these sport competitions represent, then, "a way of reviewing the

contribution of international sport to the globalization process generally, and to processes and initiatives of global inclusion and exclusion" (Tomlinson & Young 2006:1).

Giulianotti and Robertson' analysis (2009) of the football-globalization nexus offers a good example in this sense. While acknowledging the resilience of national identities under globalization, the authors regard football as a tool that contributes to the process but is also impacted by it and even advance the notion of "banal cosmopolitanism", as opposed to Billig's (1995) concept of "banal nationalism", to embody the "everyday experiences of cultural diversity" in football (2009: 58).[7]

2.1.2 The Politics of Sport

The sport-politics relation can be grasped from different angles, depending on what actor who "appropriates" (Hoberman 1977:82) the sport event becomes the focus of discussion. Building on a series of essays, Alan Bairner and Gyozo Molnar (2010)[8] describe three main "poles" of this relation[9]: politics and the sport governing body, national governments and the sport competition, and politics and people. While the first one refers to the corruption scandals in which the IOC and FIFA have been involved and these organizations' power to legitimize political decisions, the second "pole" points out the use of hosting a global sport competition as tool in the national governments' soft power arsenal.

As for the third aspect of the sport-politics relation, Helen Lenskyj (2010:16) observes that "human rights organizations, anti-poverty groups, housing advocates, environmentalists and indigenous people have used the opportunity provided by hosting the Games and the accompanying media interest to attract global attention to the injustices that continue in their home countries or internationally". By detailing the features of protests related to the Olympics, Lenskyj offers valuable input for designing the empirical research for the present study.

Whereas the first two dimensions of the sport-politics nexus are detailed in Appendix A, protest, which is a central concept for this study, is looked into further in the next section.

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[7] To give some examples, this cosmopolitanism is translated in players moving to teams across the globe, in fans forming transnational communities of support for a certain club or in the physical gathering together at global events such as the World Cup.

[8] In their book *The Politics of the Olympics* (2010), Alan Bairner and Gyozo Molnar refer only to the Olympics. However, due to the scope of the present study, as stated in Chapter 1, the World Cup and FIFA were put on the same level as the Olympics and the IOC, respectively. Thus, more generic wordings are used here to include both competitions and their governing body.

[9] They do not explicitly delineate these categories but this systematization was deemed appropriate for the present study

2.1.3 Sport as Arenas for Protest

Following a critical theoretical perspective, Van Rheenen (2014) argues for considering mega sport events as sites of political struggle. In this sense, accepting the idea that sporting practices reproduce dominant cultural ideologies means accepting also the existence of contestation of such popular culture practices, given the fact that "ideological hegemony is never secure" (Fairclough 1989, Van Rheenen 2014). Therefore, this sort of global sport events may represent arenas for counterhegemonic expressions and manifestations of dissent. In this case, the dominant power should pose a certain resistance, which indeed Patrick Cottrell and Travis Nelson (2010) document as being a constant in the protests related to the Olympics. In line with this stands also Lenskyj's observation regarding the drive of IOC and FIFA to accuse protesters who "take to the streets to get public attention focused on the misplaced spending priorities in the host city/state/nation, or draw world media attention to local and global injustices" of politicizing and "contaminating something pure and honorable" (2010: 15), thus delegitimizing these initiatives.

Looking back into the history of protests related to the Summer and Winter Olympics, boycott and calls for boycott have ben the most common form of protest (Real 1989, Van Rheenen 2014). However, as Cottrell and Nelson' findings (2010) suggest, street demonstrations have increased constantly since the beginning of the century. The authors document the evolution of protest from the first Olympics in 1986 until the Beijing Olympics in 2008, observing a significant growth of public manifestations related to the sport competition. What must be noted here is that Cottrell and Nelson consider as protest not only street demonstrations and boycotts by states but also bans imposed by the IOC on different nations and terrorist attacks. Whereas this can function as a barometer for the Olympics protest evolution in time, it must be specified here that for the present study the last two categories were not identified as types of protest. The bans were not included simply because they did not emerge in the material employed (see Chapter 3), while the terror attacks were considered as extreme acts of political violence and were connected in the research to security issues. The motivation for this lies also in the material, as the media did not represent these attacks as extreme forms of protest but as "acts of terror".

Another valuable finding of Cottrell and Nelson's research is that the scope of issues protested about have broadened, ranging in the beginning of the millennium from states protesting particular social or military policies of other states to domestic social and economic policies of the host state and marking the emergence of the protest "based on larger issues of

transnational concern" (2010:740), among which the authors name environmentalist and anti-globalization movements.

As for the contribution of the present study, the empirical data collected offers the means to confront these previous findings and also to update them, since it delves into the more recent Olympics. Furthermore, Cottrell and Nelson's overview excluded protests that were carried out by less than ten persons, and therefore, individual acts, which the current study will take into consideration.

A brief account of the most emblematic protests related to the Olympics and the World Cup can be found in Appendix A, whereas the manifestations related to the most recent sport events are presented in the next section.

2.1.4 Protest in Sport Nowadays: London Olympics, Sochi Olympics and the Brazil World Cup

This part introduces the three sport events that represent the case studies on which the present study draws. The emphasis is put on the protests that took place in relation to each of them, as reflected by previous literature.

London Summer Olympic Games (2012)

Giulianotti & al. (2015) conducted a comprehensive sociological study of the public critical an oppositional responses to the London Olympics, building on ethnographic fieldwork, interviews and participant observation during the competition and also on official documents and media resources. The authors developed a six-folded model of responses, ranging from nationwide criticism of the high public cost of the Games or of the lack of benefits from organizing the event to local communities' complaints regarding the relocation of people from the area were the Olympic village was built or the lack of positive effects of hosting the Olympics on the local businesses. Several types of protests are also identified, depending on their scale and target. The *local* ones, organized by communities in East London about issues related to that very area, were either environmental or directed at the special measures imposed in the neighborhood (for security or infrastructure purposes).

Then, the *glocal* manifestations had as target either the participation of a certain country in the Olympics or the association of different international corporations with the event. *Spontaneous* or *informal* protests, such as the Critical Mass cyclists' gathering, are also identified as a form of public response to the hosting of the Olympics, together with the anti-Olympic movement. While this study offers an overview of the public manifestations related to

the London Olympics, it nevertheless falls short to capture the entirety of them, as demonstrations connected to that edition of the Games were not limited to East London or to the UK for that matter.

Sochi Winter Olympic Games (2014)

At the time when the Sochi Olympics started in February 2014, Russia was in the middle of an international row over what has been named the "anti-gay propaganda" law adopted in June 2013 by the national parliament. The bill forbade any public manifestation in favor of LGBTQ rights or "the propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations", as it was put in the legislation. While Russian officials, including president Vladimir Putin, have defended the new bill as necessary measures to protect children, critics claimed it was intentionally designed against LGBTQ people and their rights (Van Rheenen 2014:128).

At a diplomatic level, this row resulted in the refusal of several leaders from the West, such as US president Barack Obama, German chancellor Angela Merkel or British prime-minister David Cameron, to participate at the opening ceremony held in Sochi. Prior to this, the Sochi Olympics were used by activists and campaigners around the world to respond to the passing of this bill. In this sense, Derek Van Rheenen (2014) uses the Sochi Olympics as a case to expose the potential mega sport events have to raise awareness about human rights, highlighting the concrete forms international community's response to the legislations took during and prior to the Games: threatened boycotts, symbolic gestures of protest or political statements.

Van Rheenen (ibid.) brings into discussion the calls of celebrities from the US and Western Europe, such as the American actor Harvey Fierstein, on their nations to boycott the Sochi Games.

Brazil Football World Cup (2014)

The protests in Brazil began in June 2013 and were initially more connected to another sport competition, the Confederations Cup - itself a global event[10]– than to the World Cup but they quickly evolved into this direction. Few days before the opening of the Confederations Cup, the Sao Paolo authorities announced a hike in the bus fare, which led to the mobilization of people, who took to the streets for the first time between 11th and 13th of June. Fueled also by the police repression, the demonstrations spread across the country and protests held in big cities, such as

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[10] The Confederations Cup is a tournament that reunites the holders of the six FIFA confederations championships worldwide but has much less visibility than the World Cup.

Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paolo often turned violent (D'Andrea & Ziller 2016:325). Protests also grew to cover a much broader range of issues than a rise in bus tickets prices, from corruption and public funding of the World Cup to the low quality of public services and police brutality (Shahin et al. 2016). The protests escalated in 2014, reaching their peak as the World Cup approached in June. Strikes were held by police, teachers, and transport and airport workers in several cities ahead of the World Cup, while "street demonstrations, though heavily repressed, accompanied the competition" (Zimbalist 2016:4).

While this section motivates the relevance of studying sport and, more specifically, protest related to sport events, the next section makes the transition towards the central nexus of this study (media representation – protest in sport) by briefly addressing the media-sport relation from a political economy perspective.

2.2 Television and Sport

As stated from the *Introduction,* when referring to sport and media, the financial dimension - including sponsors, broadcasting rights and a whole chain of dependencies between broadcasters and sport events organizers - represents one of the most researched issues in media studies.

Boyle and Haynes (2000) offer a detailed account of the political economy perspective on sport, explaining how the mechanism of what they call "the sporting triangle" – television, sport and sponsorship – started functioning and developed especially in the last two decades of the previous century. "Sport and the media were two cultural forms which simply proved to be irresistible to each other" (Boyle & Haynes 2000:45). As other authors (Blain & Boyle 2010, Rowe 2004, Bairner & Molnar 2010) have also suggested, sport has always been a significant point of interest for the media.

This is, at least partly, due to the fact that "historically, sports programming proved to be cheap, popular, and easily scheduled", making it an important part of the television flow (Boyle & Haynes 2000:49). Football was the first sport to be broadcast, in 1937, by BBC[11]. Football matches have a "classic" structure that makes such events easy to incorporate in the schedules of the broadcasters and also in the life pace of the modern society, which involves having the leisure time in the evening during weekdays and in the weekend (Scannell 2014:189). In this

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[11] It was a friendly game between Arsenal London and their reserves team. The first international match, between England and Scotland, was cast in 1938; http://www.bbc.co.uk/timelines

sense, Paddy Scannell (ibid.) names football "the premium sport of the global television era" due to these characteristics of the sport, reason for which the broadcasters have constantly searched for technological innovations to enrich the audience's experience (for example, number of cameras used to film, spider cameras to take panoramic shot, slow-motion images, etc).

Almost two decades after BBC's historic moment, in 1954, the pan-European association of broadcasters (named "Eurovision") was founded, which gave the opportunity of people on the whole continent to view live images from global competition such as the World Cup (Switzerland 1954, Sweden 1958) or the Olympics (Rome 1960).

However, the relation between television and sport did not build only on convenience but mainly on money. While in the beginning of broadcasting, media outlets would pay an almost insignificant amount of money for the broadcasting rights, things have changed dramatically once satellite television became available at large scale (Boyle & Haynes 2000:55). This is the moment when the corporations' involvement came across in the sport-television tie, due to the exposure of which sponsors benefited. In brief, huge amounts of money are circulating between corporations -which pay to become sponsors of sport competition and to television for advertising-, sport organizations and television channels – which pay to sport bodies for the rights to broadcast (Timms 2012). While the media outlets get their saying in the scheduling of the matches, for example (Boyle & Haynes 2000), the corporations obtain the desired advertising and the sport bodies - the revenues wanted. One example that illustrates the ramifications of this relation is Ottosen, Hyde-Clarke & Miller's analysis (2012) of the WC held in South Africa in 2010, which concluded that both FIFA as organizer of the event and the national (South African) press framed fans primarily as consumers and much less as football supporters.

2.3 Media and Protest

Whereas the previous section briefly documented the "symbiotic relationship" (Boyle & Haynes 2000) between sport and television, the next will explore more in detail the latter component by addressing the social and cultural importance of the content delivered to the audience.

2.3.1 Sport as Global Media Events

Closely connected to the financial aspect of the sport-television nexus discussed above is the media's treatment of global sport competitions as *global media events*, watched by billions around the world. There is, in this sense, an almost unanimous agreement among the scholars

that only the Olympics and the World Cup can be considered *mega media events* (Grix & Houlihan 2014, Tomlinson & Young 2006, Dayan 2010, Panagiatopoulou 2010, Blain & Boyle 2010).

Whereas the financial aspect has become an important reason for the construction of sport competitions as media events, there are other rationales related to the media logic for which this has happened. This rationale is comprised in Daniel Dayan and Elihu's concept of *media events* (1992), genre under which the Olympics and the World Cup fall due to their repetition and the set of rules the participants agree on. These scripted events build on the dramatic development of the competition, which leads to only one competitor's victory, being thus categorized as *contests*. The construction of these media events as "ceremonial centers" and "rituals" has resulted into the representation of the Olympics and the World Cup as ceremonies or spectacles (Tomlinson & Young 2006).

Revisiting Dayan and Katz's concept under globalization, Andreas Hepp and Nick Couldry(2010:12) argue that the media event is no longer celebratory only, given the fact that different actors are fighting to construct the discourses around these events in order to maintain their power. In the same fashion, Katz and Liebes bring up the existence of "disruptive events" that are broadcast on live television: Disaster, Terror, War and Protest (2010:33-36). They are perpetrated by "an invasive force, far out of the reach of the establishment" and are, therefore, "unwelcome outbursts of disruption and despair" (ibid.:39). This comes to complement the argument made in section 2.1.2 related to sport competitions as "sites of political struggle" and contestation.

More specifically, even if media has the power to unite transnational communities, events such as the Olympics and the World Cup "are used as blank slates, as empty stages available for all sorts of new dramaturgies besides their own" (Dayan 2010:23), due to their predictablenature.

This ready-availability of a global arena such as an Olympic or football stadium is in focus when Katz and Liebes (2010:35) discuss the pre-planned character of "traumatic" media events. Protests, for example, may be unexpected for the audience or even the broadcasters but at the same time be pre-planned by the demonstrators. As Kevin DeLuca and Jennifer Peeples (2010) show, people can utilize a media event to stage "their own dramaturgy", in Dayan's words, which is, in that case, claims against global capitalism. More than this, Katz and Liebes (2010) mention here as an example the attack on the Israeli team during the Olympics in Munich in 1972, attacks that disrupted the sport competition. Yet again, whereas they were not planned by the organizers or the broadcasters, they may have been pre-planned by the perpetrators so that their impact reached a maximum level. This "interruption" (as named by Katz & Liebes) may

fall under the same category as the previous example of the planned protest or may have been just a coincidence, with no specific purpose to attract media attention. Either way, this study is looking precisely into these types of disruptions of ceremonial events, focusing then on identifying the characteristics of the protests that media presented in relation with media events such as the Olympics and the football World Cup.

2.3.2 Media representation of Sport

The preceding section focusing on the construction of sport competitions as media events opens up the discussion about media representations, which are in focus in the present study, and thus, deserve a closer look at.

Two perspectives on media representations will be briefly addressed here as most relevant for the present study. As Hall (1997) explains, representations tell about how the world works and why it works in a certain way and are an active process through which meaning is produced. The constructionist perspective points at the fact that no representation exists objectively but it is "a selective and particular depiction of some elements of reality", which will thus generate certain meanings and eliminate others (Orgad 2012:21). The other perspective worth having in mind is the post-structuralist one, which brings to the forefront the power relations. Building on Baudriallard and Derrida's work, this approach suggests that there is no reality to be constructed and represented but that there are rather signs and symbols standing for different *truths* that fight for hegemony (Orgad 2012:24).

These perspectives suggest, therefore, that power relations are embedded in media representations, through which they are reproduced and disseminated. Drawing on Foucault's understanding (1980) of discourse as generating knowledge and, thus, having the ability to alter power relations, Orgad (2012:28) argues that the media representation itself is "constitutive of power". Consequently, media texts become sites of struggle over power, which prompts the representations they bear to gain the power of producing certain 'truth effects' and legitimizing certain discursive regimes, while rendering others illegitimate, deviant and false" (*ibid.*). This highlights, then, that a media text is not meaningful only due to *what* it says but moreover due to *how* it says it (Robertson 2012), which will be reflected in the empirical analysis in this study.

Connecting this to the previous subsection regarding the *media events*, several scholars (Roche 2006, Bairner 2001, O'Donnell 1994) have observed that the Olympics and the World Cup have been "the vehicle for much [media] coverage bearing on the idea of nation" (Blain & Boyle 2010:520). In the academia, however, few studies have looked into the domestication of global sport events by national media. Hayashi et al.'s analysis (2015) of the coverage of ten

broadcasters from five countries and three continents of the first days of the London OG appears as a good example in this sense. Even fewer studies have explored any other period related to the Olympics or World Cup than the opening ceremony and the days before and after it. These are usually considered the most representative as they are regarded as "a highlight" of the competitions (Panagiatopoulou 2010, Giulianotti & Robertson 2009, Hayashi et al. 2015). Two examples of these studies, which are, however, related to protest in sport, are given in the next section.

Therefore, the aforementioned issues are two of the gaps the present study attempts to address by looking into the media representations of sport events by global broadcasters during the year prior to each competition. The study will explore the "disruptions" previously defined and focus further on protest.

2.3.3 Representing the World through Protest in Sport

Another significant bridge between the Olympics and World Cup as *media events* and the relevance of media representations may be built regarding the possibility televised sport has to provide "our main connection to sport itself, but also our idea about nationality, class, race, gender, age and disability" (Boyle and Haynes 2000:11). This connects to the vast literature on representation of the *Other* and the *othering* techniques and the work imagination does in order for people to make sense of the distant other. Hall (1997) refers to the acknowledgment of difference as necessary to construct identities but under globalization this difference can be heightened leading to an *Us* versus *Them* narrative or can be understood, accepted and developed into "a sense of there being an elsewhere; a sense of that elsewhere being in some way relevant to me; a sense of my being there" (Silverstone 2007:10).

The sport competitions in focus in this study become then a relevant source to explore, due their cosmopolitan claims (section 2.1.1). As Tomlinson and Young argue, analyzing global sport "spectacle" and their representation in the media, is a means to engage in a debate regarding the possibility of "a cultural cosmopolitanism combining rivalry, respect and reciprocal understanding" (2006:1). Real (1989) takes the same stand and, in a way, calls for a global media coverage of the Olympics, raising the issue of national gatekeepers and arguing that "national coverage interfere with the internationalism of the Olympic ideal" (1989:244).

In exploring the representations in the American and Soviet Union press of the US boycott of Moscow Olympics in 1980 and the Soviet Union's boycott of Los Angeles Olympics in 1984, Real (ibid.) shows that the press followed the Cold War paradigm in its coverage of the two protests. Moreover, he demonstrates the coverage of the protests depended on the relation

between the "homeland" of the media outlets and the boycotting nation and that the press, although belonging to very different media systems, followed the same patterns of representation.

A similar finding reached Chorbajian and Mosco's (1981) in their analysis of *Time* and *The New York Times* coverage of the 1976 Montreal Olympics boycott by 25 African nations and the 1980 Moscow Olympics by the US. The conclusion the authors reached is that "while both publications took strong positions against government employing the Olympics to pursue political goals in 1976, both publications in 1980 sought to provide justification and legitimization of the US boycott" (1981:12).

Looking at a more recent example of protests related to global sport competitions, Ottosen, Hyde-Clarke and Miller observe (2012:113) that the protests held in South Africa in June 2010 against the massive spending on the organization of the competition, did not get much attention from global media.

Taking this discussion about media representation of protest at a more general level, two broader approaches are deemed useful for this study. The first has as cemtral the "protest paradigm" concept (McLeod 2007, Shahin et al. 2016), which gathers the devices media has historically used to delegitimize protest, such as *lawlessness* of the protesters, their confrontation with security forces, *child-like behavior* (e.g. dancing on the street) or *carnival* (presented as spectacles only). While this perspective leaves the protesters at the hand of media to represent their demonstration, Cammaerts (2012) suggests that activists have started to exploit in their favor what he calls "the mediation opportunity structure", playing on the logics of numbers and damage of the media. While Cammaerts acknowledges that mainstream media "are not always exclusively negative towards protest movements" (ibid.:122), he reduces the media coverage to the logics of big numbers (mass demonstrations, in this case) and spectacle, understood as display of extreme acts such as violence. With this image of the mainstream media in mind, the next section will take a closer look at it under globalization while placing in this media system the global broadcasters the present study focuses on.

2.4 Global broadcasters in the Media System Nowadays

While any discussion about media systems appears to still have as point of reference Hallin and Mancini's classification (2004), at least two developments in the past decade seem to complicate its application on the nowadays media system. The first one is the growth of social media, which seemed to put into shade the relevance of the "old media" due to the new alternatives to communicate brought by the "new media" (Dahlberg & Siapera 2007), while the second one is represented by the launch and spread of global broadcasters.

These developments, however, resulted also in "the convergence of television and broadband" as opening up opportunities for the flow of media content (Thussu 2007:13). For instance, global channels such as those in focus in this study "have survived and in some cases even flourished" (Robertson 2015: 11) in the era of social media. Several causes can be identified for this, but a relevant one for this research is that television has used the technological developments to diversify the means to reach its audience. Not only are the channels available on online platforms, therefore, on tablets and smartphones but some of the news reports are available on YouTube or are "packed" as written articles that can be read on the broadcasters' websites (ibid.:12).

While BBCW can still be placed without too much of a trouble in Hallin and Mancini's liberal model, as the characterization in the next section shows, AJE and RT pose more difficulties in this sense, as they both claim to embrace the values of professional journalism but have other financing sources than the commercial revenues. Professional journalism refers to the Western one, which establishes the ideal values, norms and principles of "good" journalism worldwide, objectivity, fairness, public service, alongside with news values and fact-oriented reporting techniques (Waisbord 2013:198).

On the other hand, both AJE and RT have grown as "challengers" to the Western broadcasters such as BBCW and CCN International and often described as "counter-hegemonic" (Robertson 2015). In this sense, Roselle et al. indicate that "a new communication ecology" opened "space for significant contestation over narratives" (2014: 77) and raise the question about the "old media stalwarts", among which BBC is named, and their ability to preserve their "mainstream" position, challenged by new broadcasters and the "new media".

Acknowledging then the changes in media ecology the rise of channels such as AJE and RT brought, Thussu's (2007) approach regarding the flows and contra flows of information may be more suited to be used as point of reference for the analysis of broadcasters such as the ones in focus in this study. Together with a group of scholars, Thussu highlights the rise of regional

and transnational media against the dominant flows of the Western media. For instance, they place in the former category both AJE and RT, and BBC in the latter. A series of authors (Wasserman 2011, Hafez 2007, Berglez 2013) have documented the meaning of "global news", "global journalism" and "global media". Before setting forth the motivation for treating the broadcasters in focus as global ones, a short description of each is provided.

2.4.1 Al Jazeera English

Launched in 2006, AJE reaches nowadays more than 270 million households in over 140 countries around the globe. AJE is part of a larger network that became well-known around the globe due to its Al Jazeera Arabic channel and its controversial coverage of the US war on terror under the Bush administration. The entire network is financed by the ruling family of Qatar, al Thani (Seib 2012, Robertson 2015).

Under the motto "The voice of the People", AJE promises to deliver its audience stories that are built "on the foundation of honesty, fairness, balance, independence, and diversity", bringing the stories "that matter" from "crowded city streets to remote villages" around the world.[12]

Alexa Robertson (2015) conducted a series of interviews with journalists and executives working for AJE. Among the answers, the most relevant for the present study are the ones emphasizing the "truly global" appearance of the channel, in terms of addressing "a genuinely global audience", searching for local stories and making them global ("being global is being local", in the words of one interviewee) and dealing with cultural difference both in the newsroom and on the field. AJE appears to be, then, "global channel in every sense of the word" (Robertson 2015). Another significant feature of AJE is the use of alternative elites as sources, such as young activists, for example (Figenschou 2013, Robertson 2012).

2.4.2 BBC World News

Although it operates under the state-funded World Service network, BBCW is a commercial broadcaster, depending heavily on the advertising revenues. Founded in 1991, BBCW is part of the commercial arm of the network that started airing in 1922. It currently reaches 434 million households in 200 countries across the world and has a weekly audience of 76 million.[13]

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[12]http://www.aljazeera.com/aboutus/

[13] According to BBCW's data available on their website: https://advertising.bbcworldwide.com/brands/bbc-world-news/

Thus, BBCW could be described as the classical example of the liberal type of media in the model designed by Hallin and Mancini (2004:227) as it bases its reporting on the principle of objectivity.

BBCW is perceived usually as a "mainsteam" channel, being based in the Western world and representing the Anglo-Saxon world. In the debate regarding how global BBCW is, Dencik (2013) brings significant contribution pointing out the British accent the stories are given. The channel tends to follow the government's line when reporting about foreign affairs and to rely on elites such as policy makers as their sources (Dencik 2013, Robertson 2012, 2015).

2.4.3 Russia Today

Since 2005, year that marked the launch of Russia Today under the governmental Russian Federal Agency on Press and Mass Communications, RT has grown as a challenger of the established global media outlets such as BBCW and CNN. It was Russia's first 24/7 English-language news channel and currently, it is watched by 70 million people worldwide every week and reaches more than 100 countries around the globe.[14]

In an interview (Robertson 2015), the RT Deputy Editor-in-Chief Alexey Nikolov explained that RT's aim is "to bring a Russian voice to the international media chorus" (2015: 27), while maintaining the professional journalism standards of neutrality and objectivity. RT's slogan, "Question more" appears to capture exactly this intention of challenging the mainstream "media chorus".

Although little investigated by media scholars, RT has been depicted as using the Cold War frame in its news coverage while blaming US and the UK for most of the things gone wrong in the world, being therefore considered an example of "strategic narratives" ((Robertson 2015:112), which can be embedded in the "soft power strategies" of the state (Roselle & al. 2014). Also, an important point to make is that RT uses the voice of "experts" (Robertson 2015:113) to address and explain the audience the issues at stake on the international relations scene.

To tie up, the three broadcasters in focus in this study – AJE, BBCW and RT – have two important points in common: all three address their audiences in English, therefore becoming available to large masses around the globe, and their journalists claim to follow the standards of professional journalism. There are also similarities that may be identified at different levels

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[14]https://www.rt.com/about-us/

between each two of them. For example, AJE and BBCW have the largest reach, "they are best resourced" (Robertson 2015:111), having a bigger number of correspondents on the field than RT. On the other hand, RT and BBCW have as points of reference the nation rather than the world (as AJE), while AJE and RT are seen together as "voices" against the dominating mainstream broadcasters such as BBCW. For this study, AJE was selected in order to balance the lack of a broadcaster based in Brazil (for the third case study), due to its vow to represent the global *South* (Figenschou 2013).

What seems to set all three apart is the dominating way in which each of the newsroom perceive and communicate the world, which Cottle and Rai (2008) identify at a general level as "communicative frames". While the present study cannot make any claims in this regard, it does explore the narratives exploited by AJE, BBCW and RT when covering a specific issue – the protest related to global sport events. The significance of this undertaking and the steps through which it can be achieved are detailed in the next section.

2.5 Narrative Analysis in Media

Building on Roland Barthes' idea (1993) of master narratives as being naturalized, Blain and Boyle (2010:531) indicate that media in general, and television in particular, remain nowadays "a central mediating force in popular culture" due to the fact that they are essential in the process of legitimizing myths and narratives that surround sport culture.As Berger (1995:10) argues, "narratives are very important to us, they furnish us with both a method for learning about the world and a way to tell others what we have learnt". Furthermore, narratives do not only help people to enrich their knowledge but also play a significant role in organizing their experiences and, above all, facilitate people's understanding of the world (Robertson 2010:21).

Wiliam Labov and Joshua Waletsky (1997 [1967]) were the first ones to prove, using narrative analysis, that "storytelling is deeply embedded in modes of interpersonal communication, bound up with the expression of desires, needs, and the relations of the participants in the interaction" (Cobley 2014:214). This study builds on Cobley's constructionist perspective, regarding narrative "as part of the general process of representation which takes place in human discourse" (2014:3). In this sense, one relevant characteristic of narratives is that they can present (by telling and/or by showing) some events or some aspects of an event while hiding others, thus never being neutral (ibid.:215), which is the assumption on which this study is based on.

Many authors (Cobley 2014, Franzosi 2010, Berger 1995) offer as the most simplified definition of narrative the formulation "sequence of events", which is practically the basis of the structuralist perspective on narrative. Labov (1997 [1967]) indicates the differentiation at the level of the narrative's functions: the referential one, which is related to the sequence of events, and the evaluative one, which is concerned with justifying the reason for which the story is told. Luc Herman and Bart Vervaeck (2005), however, suggest an even more helpful distinction - between a narrative's content and form. The authors insist that, while the content of a narrative (the structuralist "sequence of events") is vital for understanding the story, "in fact, it is the way in which a story is narrated that turns it into what it is" (2005:7), arguing therefore for an integrated study of narratives, which is the perspective the present study adopts.

Vladimir Propp's study (1968) of fairy tales is commonly recognized as the foundation structuralism built on. By identifying the functions of both actions and characters, he suggested that fairy tales follow a pattern recognizable at an abstract level. Tzvetan Todorov (1969) made the case for the importance of following this deeper level of the structure of stories rather than focusing on the form the narrator gives to the stories. To be more precise, structuralism identifies three levels of a text: narration, which is the "visible way in which a story is told", narrative, which deals with the way in which events and characters are presented to the reader and, finally, story, which concerns the chronology of events, regardless of the way in which they are introduced in the text (Herman and Vervaeck 2005:42). For post-structuralism authors, however, the lines become more blurred, and thus, the division assumed is, as previously stated, between *content* and *form* or, in Seymor Chtaman's terms (1979), between *story* and *discourse*. Consequently, this present analysis is looking into what structuralism scholars identify as the second level, "the narrative", since it is exploring the manner in which the broadcasters choose to tell the story (understood as the chronological sequence of events). Nevertheless, "story" will be employed in this sense in order to avoid any confusion with "narrative analysis" as method.

In order to investigate the stories about protests told by different global outlets to their audiences, Labov's model will be adopted as the base, sometimes with addition of intermediary steps (from structuralism), when the complexity of the news item requires it. Labov's model is "still considered on of the conceptual *bedrocks* of linguistic narrative research" (Hoffmann 2010: 7). It consists of six steps, defined by the same temporal junctures can be identified in a narrative sequence (1997:24 [1967]): *abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution* and

coda.[15] These steps are detailed in section 3.3 describing the manner in which narrative analysis is applied in this present study.

Moving on, in structuralism, equally important to the "sequence of events" is who narrates that story. For television news,one useful distinction between the types of narrators isextradiegetic-intradiegetic, as it is significant for "the relationship between the narrator and that which he narrates" (Herman & Vervaeck 2005:81). Put simply, the narrators in the former category are "outside the story", they are omniscient and telling the story usually in the third person, while the narrators in the latter category are involved in the story and usually employ the first person (ibid.). Here must be mentioned that the narrator in television news is usually the reporter but sometimes, the reporter can leave the task of telling the story to one of the characters.

Besides the sequence of events and the narrator, two other sesential dimensions are needed in order to define a narrative: time and space. Many authors (Barthes, Berger, Cobley) highlighted the impossibility of the existence of a narrative without a concrete setting, where abstract worldviews can be shaped, time and space being "the ideological center of the text because it gives form to figures and actions" (Herman & Vervaeck 2005:81). Participants in the story represent another important aspect. The significant differentiation that must be established here is between actors (concrete characters) and actans, defined as roles the actors played in the structuralism literature (Herman & Vervaeck 2005:52-55). The current analysis will not engage too in-depth with this structuralist model but rather with the representation of characters, purpose for which the analysis will move from the story level to the discourse one.

Building on Cobley's definition of narrative (2014) brought up in the beginning of this section, an essential element in a narrative is the relations between its components (may them be events, actors, images and words, etc.), which can only be understood by decoding signs. Returning to Chatman's distinction, this represents the discourse. "In simple terms, the story is the *what* in a narrative that is depicted, discourse the *how*" (Chatman 1979:19).

As for the discourse part of the narrative, Roland Barthes (1975[1966]) is only one of the key figures who makes a compelling case for the existence of discourse as intertwined with the story. Establishing discourse as component part of narrative by post-modernist authors expanded the way in which a text may be decoded. It opened up the possibility to put the "story" in relation to the social context in which it takes place or is told by interpreting the manner in which it is narrated.In this sense, the present study draws on the definitions penciled by Berger (1995) and

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[15] A note has to be made here regarding the abstract, which was not included in the original version of the model published in 1967 but few years later, in 1972 (Arendholz 2010:119).

Herman & Vervaeck (2005). Berger refers to the figurative language, which is built on metaphors, as based on analogy, and on metonymies, as based on association (1995:10). Besides metaphors and metonymies, Herman & Vervaeck refer to direct description of the characters by the narrator (2005:68), direct description by the narrator that can, however, be applied to any other of the story's components and which contributes rather significantly to the media representation of an event.

More recent theories have brought in the forefront the decoder of a narrative – the audience, in the case of television - which has been ignored by structuralism but which accounts for the variety of interpretations narratives are open to. Although worthwhile noting their existence, this will not be further explored, since it is not the focus of the present study.

The manner in which the narrative analysis is employed here is described in detail in chapter 3.3, regarding the coding procedure.

3. Materials and Methods

One essential aspect of the empirical research is to define the object of study. Therefore, it seems appropriate to clarify here what this study considers as "protest related to a global sport event". All public manifestations of dissent, individual or collective, which were identified as such in the news article and were put in any type of relation with the sport competition, were regarded as "protests". To make it clearer, the focus of this paper is not the protest against the Olympic Games or the World Cup, but all the public manifestations against or pro something the media connected to one of the three sport events. There are manifestations that one broadcaster treated as a protest while another did not, as well as there are protests one broadcaster treated as being related to a sport competition, while another did not. However, analyzing a specific protest and its representation in different media exceeds the scope of this study, and therefore only the actions explicitly identified as protest and put in relation to a sport competition in the news articles were counted and explored. Two aspects need to be clarified here. The first is the generic notion of protest, which in the first stage of the analysis was coded for without taking into consideration the shape the public manifestation took. Nonetheless, the second coding step offered the possibility to code for the type of protest, due to the smaller sample chosen. At the

same time, there was a need to create a category for the "in-support-of" manifestations (the "rally" category).

The second aspect to be clarified is the relation of a protest with the sport competition in focus. This may vary from the sport competition being identified as the issue of the protest to being pointed at as the opportunity protesters found in order to get their claims heard. Generally, when both protest and the sport competition are mentioned in the headline, lead and/or first paragraph of the text, it is because these two are put in relation.

Moving on from the definition of the object of study, the next step is to explain how the empirical research was designed and to motivate the decisions made in the process. First off, the entire analysis builds on three case studies, which represent the most recent global sport competitions, at the time this paper was written.[16]

Case study means "the choice of an object to be studied" and this choice is motivated by the fact that it represents "an integrated system", with specific features (Stake 1994:236). Byemploying multiple cases, the present undertaking is building on a "collective case study", which includes cases that may be "similar or dissimilar" but are chosen because it is believed they can reveal something about an external issue of interest (ibid.). As for this research, the motivation is that the chosen case studies will shed light on the way the broadcasters' representations of the world differ according to the place where a global sport events happen.

3.1 Material and Sampling

As stated in the introductory chapter, this research is looking into three global newscasters – AJE, BBCW and RT. Drawing on the convergence theory regarding media (see section 2.4), the present study used as material both the websites of the broadcasters[17] and a small sample of television news programs. The research was conducted in three steps: the first one consisted of a quantitative content analysis carried out at a superficial level of the material, the second one displayed a more detailed quantitative content analysis, while the third stage represented an in-depth narrative analysis.

For each of these steps, a different amount of material was employed in order to answer the research questions and the selection criteria are further explained.

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[16] By the time the present thesis is submitted, the Rio Summer Olympic Games 2016 will have been over. The XXXI Olympiad takes place between 5th and 21st of August 2016.

[17] The correspondent websites are www.aljazeera.com, www.bbc.com and www.rt.com, respectively.

To begin with, in order to identify the position protest is given in relation with other topics regarding the Olympics and the World Cup, an overview of the media representation of the events had to be penciled by employing a large amount of data.

As a pilot study conducted within this project on AJE, BBCW and RT news bulletins showed, during the two or three weeks' time of the sport competitions the coverage focuses on sport results and the spectacle of the events, leaving thus too little space for conducting the present research. Therefore, in order to get an overview of the three events' coverage in global media, this paper took into consideration the year prior to each sport competition. Consequently, for the London Olympics, the period of analysis is July 27th 2011 - July 27th 2012; for the Sochi Olympics, February 7th 2013 – February 7th 2014; and the Brazil World Cup, June 12th 2013 – June 12th 2014.

Consequently, the choice was made to use the material available on the broadcasters' websites instead of the one that can be found in the news bulletins due to time limitations. In addition, the first research question supposes an overview of the coverage of the three sport competitions in focus in this study and thus, an important criterion to select the data for this first stage was the articles' publishing date.

In order to be able to obtain material published several years ago, the Google search engine was employed. While the websites of the broadcasters do have the possibility to search on their pages, they are using their own algorithm to display the results, which is a combination of articles' publishing date and relevance. Therefore, a search run on the websites directly could not provide the tools to isolate the news articles published during the above-mentioned periods. At the same time, no other online research engine offers the possibility to choose the time range and hence, Google represented the most viable search tool. However, the operators used to conduct the search were kept as loose as possible in order to make sure all the relevant material was included. Going through each article displayed allowed, then, the manual exclusion of the irrelevant items that resulted due to this loose character of the automatic search. The operators used for the first stage of the study were "Location of the sport event" plus "Name of the sport event" ("London Olympics", "Sochi Olympics", "Brazil World Cup"). However, these terms could appear separately on the page as well, not only linked together. Also, the decision was made to allow the search engine to generate results regardless of the places on the page where these terms appeared and for irrelevant material to be excluded manually.

A very important note to be made here is that the online search was conducted only on the "News" pages of the broadcasters, thus eliminating the "Sport" section due to the fact that the study looks into general news not niche ones[18].

An important choice has to be mentioned here. Due to the large amount of data the search on BBCW website generated, a more restrictive search was run for this website, with the operators ("Location" plus "Competition") having to appear together, as in a phrase.

This material was coded for the variable named "LOG/SOG/BWC main topic?" (Appendix A). At this point, the irrelevant material was excluded either because the name of the sport event did not appear in the article in focus or because it was only mentioned in the last paragraph of the articles. The decision was made to keep as relevant only the articles where the name on the sport competition was mentioned in the headline and/or lead. There is, however, a category of items that emerged during the coding, in which the sport event is mentioned in the second or third paragraph of the articles. These were placed in a separate group (as explained in Appendix A) and were only use for verifying the results of the second stage of the material selection.

The final amount of material for the first stage of the study, which include only the articles in which the name of the sport event was mentioned in headline and/or lead is displayed in Table 1.

Sport competition	Broadcaster			
	AJE	BBCW	RT	Total
LOG	6	70	19	95
SOG	13	25	63	101
BWC	22	72	33	127
Total	41	167	115	323

Table 1   Distribution of the number of articles in which the sport competition is central to the article per sport event and broadcaster, selected for Coding stage 1: Identifying Topics (see section 3.3)

The second stage of this study supposed running a Google search similar to the one employed in Stage 1, but adding another term to the search words, which is "protest". Verification was made to ensure that the articles that ended up having "protest" as main topic after the first step of coding were among the results the Google engine generated in Stage 2. In addition, other items came up after the online search, due to the fact that protest was mentioned or discussed in the paragraphs following the lead. The irrelevant items resulted from the same

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[18] Consequently, the Google search was conducted on www.aljazeera.com/news; www.bbc.com/news; and www.rt.com/news

manner of unrestrictive search and were removed. The items were eliminated if any of the central terms – "protest" or the name of the sport event – was not found in the articles.

The wording used in the first step of the coding, "location + competition" was kept for the second stage as well, to which it was added the term "protest" as a required word to appear in the article, anywhere on page (Google setting).While for the two Olympics the search was kept completely loose, for the Brazil World Cup, a limitation was imposed due to the amount of data generated by the search. Thus, the terms "Brazil" and "World Cup" were required to appear linked as a phrase. The size of the sample is shown in Table 2.

Sport competition	Broadcaster			
	AJE	BBCW	RT	Total
LOG	0	7	7	14
SOG	6	15	12	33
BWC	17	23	20	60
Total	23	45	39	107

Table 2   Distribution of the number of "protest" articles per sport event and broadcaster selected for Coding stage 2: Describing protest (see section 3.3)

Finally, for the narrative analysis, one "protest item" was chosen for each competition and each channel (except for London OG on AJE, where no items were identified at Stage 2). Since the week prior to the sport event is described in the literature as the most celebratory, especially for the Olympics, protests covered in this period were deemed as the most representative. In order to have a similar basis of comparison, the same protest or a protest with similar features for each event that is covered by all broadcasters was identified. For the Brazil WC, a metro workers' strike was covered on June 9th 2014 by all channels, while for Sochi OG an anti-LGBT propaganda law protest was covered by AJE and BBCW on February 5th 2014. RT, however, covered on February 4th a similar protest in terms of type, issue and location.

For the London OG, however, the closest-in-time to the opening ceremony protest covered by BBCW in a news bulletin was on July 18th, which features a *Spectacle* protest, reported as an interview with the artists. However, as the focus of this research is the *street* protest (this is indeed the most common type of protest in BBCW) and since the differences between the narrative analysis of an interview and a report would have proven problematic in terms of comparability, the chosen item became the one found in the news bulletin on June 30th. Then, a protest with similar features was identified on RT's website on May 11th (as part of a

news bulletin broadcast during the day) and was kept despite the time difference. The item does not appear, however, in the news bulletin recorded via the *Screening Protest Project*, but it is downloadable from the website.

For AJE, the items were identified in the news program airing at 22:00 (Sweden time), for BBCW – in the news program broadcast at 20:00, while for RT – in the bulleting airing at 19:00 (except for the above-mentioned case). For AJE, the same items were found in the news bulletins broadcast at 19:00 and 20:00 as well, but in shorter forms; thus, the longer stories were preferred for the sake of the analysis.

The next two sections lay out the justification for the choice of methods and the manner in which the empirical research was conducted.

3.2 Methods

Different claims have been made in previous literature regarding the coverage of global sport events, commonly converging to "a celebratory hagiography" (Molnar & Gyozno2010:13). In order to draw any conclusions about the general coverage of the London OG, Sochi OG and Brazil WC and the coverage received by protest, a large amount of data had to be quantified.

In addition, as this research has the purpose to first describe and then compare the media representations of protest in sport, several main features of protest had to be identified for all three case studies. These are *type, issue, size, location, protesters, speaking actors* and *presence of violence* and are explained at large in the codebook in Appendix B. The next section of this paper will address only the most relevant ones, due to space limitation.

However, an essential point of the analysis is to capture the view of the world presented by each broadcaster as resulted from the way in which protest as form of disruption is dealt with in the news reports. For this, though, a qualitative analysis was required, which could ensure the tools for digging into the message of the media texts in focus.

Content analysis

As previously mentioned, for the first two research questions (introduced in the first chapter, on page 3), a large amount of data had to be analyzed in order to generate any findings. Thus, content analysis was considered the most suitable method, since it can ensure the quantification of the "content flow" of the texts (Kirilenko & Stepchenkova 2016:1). In order to do so, content

analysis requires "specialized procedures", since the method represents a "research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text (or other meaningful mater) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff 2004:18). By using these procedures, the results generated are assumed to be replicable by other coders at any other time. Neuendorf (2002:10-13) emphasizes the method's reliance "on the scientific method", which include "attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, *a priori* design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing". While the coding procedure is detailed in the next section, the issues related to subjectivity, reliability and validity will be addressed in section 3.4.

Therefore, the strengths of the method lay in its capacity to allow the researchers to place big amounts of unstructured information into orderly "boxes", built upon specific criteria gathered together in a codebook. Plus, once this codebook is designed, the coding is far less time-consuming than the qualitative methods.

In the present study, the quantitative content analysis proved useful not only for generating results, but also for digging into the material until the point of reaching the most representative stories to be considered for the narrative analysis.

Still, the methods has its downsides, being viewed as reductionist and lacking the tools to explore the in-depth of a text. "Content analysis has been unable to capture the context within which a written text has meaning" (Manning & Cullum-Swan 1994:463). "Context" has been defined in various ways, relating it to previous knowledge about an issue, or to the "immediate semantic environment" or even to readership and so on. As for the present study, the content analysis will be completed by what Manning and Cullum Swan identify as ongoing narrative (1994: 464), which is detailed in the next subsection.

Narrative analysis

Roberto Franzosi (2010) offers a good example of how the narrative analysis can be carried out at a quantitative level by following a *story grammar*. However, given that Franzosi's model tends to focus on the structural components of the narratives, the qualitative approach has been considered more suited.

In fact, the main reason for conducting narrative analysis is that "rather than producing sketchy accounts, […] it attunes the scholar to nuance, helping us see things that would be overlooked in more technical readings" (Robertson 2010:22). These tools provided by narrative analysis allow the researcher to go beyond the superficial level of analysis in order to identify the meaning of the story being told.

Whereas the narrative analysis is useful to "learn more about the power to regulate understandings in society, and, related to that, to learn about identity and about how people make sense of the world around them" (Robertson 2010:22), the empirical challenges it poses are significant due to the fact that it is dependent on the researcher's previous knowledge. This disadvantage is at least partially counterbalanced through comparing the narrative analysis findings with the more objectively obtained results of the content analysis. Another disadvantage of the method is being time-consuming, which limits the number of media texted that can be analyzed for a study.

3.3 Explaining the Coding Procedure

As mentioned before, this section offers details about how the empirical research was designed and conducted. While only the most important variables are addressed due to space limitations, the respective codebooks for each of the three stage of the analysis can be found in Appendix B.

Stage 1: Identifying topics

The first step of the analysis had as purpose drawing a broad image of the main topics AJE, BBCW and RT covered in relation with the London OG, Sochi OG and Brazil WC, respectively. Therefore, the unit of analysis was "sport competition item" and the coding question posed to the material was "What is the main topic of the article related to the sport competition?". The categories were created based on the previous literature (such as *Celebration* or *Security*) and also following an inductive approach. A small pilot study was carried out in order to conduct "a qualitative scrutiny of the content to be examined" (Neuendorf 2002:103) and define the list of categories.

Stage 2: Describing Protest

For the second step of coding, the unit of analysis was "protest article". Here must be noted the selection criterion was not whether protest is central to the article, but rather if it is mentioned in the body of the text and if it is identified through the use of at least two of the characteristics considered as significant for the description of protest. These characteristics were translated in the coding process into variables such as location, size, type, issue, speaking actors, protesters' identity, and presence of violence.

As for the first stage of analysis, the categories presented in Appendix B emerged both from the coding of the material itself (inductive approach) and from the literature. In this sense, a

pilot study on the protests related to the Sochi OG was conducted. Two examples of coding questions posed to the material were: "What is the type of the protest in focus, as identified in the news article?" and "What is/are the issue/s the protesters are demonstrating about?". Besides variables such as *Nickname, Year* and *Month*, which were necessary for indexing purposes, there were some variables - *Location – country* and *city* and *Size* of the protest or *Violence mentioned* - for which the definition of categories was not particularly problematic. However, for the latter two, recoding was needed after the pilot study, as for *Size* the original recording supposed the writing of the number of protesters or the attribute found in the news article (which resulted in inconclusive findings), while for *Violence,* the categories were expanded from *Yes/No* to include the perpetrator of the violence, according to the news article.

Variables *Type* and *Issue* proved to be the most complicated to define, as the range of answers to the before-mentioned coding questions was rather broad. In many cases, one demonstration was described as taking different forms and thus, the decision was made to code for up to two categories. Similarly, for the *Issue,* there was the possibility to code for up to three categories, as the pilot study showed that the matter at stake in a protest was not usually identified in the news article as being singular. Consequently, the results generated for these two variables will not add up to 100% when put together. Tightly connected to the *type* and *issue* of a protest proved to be the way in which the protesters are identified, as the protesters in a *strike* are usually described through the professional category to which they belong.[19]

One last important variable was *Speaking actors*, which was coded for due to two reasons: first, because it points at whom the broadcasters favor to tell the story to the audience and second, because it can lead to the verification of previous literature findings regarding the hegemonic and counterhegemonic broadcasters in relation to the voices they promote in their coverage (i.e. elites versus ordinary people). The actors are classified according to the role they are attributed in the news article. The first coding of *Speaking actors* was according to frequency of appearances overall (per sport event), regardless of the number of articles they appeared in. If there were three *Protesters* directly quoted in an article, they would be counted three times. However, the choice was made to abandon this and count in exchange the number of articles in which at least one *Protester* (to keep the same example) was directly quoted. This way, the

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[19] Here should be noted that for this variables, if multiple groups of protesters were identified in the news article, only the first one was coded for. While these cases were rare, it must be acknowledged as a limitation of the designed coding scheme.

findings are more relevant because the number of a *Speaking actor*'s appearances can be reported to the total coverage of an event by one channel.

Stage 3: Decoding the narratives

In order to conduct the narrative, after identifying the items as described in section 3.1, the news report was transcribed entirely and the visual and audible elements noted down next to the sentence which they were put together with in the report. Afterwards, information was placed into the coding sheets (see Appendix C) on two columns reflecting the story (the *what*) – discourse (the *how*) distinction, as presented in the literature review (section 2.5). The analysis of the story was carried out using as a basis Labov and Waletsky's six-step model (1997[1967]). The *abstract* summarizes the story or sets its tone. For this reason, in the news reports, the *abstract* was considered to be the introduction exposed by either the studio anchor or the reporter on field of the report itself, seen as an independent and self-sufficient "package" (the narrative sequence). The *orientation* introduces the defining elements of a narrative (described in Chapter 2.5), time, space, participants, plus the initial situation, and "serve to orient the listener" (ibid.: 27). For analytical purposes, these elements are presented separated in the coding sheets, to make the information easier to follow. The *complication* or *the complicating action* follows next in the narrative sequence and answers the question "Then what happened?" (ibid.). As some of the news reports chosen for this study are very complex, an additional step was added here to answer the question "What happened next?" and to make the transition to the *resolution* from Labov's model, which is supposed to introduce the "resolving action" (ibid.:35) and to answer the question "What finally happened?". *Coda,* then, is "a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment", which in news is usually the phrase or sentence the reporter uses to put the story in a broad context or to bring it to the present *(*ibid.:36).

The *evaluation* was left here on purpose at the end, since, as Labov and Waletsky explain, it does not have a fixed place in the narrative sequence. Sometimes, it does appear at the end of the story but it often suspends one of the steps (usually the *complicating action*) and it can be external or internal, depending on the degree of its embedding in the narrative sequence (ibid.:33-34). The *evaluation* represents "that part of the narrative that reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative" (ibid.), and it can be expressed directly by the narrator (reporter for news) or it can be hidden, in which case the analysis of the discourse will prove useful in order to decode the message.

In this sense, the coding supposed the identification of metaphors and metonymies (as defined in Chapter 2.5), as they suggest the manner in which the story should be *evaluated* and

understood. The naming of the participants or the attributes used by the narrator to describe them or places, for example, represented cues to look into in order to decode the message of the news report. Equally important was considered the visual aspect, moreover due to the nature of television, colors, camera shots, lighting being deemed relevant for decoding the narrative. Overall, special attention was given to the image-words associations, as they provided significant input for the *evaluation* of the narrative (see Appendix C).

One last note before moving on to the next section concerns the flexibility of Labov and Waletsky's model. As the authors themselves state and as the material itself showed, not all narratives conform to the scheme, therefore some of them may lack one or more steps in the model while others may be more complex than described in this section.[20] In fact, two categories describing the protest, *object* and *target*, were added to the coding sheet, as they were considered relevant for the representation of protest and could be contrasted with the content analysis results.

Generating results

Some considerations are needed regarding the process of obtaining results from the data recorded. The SPSS statistical program was used for recording the data, on which frequencies and cross tabulations were run. As mentioned before, some variable needed recoding (e.g. *Size, Speaking actors*). Equally important to the recoding is the merging of several categories into macro-categories at the post-coding stage, in order to generate more relevant findings. One example in this sense is the collapsing of several categories (*Politician, Business actor, Expert, Sport official* and *Protester, Ordinary person*) for *Speaking Actors* into *Elites* and, respectively *Ordinary people.* The same was done for the *Topics* after the first stage of coding, placing the 11 categories into two broader ones – *Celebration* and *Disruption.* These are further detailed in the *Results and Analysis* chapter.

3.4 Reliability and Limitations

As stated in section 3.2, the methods employed in this study pose some challenges regarding the reliability and validity of the results generated. The use of a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods was intended to ensure the validity of the findings by comparing the results generated through each of them. In fact, the discussion of the narrative analysis results in Chapter 4.2 is

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[20]This is illustrated in the coding sheets for each media text chosen (see Appendix C).

carried by contrasting the findings of this qualitative and, thus, more interpretive method, with the more objective content analysis.

As Krippendorff suggests (2004: 22), subjectivity can be traced in the content analysis as well because texts are not objective, have no single meaning and depend on the qualities of the reader. Reliability can, therefore, be ensured only by applying a coding procedure that includes clear definitions. In this sense, a separate codebook was created for each of the stages of the analysis and inter-coder reliability tests were conducted. For each of the two stages of the content analysis, an independent coder coded a sample of the material and their results were compared with the author's coding (Kirilenko & Stepchenkova 2016:1). For the first stage of the content, a total of 18 articles were double-coded (two articles per broadcaster per event), while for the second – eight articles were double-coded (one per broadcaster per event). For comparing the results, Holsti's method (1969) was used, generating 96% inter-coder reliability for stage 1 and 92% for stage 2, both representing satisfactory levels. According to this method, a result over 90% is considered an acceptable level of reliability.

For the narrative analysis, a codebook was also designed in order to ensure reliability and only one news report was double-coded. While the story steps were identified in the same way as the author by the second coder, Holsti's method was more difficult to apply to the discourse interpretation. What can be said is that the same images and symbols were named as relevant by the second coder as the author, the main findings being the same. At this stage, the coder was rather engaged into a discussion to understand the manner in which she understood the message.

All the coders, including the author, are fluent in English and have been living in other countries but the birth place for long periods of their lives, making them suited for "reading" news reports directed at an English-speaking global audience.

Another aspect brought up by Neuendorf (2002), generalizability, must be addressed here. Given the manner in which the selection of the material was conducted, the results of the content analysis of this study offer an exhaustive image of the representation of the three sport competitions in focus in the general news flux of AJE, BBCW and RT the year prior to each event. The limitations regarding the material, which were explained in chapter 3.1, must be accounted for (choice of broadcasters' website instead of television broadcasts; the more restrictive search algorithm for BBCW). At the same time, the narrative analysis was carried out only on a smaller sample and therefore, its findings cannot be considered as generalizable for the entire AJE, BBCW and RT coverage of protest related to the sport events in focus.

4. Results and Discussion

This chapter is divided in two main parts. The first one presents the answers to the first research question, generated through the first stage of the content analysis, while the second one answers to the second and third questions, by discussing the findings of the *Describing protest* stage of content analysis and the narrative analysis (see section 1.1). Since the paper looks into three different case studies, they will be individually discussed under each of these sections. At the end of each of these two main parts, there is a discussion of the findings, in which all three case studies are put together.

4.1 Protest's share of the overall coverage of the sport competitions

The purpose of the first stage of the empirical research was to establish what the AJE, BBCW and RT news talk about when they refer to one of the three competitions in focus. In total, 323 articles were coded as having one of the sport competitions as central and for each of them one main topic was chosen. This way, conclusions may be drawn regarding the type of coverage each sport competition received per total and per channel and where protest is situated in relation with other topics. The results build on the *celebration-disruption* division described in the literature review (section 2.3.1), reason for which categories *Celebration* and *Sport* have been collapsed together in the macro-category of Celebration, while the rest, except for the *Other,* were merged into the *Disruption* macro-category (see Appendix B).

4.1.1 LOG overall coverage and protest's share of it

Unsurprisingly, BBCW – whose roots are in the host country of the Olympic Games 2012 – gave the largest space to the sport competition out of the three broadcasters in focus. Even after the sampling, which supposed a stricter browsing of the material for BBCW (see Chapter 3.2), the London-based broadcaster had more than triple the number of articles on RT website, while AJE found room for seven articles about LOG in its general newsfeed. The interest of BBCW in the event become apparent due to the large range of topics approached in relation with the Games – except for "Financial issues", all the other 10 categories designed for this variable can be identified. In BBCW, the *Celebration* macro-category described above reaches almost 60% of the total number of articles. Table 3 shows the balance between the two macro-categories *Celebration* and *Disruption* for each competition and channel.

Sport competition	Broadcaster							
	AJE		BBCW		RT		Total	
	Celebr.	Disruption	Celebr.	Disruption	Celebr.	Disruption	Celebr.	Disruption
LOG	1	5	39	28	0	19	40	52
SOG	2	11	2	22	30	33	34	66
BWC	0	22	17	51	5	28	22	101
Total	3	8	8	101	35	70	96	219

Table 3 Celebration – Disruption macro-categories report (as number of articles)

*Excluding Other as Topic (3 articles for BBCW – LOG, 4 articles for BBCW – BWC, 1 article for BBCW - SOG).

Celebration: Topics 1+3. Disruption: Topics 2, 4-10

On the other hand, RT refers to LOG only in connection to a form of disruption, while AJE is close to this, with only one article talking about sport. Whereas half of the AJE items are related to sport scandals, RT gives the largest coverage to security problems posed by the organization of the Games in London.

Regarding the protest coverage, it is worth mentioning the absence of items tackling this topic in AJE. BBCW did not completely overlook the protests related to LOG but it offered only 4% of its entire coverage of the Games, the least of the approached topics. On the other hand, RT treated the protests in connection with the London Games as main topic of its articles in almost16% of their coverage devoted to LOG. In Table 4, precise data of the percentage protest was given by each broadcaster out of the general coverage of each competition in focus is shown.[21]

Sport competition	Broadcaster			
	AJE	BBCW	RT	Total
LOG	0%	4,2%	15,7%	6,3%
SOG	30,7%	16%	7,9%	12,8%
BWC	54,5%	16,6%	42,4%	29,9%

Table 4   Protest (main topic) as percentage of the entire coverage of each sport event (number of articles that have protest as main topic as percent from the entire number of articles related to each sport event – data presented in Table D4 and Table 1, respectively)

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[21]For the number of "protest" articles, see Table D4. At the same time, in Table D5 the share of protest within the Disruption macro-category can be found.

4.1.2 SOG overall coverage and protest's share of it

Similarly to BBCW covering a global sport event taking place in the UK, RT gave the most extensive coverage to the Olympic Games held in Sochi and touched on the largest range of topics out of the three broadcasters (see Appendix D, Table D2). Also, the largest topic related to SOG was "Celebration", with almost 40% of the articles. On the other hand, both AJE and BBCW had only one article each regarding "Celebration" as main topic, while "Sport" had the same number of appearances in both of them. Therefore, the balance weighed significantly in favor of the *Disruption* macro-category, which got 84% of the AJE coverage and 92% of the BBCW coverage (see the above Table 3).

In terms of this *Celebration-Disruption* report, the results for RT may be surprising, since the blunt figures positions it at 30-33, which would indicate a rather balanced coverage on SOG. Nonetheless, in terms of the presence of protest as main topic, RT devoted the smallest percentage of its coverage in this sense out of the three broadcasters (8%), while BBCW doubled this figure. AJE leads at this chapter with almost one third of its reports having protest as main topic. However, security issues seemed to have been the main concern for both AJE and BBCW, since the highest percentage of their coverage of SOG (46% and 32%, respectively) was devoted to it.

4.1.3 BWC overall coverage and protest's share of it

AJE once again covered the least out of the three broadcasters the sport competition in its general news section (22 articles in comparison with 72 in BBCW and 33 in RT) and had again the smallest variation of topics. This time, though, protest scored the highest in the list of main topics, almost 55% of AJE coverage of BWC being devoted to manifestations of dissent. With a smaller percentage (42%), protest was the most used main topic in RT as well, security issues coming on second place for both AJE and RT.

On the other hand, BBCW had *Protest* as main topic in only 17% of their articles, making it the third most frequent topic after *Organization* (36%) and *Celebration* (21%). The ranking of *Celebration* may be surprising in connection with BWC but here must not be ignored the importance football has in the UK, country that claims the parenthood of this sport (Rosbrook-Thompson:2013). In terms of macro-categories, AJE has no item to fit in the *Celebration one*, while RT devotes only 5 items out of 33 (15%) to it. BBCW, in exchange, used around 25% of its coverage of BWC to celebrate it.

4.1.4 Discussion of sport events' overall coverage and protest's share of it

Overall, what becomes apparent after this first stage of the analysis is that AJE devotes the least space of sport events-related items in its general news section, while BBCW finds itself at the opposite end in this sense. For BBCW, that could be explained by the historical relation between the BBC network and sport broadcast in general (see chapter 2.2), being therefore a remainder of this traditional preoccupation for sport.

Another broad finding that becomes apparent is that negative news about an event gets more coverage than the positive ones, the balance *Celebration-Disruption* leaning clearly in favor of the latter. This can be explained through the news values of professional journalism (Galtung & Ruge 1965, Harcup & O'Neill 2001, Waisbord 2013), to which all three global broadcasters claim to adhere (section 2.4).

Two notable exceptions here are the BBCW coverage of the London OG and the RT coverage of the Sochi OG. While the macro-category of *Celebration* dominates in the BBCW coverage of the competition in the UK, RT appears to give a more balanced coverage in that sense. However, the frequent appearance of certain topics – such as security or organization - as central does not necessarily imply that they are used in the news article in the way these categories were defined in this present paper (as concerns or problems). This is why, when it comes to looking into protest as focus of this study, a qualitative method is also employed. Also, BBCW and RT seem to respond similarly when they cover events happening "at home", in terms of large coverage and a diverse selection of topics.

Regarding protest, overall, the London OG-related demonstrations received the least coverage but a constant increase in the coverage of protests related to global sport competitions becomes apparent. However, this does not imply that the broadcasters' perception on protest changed but the explanation lies rather in the very nature of protests, which vary significantly from one event to another (see section 2.1.4).

While AJE does not report at all the London OG protests in their general news section, when it does cover it, the share of protest of the overall coverage of the event is the highest of all three channels. The coverage of protests related to the Brazil WC represents more than half of the entire coverage of the sport event, which can be explained through the important social dimension those protest have falling, thus, in line with the broadcaster's claim of giving "voice to the voiceless". BBCW and RT give the least space to protest when covering an event hosted by the country where they have their roots but the coverage doubles when they report the protests related to the competition held in Russia and respectively, the UK. When covering the protests in Brazil, though, RT tends to follow AJE's example whereas BBCW gives the same

share of its overall coverage of the competition as to the Sochi OG-related protests. This could be explained by the fact that BBCW treats the global news with a British audience in mind (Dencik 2013; Robertson 2015), a nation that claims the invention of modern football and feeds a vivid passion for this sport, leading the reporting to focus on the celebration of sport. It could be, then, argued that BBCW is more salient to covering anti-establishment demonstrations, confirming its statute as *hegemonic* broadcaster (Roselle et al. 2014).

4.2 Protest representation

In order to determine the characteristics of protests related to each sport event as presented by the media, several variables such as *location, size, type, issue, who is protesting* and *who is talking* were looked into. As in the previous section, the results will be presented by comparing the media representations of each sport event, step that will be followed by a discussion of all these aggregated findings. For each channel a "protest prototype" will be described for each sport event by taking into account the categories that rank the highest for each variable. However, at times, two or more categories will be collapsed in order to make the interpretation of the results possible. The tables regarding the distribution of protest *type* and *issue* are included in the text for each case study. The rest of the table can be found in Appendix D. As for the narrative analysis, only the most relevant findings will be presented here, while the detailed code sheets for all eight news reports can be found in Appendix C.

4.2.1 London OG: Representation of protest
In the case of LOG, seven "protest" articles for both BBCW and RT were analyzed, while for AJE no material was found as eligible for this step. However, BBCW and RT treated protest as main topic only in three of them each. Otherwise, when protest was not the main topic, BBCW items talked about either celebration or business, while RT devoted two articles to security issues and one for both politics and business. Corroborating the results from the first stage of analysis, it is apparent in this sense that BBCW's tendency was to favor the spectacle, the celebration of the event being held in London, while RT put the emphasis on the negative aspects related to LOG.

Protest Type	BBCW	RT
Against manifestation in a public space	5	3
Rally	0	0
March	1	0
Strike	0	0
Boycott	1	2
Spectacle	0	4
Online protest	0	0
Other	0	0

Table 5   London OG: Number of articles in which each of the protest types appear in each broadcaster. Note: For this variable, there was the possibility to code for up to two categories. The total number of articles analyzed was: BBCW – 7, RT – 7

Interestingly, the most frequent type of protest in BBCW is the *against* manifestation in a public space, which appears in five out of seven cases, while RT covers four times the spectacle type of protest and only three times the *against* one.

In terms of size, it seems that for BBCW it was more important than for RT to mention their limited number of participants (five are under 100 protesters, one is under 1000), while RT did not mention it at all in 60% of the articles. Most of the protests happen in the UK, but the coverage of manifestations in India by both channels is worth mentioning.

Protest Issue	BBCW	RT
Environment	0	0
Legislation	0	0
Government	0	0
Corporations	4	4
IOC / FIFA	0	0
Sport competition	2	2
Human rights	0	0
Working conditions	1	0
Social issues	1	1
Financial costs	1	0
Corruption	0	0
Police brutality	0	0

Table 6   London OG: Number of articles in which each of the Issues appears in each broadcaster. Note: For this variable, there was the possibility to code for up to three categories. The total number of articles analyzed was: BBCW – 7, RT – 7

In RT, the majority of protests are about corporations, while in BBCW the highest scores go to corporations and anti-Olympics protests. Worth mentioning here is the presence of boycott, form of protest whose existence was almost dismissed since the turn of the century (Nelson & Cottrell

2010). Regarding the protesters, in both BBCW and RT they are almost always ordinary people, except for the case of the boycott, which is perpetrated by a government official.

Covering protests aimed at corporations resulted in BBCW having as the most frequent speaking the *business actors*. *Elites* dominated as frequence of appearance, if *LOG officials* are added, while *protesters* are given the voice only in two articles. The same calculation for RT puts *ordinary people and protesters* (6 times overall) in front of *the elites* (3 times overall), with an important advance. One last characteristic of the LOG protests worth mentioning here is their largely peaceful nature, with only one protest turning violent (in BBCW) overall.

Narrative analysis

As for the reports chosen for the narrative analysis (section 3.2), BBCW tells briefly the story of a local protest, held in London, by "residents" (as identified by the reporter) who are *against* (*protest type*) the setting of missiles on flat buildings (protest object) by the authorities (*protest target*).

While BBCW covers the protest in focus in a 20-second long item, RT's report is using the protest in focus as tool to prove a wider point about the Olympics held in London: that the British authorities oppress the citizens under the pretext of ensuring the security and good organization of the Olympics.

Whereas the BBCW report shows the protesters as a small crowd, with no distinct faces but a huge banner (on which the image is focused, reading "*Stop the Olympic missiles. Don't play games with our lives!*"), the protester in RT is identified by his name and given the right to talk for a long time (although the reporter is an omniscient narrator). He is a "peaceful" protester, attribute used to emphasize the contrast between the democratic manner in which residents are carrying this fight (in the protester's words, "*This legislation is made to prevent lawful and understandable protests to aspects of the Game which are undemocratic or unpopular*") versus the repressive methods and disproportionate measures of the establishment (depicted, for example, through papers showing bans and interdiction or, in a more brutal way, pictured through the handling of missiles). The report explains the reason why the young man protested (*object of protest*) – "the building of basketball courts on a green space" – correlating this with the authorities' response: "[He] was slapped with a control order that forbids him from going near the Olympics or any other **celebration** taking place this summer". The use of word "slap" suggests the arrogant attitude of the authorities towards the citizens, punishing them, while the metaphor used here for the Olympics is meant to emphasize again this contrasting Western world (needless to says, "authorities" are not given the voice to speak).

This personal story is given the most time in a report that plays on the duality Olympic celebration – authorities abuses. For instance, the story displays a celebratory *initial situation*, with the Olympic torch being lit in a bright ceremony (women wearing dresses reminding of the ancient Greece, olive branches and people cheering and clapping). But this scene is suddenly disrupted by the reporter's omniscient voice naming the element that breaks the equilibrium: "the paranoia" of the authorities, "impinging on the lives of people from London to Las Vegas" (*complicating element*). Bringing up Las Vegas and the US as a symbol of the West is not random but it highlights that the actions undertaken by the authorities in the West turn against *their* own citizens. It is also relevant for showing that the consequences are not endured only by local residents, as it the case of the BBCW report, but also overseas. In counterpart, in BBCW, as previously mentioned, both the *story* and the protest are local, involving, as the *initial situation* reveals, only "*people living near the London Olympic site*". However, the report does not go more in-depth (ni *complication* or *resolution* presented), except for explaining that residential areas were "also picked", mildly suggesting that could be a justification for protesting. However, no one else is active in this story but the residents, while the authorities are not even mentioned.

RT does, though, dig more into the issue the report presents and two other personal stories are brought as evidence of the "*unprecedented*" level of security, perceived as "*overwhelming and repressive*" (in reporter's words, as *evaluation*) and as causing anxiety to the citizens: "*If it's like this already, what is it going to be like when the Olympic circus finally rolls into town?*", asks the reporter rhetorically (*coda*). While BBCW limits itself to giving a brief account of the protest, RT's narrative plays on the division between ordinary residents and the authorities. The proof of this division is reflected through the authorities' urge to restrict a legitimate and democratic protest, which shows the Western governments do not rule for the people.

4.2.2 Sochi OG: Representation of protest

As for the material selected for the Sochi OG, 6 articles were labeled a "protest items" for AJE, 15 for BBCW and 12 for RT. However, protest was the main topic in half of the articles in AJE (3 of them) and BBCW (8 of them), while in RT only 25% of the articles (3 of them) had protest as central theme. More interestingly, the other half of BBCW's articles is mainly about politics, while RT has a diverse range of topics, from sport and celebration to sport scandals and politics.

The results indicate that in AJE, protest is predominantly an *against* manifestation in a public space, while in BBCW protest is described as an individual initiative undertaken mostly by celebrities or activists. Boycott or calls for boycott rank the highest, together with petitions

and open letters; aggregated, these individual actions represent around 70% of the entire number of protest items in BBCW. RT's coverage appears to be more balanced, the *against* public manifestation being the most frequent, followed closely by boycott and calls for boycott. The high presence of *boycotts* reminds of the Cold War frame Real (1989) described in relation to the Olympics of the 1980s.

Protest Type	AJE	BBCW	RT
Against manifestation in a public space	3	3	6
Rally	1	0	3
March	0	0	1
Strike	0	0	0
Boycott	1	6	5
Spectacle	2	3	2
Online protest	0	0	0
Other	0	5	2

Table 7   Sochi OG: Number of articles in which each of the protest types appear in each broadcaster. The total number of articles analyzed was: AJE - 6, BBCW – 15, RT – 12

A similar feature for all three channels is the identification of activists (people with a certain degree of knowledge in a specific area of interest) as the protesting group. In RT and AJE they are ranked first, while in BBCW they are on the second position, after celebrities. Undoubtedly, human rights was the main issue to protest about in all three channels. While in AJE this issue appears on its own, in RT and BBCW most of the times (except for one case for each of them), human rights appears in combination with legislation, which indicates that the concern of protest was not necessarily human rights in general, but a specific law related to human rights.

Protest Issue	AJE	BBCW	RT
Environment	1	0	0
Legislation	2	4	10
Government	0	5	1
Corporations	0	0	0
IOC / FIFA	0	0	0
Sport competition itself	0	0	0
Human rights	4	11	11
Working conditions	0	0	0
Social issues	0	0	0
Financial costs	0	0	0
Corruption	0	0	0
Police brutality	0	0	0

Table 8   Sochi OG: Number of articles in which each of the Issues appears in each broadcaster. The total number of articles analyzed was: AJE - 6, BBCW – 15, RT – 12

All three media outlets in focus present the Sochi protest as being predominantly non-violent, while RT stands out in regard to not mentioning any other protest in the articles. AJE and BBCW usually do this, highlighting that the specific protest in focus in one article is not an isolated case in relation to Sochi OG. In AJE and RT, Russia is the most frequently country where protest takes place, while in BBCW it is most often a protest that happens worldwide ("global").

On a more general note regarding the voices "heard", AJE and BBCW follow their general coverage (Dencik 2013) by favoring the *protesters* (at least one protester speaks in half of the articles) and *politicians*, respectively (at least one politician speaks in 53% of the articles). Although described as a counterhegemonic channel, RT gives more frequently the voice to *politicians* (in 7 articles versus 2 in which at least one protester speaks) in this case, which can be explained by the fact that the event is taking place in Russia, where RT is based, favoring thus the official version of the organizers (the state and the IOC). In fact, the *elites* dominate with a significant advance in both BBCW and RT, while AJE is the opposite.

Narrative analysis

The news items chosen for the narrative analysis report about an anti-gay propaganda law protest held at a global level, which is stated in all the items ("in 19 cities around the world" in AJE; "worldwide day of protest" in BBCW; and as the imagined community of "the West" in RT).

AJE's story stands out due to the fact that it is told, at least in the beginning, from the perspective of one of the participants – a drag queen performing in Sochi (*initial situation*). The narrative plays on the duality local-global, suggesting the acceptance of different perspectives on the same issue. Although at the local level, the law (presented as the *complication*) is not perceived as a problem ("*Life hasn't changed much*", says the reporter following the drag queen*),* the legitimacy of the protest in other countries is not contested (introduced as the *response* to the *complication*).

The *initial situation* of the *stories* is similar in BBCW and RT – the former talks about the arrival of the Olympic torch in the city of Sochi in a highly celebratory moment of people on the street while the latter takes the audience directly in Sochi, where people are arriving for the sport event. However, the *stories* evolve differently from this point on.

BBCW's report presents a protest that is needed in order to trigger change because the issue of LGBTQ rights in Russia is worrying, reason for which the *complicating action* is introduced by a British figure, an athlete, which presumably the British audience admires and regards with trust (in line with previous literature presented in section 2.4.2). An interesting

difference here is that while BBCW describes the law as a concern for people traveling to Russia, AJE regards it from the perspective of "locals".

BBCW's narrative builds on the *here* (Sochi, in the only place where people are allowed to protest: in a grey, empty park, *"under a motorway, next to a railway behind and 10 miles from the Olympic venues",* where the reporter is) and *there* (on the noisy and colorful streets around the world; in Jerusalem – as symbol of "the world"; the choice is not random, given the relations between Russia and Israel); where protests are restrained versus where protests happen. BBCW connects the Olympics directly to politics and, more than that, to a man – Vladimir Putin, who is not mentioned until the last sentence of the report but is given the center of the image in the last shot: "President Putin wanted this Olympics to showcase modern Russia but they are also highlighting the country's dark side" (*coda*). One interpretation is that his plan failed, because the Games bring forward in the public eye the bad things in Russia. This wording points also at the fact that even if Putin wanted to hide these negative sides, he did not succeed in this. Visually, this is summarized in one of the posters the protesters have – it shows Putin's face as a black shadow on a pink background (love, unity), with the message "Love always wins".

In a similarly divisive way, RT opposes the West to the Russian society (depicted as tolerant), accusing the former of not understanding what the reporter calls "a complicated issue" (*coda*) – which is the gay life in Russia – and for using a sport occasion to protest (*complicating element:* "*For some, however, the Games aren't about sport*", in reporter's words).

While AJE attempts to show the perspectives of both the protesters (through the voice of an Amnesty International activist) and the "locals" (the drag queen), BBCW gives the voice only to the British skier. The protesters are identified as *activists* in all reports, while one actor talks in all of them: the owner of the gay club Mayak in Sochi. His function is different each time. In AJE, for example, he comes to support the idea that the law is not affecting gay people at all and the entire controversy is artificially created by politicians "*to gain points*" and "*a way to distract citizens from more serious things – economic recession or the devaluation of the ruble*". In RT, his voice is used to delegitimize the protest in the West, by labeling the protest as "*heavy-handed*" and harming the LGBTQ community "*because people are blaming them for spoiling the Olympics*", while in BBCW, the audience hears from a local (and, thus, a person who knows what he is talking about) one of the reasons for which there are no protests in Sochi: "*Russsian society isn't yet ready. The main problem is the gay people in Russia are not prepared to come out".* In a way, these words of the bar owner hint at the way in which protest is dealt with in each of the three reports.

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AJE's report leaves an optimistic impression for the future (visually translated into ending the report with the introduction of a new performance in the club) on the audience, as Russia "*is not one of the countries were being gay is illegal*" (in reporter's words; the *coda*) but one where there is hope that this *"agitation"* around gay rights will end soon. This is a point where protesters' demands and Russian gay people's hopes meet (*resolution*): that the government has the power to solve peacefully the situation (as the protests are also addressing the Russian government). At the other end of the spectrum is BBCW's report, which is highlighting the restrictions imposed by the government on the possibility of protesters in Sochi to express themselves the way protesters around the world are doing it (*resolution*).

While BBCW legitimizes the protest (*evaluation*), RT's report tries to delegitimize it, using different tools reminding of the protest paradigm. For example, the protesters are identified not only through the rainbow symbol (as in AJE and BBCW), but also as pouring Russian vodka on the ground (as sign of defiance to the country) and holding placards in which Putin is mocked or the Olympic circles are on fire (disobedience and irresponsibility); RT dismisses then the controversial character of the law (introduced as *complication* of the *initial situation* presented above), by pointing at a similar British (as symbol of the "West") bill; and paints the image of a historically tolerant city of Sochi, for which an American tourist ("the West") is brought as evidence ("*it's like any other club*", the tourist says); last, it tries to dismiss the *object* of protest: in the reporter's words, *"everyone can be **openly** affectionate behind **closed** doors"*, in the club. Visually, this is suggested by a toilet door showing two men and on which the sign reads "For men only". These seem to suggest, then, rather the hiding of something than the openness.

Another bridge between the three reports is that all *stories* take the audience to the Mayak club. AJE and BBCW describe the club as protective for the gay community and RT ascribing it a sense of obscure, a place where a "*subculture*", as the gay community is identified twice in the report, must express itself, away from the sight of the "mainstream culture" (visually, the audience is shown how the reporter rings the doorbell to enter the nightclub, referred to as "*behind closed doors*"). Also, he same actor is identified as "*performer*" in RT several times, not as "drag queen" (AJE), which may show the inability or unwillingness to understand this "*subculture*".

4.2.3 Brazil WC: Representation of protest

A total of 60 articles was analyzed in order to determine the manners in which Brazil WC protest is represented in the three channels in focus, partitioned as follows: 17 for AJE, 23 for BBCW and 20 for RT. A significant majority (around 80%) of the articles, in each of the broadcasters, had protest as main topic. The rest of the items were concerned with politics and security in BBCW and RT, while AJE displayed a broader range of main topics, including politics, financial issues and organization.

As for the features of protest, the main finding that becomes apparent is that the broadcasters' representations converge in Brazil's case in most of the characteristics described. More specifically, the most frequent type of protest in the *against* manifestation in public, located almost exclusively in Brazil and including more than one city, put forward by ordinary people who are demonstrating mainly against the financial costs of the WC. In addition, the protest is predominantly violent, these aggressive actions being carried out in the majority of the cases by both protesters and security forces and there is another protest mentioned in an article, showing protest as a constant occurrence.

Protest Type	AJE	BBCW	RT
Against manifestation in a public space	15	16	13
Rally	0	0	0
March	3	1	5
Strike	4	5	2
Boycott	0	0	0
Spectacle	0	1	1
Online protest	0	0	1
Other	0	0	0

Table 9   Brazil WC: Number of articles in which each of the protest types appear in each broadcaster. The total number of articles analyzed was: AJE: 17, BBCW: 23, RT: 20

However, this is the image painted with a thick brush, in which only the categories that appeared most frequently for each variable were taken into account. If, on the other hand, a closer look is taken at the results, they show interesting particularities of the Brazil WC protests. For instance, the emergence of strikes (in AJE and BBCW) and marches (in RT), historically associated with workers' movements, can be pointed at. Consequently, the second more frequent category of protesters is "professional category" in all three broadcasters. Not surprisingly, then, the working

conditions become one of the most frequent issue of protest in AJE (in 20% of the articles) and BBCW (in 25% of the articles).

Issue	AJE	BBCW	RT
Environment	0	0	0
Legislation	1	1	0
Government	1	1	3
Corporations	0	0	0
IOC / FIFA	1	1	7
Sport competition itself	0	3	1
Human rights	0	0	0
Working conditions	3	6	2
Social issues	6	6	5
Financial costs	6	10	13
Corruption	1	3	4
Police brurality	1	0	0

Table 10   Brazil WC: Number of articles in which each of the Issues appear in each broadcaster. The total number of articles analyzed was: AJE: 17, BBCW: 23, RT: 20

Some points are worth noting here about the issues of protests. Putting together the social issues and the working conditions into a bigger category reflecting the preoccupation for the daily life of citizens as taxpayers or, put differently, for the financial standards of living, it would surpass the concern for financial costs of the WC in both AJE and BBCW. RT stands out in regard to the issues, as the protests against FIFA rank the second highest. This can be explained by the fact that FIFA is perceived as an organization of the Western world, which would be coherent with RT's macro-narrative "East versus West".

Moving forward, the presence of violence in relation with the protests is a constant in all three broadcasters, but a closer look reveals that AJE puts the blame of violence on security forces in one third of the cases, the most out of the three outlets, which appears to make sense since it is the only broadcaster that covers a protest against police brutality.

As for the location of the protest, the tendency in AJE and BBCW is to mention it is a "nationwide" protest, pointing at its size, or that it happens in the most important cities in Brazil (Sao Paolo, capital Brasilia). RT's reporting, on the other hand, tends to omit the city where protest is happening. However, RT is the only one covering the online protest (which is coded as N.A. for location) and a global one, ensuring its position as the broadcaster with the most diverse representation of the Brazil WC protests. As for the before-mentioned size of protest, the most

frequent are in the range of hundreds and thousands but worth mentioning is the presence of protest with hundreds of thousands and even over one million participants.

Related to the actors who speak directly in the articles, it can be said that AJE and BBCW respect the patterns found by previous literature – the voice of *the protesters* is the one that is heard in the highest number of articles, while in BBCW the *politicians* are given the voice the most frequently. RT, as a counterhegemonic broadcaster, as AJE, quotes more frequently the *protesters*. However, if aggregated, the *elites* category ("politicians" + "sport event official") is given the voice more frequently to speak out than to *ordinary people* ("protesters" + "ordinary people").

Narrative analysis

In order to illustrate these features, the metro workers' strike held three days before the WC kick-off was chosen as example due to the methodological reasons detailed in Chapter 2.2. The narrative analysis has in focus the type of protest that appeared as a particularity of the Brazil WC – a strike held three days before the debut of the competition.

AJE's report tell the story of a legitimate protest initiated by metro workers (*initial situation*) but supported also by students and activists from a homeless workers' movement (placards "*Metroviario, el povo te apoia*"/"Metro worker, the people supports you"), which is *complicated* by the lack of negotiations between authorities and protesters (in one of the Union's leader words, "*We may have been talking to the government for more than two months, but they have not been negotiating with us*") and can be solved only through cooperation (*resoluion*). In this sense, the report, corroborated with *the abstract*, is more of a call for "real" talks between the protesters and the authorities ("*A meeting is underway in Brazil's biggest city in an effort to resolve…*")

BBCW's report shows the story of a protest of metro workers only that above all, threaten to impact on WC schedules and fans (*initial situation*), and which in *complicated* by the inefficiency of authorities' tactics to break the protest (Reporter: "*Police again tried to…*", "*But if the riot police, as in the past, moves too hard…*). While the protest is legitimized (people voted to continue the strike, as the reporter informs), it is not encouraged (*evaluation*). The reporter who introduces the news item seems to accuse the protesters ("*They know that this is their moment of maximum leverage over the government*", in the *abstract*) for using the WC for 'mundane' issues instead of prioritizing football. However, the report is milder in this sense – but still critical to protesters' indifference to the disruption of the WC they are causing: "[workers]

say they don't care about racking the WC". This risk can be removed only if authorities handle it properly, although there is the possibility of "*things turning bad*", as in the past (*resolution*).

RT gives only a brief account of the protest (*initial situation*) as being not a surprise and justified, since the people have voiced against the "football extravaganza" for a long time (*coda*). No solution is offered, though.

All three narratives present the strike as ongoing (e.g. "fifth day of protest", AJE; "protests continue", BBCW), having in the center the protesters (visually represented by the red color - T-shirts, flags, as the color of the workers' unions and acoustically by the drums) and the security forces (as units on the move). AJE's report is the only one giving voice to both protesters and authorities (student, Union leader and politician – mayor of Sao Paolo), while BBCW lets only a Union leader to speak (at the border of protester and elite). All narrators are omniscient but they position themselves differently towards the protest. The RT anchor tells the audience the story from a distance. While both AJE and BBCW reporters appear late in the report, the former introduces the *resolution* of the protest from the protesters' side (the protesters are marching right behind him), while the latter introduces the *complicating element* from the police side (standing in front of a police car with two officers; the car is slowly leaving by the time the reporter ends his speech, allowing the audience to see some blurry silhouettes of protesters far in the background). AJE, thus, places the audience on the side of the protesters, while BBCW – on authorities' side.

"Chaos" is the word used in all reports to describe the atmosphere in Sao Paolo and that is only "three days ahead of the WC" (emphasized by all reports). BBCW highlights the most the importance of sport over any other issues and worries more for the fans caught in the traffic jams (this is mentioned three times in the report and once in the abstract; visually: a road packed with cars – the effect of the protest versus a street full of protesters – the cause of the "*gridlock*") than for the locals (*coda*) and tends to place the blame on the strikers (*abstract, evaluation*). It even attempts to dismiss the protesters, by showing protesters laughing and beating the drums (reminding, thus, of the protest paradigm) - *"The protesters are upbeat for now"*.

AJE depicts the strike also as provoking "chaos" and destruction, emphasizes the importance of the WC but tends to focus on the problems the "*traffic paralysis*" poses especially to locals: "*Everywhere in the city, the strike has left buses packed with four million metro users scrambling for alternative transportation*", the reporter informs (*what happens next*).

In line with the results of the content analysis is also the heavy presence of violence, RT presents it as perpetrated by police ("*Brazilian police have used tear gas and stun grenades on protesters*"), AJE takes its time to show the audience both the destruction caused by protesters

("*Sao Paolo is burning*", says the reporter, while images of a protester placing a garbage bag next to others on fire already) and the police actions (images of a police unit on the move, smoke on a now empty road, which indicates the firing of tear gas to disperse the crowd of protesters), while BBCW report limits itself to account for the fact that "*clashes erupt between police and protesters*".

4.2.4 Discussion: Protest representation

This section discusses the features of the protests related to the three competitions in focus by putting together the results of the second stage of the content analysis and the findings of the narrative analysis.

One aspect brought up in section 4.1.4 and not to be forgotten is that the nature of protests themselves varies significantly from one case study to another, as showed in Chapter 2.1.4, which contributes to a certain representation of a specific protest. To give a concrete example, the representation of protests related to the Brazil WC as violent does not mean that the three broadcasters in focus "fabricated" the reality of the demonstrations, because they were, indeed, largely violent. It does, though, mean that this is a feature of protest that contributes to a higher level of coverage but it definitely should not be regarded as the determining factor in this sense. Rather, by looking into the content of news, this study contributes to Nelson and Cottrell's (2010) by documenting the evolution of protest related to global sport competitions through global television's lenses. Besides this, the step forward this analysis takes is to explore the differences that surface among global broadcasters in the coverage of the same events – the protests related to global sport events the year prior to them.

This being said, first off, this study highlights the different nature of protest as represented by the global broadcasters in focus. The London OG-related protests are mostly pictured as concerning local and community-specific issues, may it be in London, UK (the missile placement on residential buildings) in Bhopal, India (community suffering after the chemical disaster from 1984). Then, the Sochi OG-related protests appear mostly as individual actions, out of which boycott can be signaled out, which showsthat thehistorically most common form of protest in global sport competitions is still used as means to coerce a state into changing its policies (Real 1989; Bainer & Molnar 2010). It also reminds of the Cold War frame (Real 1989), assumption which the narrative seems to support. The high presence of individual

protests, such as petition-writing or calls by celebrities for changing the Russian law regarding the LGBTQ community, reminds rather of activists' practices than of the *street* protest of crowds of people. In fact, even the protesters demonstrating on the street are identified as "activists" in this case, which can be related to the issue of protest as well. The protests in Sochi OG are called and carried on in name of the universal principle of human rights. Last, the Brazil WC-related protests are represented as large manifestations of ordinary people for better living conditions, covering education, pensions, working conditions or salaries. This is how the occurrence of forms of protest such as strike and march, usually associated with workers' movements, can be justified. Although large, the protests in Brazil have a pronounced national dimension.

As Giulianotti & al.'s study (2015) shows, many of people's actions are not labeled as "protests" but as "civil disobedience", for London OG. This may be one of the reasons why the designed search delivered so few results. While this must be acknowledged as a limitation of the study, this assumption has implications also regarding the media representations of these actions, in the sense that the broadcasters in focus tend to identify more readily as *protest* these actions related to the Olympics/World Cup if they take place in other part of the world than the West. It, then, poses a theoretical question also, on whether the concept of protest should be enlarged to include actions that are not labeled as such by the media nowadays (as in Tilly's (2010) *repertoires*).

While each characteristic of protest as represented by each channel was previously discussed separately and per case study, several overall points can be drawn. The differences between the channels' representations of protest are more visible in the London OG and Sochi OG cases than in Brazil WC's case, in which the features of the protests seem to converge. The logic of numbers and that of violence could be considered as relevant factors in the coverage for the latter, since for the former the size of the demonstrations was usually either not mention or small and protests were described as mainly peaceful.

What transpires from the narrative analysis is that BBCW tends to minimize the importance of protests held in London in relation with the Olympics, as it results from the brief account given of the protest on June 30th. The same could be argued, then, about the RT coverage of Brazil WC protests but maybe for different reasons than the former case. The context in which the events take place is highly significant for the journalistic choices regarding their reporting (newsworthiness), and in this sense, for RT it must be mentioned that in the first half of 2014 (prior to the WC), Russia was involved in the conflict in Ukraine, for which reason their coverage may have been focused on this issue. Same journalistic criteria of newsworthiness may be invoked in AJE's case of not reporting the protest related to London OG.

One aspect that the narrative revealed is the attitude of the report overall regarding each protest. AJE legitimizes protest regardless of the event (in Russia or Brazil), embracing more readily than BBCW and RT the plurality of perspectives on an issue and bringing them up for the viewer. BBCW seems to have a clear strategy according to the country involved in the protest. While the attitude tends to be neutral in the case of London OG protests, demonstrations in connection to Sochi OG are legitimized and encouraged, whereas Brazil WC protests are considered as legitimate but are not encouraged. RT, on the other hand, attempts to delegitimize protests related to the sport event in Russia but strongly legitimizes the London OG Olympics. The Moscow-based broadcaster justifies also the protests in Brazil.

Following the narrative thread, the solution to patch this form of disruption is different among the channels. AJE encourages the authorities to engage in a real dialogue with the protesters, so that the solution results from cooperation. BBCW, then, does not offer any solution for the protest held in London, whereas in Brazil WC protest their report calls on the authorities to intervene to remedy the situation for football's sake, creating this way a division between the football fans (on whose side the audience is placed) and the protesters.

 As for the demonstration related to the Sochi OG, BBCW's report uses the protest to show how negative the Russian authorities (personified by Vladimir Putin) are, restricting basic freedoms such as minorities' rights or the right to protest. This is the tactic RT employs when covering the protest related to both Sochi OG and London OG, proving that the Western democratic regimes are flawed and damage the citizens they vow to protect. In this manner, both BBCW and RT operate in a world divided between *us* and *them,* reminding of the macro-narrative of *West* versus *East* (Russia particularly).

Under these circumstances, AJE appears to invite their viewers into a more cosmopolitan world than BBCW and RT, a world that is more ready to embrace a multitude of perspectives, may them be coming from a local or global level. In the cases of RT and BBCW, on the other hand, the tendency to create a world of difference or, even more, of opposition, can be identified, encouraging their viewers to become aware of the negative sides of *the other*, promoting thus the values of the societies where they are based.

5. Conclusions

The present study gives an account of the media representations of protests related to three of the most recent global sport events - the London Olympics 2012, the Sochi Olympics 2014 and the Brazil World Cup 2014. The purpose was to gain an understanding of the worlds three of the most important global broadcasters nowadays – AJE, BBCW and RT – paint to their audience and the sense they make of the way the world functions under globalization.

Protest in sport was chosen as a point of entrance due to several reasons. First off, the relevance of mediated sport within societies can hardly be denied, giving the fact that sport is one of the most spread form of popular culture around the world (Boyle & Haynes 2000). Consequently, the most representative sport competitions, which are, separately, watched by almost half the population of the globe, were deemed as suited for this study. The Olympics and the World Cup represent the joint through which the other two central concepts of this study are connected: politics and media. The same way sport and media and, more precisely, television, evolved together reaching the point of influencing each other, sport and politics have developed an intertwined relation. This is visible nowadays through the way sport competitions are treated by television, as celebratory and spectacular *global events* (Dayan & Katz 1992) and by different actors, from politicians to ordinary people for other purposes than sport itself (Houlihan 1994).

This study is exploring precisely the intersection of these two positions that more than once have resulted in tension. The point of departure of this analysis was to determine the type of coverage the three competitions received the year prior to their start or, to put it in simpler words, to establish what the media talked about when they reported about sport events in their general news. The media outlets selected are global broadcasters, choice driven mainly due to their features, but also due to the scarcity of research conducted in this area. Thus, the present study attempts to contribute to the scholarship on comparative analysis of global television.

Returning to the general coverage of the sport events, the findings are in line with previous literature on sport and media, showing that the sport competition is usually put in relation with a form of disruption, such as politics or security, and is rarely referred to sport itself. Two major exceptions were identified here: BBCW and RT, when covering the sport event happening in the country where they are based. This already creates the premises for doubting the entirely "global" character of the broadcasters and the results generated by the second part of the study, focused on representation of protest, appear to confirm it.

Out of all forms of disruption, protest was chosen because it seems to be the least expected to occur around events that stand for universal human values, such as peace and unity (Real 1989, Giulianotti & Robertson 2009), and which are constructed by the media as celebrations of sport. At the same time, the use of sport competitions as venues for protest has been rather overlooked in media studies, the vast majority of scholarship in this area being focused on the representation of nations or the political economy of sport.

The current study of protest revealed, on one hand, the diversity of forms protest associated to sport events takes nowadays, in terms of types, issues raised or initiators and, on the other hand, significant differences in the reporting of protests related to the same sport event by the three channels in focus. Referring here only to the protest *prototype* as resulted from the representation in the three broadcasters, the most common type of protest was the *against public manifestation*, at least in London OG and Brazil WC. The discrepancy in size is, though significant from one protest to the other, in favor of the latter. The Brazil WC protests were also the most violent out of the three cases, which suggests that the media plays upon the logic of numbers and damage (as discussed in Chapter 2.3). Returning to the type of protest, it is noticeable the high occurance of boycott, historically the most common form of protest in sport (Real 1989, Nelson & Cottrell 2010), in relation to Sochi OG, which indicates the involvement of politics and the placing of the Games in the international relations system. This can be aggregated with the issue of protest – against a law perceived as discriminatory, and therefore, in support of universal human rights and with the global dimension the Sochi protest has. In these terms, the Brazil protest *prototype* has a strong social component but remains limited to a national dimension, while the London protest deals mainly with local issues impacting a specific, local community.

This, however, is not enough to make any claims about the difference in the mediated representations between channels, since a significant role was played by the different nature of protests themselves. Therefore, it was needed to look beyond these relatively superficial features of protest in order to identify the message conveyed by the narratives of protest. The findings suggest that global media and their representation of the same event have different faces, disapproving of the theory regarding the homogenization of perspectives in a globalizing world.

AJE, chosen in this study as representative of the *South*, and therefore, in connection with Brazil WC, appears to be the most ready to embrace the existence of different perspectives on the same issue coming from both local and global levels. It also seems to be the only one calling for cooperation rather than division, may it be between authorities and protesters or "outside" protesters and "locals" (see Sochi OG narrative). On the other hand, BBCW and RT tend to

adopt a more divisive narrative, both putting in opposition the West and Russia, thus standing rather for the values of the societies where they have their origins than for cosmopolitan principles. When the division is not made at this level, BBCW puts in opposition protesters and football fans (Brazil WC) while RT places in seemingly irremediable conflict protesters and the establishment (security forces and leadership). Similarities may be found between AJE and RT as well, in terms of the large coverage of the Brazil WC protests, in comparison with BBCW, which gave this protests the same share from the total coverage of the Brazil WC as in the case of Sochi OG. In the same way, AJE and RT give the voice to protesters more frequently than to elites, while BBCW privileges the elites (political, economical or sport organizations elites). One major exception for RT is the favoring of the elites in the case of Sochi OG protests, which was one of the tools used to delegitimize protests in the West against Russian legislation.

It becomes apparent at this point that the binary opposition between *hegemonic* and *counterhegemonic* broadcasters does not capture entirely the complexity of the broadcasters that emerged as global in the past two decades. These findings also suggest that the global appearance these broadcasters display in front of their audiences comes with a significant footprint of the values and the views on the world the societies in which they are rooted bear. This becomes more visible when there is something at stake for the nation where they are based. Needless to say, this study focused on specific events and further research exploring other events from other areas but sport is required in order to make statements about global broadcasters in general and AJE, BBCW and RT in particular. Also, the representation of other forms of disruption, as identified in this study, is worth investigating in order to corroborate and contrast with the present findings. That would also offer a more complete overview of the coverage of the Olympics and the World Cup.

To conclude, global broadcasters such as the ones analyzed in this study continue to provide different perspectives on the world, covering events in different manners and using distinct narratives to tell their audiences how to make sense of the world.

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Screening Protest Project Recordings Archive

Appendices

Appendix A: Additional Information for Chapter 2

Additional information for Section 2.1.2

Governing Sport: the IOC and FIFA

First off, The International Olympic Committee, or the IOC, reunites at present 206 National Olympic Committees, bodies that oversee in their countries what is called the Olympic Movement. [22] The story of the Olympic Movement started in 1892, when Pierre de Coubertin took the initiative to revive the ancient Greek Olympiad. Two years later, the IOC was created the Olympic Charter adopted. Worth mentioning here is that from the beginning, the Olympics was designed as a global competition with the Charter stating that "the Olympic Movement covers all five continents"[23], which was graphically translated into the five-ringed symbol.

IOC's correspondent in football is Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), which brings together under its umbrella 211 national football associations, reason for which it has been dubbed "United Nations of Football".[24] FIFA was founded in 1904 in Switzerland having as purposes to improve football all around the world, to protect the integrity of football and to fight corruption in this sport. Similarly to the IOC, FIFA follows a higher goal, which, nowadays, is "to down barriers […], to improve standards of education, health and sustainability, and to raise living standards and quality of life across the world". It is governed according to the Statute, document that was last updated in April 2016. The main competition FIFA organizes is the men's World Cup, its most recent event held in Brazil in 2014 constituting one of the three case studies of this research.

Perhaps the most visible way of political interference in the IOC and FIFA is represented by the multiple corruption scandals in which both organizations were involved in the past three decades. In IOC's case, the first public accusations of bribery for votes in favor of bidding rights were made in 1998 by a Swiss member of the organization (Lenskyj 2010: 16). FIFA, in exchange, was in hot waters especially since the beginning of the millennium, the most recent bidding bribery case referring to the hosting of the World Cup in Qatar in 2022. This resulted

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[22]*https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-institution, last accessed:*

[23]*The Olympic Charter, https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=1.115223426.428234444.1442409509, last accessed:*

[24]*http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/index.html, last accessed:*

also in the resignation of the FIFA president Joseph (Sepp) Blatter in June 2015, after almost two decades in office.

However, IOC's political influence is noticeable at other levels also. For instance, several authors (Espy 1979, Lenskyj 2010) have suggested that the admission of the national Olympic committee of a territory within the organizations equals to the recognition of the political existence of that country within the international system. Similarly, conceding the hosting rights for the 2010 World Cup to South Africa had FIFA showing the international support for the post-apartheid country, in what was dubbed as a political decision of the football body (Van Rheenen 2014: 132).

Equally important is the way the IOC is using its authority over the hosting nations. While it demands the host to fulfill certain financial criteria, it also imposes restrictions on security, for instance, when considered suited (Lenskyj 2010: 24). A good example in this sense is what Cottrell and Nelson (2010: 741) name "a consistent resistance to bans, boycotts and demonstrations" through the creation of "protest zones" outside the Olympic Village (since 2002) or the requirement to obtain a "protest permit" (at Beijing OG 2008).

Governing Nations: States Hosting Global Sport Events

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, another link in the chain of sport and politics is the national governments, a significant role being played especially by the host countries.

In his attempt to define mega events, including sport ones, Roche (1994) acknowledges the involvement of both national governments and international non-governmental associations in their organization. Houlihan (1994: 209) goes further and indicates that sport has been used by governments around the world not only as occasional diplomatic tools, but that it was incorporated "in a broader and more comprehensive political strategy" of the states. In this sense, hosting a global sport event, as many authors suggest (Van Rheenen 2014, Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin 2014), has become an instrument through which soft power is utilized. In assessing the success of the soft power practices put into place by Germany and Great Britain in hosting the 2006 FIFA World Cup and the 2012 London Summer Olympics, respectively, Grix and Houlihan (2014) observe that sport have moved from contributing to the positive state's "image" or "brand" (due to sport's capacity to build or strengthen the national identity, as discussed in the first part of this chapter) into the public diplomacy field, where it is employed in order to showcase the state's power and position in the international system. This is not, however, only the case of Western states. As Schausteck de Almeida et al. (2013) indicate, the

post-colonial nations are using the hosting of global competition as an opportunity to project a desired image of themselves to the world and to challenge the "core" power of the US and Western Europe, the most recent examples being South Africa (2010 WC) and Brazil (2014 WC, 2016 OG).

Tightly connected to the rise of these countries as contenders for hosting global sport competitions is their consistent economic growth at the time when they bade for becoming hosts[25]. This economic rationale has been invoked by governments in the past decades to justify their bidding effort, claiming benefits such as infrastructure development, touristic boost or decreasing unemployment (Horne 2010: 32). At the same time, governments present the hosting as a "remarkable economic solution" for private business as well, gambling on the rise of demand for services and goods (Giulianotti & al. 2015:103).

Returning to the first part of the argument laid out in this subsection, it must not be forgotten that, while sport competitions and sport in general can be used by governments to project their power, they are also accessible to groups that can voice their own claims. As Boyle and Haynes (2000: 145) argue, "Sports can be an arena of cultural struggle, in which oppressed groups use it as a form of symbolic resistance". This perspective is detailed in the next section.

Additional information for section 2.1.3

The Olympics

Historically, boycott has been the most frequent form of protest in sport (Real 1989, Cottrell & Nelson 2010). As Real (1989: 193) put it almost three decades ago, "Olympic boycotts are nothing new to the modern Olympic Games […] Each Olympiad is boycotted by someone." For example, in 1908, at the London Olympics the Irish refused to participate because England did not recognize their independence. One of the most boycotted Olympics was the one held in Melbourne in 1956. Then, European countries such as Spain, the Netherlands and Sweden withdrew from the games over the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary; Egypt, Iraq and Lebanon withdrew because of the British and French invasion of the Suez; and China refused to participate because Taiwan was allowed to do it.

Maybe the best-known Olympic boycotts nowadays are the ones of the United States in 1980 followed by Soviet Union's in 1984. The 1980 Games were held in Moscow and, for the US administration, they offered a great opportunity to react to the Soviet intervention in

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[25] *Here must be noted that the hosting rights are awarded seven years prior to the actual competition, period during which the evolution of the national economy may change, as the case of Brazil shows nowadays.*

Afghanistan in December 1979 (Real 1989:192). In response, the Soviet Union boycotted the Los Angeles Games in 1984, claiming their athletes were not safe in the US because of the "anti-Soviet hysteria whipped up by the Reagan administration" (Real 1989: 202). What must be mentioned here is that both US and the Soviet Union were followed by other countries in their undertakings.

Boycott, however, has not been the only form of protest associated with the Olympics or the World Cup. As Van Rheenen (2014: 134) highlights, political protest has symbolically been embodied by the sporting performance of certain athletes. One example in this sense is Jesse Owens, a Black American athlete who owns four gold medals in track and field in the Berlin 1936 Olympics. Dubbed as "Hitler's Olympics" or the "Nazi Olympics", Owens' victories were perceived as "defying Adolf Hitler's Aryan policies" (Young 2010: 93).

Several personal protest actions were undertaken in the Olympics arena. Probably the most iconic and vivid in the collective memory is the gesture of two Black American sprinters, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, on the podium during the intonation of the US national anthem at the Mexico City 1968 Olympics. Performing the Black Power salute led to the exclusion of the two athletes from the competition by the IOC, which deemed it as political and, therefore, not in accordance with the Olympic Charter. As the idea of performance suggests, the gesture was, however, not spontaneous (Hartmann 2003: XVI). Both Smith and Carlos were activists, and under the lead of the sociologist Harry Edwards, tried to put forward a Black boycott under the "Olympic Project for Human Rights" (OPHR) banner, which did not succeed in the end (Hartmann 2003). Worth noting is that the Australian runner who won the silver medal, Peter Norman, showed support for Smith and Carlos' cause, wearing the OPHR badge.

The same year, 1968, ten days before the opening ceremony, a street protest organized by students against violence used against young people was bloodily suppressed by the national government.

A more recent example of individual protest comes from the Winter Olympics held in 1998 in Nagano, Japan, when the Norwegian snowboarder Terje Haakonsen decided not to participate in the event in sign of protest against the lack of transparency in the decision-making process by the IOC (Cottrell & Nelson 2010: 735).

In Football

Historically, Uruguay was the first nation to boycott the World Cup in the second edition of the competition, in 1934. Uruguay won the first World Cup ever, in 1930, competition that it hosted as well. However, the Latin-American country decided not to defend its title because the 1934

Cup was held in Europe, in Italy, although only four European nations participated in the inaugural tournament. Choosing the hosting country for the next World in 1938 resulted in news boycotts from teams such as Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico and the USA because of FIFA's decision to have another European country as a host the second time in a row.[26] The outbreak of the Second World War led to the interruption of the World Cup until 1950, when it was played on Brazil. With the communist regime installed in Eastern Europe, countries such as Hungary or Czechoslovakia did not participate in the competition.

More than a decade after, FIFA will be the one to forbid one team to participate in international football competitions due to political reasons. The apartheid South Africa was suspended from 1964 and then expelled from FIFA in 1976 until 1992. Two decades later, South Africa became the host of the 2010 World Cup, which was met with other type of protests, in the street, against the public expenses of organizing the event (Ottosen, Hyde-Clarke and Miller 2012).

Unlike the Olympic movement, which does not have supporters *per se,* but it is rather the competition itself that allows national supporters to come forward, in football fans' mobilization plays an important role (Millward 2011). The recent campaign of FC Liverpool fans can be brought up as an example, even though it concerns a local team. Caught in an ownership row that lasted for several years and ended in 2010, the team's fans organized several boycotts and street protests against the former owner, calling for stability and investments at the club (Millward 2011).

Whereas many of the football studies may be criticized for their focus limited to the West and, more specifically, to Europe, there are scholars who examine the role of football in societies from other corners of the world. For instance, Tuastad (2014) points at the importance of football as means for manifestation of discontent in the Arab world, by looking into the cases of Egypt and Jordan. He argues that, "At the football stadium suppressed political identities and opinions might be openly expressed, although in a disguised form where the masses preserve anonymity" (2014: 384). Tuastad suggests that people feel safe on the stadiums due to the possibility to act collectively, which diminishes the risks of personal persecution, making them more prone to exhibit political preferences or dissent.

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[26]http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/first-fifa-world-cup.html

Appendix B

Codebook Step 1: Indentifying Topics

- *Nickname* – Write a short name for each article. It could consist of the first 3-4 words of the headline
- *Year, Month, Day* – Note down in different fields the date on which the article was published, as indexed by Google. Use only digits, not words.
- *LOG/SOG/BWC – central?* – Yes/No: Code *Yes* if the sport competition is mentioned in the headline or in the lead of the article. Code *No* if it is not the case.

Note: For the latter cases, check if the name of the sport competition appears in the article. If so, code for the topic. If the name of the sport competition does not appear at all, code *No* for the topic as well (The No-No articles will be excluded from the sample).

- *Topic* – Choose from the list below the main issue of the article, as understood from the Headline and Lead. Write down the number of the Topic chosen

1	Sport	Articles about results, statistics, history of a certain sport; code here also for news about the national delegations, athletes
2	Sport scandal	Refers to events that involve a sportsman or the sport's world (sport bodies such as FIFA or the IOC) but which are not about sport performance. Examples here are the news about doping or controversial comments on Twitter made by athletes
3	Celebration	Refers to the good organization of the sport competition, or the spectacle around it (e.g. opening ceremony, unveiling the medals); it may depict fans cheering or any other kind of manifestation of joy regarding the sport event
4	Politics	Refers to statements, comments made by members or representatives of any national and international political institution regarding any aspect of the sport event
5	Financial issues	Items referring to public funds (e.g.economic costs, profits)
6	Organization	Items that refer to the logistical or administrative problems related to the sport competition (e.g. worker dies in construction, not enough beds, Seats; city not ready to host the event). Note that articles referring to good organisation are code as #3.
7	Security	Items about ensuring the safety of the sport competition and the (potential) failure in this attempt; include here drugs trafficking, gangs, robberies presented as perils for the people attending a sport event; security threats; security issues taken to court, as criminal cases

8	Protest	Identified as protest, rally, march, strike, boycott in the article; it does not matter why or against what the protest is held; it may also refer to any type of action carried out by or against persons/groups identified as protesters by the reporter
9	Corruption	An act of crime identified as such ("corruption") in the article
10	Business	Refers to sponsors of the sport competition or corporations' relation with it
11	Other	Code here the articles whose main topic does not fit in any of the above described categories. E.g. how American media presents the Olympic village; other crimes but corruption

Coding Step 2: Describing protest

- *Nickname* – Use the first 3-4 words in the headline of the article.

- *Protest main topic*? – Code 1 (one) for Yes and 0 (zero) for No. Code for Yes when protest is mentioned in the headline, lead and/or first paragraph of the article. Code for No when protest is mentioned in the body of the article. Items in which protest is mentioned in the last two paragraphs are excluded from the sample

- *Main topic* – Code for this only if Protest is not the main topic – for the previous variable, the category chosen is 0. In this case, use the categories from Coding step 1

- *Location* – Write down in the "Country" and "City" fields where the protest is taking place. If the country or the city is not mentioned in the text, write n.a. WriteNationwide when it is either mentioned in the news article ("across the country", "in the whole country") or when more than five cities are identified as places where protests are taking place. Code for Global if the protest is taking place in more than five countries or if stated so in the news article (e.g. "in the whole world", "across the globe")

- *Size of the protest* – Write down the number of people who are demonstrating, asidentified in the news report: tens / hundreds / thousands or in digits (in this format: 3000, 20000). However, this coding generated no usable results, since the numbers varied significantly. Therefore, this variable has been re-coded as follows:
    - *XXS* – less than 99 protesters
    - XS – 100 - 999 protesters

- ○ S – 1.000 – 9.999 protesters
- ○ M – 10.000 – 99.999 protesters
- ○ L – 100.000 – 999.999 protesters
- ○ XL – over 1 million protesters
- ○ n.a. – the number is not mentioned

Note: dozens = XXS, scores = XXS, hundreds = XS, thousands = S, tens of thousands = M

Here must be noted, though, that the re-coding offers more vague results but give a sense of the characteristics of protests that make it to the news. Call for boycott was coed as n.a. since there is actually no action taking place at present

- *Type of protest* - as identified in the news report; include both the developing protest and the calls for protest. The Choose up to two categories.

   1 - **Manifestation in a public space** = Demonstration against something or someone held in a public space (e.g. square, park) and in which no organized moving of the protesters from one place to another is mentioned

   2 - **Rally** = Any type of demonstration in a public space in favor of someone or something. May or may not be identified as such in the news article

   3 - **March** = Code for this category only when identified as such in the news article; it involves the organized, planned moving of the protesters from one place to another

   4 - **Strike** = Code for this category only when identified as such in the news article; it refers to a professional category who takes to the street issues related to their labor situation

   5 - **Boycott** = Action carried out usually by states or celebrities (to corce a state into changing its policies)

   6 – **Spectacle** = Public manifestation of dissent that carries mostly a symbolic value, is usually staged and performative, and does not necessarily involve the presence of people in a public space making a collective claim; e.g. art works, mock-up versions of a sport competition

   7 - **Online protest** = Manifestation of dissent using the Internet as way of displaying it

   8 – **Other** = Refers to actions identified as protests by journalists but do not fit any of the above described categories; only petitions and open letters ended up being coded here

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- *Issue of protest* – Refers to what the protest is about, to whom or what the protesters are demonstrating pro or against, according to the journalist writing the article. Choose up to three. Use the figure in front of the tag

  1 - **environment** – Related to issues regarding the environment protection

  2 - **legislation** – Related to an existing or new law to be implemented by the government

  3 - **government** – Code for this if the protest is related to the leading political body of a country

  4 - **corporations** – Code for this when the protest is targeted at a certain company or at the business industry as a whole

  5 - **IOC, FIFA** – Code for this when the protest is directed at the sport governing bodies or at one of their representatives (person)

  6 - **Sport competition itself** – Code for this when the protest is targeted at the sport event e.g. Olympics, World Cup

  7 - **human rights** – Code for this when the protest refers to the protection or violation of human rights, such as minorities' rights (regardless of the type of minority)

  8 - **working conditions** – Code here the protests related to a professional category's situation, such as working hours or salaries

  9 – **social issues** – Code here the protests referring to pensions, education, (costs of) transportation, unemployment, security

  10 – **financial costs** – Code for this when the protest is related to the money spent for organizing the sport competition

  11 – **corruption** – Code here the protests directed at a criminal act identified as corruption, usually perpetrated by government representatives

  12 – **police brutality** – Code for the protests targeted at the presumptive use of violence by the security forces against the protesters

- *Who is protesting* – Code for the "identity" of protesters as named by the journalist in the news article. It rarely happens that more than one category of protesters is identified in the article. In this case, code only for the first one. Use the figure in front of each tag from the list below.

  1. Ordinary people – Protesters presented simply as "people" or "persons" or referred to by using numbers (e.g. "thousands have too to the streets")

2. Professional category – Code for this when the news article refers specifically to a professional category that is protesting (e.g. teachers, drivers)

3. Athletes – Identified as such in the news article, either active or retired. Although it may be argued that "athletes" represent a professional category on its own, due to the focus of the paper on sport events, this category seemed needed as a separate one. At the same time, it serves the purpose of confronting previous literature that suggests that actions of protest within sport competitions are carried mostly either by athletes (as individual actions) or officials (as boycotts).

4. LGBTQ – Although the perfect balance would have required the presence of a "heterosexual people" category, this one was created due to the fact that protests carried out by people identifying themselves as members of the LGBTQ community occurred frequently, especially in relation with the Sochi Olympics

5. Students – Identified as such in the news article. Coded separately due to their presence in the protests in Brazil World Cup

6. Celebrities – Include here renowned persons in any field of activity, described as "famous" and portrayed in the news article as person known by the general audience. E.g. comedians, journalists, actors, musician, scientists, Nobel Prize winners. Exclude athletes, for whom a special category was created

7. Politician – Code for any political actor (e.g. government official, opposition politician, etc)

8. Ethnic minorities – Code when identified as such in the news article. The same explanation as for 4. LGBTQ is applicable in this case

9. Internet users – Code for this when the news article is about an online protest. This was designed as a distinct category to "Ordinary people" due to the fact that people who carry out this type of protest are required certain skills in order to do it.

10. Activists – Code for this when identified as such in the news article. Unlike "Ordinary people", this refers to people who were engaged in civil actions before the specific protest the article talks about.

11. Other – Use this if none of the above categories fit. E.g. business actor

In case the article does not mention who the protesters are, code 0. However, this happens very rarely.

- *Speaking actors* – Code for the role of all the persons quoted in the article. Exclude excerpts from official documents or letters. Do not code as speaking actors the reporters of the broadcasters even if they are quoted. Use the figure in front of the tag for each role from the list below.

  1. Protester – Code for any actor identified as participating in a protest. Include here activists who are presented as taking part of a protest

  2. Politician – Code here for any political actor (e.g. government official, opposition politician, etc) quoted in the article

  3. Member of police or security forces – Code for this when an actor identified as being part of the "law and order" forces deployed by the state (e.g. police, army, special forces) is quoted

  4. Business actor – Code for this when a person is quoted in his or her position of business owner or manager

  5. Ordinary person – Refers to bystanders, who are not actively involved in the protest (e.g. as protesters)

  6. Celebrity - Include here renowned persons in any field of activity, described as "famous" and portrayed in the news article as person known by the general audience. E.g. comedians, journalists, actors, musician, scientists, Nobel Prize winners. Exclude athletes, for whom a special category was created

  7. Athlete - Identified as such in the news article, either active or retired

  8. Expert – Persons who are quoted due to their expertise in a certain matter. E.g. political analysts, journalists from a local publication in the country where the protest is taking place

  9. Sport events official – Code for people identified as members of the official bodies organizing the sport competition. E.g. FIFA, IOC

     10. Other – Use this category in case one actor's role does not fit any of the previously described categories. E.g. religious figure, blogger, when identified as such, not as protester

- *Violence mentioned* – Code 0 (zero) if no act of violence (e.g. scuffles, beating, broken windows, vandalized shops, etc) in relation with the protest is mention. Code 1 (one) if an act of violence is attributed in the news article to both security forces and protesters. Code 2 (two) if the violent actions are identified as being initiated or perpetrated by protesters. Code 3 (three) if the violent actions are identified as being initiated or perpetrated by security forces (e.g. police, army, special forces). If more than one

reference to violence is made in the article, code for the first one – it may be that as the story develops, more details are given about who initiated the violence, for example.

- *Other protest mentioned* – Code 1 (one) if another protest related to the same sport competition is mentioned in the article. Code 0 (zero) if it is not the case.

- *Month, year* – Write in the fields the year and month of the publishing of the article. Format Year: 2013; Format month: 3

- *Video in the article* – Code 1 (one) for Yes and 0 (zero) for No. This is for indexing purposes, in order to make easier the selection process for Step 3 of coding.

- Comment box – Write any thoughts or problems related to the coding procedure. Note also any interesting story that may catch your eye for Coding Step 3.

Codebook Step 3: Decoding Narratives

Abstract – what the anchor says the report is about

Location of the story – where the report is shot

Location of the protest – where the protest referred to is taking place

Time – of the story – present, past, future

Participants – who speaks or acts

Initial situation – equilibrium; answers the question: How is the starting point at which the audience introduced in the story?

Complicating action – answers the question: What is the disruptive element described in the report?

Resolution – answers the questions: Is the complication solved? If yes, how?

Evaluation – answers the questions: Where is the narrator placing the audience? On whose side? What does the narrator say or show about how things work out in the story?

Protest object = what are the protesters protesting against/for

Protest target = whom are the protesters addressing to solve the problem they raise

Story = sequence of events; two or more events connected

Discourse = visual + words (associations)

Appendix C: Codesheets for Narrative Analysis

London OG - BBCW
No abstract

Story	Discourse
Time: Day, now, LOG	
Place: on the street	
Participants: residents, some police	"**Residents** angered by SAM sites"
Initial situation: London residents prote	On the screen: "Olympic missiles protest" Group of protesters on the street, big banner "Stop the Olympic missiles. Don't play games with our lives!", "Jobs, not games""¨ R: People living near the London Olympic site have staged a protest march; Shot from ground-level
Protest object: plans to put missiles-launch sites near their homes	People on the move; peaceful; can be heard shouting; police walking with them
Evaluation	R: Six sites have been picked for the surface-to-air missiles, some of them on residential regions; Brief account of the happening; mild justification of the protest

London OG – RT

Abstract: As London prepares for the Olympics, bureaucrats and lawmakers have been busy, too, enacted a range of rules and regulations. Draconian measures are already excluding some people from the country, while a number of residents have been banned from the games simply because they've objected to the construction of Olympic facilities near their homes.

STORY	DISCOURSE
Time: now & recent past	
Place: London; Las Vegas	- protester outside, on the street; same the other resident; La Vegas guy via internet connection
Participants: 3 speaking actors: protester, resident, martial arts instructor	-"peaceful protester" - reporter – heterodiegetic, omniscient; is everywhere, speaks with everybody
Initial situation: "The Olympic torch is lit and on its journey to London"	
Complication: British authorities' "paranoia"	R:"Accompanying it (the flame) – fear, uncertainty and co red-level security, impinging on the lives of people from London to Las Vegas"
What happened next: 3 personal storie to support the *complication*, that "It's level of paranoia that increases the closer the Olympics get"	- the report is built as an argumentation in favor of the heav "paranoid" actions of the British authorities - American instructors-R: "the Home office had excluded him from the country on the ground that h self-defense course might incite vigilantism"
	- "Peaceful protester"; he speaks a lot. Among what

	he says: "Legislation is made to prevent lawful and understandable protests to aspects of the Game which are undemocratic or unpopular">> authorities reaction presented by R: And **was slapped** with a control order that forbids him from going near the Olympics or any other celebration taking place this summer; He faces five years in prison if he disobeys >>punishment as "solution" for protest on authorities' side, restrictions imposed on citizens – delegitimizes actions of authorities ("slapped")
Protest object:	the building of basketball courts on a green space near the Olympics
Protest target	Local authorities
	- third story introduced "Luckily for Simon (the protester), he doesn't live near the stadium" – it can be worse than being banned The reporter – we see her while taking to the peaceful protester; and now, when introducing the missiles and she actually speaks to us (Images with the missiles and security forces handling them) - >>R: the plan is to station a battery of **missiles** on the roof of this block of flats for two months over the Olympics, a proposal that has already triggered an **explosive** reaction - (missiles-explosive reaction) > hidden action, not public (the resident found out from a leaflet "pushe through his door late one night"about this)
Resolution: discontent among citizens; no solution	Images with missiles near a house; R: The 2012 Games have spawned a level of security that's unprecedented, seen by many as overwhelming and repressive
Coda: uncertainty about how far authorities will go	R: The question many Britsh people are asking is, If it's like this already, what is it going to be like when the Olympic circus finally rolls into town?
Evaluation	- Olympics=not celebration for everybody and, in fact, not for ordinary people; authorities take the front seat in this event; their reaction is too heavy, disproportionate in comparison with the reality -the actions undertaken by the authorities in the West, and in London, in particular, turn against *their* citizens

Sochi OG - AJE

Abstract: The Olympics flame's arrival coincides with a day of protest across the world against Russia's recent anti-gay legislation. But what the gay people in Russia think? When asked, the Sochi mayor said there were no gays in the resort. That's not what Roy(reporter) found out when he went to sample local opinion and nightlife.

Story	Discourse
Time:It is about now & the recent now Future	- ordinary night in the club
Place:Gay Club – "the cabaret Mayak, one of Sochi's two gay clubs" Protest: several cities around the world	Closed, protective for LGBTQ people - club Open space for protest: the street -transitions between the two "Games gave focused international attention on Russia's so-called anti-gay law
Participants - Speaking: Timur, drag queen and representative of the gay community in Russia, Sochi Amnesty guy – activist Gay club owner, Andrey Tanichev – gay himself	Reporting style: naturalist, world through Timur's eyes >>Reporter takes over later in the report Timur & the club owner speak inside the club; the Amnesty guy -Emile Affolter, talking – outside – in the bkg, the Olympic circles
Protest object: The Russian gay propaganda law	
Protest target: Russian gov (it can solve their demand)	
Initial situation: Performer getting ready for the show	Normal evening in the gay club;Young man putting make-up on; camera follows him in the room in the cabaret; we see the cabaret through his eyes; the reporter speaks in the; personal story; people's point of view
Complicating action:an anti-gay propaganda law was put in place recently	R: "Under **a highly controversial recent law**, Timur can now be fined if he is judged to have promoted his homosexuality to children" Things are going normally until now but the future is uncertain in this sense R: "But Timur says so far his life hasn't changed much"
What happened next: People worldwide are protesting	Cut from Timur applying make-up on his eyelashes to close-up with a man's face + 2 blurred. Image widens to show a group of protesters holding placards>'All out', 'Olympic sponsors speak out now' -how situation is perceived from the inside and the outside>AJE prefers the inside ("the local story") - the club owner speaks as well; not the protesters In the club: support welcome but the issue is dismissed as not being "a problem". In the words of the club owner, "Gays aren't concerned with holding love parades or registering gay marriages". What is the problem, then? – "Politicians are trying to gain points"

	"Reborn, Timur and his drag partner take to the stage"; Cut to club – the scene where Timur starts his act with another drag queen; dancing music on which they perform; some seconds we see only this >Reporter appears in the club, as any other client
Resolution: There is hope that the gov will not focus on the LGBT community anymore	R: "There are plenty of gay men and women here in this country who are hopeful that their government's current enthusiasm for legislation perceived as anti-homosexual is just a temporary one.
Coda: Being gay is not illegal in Russia	R: "There are many countries in the world where being gay is illegal. And clearly Russia is not one of those." - gives Wider political context
Evaluation	The drag queen talking on the mic can be heard in the bkg, closer on the face; at the end of the report he/she shouts 'Diana', as introducing a new act – the end of the report. So, things are flowing normally, the continuation of how it was before the "higly controversial law" - No conflict or threat in Russia for LGBTQ people or anyone else for now – Reporter " if Sochi visitors get bored with the sport, they can always come to cabaret Mayak for a very different kind of show"; the viewer is "set" at a table in the club in the end, together with the reporter – watching Timur, everything is fine Hopeful future

Sochi OG - BBCW

Abstract: The Olympic torch has arrived in the Southern Russian resort of Sochi ahead of Friday's opening ceremony for the Winter Olympics. The Russian leader Vladimir Putin has said Russia will be a hospitable venue for gay athletes and spectators but this pledge has been somehow undermined by Putin's controversial laws on homosexuality and today gay rights activists in cities around the world are holding a day of protest

Story	Discourse
Time: end of torch journey, beginning the Games: Now	An athlete carrying the torch makes way through a crowd – transition to the airport
Place: on the street, in the airport, Jerusalem on a street, in a park, in a club	The Games are everywhere, so as the human rights issue - panorama of the Olympic Village
Participants: Athletes (speaking), crowds (celebrating or protesting, not speaking), gay club owner (speaking); President Putin (not speaking)	the focus on a GB athlete>given voice >> she is alsothe carrier and the voice of the concerns surrounding the Games - reporter (realist perspective): omniscient
Object of protest: the new Russian law	the new Russian law, which bans telling the under-18 about it calls "non-traditional sexual activities"

Protest target: corporations, sponsors	R: "They [protesters] are trying to encourage sponsors like Coca Cola to speak out"; visual: we see a rainbow flag raised (gay rights; unity – the flag is held by several persons) and then a placard of pink bkg with the message "Speak out for Russia" - Camera pans down, so we can see the people's faces and bodies – one young man has a small megaphone (symbol for speaking out; for making himself heard) - Close up with a poster with Putin's face (pointing at the 'guilty' one) on a pink bgk with the message "Love always wins" – fairytale morale, pink=bright, love versus Putin's black shadow
Initial situation: The torch arrives Sochi. So do the athletes	Celebration on the street for the torch; also at the airport welcoming the athletes
Complicating action: different concerns about the Games: bad organization, terrorism threats **and especially gay rights**	- a GB athlete voices these concerns; not the resporter; so someone the audience trusts/admires voices them - reporter introduces from the beginning the games "one of the most controversial"
What happens next: people react these concerns by protesting	- protesters = activists - protest location = around the world - specific protest in focus: in Jerusalem. But this is just one example - from images with people on the street – colorful, noisy, agitation to an empty park (grey weather lighting): "under a motorway, next to a railway behind and 10 miles from the Olympic venues" (described as a place unfit for protest)
Resolution: no protests in Sochi due to restrictions and people's discomfort with gay pride demonstrations	R: "None of today protests will be in Sochi itself" and "In Sochi's main gay club, they weren't protesting either" >> perceived as a limitation, as a negative thing that protests do not happen; therefore, the protests happening are legitimized by the reporter - the discomfort of society: we are told that by the owner of a Sochi gay club; he is, thus, an "expert" who knows what he is talking about since he is part this community; he himself says that gay people in Russia are not prepared to come out" inside his club; dark, protective but also hidden
Coda: President Putin wanted this Olympics to showcase modern Russia but they are also highlighting the country's dark side.	- the reporter makes clear the relation between sport and politics; he implies that the Games happened because President Putin wanted that, having as a plan "showcase modern Russia". One interpretation is that his plan failed, because the Games bring forward in the public eye the bad things in Russia. This wording points also at the fact that even if Putin wanted to hide these negative sides, he did not succeed this. Visually, Putin is left in the center of the entire story for the viewer – the last seconds of the report

	showsPutin in the center middle of the image; his shot is also the last one
Evaluation	The coda hints directly at the fact that the Russian law a "dark side" of the country, as well as limitations imposed on protest. Therefore, protest is legitimate and action must be undertaken in order to change it. Adding the abstract to this (this pledge has been somehow undermined by Putin's controversial laws") >> Russia is not the modern society his leader wants the world to see >> Putin is, therefore, not a person to trust

Sochi OG -RT

Abstract: As for the controversy that we've had various protests that have been planned… I've not seen any personally myself that were planned over the next weeks, ranging from human rights issues to the stories regarding Russia's anti-gay propaganda towards children and the protests that were held because of that. Regarding this subject of gay rights in Russia, I went to Russia's only gay nightclub…sorry, Sochi's only gay nightclub called Mayak in Sochi's city center. I met some of the owner and the visitors of the club. Here is what my package has to say about the reality of gay life in Sochi.

Story	Discourse
Time: now	
Place: Sochi at night, a street somewhere – unidentified, Mayak gay club	Report begins by showing a screen – ski performance – Sochi 2014 written in Russian
Participants: athletes, visitors, views (all non-sp); same for protesters; gay club owner, American tourist speaking, the West (not sp), performers (not sp)	Reporter – center stage Activists are protesting Performers, not drag queens
Object of protest	Russian law
Protest target	Not mentioned
Initial situation: People are coming to Sochi for a big sport event	"thousands of", "3 billions" – big numbers>>Winter Olympics, important event going on
Complicating action: People do not see the Games only as sport	"For some, however, the Games aren't about sport. They are about gay rights and the controversy surrounding last year's legislation" – people protesting are shown: a big rainbow flag (LGBTQ community sign) held by some people on a street ➢ children or teenagers protesting are shown as well (when explaining what the law s about: "legislation that restricts children from being given information about non-traditional relationships")

	➢ "The performers here (in the club) can't believe the media attention Russia's gay scene has generated in the West. Activists abroad have spoken loudly in great numbers. But the reality is that the issue is more complicated than it seems" >>dismissing the"controversy": "A similar law to the UK's section 28 that was enforced for two decades, from the late 80s" >> Cut to a crowd of protesters – main placard to be shown: Putin's face with pink lips (mocking – what protest it that?)>>dismissing protesters Other placards: Stop homophobia, Olympic circles on fire; Ruusian and gay - parallel between protesters spilling bottles of vodka (presumably Russian) on the street – performative act of protest and the barman puring alcohol in the glass in the club
What happens next: We are taken to the Mayak gay club so get "an insight in the reality of gay life here" (in Sochi)	-the reporter mentions that in English Mayak means Lighthouse > addressing global audience but also a strong symbol – lighthouses guide; to way it is here it's everywhere -the reporter rings a doorbell to enter the club – so it is not an open-for-everyone space; it is, however, a closed space, need of permission to enter; but then he is "embraced" by people in the club like any other client -Andrey, one of the owners – identified as owner & homosexual -Sochi is a tolerant city and has been so for decades: "since yje Soviet era", Andrey has been in a relationship with Roman for 13 years; the American tourist tells the same "**Once I'm in the club** and I'm meeting people, it's like any other gay bars that ever been to" (images with barmen, alcohol, people dancing – like in any other bar) -Except it's not a 'normal' club: on the bar, there's a rainbow flag, signaling it is a gay club; also, there are "performers" – men putting make-up on> we see them in the changing room (not named "drag queens") -A performer singing on stage – we hear her for some seconds an see the smiling face of the reporter in the club ("Do what you want with my body…" the song heard) -We hear about whom is to blame from them Andrey & Roman > 'experts' in the matter; the West is to blame because with their response (protests), they are spoiling the Olympics -Delegitimizing protest: by its "heavy-handed answer", instead of helping the LGBT community, the West harms it
Resolution: People can express their sexuality in the club	-"behind closed doors" (reporter) – "For men only" sign on the door -the club is a protective space for gay people; but also a way to keep the gay community away from people's reach
Coda: This month's event is about sport	Visual: Out from the club and into the city And one thing is for sure: whether you have conservative or liberal views, this month is going to be a celebration of sport to remember

Evaluation	Gay life – a "subculture", term used twice to separate it from the "mainstream culture" – it does not belong there. It's not about liberal vs conservative, the issue is complicating the the activist in the West don't understand this. Thus, the West is distorting the reality and, in doing so, is harming those it says it wants to protect. Russia, just as the Lighthouse, is a tolerant country. Plus, no one should care about gay rights now, it's about sport

Brazil WC - AJE

Abstract: A meeting is underway in Brazil's biggest city in an effort to resolve a crippling transport strike before the start of the football World Cup. Sao Paolo roads are in chaos and there've been clashes between striking metro workers and police

STORY	DISCOURSE
Time: now, ongoing situation - referrence to past (past protest) and the very immediate future "in 3 days", "on Thurs" Time of protests: dawn + day	Day five of a metro workers strike Dawn – not clear light – the reddish tones – as the flames; passage from night to day By midday, more protests
Place: Sao Paolo, only on the street/s, outdoors	in South America's largest city – important
Participants Student activist, Union leader, mayor - crowds of protesters - security always on the move or 'on high alert'	Reporter appears late in the images; but he tells the story from the beginning – heterodiegetic, omniscient
Object of protest: "; it's a fight for better working conditions and salaries", the student activist.	"The metro workers' strike seems to have been the catalyst for these new protests here in Sao Paolo" – there were protest before as well "They're fight is very fair", student – nobody contradicts this during the report except for the court decision
Protest target: the national gov	Banners are in Portuguese – it's a local issue with a local solution
Initial situation: 5th day of protests	- **Before sunrise** and Sao Paolo is burning – we get the why: burnt rubbish blocking a major avenue (visual: how a man fuels the fire with more trash). "It's been tense times" – for both protesters and police; a young man waving a flag in the center of the image; flames in the foreground – protesters are

	doing some of the destruction, of the 'chaos' (in the abstract)
Complicating action: the lack of negotiations gov-protesters and the so-far authorities' response to the previous protests	Ricardo Lorenzo, Union leader, talking amid a strike: "we may have been talking to the government for more than two months, but they have not been negotiating with us. And now they are criminalizing our movement" - The strike was declared illegal by a court order and more than a dozen workers on strike were detained by police and other 60 metro workers were fired AND - police locking the gates of the station to prevent a revolt >> they had to, because of the protests
What happens next: more protests >> story-in-story of this aggregated protest	- new protests introduced "vocally": Seconds of no voiceover – crowd shouting heard – midday time now By midday, more protests as more than 1000 activists from a homeless workers movement march in the city center to also show support for the metro workers >> solidarity among the people, the workers are not alone: placard 'Metroviario, el povo te apoia'; students are also protesting in solidarity - Security was on high alert - But it ended peacefully - Everywhere in the city, the strike has left buses packed with four million metro users scrambling for alternative transportation; lines of car as far as one can see (Cut to images with people in overcrowded buses; trying to get in
Resolution: unclear, uncertainty	>the desired solution: Local officials are confident won't rack the World Cup, which starts here on Thursday Fernando Haddad, mayor of Sao Paolo. Speaks in a conference room >> Back on the street. We see tge reporter finally, on protesters' side – protesters marching by behind him No voiceover – drums sound – shot with 3-4 men banging the drums: The big question now is –is this the beginning of the end of these protests or will they continue through the WC?
Coda	The answer is coming in a matter of days in a city gripped in an unsettling mix of public transport paralysis and protest
Evaluation	The strike is legitimized – despite the troubles caused by the closing of the metro (for 4 mil people), even more people go out to support the metro workers. However, the protesters' actions are seen as provoking 'chaos' (see images of violenece & destruction)

	moreover ahead of the WC. It is a call for 'real' talks between the parties involved to solve the issue before the WC "the big question is". The banner on the screen reads "Brazil World Cup" during the report – the protest is significant because it is in relation with the WC

Brazil WC - BBCW

Abstract: Everywhere else in Brazil it seems like everybody is getting ready to celebrate the start of the WC but there is still that one outstanding industrial dispute and the fans who are lucky enough to have tickets to go to the first match of the WC, Brazil vs Croatia on Thursday evening are well…there's a fair chance they are goijng to struggle t get to the ground unless they leave a very long time. Maybe it is just brinkmanship on tehe part of the unions. They know that this is their moment of maximum leverage over the gov, over the strike that has been declared illegal. But there were clashes today.

STORY	DISCOURSE
Time: now; ongoing protests	
Place: Sao Paolo, on the street/road – open space	Panoramic shot: cars and a crowded road Cut to the same shot – panoramic – street; also a large street, open space but filled with people
Participants: protest organizer – speaking Securiry forces, crowds of protesters, ordinary people waiting for the bus	Realist perspective: omniscient reporter; only protesters' representative talking
Object of protest: salary hike	Striking metro workers continuing to demand pay raises – 10%
Protest target: government	
Initial situation: Metro workers continue to protest, which has negative consequences and despite being illegal now	- Gridlock in Brazil's biggest city just three days before the WC kicks off there - Police again tried to break up the protest > violence (Cut to people running on the streets from tear gas; someone screams; then we see the police unit > A policeman throwing a grenade (?) smoke on a portion of the steet that is now empty) - yesterday a judge ruled the strike illegal - >court rule as ooposed to people's vote: These workers (these, who are now marching) voted overwhelmingly to stay out until their demands are met and say they don't care about racking the WC - Protesters see actually the WC as posing problems for the country: Andre Ferrari: the WC is just the beginning of a new wave of struggles in this country" - Protest: drums, shouting, placards in Portuguese, red t-shirts, big crowds
Complicating action: The	- late in the report; it's also the moment when the reporter

authorities' actions were not effective before and there is no certainty they will be now	appears for the first time: But if the riot police, as in the past, are moving too hard, it exacerbates tensions even further and leads to more delays for fans trying to get to get to WC games across Brazil – possible complicating action [– on the street – with a police car in the back, very close to him. The officers get in the car and the car is leaving, though by the tme he finishes his speck. Very blurred, in the bkg we then see some protesters]
Resolution: Protests have to stop but police violence is not the solution; effective authorities' intervention is	The protesters mood is upbeat for now but things could turn ugly if there's not last-minute deal and the gov tries to resolve things by force
Coda	Sao Paolo's chronic transport problems are notoriously bad at the best of times. [Cut to a bus station, close-up on a car with 2 small Brazilian flags. k in the middle of red-shirted protesters hitting drums] And if these protests do continue, the impact for WC schedules and fans could be enormous
Evaluation	Protest is colorful (opposed to the grey, gloomy image of police throwing gas) and represent the people's vote, so it cannot be delegitimized. Abstract: **Everywhere else in Brazil it seems like everybody is getting ready to celebrate** the start of the WC but there is still that one outstanding industrial dispute **Yet**, what matters now are the WC and the fans getting to the games (this is mentioned 3 times in the report + once in the abstract). - In the abstract, the anchor seems to accuse the unions ('they know') for mobilizing people into using the WC for 'mundane' issues instead of prioritizing football: Maybe it is just brinkmanship on the part of the unions. **They know** that this is their moment of maximum leverage over the gov However, the report is milder in this sense – but still critical to protesters' indifference to the disruption of the WC they are causing: '[workers] say they don't care about racking the WC' This seems like a call, an appeal to the authorities to act on the protest efficiently in order for no disruption of the WC to occur (Reporter: protests will not be allowed to disrupt the WC and they will us any force that is deemed necessary. But if the riot police, as in the past, moving too hard, it exacerbates tensions even further)

Brazil WC - RT

No abstract

STORY	DISCOURSE
Time: now, three days before the WC kicks off	At day at night/dusk – on a road; people setting fire in the middle of the road; barrier in front of the protesters crowd
Place: Sao Paolo, on the streets	country's business hub
Participants: no speaking actors	Omniscient anchor; Footage from ruptly.tv, RT's video agency - shot from the street, next to other camera persons; far from protesters, but we see some smoke on a now empty street
Object of protest: demanding a hike in salaries	
Protest target: government	
Initial situation:	Violent protests in Brazil ("Brazilian police have used tear gas and stun grenades")
Complicating action:	(also) the strike; the use of violence by police is not presented as complicating action
What happened next	traffic chaos in the country's **business** hub; "ongoing protest" – it happens day and night, as the images show
Resolution	Not presented
Coda: There've been numerous protests across Brazil ahead of a footballing extravaganza	with people outraged by the excessive spending on the tournament
Evaluation	Protests were a constant before the WC – justified because the tournament is a "football extravaganza". There is no surprise they are still happening. Police violence condemned, though. The banner reads "Tear gas used on protesters" – if this is newsworthy, it's because it's a negative thing

Appendix D

Additional results

Results Step 1: Identifying topics
Unit of analysis: "sport competition" article

Main Topic	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of items	%	No. of items	%	No. of items	%
Sport	1	16,7	11	15,7	0	0
Sport scandal	3	50%	3	4,3	0	0
Celebration	0	0	28	40	0	0
Politics	1	16,7	4	5,7	2	10,5
Financial issues	0	0	2	2,9	0	0
Organization	0	0	5	7,1	1	5,3
Security	1	16,7	7	10	11	57,9
Protest	0	0	3	4,3	3	15,8
Corruption	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business	0	0	4	5,7	2	10,5
Other	0	0	3	4,3	0	0
Total	6	100	70	100	19	100

Table D1 London OG: Distribution of main topic of the articles included in Step 1: Identifying topics per channel

Main Topic	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of items	%	No. of items	%	No. of items	%
Sport	1	7,7	1	4	5	7,9
Sport scandal	0	0	0	0	5	7,9
Celebration	1	7,7	1	4	25	39,7
Politics	1	7,7	6	24	9	14,3
Financial issue	0	0	0	0	1	1,6
Organization	0	0	3	12	3	4,8
Security	6	46,2	18	32	6	9,5
Protest	4	30,8	4	16	5	7,9
Corruption	0	0	0	0	1	1,6
Business	0	0	1	4	0	0
Other	0	0	1	4	3	4,8
Total	13	100	25	100	63	100

Table D2   Sochi OG: Distribution of main topic of the articles included in Step 1: Identifying topics per channel

Main Topic	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of items	%	No. of items	%	No. of items	%
Sport	0	0	2	2,8	4	12,1
Sport scandal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Celebration	0	0	15	20,8	1	3,0
Politics	1	4,5	4	5,6	4	12,1
Financial issues	0	0	1	1,4	0	0

Organization	4	18,2	26	36,1	3	9,1
Security	4	18,2	6	8,3	7	21,2
Protest	12	54,5	12	16,7	14	42,4
Corruption	1	4,5	0	0	0	0
Business	0	0	1	1,4	0	0
Other	0	0	4	5,6	0	0
Total	22	100	72	100	33	100

Table D3 Brazil WC: Distribution of main topic of the articles included in *Step 1: Identifying topics per channel*

Sport competition	Broadcaster			
	AJE	BBCW	RT	Total
LOG	0	3	3	6
SOG	4	4	5	13
BWC	12	12	14	38
Total	16	19	22	57

Table D4   Number of articles in which *Protest* is main topic per channel and per sport event

Sport competition	Broadcaster			
	AJE	BBCW	RT	Tota
LOG	0%	10,7%	15,7%	11,5
SOG	36,3%	18,1%	15,1%	19,7
BWC	54,5%	23,5%	50%	37,6

Table D5 *Protest* (as main topic) as percentage of all forms of disruption

Note: Calculations used the data in Table "Number of articles in which *Protest* is main topic per channel and per sport event" and in Table "Celebration – Disruption report (as number of articles)" [in text, p.]

Results Step 2: Describing Protest

Unit of analysis: "protest" article

Case Study 1: London OG

Speaking Actor	BBCW	RT
Protester	2	3
Politician	0	0
Member of police / securi forces	1	2
Business actor	5	0
Ordinary person	3	3
Celebrity	0	0
Athlete	2	0
Expert	1	1

Sport event official	2	3
Other	0	1

Table D6   London OG: Number of articles in which each speaking actor is quoted directly in each broadcaster. The total number of articles analyzed was: BBCW – 7, RT – 7

Who is protesting?	BBCW		RT	
	No. articles	%	No. articles	%
Ordinary people	5	71,4	5	71,4
Professional category	1	14,3	0	0
Athletes	1	14,3	0	0
LGBTQ community	0	0	0	0
Students	0	0	0	0
Celebrity	0	0	0	0
Politician	0	0	1	14,3
Ethnic minority	0	0	0	0
Internet users	0	0	0	0
Activists	0	0	1	14,3
Other	0	0	0	0
Not mentioned	0	0	0	0
Total	7	100	7	100

Table D7 London OG: Distribution of protesters' role per broadcaster

Protest article's main topic	BBCW		RT	
	No. of articles	%	No. of article	%
Sport	0	0	0	0
Sport scandal	0	0	0	0
Celebration	2	28,6	0	0
Politics	0	0	1	14,2
Financial issues	0	0	0	0
Organization	0	0	0	0
Security	0	0	2	28,5
Protest	3	42,8	3	42,8
Corruption	0	0	0	0
Business	2	28,6	1	14,2
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	7	100	7	100

Table D8   London OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Main topic in the "protest articles" per broadcaster

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
India	3	42,9
UK	4	57,1
Total	7	100

Table D9   London OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in BBCW

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
India	2	28,6
UK	3	42,9
Iran	1	14,3
N.A.	1	14,3
Total	7	100

Table D10   London OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in RT

Protest Size	BBCW		RT	
	No. of articles	%	No. of article	%
Less than 99	5	71,4	1	14,3
100 – 999 protesters	1	14,3	1	14,3
1000 – 9999 protesters	0	0	1	14,3
10000 – 99999 protesters	0	0	0	0
100000 – 999999 protester	0	0	0	0
Over 1 million	0	0	0	0
N.A.	1	14,3	4	57,1
Total	7	100	7	100

Table D11   London OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Protest Size per broadcaster

Violence mentioned	BBCW		RT	
	No. of articles	%	No. of article	%
No	6	85,8	6	85,8
Security forces and protesters	1	14,2	0	0
Protesters	0	0	0	0
Security forces	0	0	1	14,2
Total	7	100	7	100

Table D12   London OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Violence presence and attribution of the act of violence per broadcaster

Other protest mentioned	BBCW		RT	
	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%
Yes	3	42,8	3	42,8
No	4	57,2	4	57,2
Total	7	100	7	100

Table D13   London OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to the mentioning of another protest per broadcaster

Year	BBCW		RT	
	No. of articles	%	No. of article	%
2011	1	14,3	1	14,3
2012	6	85,7	6	85,7
Total	7	100	7	100

Table D14   London OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to the year when protest is reported

Case Study 2: Sochi OG

Speaking Actor	AJE	BBCW	RT
Protester	3	7	2
Politician	2	8	7
Member of police security forces	0	0	0
Business actor	0	2	1
Ordinary person	1	2	0
Celebrity	1	1	1
Athlete	0	2	3
Expert	0	1	3
Sport event official	0	4	7
Other	0	1	2

Table D15   Sochi OG: Number of articles in which each speaking actor is quoted directly in each broadcaster. The total number of articles analyzed was: AJE - 6, BBCW – 15, RT – 12

Who is protesting?	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. art.	%	No. art.	%	No. art.	%
Ordinary people	1	16,7	0	0	3	25
Professional category	0	0	0	0	0	0
Athletes	0	0	0	0	1	8,3
LGBTQ community	0	0	1	6,6	0	0
Students	0	0	0	0	0	0
Celebrity	0	0	4	26,6	2	16,6
Politician	0	0	2	13,3	0	0
Ethnic minority	0	0	0	0	0	0
Internet users	0	0	0	0	0	0
Activists	4	66,7	3	20	4	33,3
Other	0	0	2	13,3	0	0
Not mentioned	1	16,7	3	20	2	16,6
Total	6	100	15	100	12	100

Table D16   Sochi OG: Distribution of protesters' role per broadcaster

Protest article's main topic	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%
Sport	0	0	0	0	1	8,3
Sport scandal	0	0	0	0	1	8,3
Celebration	0	0	0	0	1	8,3
Politics	2	33,3	7	46,7	5	41,6
Financial issues	0	0	0	0	0	0
Organization	0	0	0	0	0	0
Security	0	0	0	0	0	0
Protest	3	50	8	53,3	3	25
Corruption	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	16,6	0	0	1	8,3
Total	6	100	15	100	12	100

Table D17   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to their main topic in the "protest articles" per broadcaster

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
Global	2	50
Russia	3	33,3
N.A.	1	16,7
Total	6	100

Table D18   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in AJE

Location - City	No. of articles	%
Global	1	16,66
St. Petersburg	1	16,66
N.A.	4	66,7
Total	6	100

Table D19   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (City) of Protest in AJE

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
Global	8	53,3
Georgia	2	13,3
Russia	2	13,3
UK	3	20,0
Total	15	100

Table D20   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in BBCW

Location - City	No. of articles	%
Global	1	6,7
London	1	6,7
N.A.	13	86,6
Total	15	100

Table D21   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (City) of Protest in BBCW

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
Global	2	16,7
Russia	7	58,3
N.A.	3	25,0
Total	12	100

Table D22   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in RT

Location - City	No. of articles	%
Moscow	1	8,3
St. Petersburg	1	8,3
Sochi	2	16,7
N.A.	8	66,7
Total	12	100

Table D23   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (City) of Protest in RT

Protest Size	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%
Less than 99	2	33,3	4	26,7	3	25,0
100 – 999 protesters	0	0	0	0	0	0
1000 – 9999 protester	1	16,7	0	0	0	0
10000 – 99999 protesters	0	0	0	0	0	0
100000 – 999999 protesters	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over 1 million	0	0	0	0	0	0
N.A.	3	50	11	73,3	9	75,0
Total	6	100	15	100	12	100

Table D24   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Protest Size per broadcaster

Violence mentioned	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%
No	5	83,3	13	86,6	10	83,3
Security forces and protesters	0	0	2	13,3	0	0
Protesters	1	16,7	0	0	2	16,7
Security forces	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6	100	15	100	12	100

Table D25   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to Violence presence and attribution of the act of violence per broadcaster

Other protest mentioned	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of articl	%	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%
Yes	4	66,7	10	66,7	2	16,7
No	2	33,3	5	33,3	10	83,3
Total	6	100	15	100	12	100

Table D26 Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to the mentioning of another protest per broadcaster

Year	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of articl	%	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%
2013	4	66,7	5	33,3	8	66,7
2014	2	33,3	10	66,7	4	33,3
Total	6	100	15	100	12	100

Table D27   Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to the year when protest is reported

Case study 3: Brazil WC

Speaking Actor	AJE	BBCW	RT
Protester	7	5	7
Politician	5	6	6
Member of police security forces	2	3	0
Business actor	0	0	0
Ordinary person	1	0	1
Celebrity	0	0	0
Athlete	0	0	2
Expert	1	2	2
Sport event official	2	2	3
Other	0	1	0

Table D29   Brazil WC: Number of articles in which each speaking actor is quoted directly in each broadcaster.

The total number of articles analyzed was: AJE - 17, BBCW – 23, RT – 20

Who is protesting?	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. art.	%	No. art.	%	No. art.	%
Ordinary people	11	64,7	14	60,9	15	75,0
Professional category	4	23,5	6	26,1	2	10,0
Athletes	0	0	0	0	0	0
LGBTQ communi	0	0	0	0	0	0
Students	0	0	0	0	0	0
Celebrity	0	0	0	0	1	5,0
Politician	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethnic minority	1	5,9	1	4,3	1	5,0
Internet users	0	0	0	0	1	5,0
Activists	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not mentioned	1	5,9	2	8,7	0	0
Total	17	100	23	100	20	100

Table D29 Brazil WC: Distribution of protesters' role per broadcaster

Protest article's main topic	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%
Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport scandal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Celebration	0	0	0	0	0	0
Politics	1	5,9	2	8,7	1	5,0
Financial issues	1	5,9	0	0	0	0
Organization	1	5,9	0	0	0	0
Security	0	0	3	13,0	2	10,0
Protest	13	76,5	18	78,3	17	85,0
Corruption	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	5,9	0	0	0	0
Total	17	100	23	100	20	100

Table D30 Sochi OG: Distribution of "protest items" according to their main topic in the "protest articles" per broadcaster

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
Brazil	17	100,0
Total	17	100

Table D31 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in AJE

Location - City	No. of articles	%
Nationwide	7	41,2
Rio de Janeiro	4	23,5
Sao Paolo	3	17,6
Belo Horizonte	1	5,9
Brasilia	1	5,9
N.A.	1	5,9
Total	23	100

Table D32 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (City) of Protest in AJE

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
Brazil	23	100,0
Total	23	100

Table D33 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in BBCW

Location - City	No. of articles	%
Nationwide	7	30,4
Sao Paolo	5	21,7
N.A.	5	21,7
Rio de Janeiro	4	17,4
Bahia	1	4,3
Brasilia	1	4,3
Total	23	100

Table D34 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (City) of Protest in BBCW

Location - Country	No. of articles	%
Brazil	18	90,00
Colombia	1	5,00
N.A.	1	5,00
Total	20	100

Table D35 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (Country) of Protest in RT

Location - City	No. of articles	%
N.A.	6	30,0
Nationwide	5	25,0
Sao Paolo	4	20,0
Rio de Janeiro	3	15,0
Brasilia	1	5,0
Fortaleza	1	5,0
Total	23	100

Table D36 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Location (City) of Protest in RT

Protest Size	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%	No. of art.	%
Less than 99	0	0	0	0	0	0
100 – 999 protesters	4	23,5	3	13,0	1	5,0
1000 – 9999 proteste	1	5,9	6	26,1	4	20,0
10000 – 99999 protesters	3	17,6	0	0	2	10,0
100000 – 999999 protesters	3	17,6	0	0	3	15,0
Over 1 million	3	17,6	3	13,0	1	5,0
N.A.	3	17,6	11	47,8	9	45,0
Total	17	100	23	100	20	100

Table D34 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Protest Size per broadcaster

Violence mentioned	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of ar	%	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%
No	3	17,6	5	21,7	5	20,0
Security forces and protesters	8	47,1	12	56,5	10	25,0
Protesters	1	5,9	2	8,7	1	5,00
Security forces	5	29,4	3	13,0	4	20,0
Total	17	100	23	100	20	100

Table D37 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to Violence presence and attribution of the act of violence per broadcaster

Other protest mentioned	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of articl	%	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%
Yes	13	76,5	7	30,4	6	30,0
No	4	23,5	16	69,6	14	70,0
Total	17	100	23	100	20	100

Table D38 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to the mentioning of another protest per broadcaster

Year	AJE		BBCW		RT	
	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%
2013	7	41,2	7	30,4	9	45,0
2014	10	58,8	16	69,6	11	55,0
Total	17	100	23	100	20	100

Table D39 Brazil WC: Distribution of "protest items" according to the year when protest is reported