

FRAMING RIO 2016

An analysis of media coverage
and framing of Rio as host of the
Olympics 2016 in Belgian and
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Sarah Van den Broucke
Project management: Tine Van Regenmortel

KU LEUVEN

HIVA

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR WORK AND SOCIETY

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Introduction

“Rio is as a host having guests when his house is on fire”

(De Telegraaf, 20 June 2016, p. 2; translated from Dutch)

“Never did an organiser of the Games receive as much negative publicity as Rio. And that is about the very last intention [...] The expensive - 11 billion euro according to organisers, double according to critics - event has to radiate positively on a country.”

(De Standaard, 5 august 2016, p. 2; translated from Dutch)

Mega-events offer a unique opportunity to conquer ‘the spotlight’ and promote a distinctive image of a host city or country to a global audience (Hiller, 2006). Therefore, mega-events have tremendous significance as a symbolic platform for ‘exposure’ (Salazar, 2016). Improving the ‘image’ and building a city or country ‘brand’ is one of the central goals of many mega-event hosts today (Müller, 2015). Organising large-scale events is part of a deliberate strategy to attract investors and tourists, promote economic growth and obtain a position on the global stage (Salazar, 2016). To pursue these goals, mega-events involve the representation, branding and ‘imagineering’ of cities, regions or countries for local-to-global consumption (Cornelissen, 2010).

The general research question underlying this study is how a mega-event is given shape (‘constructed’) intangibly in imaginaries the public holds of the host city or country. Imaginaries can be defined as socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people’s personal imaginings and that are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices (Salazar, 2012). The promotion of positive imaginaries on a host city or country is widely acknowledged as one of the primary objectives of a mega-event. Although the positive image that events are believed to portray to the public explains the lengths to which authorities will go to host a mega-event, there is little evidence of such ‘image value’ and of mega-events making a significant and long-term difference. (Salazar, 2016).

Scholarship increasingly points to the role of media in the creation of meanings that surround mega-events (Dayan and Katz, 1994; Sebastião et al., 2016; Hiller, 2016). Mega-events are broadcast to large audiences, including local and international viewers. Thus, media provide access to the event as well as an interpretation for the event with reports, comments and framing (Sebastião et al., 2016). To gain insight into the mobile character of imaginaries and the ‘image value’ of a mega-event, empirical analysis of media coverage and framing can provide a relevant contribution to mega-event scholarship (Van den Broucke et al., 2016). News items do not present the reality itself, but a picture of the world, a frame of reality, shaping people’s knowledge and opinions about events and developments (Sebastião et al., 2016, McCombs 2014). Journalists ‘gather, produce, send’ information but there are several factors that influence the way they practice their job – job routines, media organisation rules, political, economic, social and cultural settings (McCombs et al., 2011, p. 26).

In this research, we study media coverage disseminated by western media - Belgian and Dutch written press - about Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympics 2016. The study departed from a research interest in the social context in which a mega-event takes place and the social or other impact faced by the local population. A general underlying research question is whether and how imaginaries of social

dimensions of mega-events travel through global mass media. It involves an empirical analysis of the ‘construction’ of the social image of a mega-event host. This image construction is in itself a mobile and social process. From prior conceptualisation of a mega-event as a disruptive media event in previous publication (Van den Broucke et.al, 2016; Sebastião et al., 2016), we have a special interest in the conflicting interpretations mega-events evoke, dividing rather than uniting people. To borrow from Gotham (2011, p. 197), mega-events are “spectacles of contestation that embody contradictory tendencies and articulate conflictual and opposing meanings”. However, conflicting interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but can lead to nuanced stances combining elements of polarised imaginaries (Van den Broucke et al, 2016).

In this research, we approach media coverage as a channel for dissemination of a wide variety of imaginaries on the mega-event host. The study has particular attention for the position of social issues in relation to other aspects covered with regard to the host of a mega-event (such as financial aspects, safety issues or political context). Secondly, we look into the extent to which a rights approach - ‘rights framing’ - is applied, to social as well as other dimensions in the image constructed of the host. In a deductive framing exercise, ‘rights framing’ is juxtaposed to ‘promotional framing’ inspired by the discussed theory on the central promotional objective, next to other common media frames (‘conflict’, ‘consequence’, ‘responsibility’ and ‘human interest’ framing).

After an introductory chapter 1 on the used data sources and applied methodology of data collection and analysis, chapter 2 presents a coverage analysis responding to the questions of which topics on Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympic Games 2016 are covered in Belgian and Dutch newspapers, which tone dominates this coverage and how coverage differs through time and between sources. Chapter 3 goes into the results of the framing analysis, in response to questions of which frames dominate Flemish and Dutch newspaper coverage on Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympic Games 2016, and how the framing differs through time and between sources or countries. A summary of the main findings is presented in the conclusion.

1 | Methodology

1.1 Data Sources

To conduct this media analysis, data was collected from 6 Belgian and 10 Dutch national newspapers. Based on practical considerations of data access and comparability with regard to language, the Belgian newspaper sample is restricted to Flemish newspapers. Data was obtained from the data sources GoPress Academic and LexisNexis, two largescale media databases providing access to the selected newspapers in respectively Belgium and the Netherlands.

In both countries, a balance was sought for between so-called ‘quality newspapers’ and ‘popular newspapers’, a commonly used categorisation in mass media studies (Boesman et al., 2015; Joris et al., 2013). The 6 Belgian newspapers concern *De Standaard*, *De Morgen*, *De Tijd* (3 quality newspapers), and *Het Laatste Nieuws*, *Het Nieuwsblad*, *Metro* (3 popular newspapers). The 10 Dutch newspapers concern *De Volkskrant*, *Trouw*, *NRC Handelsblad*, *Het Financieele Dagblad*, *Het Parool* (5 quality newspapers) and *De Telegraaf*, *Algemeen Dagblad*, *Nederlands Dagblad*, *Reformatisch Dagblad*, *Metro* (5 popular newspapers).

Table 1.1 below presents an overview of the average number of printed issues of the paid newspapers in the sample, so one can estimate the potential reach of media coverage studied in this research and compare the newspapers in term of ‘size’. *Metro* in Belgium and *Metro* in the Netherlands are free newspapers for which we do not have comparable statistics.

Table 1.1 Average number of printed issues of paid newspapers in the sample

Belgium (2012)		Netherlands (2013)	
Het Laatste Nieuws	285.288	De Telegraaf	544.355
Het Nieuwsblad	261.306	Algemeen Dagblad	409.360
De Standaard	92.499	De Volkskrant	262.229
De Morgen	52.033	NRC Handelsblad	192.945
De Tijd	29.617	Trouw	102.889
		Het Parool	71.352
		Het Financieele Dagblad	54.325
		Reformatisch Dagblad	48.811
		Nederlands Dagblad	24.664

Source: Centrum voor Informatie over de Media (Belgium) & NDP Nieuwsmedia (Netherlands)

This collection combines all but one national newspaper in the Dutch language in both countries. The only national newspaper which was not included is *NRC.Next*, a spin-off publication of *NRC Handelsblad*. This exclusion was based on reasons of overlapping content. Of the 49 initially collected articles of *NRC.Next* in line with the selection criteria, 76% was a copy of articles published in *NRC Handelsblad*, either identical or with negligible editorial adjustments. In order to avoid bias in the analysis caused by duplicate cases, *NRC.Next* articles were discarded.

1.2 Data collection

To identify and collect relevant articles, a broad search was undertaken in the selected sample of newspapers. A Boolean search technique was used in each database with the combination of words 'Olympic Games', for the period of 1 August 2015 until 31 August 2016. Over 10.000 hits were found.

Articles were then scanned on content and selected or discarded based on their association with the research topic. The general rationale applied in this scanning, was the conceptual focus of imaging or imaginaries of Rio and Brazil as host of the mega-event, not on imaging or imaginaries of participating countries, athletes, the IOC, sport federations, etc. Those articles that did not involve the particular edition of the Olympic Games 2016 in Rio, or articles that focused on sporting issues or athletes were discarded. Similarly, articles including a unilateral focus on the IOC, sport federations, Belgium or the Netherlands, were left aside in the scanning process. This included the discarding of a large share of media coverage on doping related issues and corruption matters. Articles that only touched upon the research theme very limitedly in the side-line of a clearly different focus, were also not selected for this study.

The distinction between relevant and irrelevant hits was not always black and white. We acknowledge that imaging of Rio and Brazil can slip in for example reports on sporting, (e.g. "on the exotic beaches of Copacabana, ...", "in the beautiful Maracaña stadium, ...", "under the watchful eye of the iconic Christ statue"). However, taking feasibility and relevance into account, the choice was made not to include sport reports into the selection. Similar selection choices are made in comparable research on media coverage of Rio 2016 (Sebastião et al., 2016, p. 81). Additionally discarded items include: identical items that appeared more than once in the database, letters of readers (in contrast to columns and opinion pieces were retained in the selection), items consisting only of text below a picture; book reviews, tv programme announcements or advertisements.

The selection process resulted in a final sample of 615 articles in Belgian and Dutch newspapers. These 615 articles served as observations (cases) in a newly constructed database. For every article the following variables were registered: date, country, newspaper, title, Olympics2016 focus (do the Games provide the focus or framework, or is the issue of focus not directly related to the Games and are the Games rather mentioned in the side-line?).

1.3 Coverage analysis

To conduct a coverage analysis on the data sample, a mixed methods approach was applied. A qualitative content analysis provided the basis to code articles in the new database. On this database quantitative analyses could be conducted. The quantitative results (frequency tables) could then again be complemented with a range of empirical examples obtained in the qualitative content analysis. Content analysis can be defined as "the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Neuendorf, 2002, pp. 1, 24).

For every one of the 615 articles, a qualitative content analysis was conducted, in order to categorise the article or parts of the article under one of the following 9 thematic categories:

- Social Affairs & Public Services
- Culture & Tourism
- Finance & Economics
- Infrastructure & Logistics
- Environment & Health
- Criminality & Safety
- Politics

- Labour
- Other

Per article, more than one topic could be coded, up to a limit of four. In the cases where more than four topics were mentioned, the four main ones (based on share of attention in the article and the order in the text) were coded. This way, 1.277 topics could be derived from the 615 articles. The dataset was consequently transposed, so the 1.277 items now provided the observations (cases) in a new transposed dataset for quantitative analysis.

In addition to the information on date, country, newspaper, title, Olympics2016 focus, and general thematic category (one of the 9 above), for every of the 1.277 items a summary was noted on the particular subject of the article or article part. Also the tone was coded as negative, ambiguous, neutral, or positive.

The methodological design to delineate these overarching themes and look at tone is inspired by comparable research on media coverage of Rio 2016 by Sónia Pedro Sebastião et al. (2016, p. 81), however further adapted (such as changing some thematic categories and including an additional value in the tone variable to capture ambiguous articles that bring both positive and negative elements).

A few remarks should be made on this coding. First of all, descriptions on events, evolutions, situations etc. in the past were not coded, because this difference would be lost in the dataset and would cause bias. For example, when an article reports on former president Lula da Silva's social policies lifting thousands out of poverty, it would be coded as a positive item under the social theme, giving the impression that a positive image is constructed on social context in Brazil (currently), which is hardly in line with the reality. Second, the category 'Criminality & Safety' did not include protest or unrest, because this could be coded as 'conflict frame' (see below 1.4), to be applied more specifically to other themes (e.g. political unrest under category 'politics', social unrest under category 'social affairs'). Third, support and interest of the Brazilian people was coded as social whereas the character of the locals was coded as cultural.

Based on the dataset, basic descriptive frequency analyses were conducted. The figures and tables in chapter 2 Coverage Analysis, are the result of this.

1.4 Framing analysis

Like the coverage analysis, the analysis of frames relies on a mixed methods approach involving a qualitative content analysis to detect the presence of prominent frames, and subsequent coding of these frames in the dataset (for each of the 1.277 items).

Entman's definition of media framing states that "to frame is as to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (1993, p. 52). Framing can be considered an interpretive lens that is given to something that is observed or experienced and is usually supported and developed in interaction with other people (Benford & Snow, 2002).

In this study, we have applied deductive framing. This means we seek to find six frames which we have pre-determined before any content analysis. Four frames were chosen from previous research identifying them as accounting for a substantial percentage of frames present in the news (Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). Two other frames were based on our conceptual research focus on a rights approach versus a promotional approach in media framing of mega-events. Research by M. Alfini

(2015) and N.B. Salazar (2016) provided inspiration for the operationalisation of respectively the rights frame and the promotional frame in the particular context of a mega-event. The six pre-determined frames and their operationalisation are presented in Table 1.2 below.

Interestingly, frames of Semetko & Valkenburg have already been applied in a particular media analysis of our empirical case of Rio 2016, by Sónia Pedro Sebastião et al. (2016, pp. 81-82). However, in this study we have chosen to adapt the ‘economic consequence’ frame into a general ‘consequence’ frame, because of the growing scholarship and high media coverage on the so-called ‘legacy’ of mega-events. This ‘legacy’ is not restricted to economic impact, but refers also infrastructural, social and tourism effects, to name a few. Moreover, a limited focus to economic consequence framing would only apply for topics that fall under the theme ‘Finance & Economy’, whereas we wish to analyse the application of all frames for all themes. Secondly, in contrast to the study of Sebastião et al. (2016), the choice was made not to include the ‘morality frame’ of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) due to potential overlap with the rights frame. Thirdly, the operationalisation of the frames was adapted and does not necessarily follow the exact operationalisation in the codebook composed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) to code an article with a particular frame. Additionally, it should be noted that negative elements related to image and reputation were not coded as promotional framing, and references to particular measures (in response to a problem) were coded with responsibility framing, but advice (with regard to the problem) was not.

Table 1.2 Operationalisation of frames

FRAME	SOURCE	INDICATORS	Word choice
Conflict frame	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) Sebastião et al. (2016)	The article covers different/opposing opinions and positions The article covers a disagreement/conflict between parties The article describes one party accusing another party The article refers to two or more sides of problem/conflict	<i>Winners, losers, battle, opposition, protest, resistance, demonstration, victims, ...</i>
Responsibility frame	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) Sebastião et al. (2016)	The article suggests that there is a responsible for a certain situation The article suggests one or more solutions for a problem (and potentially points to a responsible actor for this solution) The article implies that a problem is in need of (immediate) action or measures	<i>Role, task, responsibility, blame, solution, measures, Guarantees, promises, control, manage, ...</i>
Consequences frame	~ adaptation of economic consequences frame of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000)	The article refers to positive and negative consequences now or in the future The article refers to the impact or effects of events or developments The article goes into legacies, benefits or burdens	<i>Consequences, legacy, effects, side-effects, impact, burden, benefit, ...</i>
Human interest frame	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) Sebastião et al. (2016)	The article goes into the personal sphere of individuals (private life) The article gives a human example or presents a 'human face' to a topic In the article, adjectives or personal labels are used that can evoke empathy, compassion or sympathy The article shows how individual persons or specific groups are affected by a topic or problem	<i>Testimony, experience, destiny, personal life, ...</i>
Rights frame	Alfini (2015)	The article refers to rights being respected, violated or protected The article goes into exploitation or injustice The article mentions the involvement of actors that defend rights (NGO's, human rights lawyers, etc.)	<i>Right, freedom, injustice, protection, exploitation, morally, violation, respect, ...</i>
Promotion frame	Salazar (2016)	The article implies promotion of a topic, advocates for something or someone The article evokes celebration The article aims to seduce the reader, attract positive attention and build a positive image The article mentions 'presenting' or 'promotional' or 'reputational' activities and strategies	<i>Presentation, attraction, mythical, place to be, paradise, legendary, iconic, celebrate, branding, impressive, reputation, image, ...</i>

Based on the dataset, basic descriptive frequency analyses were conducted. The figures and tables in chapter 3 Framing Analysis, are the result of this. These quantitative results were again complemented with a range of empirical examples obtained in the qualitative content analysis.

2 | Coverage analysis

2.1 Research Questions 1

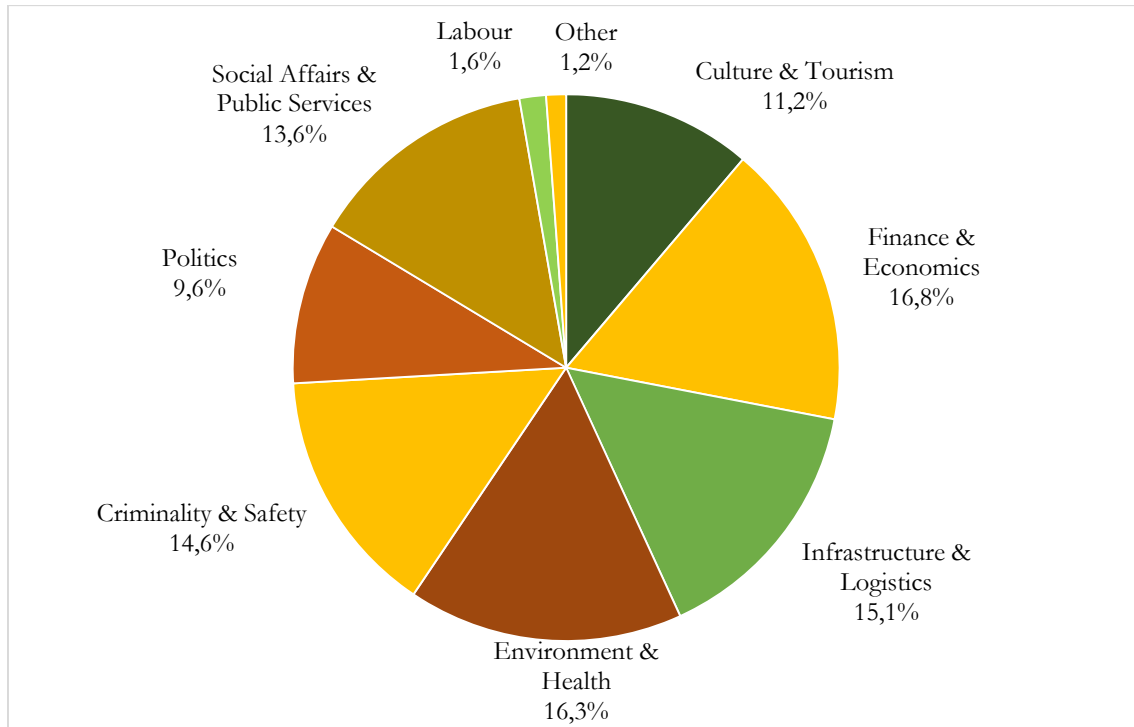
Which topics on Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympic Games 2016 are covered in Belgian and Dutch newspapers? Which tone dominates the coverage of these topics and how does the coverage differ through time and between sources or countries?

2.2 Topics covered

In the 615 articles in Belgian and Dutch newspapers studied in this research, 1.277 topics on Rio or Brazil were analysed, as one article can cover more than one topic. These 1.277 items (in line with the selection criteria as described in chapter 1) can all be characterised as potentially influencing the image of Rio or Brazil in Belgium or the Netherlands in the run-up and during the mega-event (August 2015 to August 2016). As a condition in the data selection, each of the articles somehow included a link to the mega-event, ranging from merely mentioning the words ‘Olympic Games’ to a specific focus on organisational aspects or consequences. Therefore, not all items directly relate to the (physical or conceptual) construction or practical organisation of the mega-event. In 72% of the studied articles the Olympic Games 2016 constituted the focus or were the framework to cover a particular message. In 28% the Olympics were only mentioned in the side-line. A choice for this broader consideration was made because the image that the mega-event host attempts to promote through hosting the event is not narrowed down to an image on the organisation of the event itself, but rather encompasses a broader image of the city and country (‘city branding’ / ‘nation branding’) involving a plethora of aspects. For example, if ‘Rio as a safe city’ is an aspect of the promoted image, media coverage on criminality in Rio is clearly a relevant factor of influence on the image that a public holds of Rio both in general and as a host of the mega-event, regardless if the criminality has anything to do with the event.

The 1.277 analysed topics were categorised along nine overarching themes: Culture & Tourism, Financing & Economics, Infrastructure & Logistics, Environment & Health, Criminality & Safety, Politics, Social Affairs & Public Services, Labour and Other. Figure 2.1 presents a distribution of these themes, showing that the themes ‘Financing & Economics’ (16,8%), ‘Environment & Health’ (16,3%), ‘Infrastructure & Logistics’ (15,1%) and ‘Criminality & Safety’ (14,6%) had the largest shares in the coverage on Rio or Brazil. In the following paragraphs, the main subjects covered under these nine categories are summarised.

Figure 2.1 Share of topics covered in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 1277 topics in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Social Affairs & Public Services

Even though it wasn't a main theme in the media coverage, there was considerable attention for social dimensions in Rio and Brazil, reminding the public about the high poverty and extreme inequality (huge gap between the rich and the poor living side by side in the metropole), about social structures and injustices, discrimination and race inequality, subordination of women and exploitation of social underclass, begging, prostitution, appalling living conditions and the survival battle in impoverished favelas - countless square kilometres of shacks with iron roofs lacking basic services such as drinking water, electricity and sewage systems. Amidst this all, hopeful initiatives were brought forward such as social aid projects (e.g. Morar Carioca, Favelapainting, Eyes of the world, Instituto Estela da Favela, Favela Games), cooperative enterprises and reception centres for street children or youth criminals. Other positive news described the growth of a new middle class, rising living standards and declining illiteracy.

Concerns were shared about the economic crisis resulting in severe budget cuts in public services (education, health care, security forces), wages and pensions not being paid and the discontinuation of social programmes (e.g. Bolsa Familia). Schools and hospitals had to close and basic needs could not be provided for. This caused several critical voices to denounce the high expenditures on the Games and conclude the money had better been spent on strongly needed social services and poverty reduction. As a result of the budget crisis, the country became socially divided and social unrest grew. The population, unions and social organisations protested and demonstrated against budget cuts in education and other sectors. Teachers, doctors, hospital staff, police and fire fighters went on strike. Even art work was presented as dominated by social criticism.

Directly related to the mega-event, media described how the local population was excluded from the event (e.g. tickets costing a fortune in comparison to local wages) and the 'Cariocas' (inhabitants of Rio) had little interest in the Games, resulting in remarkably low attendance (empty tribunes). The interest in soccer competitions and national celebration after winning constituted an exception.

The term ‘social deficit of the Games’ was coined to capture the significant lack of local support for the mega-event. In addition, there was the outright social cost faced by original residents who were forcibly displaced to construct Olympic infrastructure or driven out by sharply rising real estate prices (gentrification) in upgraded districts.

In fact, media learned that a majority of the Brazilians were opposed to the mega-event and felt that the average population does not benefit from it (‘only the rich get richer’) but has to bear the burden (poorly spent tax money). Local anti-Olympic protest was reported, for example with slogans as “the Games of exclusion”, “poor people are not exotic animals and favelas are not a zoo” and attempts to extinguish the Olympic flame.

Finance & Economics

The high and increasing costs of organising the 2016 Olympic Games (estimated around 11 billion euros) and budget overruns were broadly covered by the press. The investments in expensive sport facilities, transport or accommodation infrastructure and safety measures were often declared unjustifiable, stating that the money could have been better spent. Attention was attributed to private sector investments (e.g. by real estate giant Carvalho) and the financial burden on Brazilian tax payers. When insufficiency of funds for the Games appeared, cost management measures and last minute budget cuts were highlighted (for the opening ceremony, artwork and finishing of the Olympic village among others). Furthermore, the Games were described as a ‘commercial vehicle’ and the topic of financial return or economic legacy of the Games was discussed, including the promise of economic boost and the objective to promote Brazil as world economy and attract investors. In this regard the outcome was most often described as a financial ‘hangover’, the host being left behind ‘robbed’. Where gain was discussed, it concerned a selective benefit for a ‘happy few’ (IOC, real estate sector and tourist business). Overall, critical messages were shared and the protest of the Brazilian population against the high cost and waste of money of the Games was frequently presented by the media.

Broadening the scope to the financial and economic context of Rio in general, the severe economic crisis (recession, inflation, unemployment, devaluation) and fall of the emerging BRIC economy was one of the primary items covered consistently throughout the studied period. The state of Rio went bankrupt and declared financial emergency to obtain a federal emergency loan (credit for essential infrastructure and safety measures for the Games). The detrimental effects of large budget deficits, economic policies (lack of reserves, uncontrolled public spending) and reform measures (austerity and tax increase) on public services, including the lack of funds for public services, welfare benefits or pensions, were extensively covered.

Environment & Health

The zika virus epidemic and consequent health risks for pregnant women (increased risk of microcephaly for babies) dominated a significant share of media coverage on Rio. In response to the fear of zika at the Games gone viral, Brazil ‘declared war’ on the mosquito and took draconian precautionary and control measures (including deployment of the army to sensitise the population and exterminate the mosquitos). The messaging on zika peaked when the WHO announced a global state of emergency, when athletes cancelled on the Games out of fear for zika and when physicians wrote an open letter to call for postponing the Games. However, during the mega-event itself, the risk of infection showed to be very low, as goes for related media attention.

Another primary focus under this category were reports on the polluted water of the Guanabara Bay, Lagoa de Freitas and Jacarepagua Laguna where Olympic sports such as sailing, rowing and open water swimming were organised. The waters of Rio were named an ‘open sewer’ (due to unfiltered sewage from Rio city) filled with waste and bacteria, posing health risks for athletes and the local population. The local government was held responsible for not realising the promised water treatment (an explicit promise in the Rio bid for the Games 2016) and protest of local population as well

as some athletes was covered in media reports (including the particular battle of local fishers against polluting state oil company Petrobras).

Other topics in direct relation to the mega-event were the building of an Olympic golf court in a preserved nature area and protest by environmental activists, the shooting an endangered Jaguar in an Olympic ceremony, the environmental impact of the event (waste, transport, energy use), the slogan ‘Green Games for a Blue planet’ and sustainability measures (demountable stadium, recycling and sustainable construction materials) and the attention for climate change in the opening ceremony.

Additionally, some general environmental and health issues were touched upon, such as gold mining in the Minas Gerais region, greenhouse gas emissions and bad air quality, as well as unhealthy eating patterns of the local population.

Infrastructure & Logistics

The analysed media paid considerable attention to the construction of new infrastructure for the mega-event, creating a considerable amount of jobs for low-skilled labourers. This infrastructure included among others impressive Olympic stadiums, the largest Olympic village in history and wide range of facilities in de village, the new metro line (Linha 4 connecting Ipanema and Barra da Tijuca), the Deodoro complex, cycling tracks, a new airport terminal, a huge press centre, a golf course, a cable way above the city, the eye-catching Museum of Tomorrow and advanced technical innovations in use at the Games. Apart from praising the new infrastructure, there was no lack of coverage of the many infrastructural and logistic problems faced, in particular with regard to the Olympic village (gas, water and electricity problems, leaks, fires, floods, etc.), the collapsed pier and collapsed scenic cycling path and the green water in the Olympic swimming pool. Also, the gigantism of the event (too much, too big) was criticised. Furthermore, widespread mobility problems and overload of the transport system was covered, as well as mobility improvements such as Olympic lanes, the new metro line, well-functioning Rapid Transit busses and cycling lanes. The progress of the construction process was periodically followed up, with coverage of both ‘on track’ or finished projects as well as ‘behind on schedule’ and unfinished projects (e.g. the Olympic village, the metro line and the Velodrome). After several reports on construction delays, by the start of the event the messaging converged towards Brazil being ready just in time thanks too hasty work (‘the Games always start on time’). The opening ceremony was particularly praised by media reports. Moreover, the organisers were lauded for their improvisation capacities and quick problem solving. On the other hand, there were also strong critiques for the chaotic organisation, last minute finalising, lack of efficiency and capacity deficit.

Concepts of ‘city transformation’, ‘Olympic facelift’ or ‘polished Rio’ were tossed and legacy was discussed and disputed. Although some examples of upgrading - mostly in rich districts such as Copacabana, but also in the old port - and sustainable use (e.g. plans for re-use, a demountable stadium and conversion into schools) were given, critique was raised on the legacy of unnecessary infrastructure, ‘white elephants’ and expected degradation of infrastructure after the event. The conclusion was often made that the legacy of the mega-event was destined only for the rich, whereas “nothing improved for ordinary people” in Brazil. According to media coverage, this scepticism was widely shared among the local population in Rio. Additional criticism and protest was raised because of negative side effects of the mega-event infrastructure, including forced displacement of inhabitants (Vila Autódromo), corruption in the construction sector (such as malpractices in the tender process), rising real estate prices with gentrification (driving out of original habitants) and a potential housing bubble as a consequence.

Criminality & Safety

The studied media drafted a picture of Rio’s slums (favelas) as no go zones with high levels of street criminality, where gangs, drug lords and armed militias control the streets (e.g. the Red Commando) and weapons and drugs are easily available (the latter even with a Rio2016 label). Multiple articles

covered shootings and other violent incidents, the battle between the police and gangs, lost bullets, kidnappings and sexual assaults (such as the gang rape of a 16 year old girl, causing mass protestations against the ‘rape culture’). Athletes and visitors participating in the Games became the victim of theft and mugging. Ironically, criminality and violence is so strongly associated with Rio that it was even presented as a theme in the Olympic opening ceremony.

On the opposite side, the media made clear that Rio wished to ‘clean up’ its reputation of unsafe city, including the large-scale pacification operation in the years leading up to the mega-event. This implied the military police (BOPE) ‘sweeping’ the favelas of criminal gangs and a special peace police (UPP) controlling the pacified favelas from then on. However, the pacification was generally stated to have failed, as gangs reconquered the favelas and police lost control in several areas. On the other hand, reassuring messages on the draconic safety measures taken by the organiser were plentiful. Rio’s efforts to guarantee safety during the Games included patrols and security checks, surveillance systems, control rooms, ‘smart’ camera surveillance and no less than 85.000 police and army men. At a particular moment news on Rio was dominated by messaging on a planned terroristic attack and arrest of IS-terrorists, inspiring legislative proposal for increased anti-terrorism measures. The rising costs of these security measures and the budget deficits were not lacking from the media coverage. After months of not receiving pay, military and police officers went on strike and protested with banners stating “Welcome to hell, Rio is not safe”.

On the other side, the police became subject of protest and demonstration itself, as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch strongly condemned police forces for being repressive and murderous, causing thousands of innocent deaths (specifically among young black men in the favela’s) and remaining unpunished.

Culture & Tourism

Journalists were deeply impressed by the beauty of Rio and agreed on the gorgeous setting that the city provided for the Olympic Games. The ‘Cidade Maravilhosa’ was presented as the perfect post-card and commentators claimed to have fallen in love with Rio and its inhabitants (Cariocas). Descriptions included the iconic Sugarloaf Mountain, the legendary Maracanã stadion, the unique beaches of Ipanema and Copacabana, the ‘couleur locale’, the enjoyable stay in Copacabana and Barra da Tijuca, the pleasant hotels, restaurants and bars in a variety of districts (Lapa, Urca, Ponta Negra), the ideal holiday destinations of Fortaleza, Buzios, Natal and Cabo Frio, the breath-taking landscape and the view over Guanabara bay. There were reports on ‘tourist hotspots’ and the tourism sector doing golden business as large amounts of Brazilians from other parts of the country together with foreign tourists flew in for the Games. This was a welcome tourist influx after zika causing a decline in tourism. Tourist hotspots, tourist agencies (e.g. Riotur) and their programmes, rising hotel prices, availability of rooms, and the popularity of ‘favela tourism’ and ‘favelinha hostels’ (B&B’s in favela), were all covered. Critical voices however remarked that this was only a temporary tourism effect and there was considerable criticism of the ‘window dressing’, ‘playing nice weather’ for tourists and Rio being ‘photoshopped’ (e.g. mural paintings to brighten up the favelas, street children being plucked off the street).

Throughout media coverage, typical elements of Brazilian culture were taken along, including samba and exotic dancers, carnival and celebrations, a passion for football and beach volley, caipirinhas and telenovelas, sensuality and frivolity, and the typical Brazilian accent. The Brazilian culture was described as a melting pot, a culture with many faces, a culture of beautiful imperfection, spontaneity and unpredictability. As regards organisational culture, the chaos and bad planning was most often forgiven because of Brazilians’ remarkable improvisation skills, driven by an unwavering belief that everything will be fine in the end (‘tudo bem’). The opening ceremony directed by the famous Brazilian movie director Mereilles was cited as a ‘synthesis of Brazilian culture’. Furthermore, the media coverage introduced Brazilian music (the Girl from Ipanema), film (Cidade de Deus), history (Portuguese founders, colonialism and slavery), architecture (Niemar), fashion models (Gisele

Bündchen) and Brazilian art (graffiti and street art, artists Cidade, Coimbra, Chavez). Particular attention was paid to the booming Brazilian art market and art export, specific art centres and exhibitions, as well as the heavily protested closing of Brazilian Ministry of Culture due to budget cuts.

Finally, the character of Brazilian people was praised in many articles. Carioca's were described as kind people, epicureans with a certain vitality and 'joie de vivre', sometimes pushy but mainly hospitable and helpful, chaotic and loud but overall joyful and ravishing, proud and somewhat macho but respectful and tolerant of diversity.

Politics

The Olympic Games coincided with a systemic political crisis in Brazil (overall unrelated to the Games but extensively covered in the analysed period in the run-up to and during the mega-event). A large-scale corruption scandal on state oil company Petrobras, implicating several politicians including former president Lula Da Silva, head of parliament Cunha and many public officials, caused widespread political unrest. After political turmoil on the appointment of Lula da Silva in the cabinet of Prime Minister Roussef - a manoeuvre to avoid persecution in the corruption case -, the media followed up on the power struggle between president Roussef whose popularity sank to an all-time low and the PMDB party leaving the government coalition. The political crisis escalated with the suspension and impeachment of president Roussef on the basis of a budget fraud charge. She had concealed derailing state budget and had tempered with the budget by lending from state banks to finance social programmes to boost her re-election. This removal of president Roussef, introducing the ending reign of the labour party in Brazil, divided and polarised the population politically into proponents and opponents of Roussef. The former denounced the impeachment as a coup and protested fiercely against Temer as interim-president, the latter celebrated the removal of Dilma Roussef as a strike against the widespread corruption in the Brazilian political caste and welcomed reform measures by Temer (including reduction of the number of ministries and public spending cuts). Media coverage described large-scale demonstrations and riots, and showed that popularity for Temer is equally very low. The political events were supplemented with biographic items on Lula, Temer and the mayor of Rio, Eduardo Paes. Lastly, it was reported that Dilma Roussef and Lula de Silva were not present at the Olympic Games.

Labour

Although labour is highly essential in the construction of a mega-event, there was little media attention for this theme. References were found to construction workings finalising the infrastructure and to the deployment of additional (sometimes foreign) work forces in the race against time (hasty 24/7 work without breaks). There was mentioning of jobs provided by the mega-event (low wage jobs in construction and services) and the number of labourers to construct the Olympic village. However, there was some clear reporting on exploitation of labourers, including high work load, low pay, illegal labour, no contract, no insurance and deplorable working conditions, as wells as some labour accidents (a number of labourers died because of accidents on Olympic construction sites).

Other

Other topics covered included rather trivial items such as the population size, belief systems in Brazil or the selection procedures for volunteers.

2.3 Comparison of coverage by country and source (quality vs. popular press)

The analysis of data showed that media coverage on Rio was remarkably similar in Belgium and the Netherlands in terms of topics. A comparison of coverage along the nine broad categories, presented in Table 2.1, shows comparable shares in Belgium and the Netherlands for most of the categories:

‘Finance and Economics’ (18% resp. 16%), ‘Infrastructure & Logistics’ (16% resp. 15%), ‘Criminality & Safety’ (15% resp. 14%), ‘Culture & Tourism’ (10% resp. 12%), Politics (9% resp. 10%), ‘Labour’ (2% resp. 1%) and other (1% resp. 1%).

There are however some differences as well. In Belgium, ‘Environment and Health’ had a larger share in the overall coverage in comparison to the Netherlands (20% versus 15%), whereas ‘Social Affairs & Public Services’ had a notably higher coverage in Dutch press (16,1%) in comparison to Belgian press (8,8%).

Table 2.1 Comparison of topics covered in Belgian and Dutch press

Belgium (N=432 topics in 225 articles)		Netherlands (N= 845 topics in 390 articles)	
Culture & Tourism	10,4%	Culture & Tourism	11,6%
Finance & Economics	18,3%	Finance & Economics	16,1%
Infrastructure & Logistics	15,5%	Infrastructure & Logistics	14,9%
Environment & Health	19,7%	Environment & Health	14,6%
Criminality & Safety	15,0%	Criminality & Safety	14,4%
Politics	8,8%	Politics	9,9%
Social Affairs & Public Services	8,8%	Social Affairs & Public Services	16,1%
Labour	2,1%	Labour	1,3%
Other	1,4%	Other	1,1%

Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 1277 topics in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Another interesting comparison to be made, is one between so-called ‘quality newspapers’ and ‘popular newspapers’. The studied sample contained 318 articles of eight different ‘quality newspapers’: De Standaard (40 articles), De Morgen (45), De Tijd (30), De Volkskrant (55), Trouw (45), NRCH (52), Het Financieele Dagblad (16) and Het Parool (35). The other 297 analysed articles were collected from eight different, ‘popular’ newspapers: Het Laatste Nieuws (49), Het Nieuwsblad (46), Metro Belgium (15), De Telegraaf (68), Algemeen Dagblad (52), Nederlands Dagblad (28), Reformatorisch Dagblad (4) and Metro NL (35).

The analysis showed some difference in coverage between quality and popular papers (see Table 2.2). ‘Finance & Economics’ had a larger share in the coverage of quality papers than in popular papers (20% versus 13%), as did Politics (11% versus 8%). In contrast, popular newspapers paid more attention to ‘Criminality & Safety’ (17% versus 13%) and ‘Culture & Tourism’ (13% versus 10%) compared to quality papers.

Table 2.2 Comparison of topics covered in quality newspapers and public newspapers

Quality Newspapers (*) (N=708 topics in 318 articles)		Popular Newspapers (**) (N=569 topics in 297 articles)	
Culture & Tourism	9,5%	Culture & Tourism	13,4%
Finance & Economics	19,6%	Finance & Economics	13,4%
Infrastructure & Logistics	14,1%	Infrastructure & Logistics	16,3%
Environment & Health	16,7%	Environment & Health	15,8%
Criminality & Safety	13,1%	Criminality & Safety	16,5%
Politics	11,2%	Politics	7,6%
Social Affairs & Public Services	13,3%	Social Affairs & Public Services	14,1%
Labour	2,1%	Labour	0,9%
Other	0,4%	Other	2,1%

(*) De Standaard, De Morgen, De Tijd, De Volkskrant, Trouw, NRC Handelsblad, Het Financieele Dagblad, Het Parool.

(**) Het Laatste Nieuws, Het Nieuwsblad, Metro België, De Telegraaf, Algemeen Dagblad, Nederlands Dagblad, Reformatorisch Dagblad, Metro Nederland.

Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 1277 topics in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015–August 2016

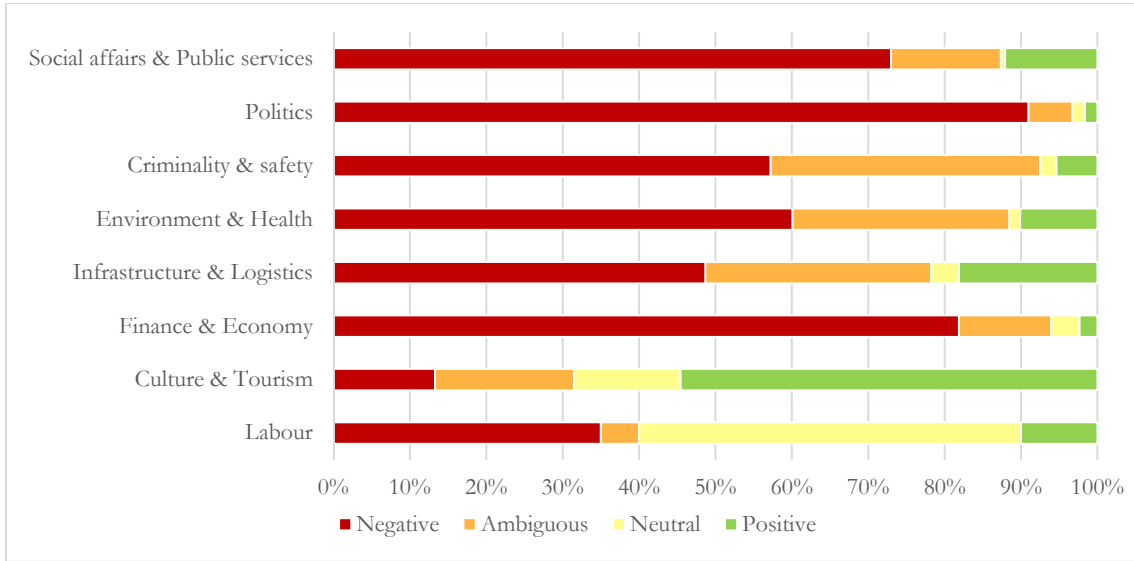
2.4 Tone of coverage

As could be derived from the description of particular subjects above (see 2.1), coverage on many themes was rather negative than positive. Based on separate coding of the tone of each of the 1.277 items, we can present the share of negative, ambiguous (containing both negative and positive elements), neutral (neither negative nor positive) and positive items for every category.

As shown in Figure 2.2. ‘Politics’, ‘Finance & Economics’ and ‘Social Affairs & Public Services’ received the largest share of negative coverage. Respectively 91%, 82% and 73% of the items under these categories drafted a very negative picture. Coverage on ‘Criminality & Safety’, ‘Ecology & Health’ and ‘Infrastructure & Logistics’ shows more ambiguity, although negative items still make up more than half or a little less than half (resp. 57%, 60% and 49%).

Only ‘Culture & Tourism’ was predominantly positively covered (55%) and contains little negative items (13%).

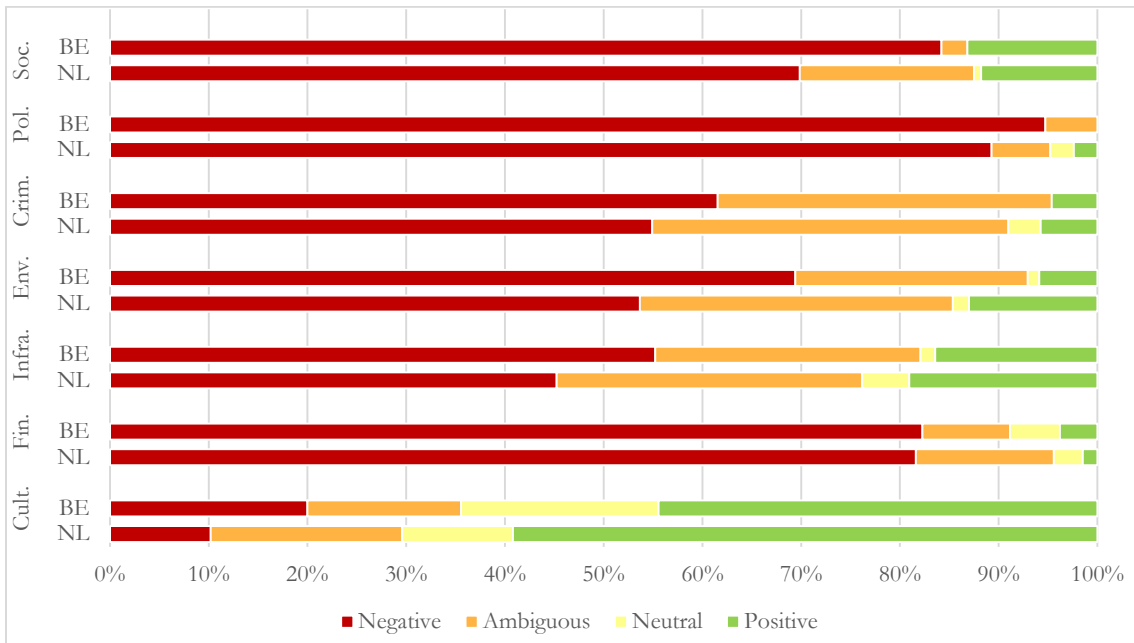
Figure 2.2 Tone of topics covered in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 1277 topics in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015–August 2016

Figure 2.3 below presents a comparison of the dominating tone for each general category (except ‘Labour’ due to small N) between Belgian and Dutch press. This shows that the Belgian sample contained for all categories a slightly higher share of negative items. The difference is most notable for ‘Social Affairs & Public Services’ (84% versus 70% negative items) and ‘Environment & Health’ (69% versus 54%). Furthermore, the Dutch sample included a clearly larger share of positive items on ‘Culture & Tourism’ (59% versus 44%) and ambiguous items on ‘Social Affairs’ (18% versus 3%), in comparison to the Belgian sample.

Figure 2.3 Comparison of tones of topics covered in Belgian and Dutch press



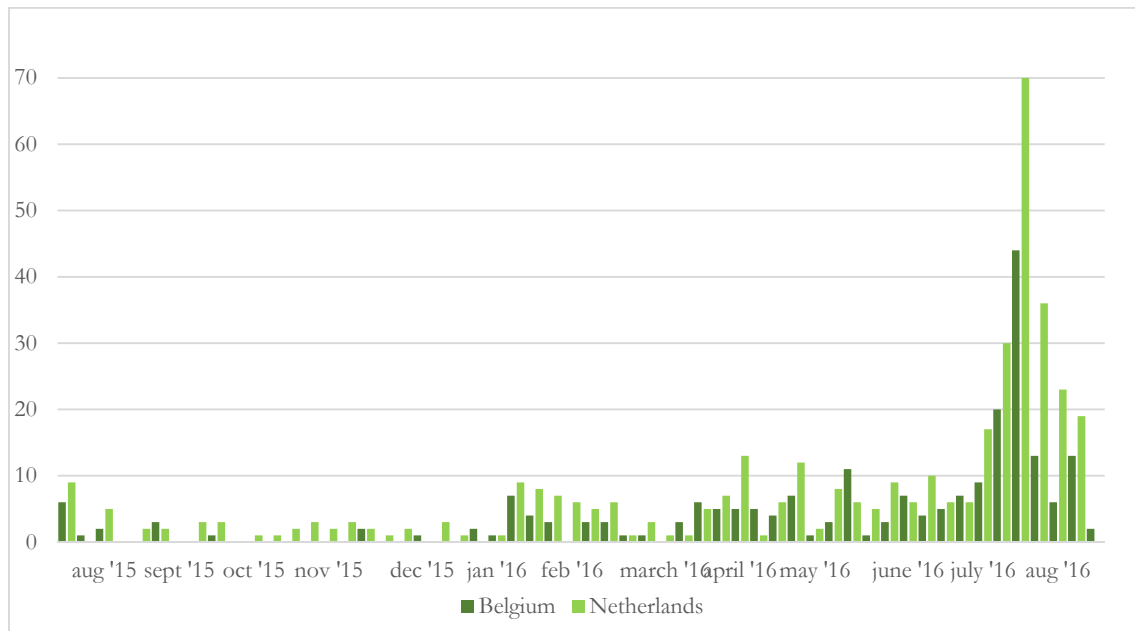
Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 1277 topics in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

2.5 Evolution through time

As to be expected, the amount of coverage on Rio or Brazil as host of the Olympic Games 2016, increased in the months leading to the mega-event. This is shown in Figure 2.4 below. After some coverage in the first week of August 2015, one year before Rio2016, there was little coverage until January and February 2016 when attention was drawn to the zika crisis in Brazil. Only by the end of April 2016 did coverage rise above 10 articles in a week in the Netherlands, when the Brazilian parliament voted to impeach president Roussef, followed by a peak in coverage in May 2016 when president Roussef was suspended.

From the beginning of July 2016, media coverage shows a continuous rise, up until the date of the opening ceremony 5 August 2016. In this first week of August 2016, a peak of 44 articles in Belgian press and 70 articles in Dutch press can be observed. After this opening week, the coverage within our study frame (not looking into sport news) declined, to about 13 respectively 19 articles in Belgian and Dutch press in the closing week of the Games.

Figure 2.4 Evolution in number of articles in Belgian and Dutch press

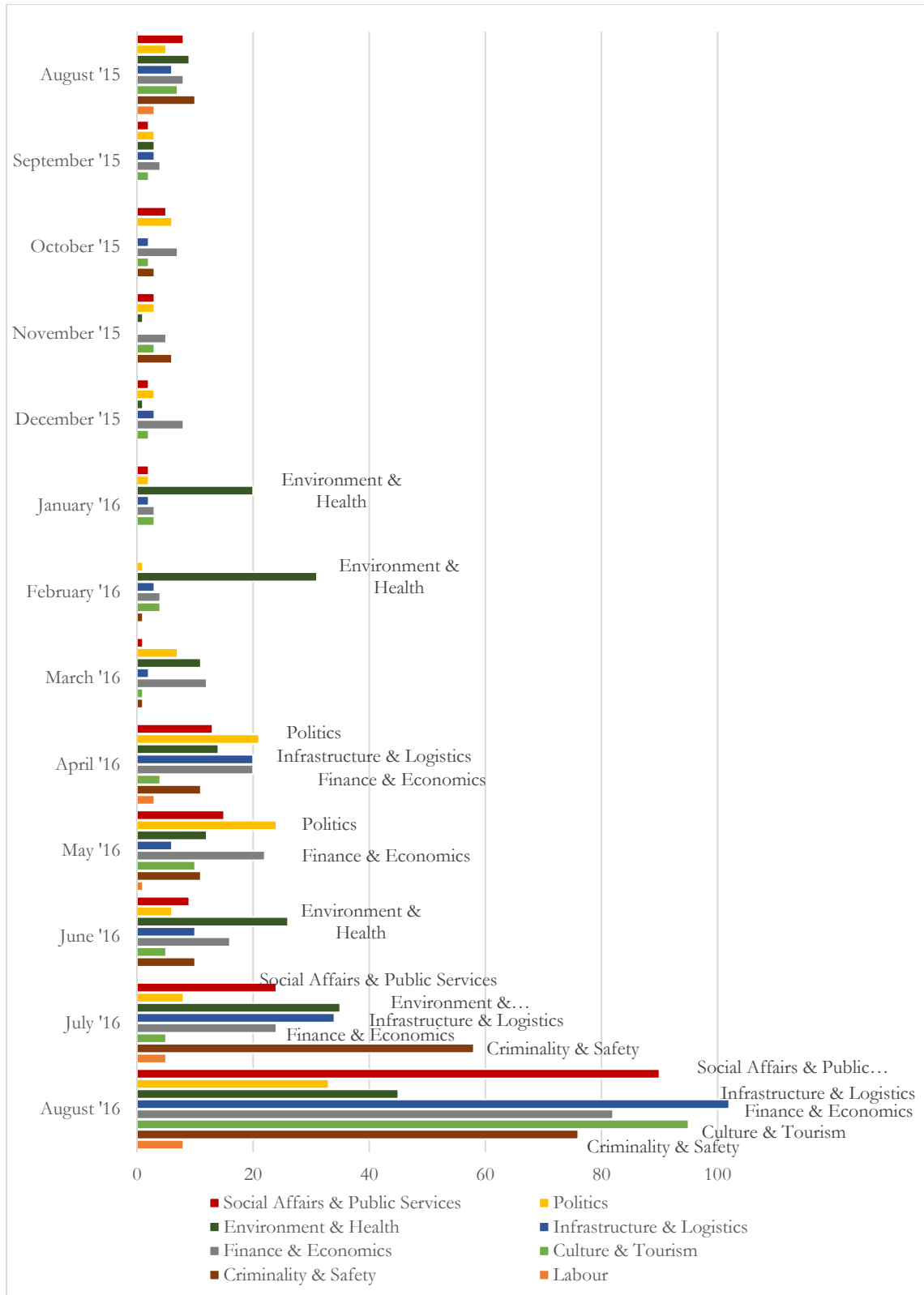


Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Over the course of the year of media coverage studied, different themes dominated the spotlight at different moments. Figure 2.5 below presents the number of articles per theme on a monthly basis. This shows that Rio coverage in January and February 2016 was dominated by the zika crisis, under the category of 'Environment & Health'. In April 2016, three themes were dominant: 'Politics' (parliament voting in favour of the impeachment of president Roussef), 'Infrastructure & Logistics' (collapse of an Olympic cycling path, progress and delays in construction work), and 'Finance & Economics' (economic crisis and cost of the Games). Two of these three continued to dominate coverage in May 2016, namely 'Politics' (suspension of president Roussef) and 'Finance & Economics' (economic crisis and budget deficits). In June 2016, the attention for zika – 'Environment & Health' theme - resurfaced, as a number of athletes cancelled on the Games out of fear of a zika infection. Apart from a continued focus on 'Environment & Health', 'Infrastructure & Logistics' and 'Finance & Economy', coverage in July 2016 was also dominated by a new focus on 'Social Affairs & Public Services' (social problems, lack of money for public services, social unrest & strikes) and 'Criminality and Safety' (criminality and violence, safety measures, pacification programme, terrorist

threat). Finally, in August 2016, many different themes peaked: ‘Social Affairs & Public Services’, ‘Infrastructure & Logistics’, ‘Finance & Economy’ and ‘Criminality and Safety’. It is however relevant to note that only now, ‘Culture & Tourism’ (city of Rio, Brazilian culture, character of Carioca’s) acquires a place in the spotlight as well. At the same time, we see that ‘Politics’ and ‘Environment & Health’ which drew focus in the months before, now get snowed under.

Figure 2.5 Number of articles per category through time in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015–August 2016

3 | Framing analysis

3.1 Research Questions 2

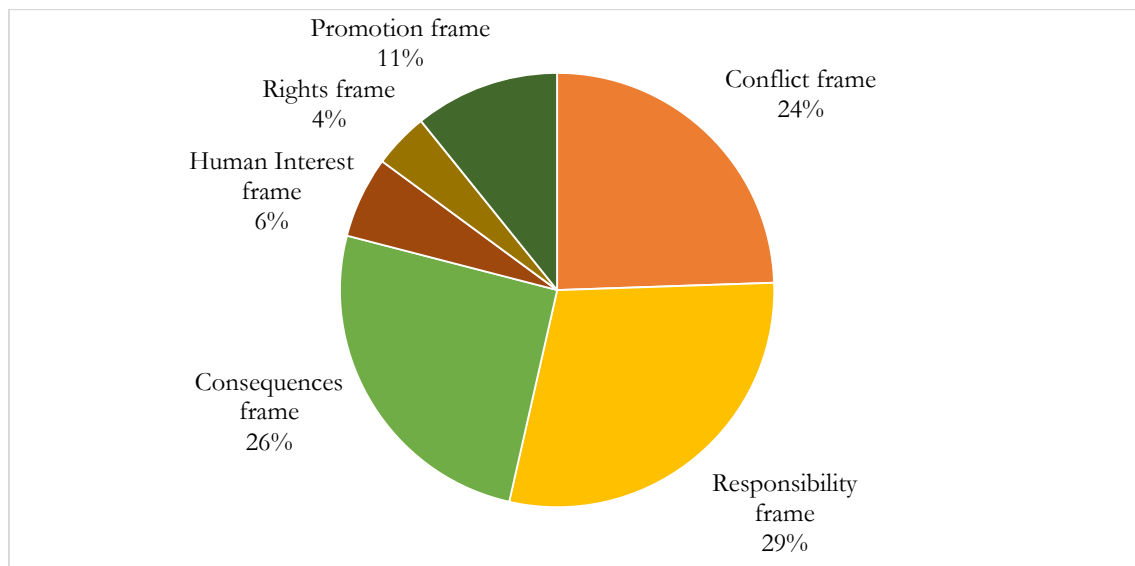
Which frames dominate Flemish and Dutch newspaper coverage on Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympic Games 2016? (How) Does the framing differ through time and between sources or countries?

3.2 Use of frames in Rio 2016 coverage

Each of the 1.277 topics in the dataset was analysed closely to verify if we could detect one or more of the six frames of study in this research (deductive framing): a conflict frame, responsibility frame, consequences frame, human interest frame, rights frame and promotion frame (see 1.4 on operationalisation). More than one frame can be applied to a particular item, or the item could just as well contain none of the six predetermined frames, or no frame at all for that matter.

In total 973 registrations of frames could be counted. As Figure 3.1 below shows, responsibility framing was most often applied (29% of all detected framing), followed by consequence framing (26%) and conflict framing (24%). Only in a small minority was promotion framing (11%), human interest framing (6%) or rights framing (4%) detected.

Figure 3.1 Share of frames used in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 973 frames in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

3.3 Comparison of frames by country and source (quality vs. popular press)

A comparison of framing by Belgian versus Dutch media shows a large similarity (see Table 3.1). The most notable difference is the slightly higher share of consequence framing in the Belgian case (28% versus 24%) and rights framing (7% versus 4%) in the Dutch case. This is due to differences in coverage, (see Table 2.1). In Belgium, 'Environment & Health' had a larger share in the overall coverage, whereas 'Social Affairs & Public Services' had a higher share in coverage in the Netherlands. As paragraph 3.4 will show, consequence framing is the primary frame applied to 'Environment &

Health’ topics, whereas a ‘Social Affairs & Public Services’ was one of the few themes where rights framing appeared, be it in a small share of cases.

Table 3.1 Comparison of frames used in Belgian and Dutch press

Belgium (N=432 topics in 225 articles)		Netherlands (N= 845 topics in 390 articles)	
Conflict frame	24,1%	Conflict frame	24,6%
Responsibility frame	30,4%	Responsibility frame	28,4%
Consequences frame	28,4%	Consequences frame	24,0%
Human Interest frame	4,2%	Human Interest frame	4,1%
Rights frame	3,6%	Rights frame	7,4%
Promotion frame	9,5%	Promotion frame	11,5%

Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 1277 topics in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015 – August 2016

The comparison of framing trends between quality and popular papers in the data sample shows only a difference with regard to consequence framing which has a higher share in Belgium (28% versus 22%) and promotion framing which has a higher share in the Netherlands (15% versus 8%). This is equally linked to differences in covered topic between quality and popular papers (see Table 2.2). ‘Finance & Economics’ had a larger share in the overall coverage of quality papers. As will be discussed in paragraph 3.4 further on, consequence framing is the primary frame applied to ‘Finance & Economy’ topics. In contrast, popular newspapers paid more attention to ‘Culture & Tourism’, which is the theme most characterised by promotion framing.

Table 3.2 Comparison of frames used in quality newspapers and public newspapers

Quality Newspapers (*) (N=708 topics in 318 articles)		Popular Newspapers (**) (N=569 topics in 297 articles)	
Conflict frame	25,1%	Conflict frame	23,5%
Responsibility frame	29,3%	Responsibility frame	28,8%
Consequences frame	27,6%	Consequences frame	22,1%
Human Interest frame	3,8%	Human Interest frame	4,5%
Rights frame	6,0%	Rights frame	6,1%
Promotion frame	8,2%	Promotion frame	14,9%

(*) De Standaard, De Morgen, De Tijd, De Volkskrant, Trouw, NRC Handelsblad, Het Financieele Dagblad, Het Parool.

(**) Het Laatste Nieuws, Het Nieuwsblad, Metro België, De Telegraaf, Algemeen Dagblad, Nederlands Dagblad, Reformatorisch Dagblad, Metro Nederland

Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 1277 topics in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

3.4 Dominant frame per topic

Social Affairs & Public Services

Of the 174 articles covering social affairs and public services, conflict framing was applied in almost a third (31%) (see Figure 3.2). Overall, the social context of the mega-event was presented as strongly divided, not in the least by a huge social divide between rich and poor classes. Moreover, the media made clear that the majority of the local population was opposed to the mega-event, several critical opinions were expressed on the high expenditures on the Games and Anti-Olympic protests (‘the Games of exclusion’) were reported on a number of times. As a result of the budget crisis, the country

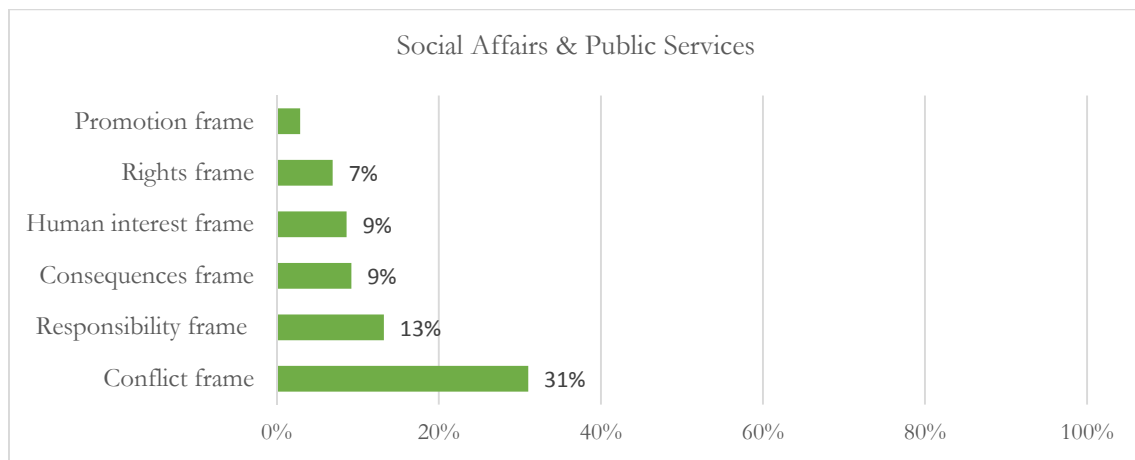
became socially divided and social unrest grew. The population, unions and social organisations protested against the new interim government and budget cuts, numerous public employees (teachers, doctors, police etc.) went on strike.

Secondly, responsibility framing was applied to social issues (detected in 17% of social items) Among others, this includes references to (necessary) policies or measures to improve the living standard of the population and fight poverty or other social problems (discrimination, suppression of women.) as well as blaming of policy makers and politicians for the crisis, for social problems or for not living up to promises (e.g. promise to take care of basic services in favelas, social programme Morar Carioca). Also, there was specific reference to the need for the IOC to ‘take its responsibility’ and to impose and enforce social norms. Moreover, it was deemed necessary that the IOC included local populations in the bidding process of candidate cities.

In a notably smaller share of cases consequence framing was applied (9%). Consequence framing involved social effects of the economic and political crisis, as well the social impact of the mega-event, such as the rich getting richer, drainage of public funds for misplaced investments, forced displacement of the most vulnerable and gentrification. Also, disbelief was expressed in the promised ‘legacy’ for the favelas or in statements of ‘the Games being a catalyst for social change’. This was supplemented with biographic items or a narrative from the personal perspective of locals (human interest framing, 9%). This included for example testimonies on the living situation in favelas, on the survival of on the streets, on drug abuse, on the unemployment crisis and on displacement.

Only in 12 out of 174 cases was some form of (human) rights approach included (rights framing, 7%). In these instances, explicit reference was made to social injustice, rights of favela residents, human rights violations or involvement of the NGO Human Rights Watch.

Figure 3.2 Frame use in articles on Social affairs & Public services in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 174 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Finance & Economics

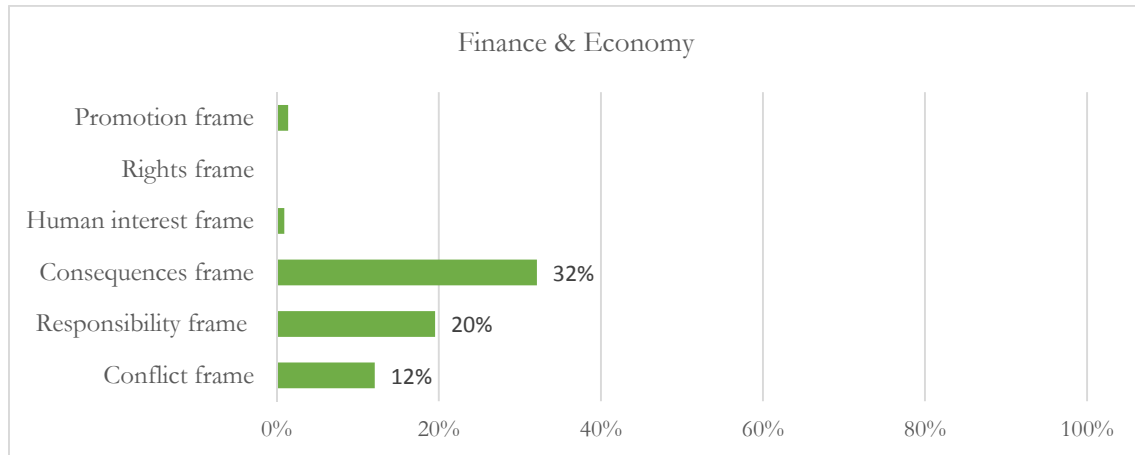
As shown in Figure 3.3, consequence framing appears to be the primary frame applied to financial and economic topics (32%). This refers to the many references to financial or economic legacy of the mega-event, such as expectations or (unfulfilled) promises of financial returns, investments and an economic boost, the financial ‘hangover’, the population paying the bill and the selective benefit for a ‘happy few’. Secondly, the consequence frame is related to coverage on the effects of the economic crisis in Brazil and budget deficit in Rio, including budget cuts in public spending, the limited spending for the organisation of the mega-event.

Secondly, in 20% of the articles on financial and economic aspects, a responsibility frame could be detected. Articles referred for example to potential or taken measures to remedy financial and economic problems (e.g. austerity measures), past policies (e.g. lack of economic diversification and lack

of building reserves) or necessary reforms (e.g. Temer charged with task of necessary reforms). Moreover, policy makers, politicians, the IOC or local organisation were blamed for financial or economic problems, reminded of unfulfilled promises or looked to for necessary solutions.

Thirdly, 12% of articles on ‘Finance & Economy’ included a conflict frame, due to reports on Brazilians being critical towards the mega-event, protesting or demonstrating because of its high cost and financial waste.

Figure 3.3 Frame use in articles on Finance & Economy in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 215 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

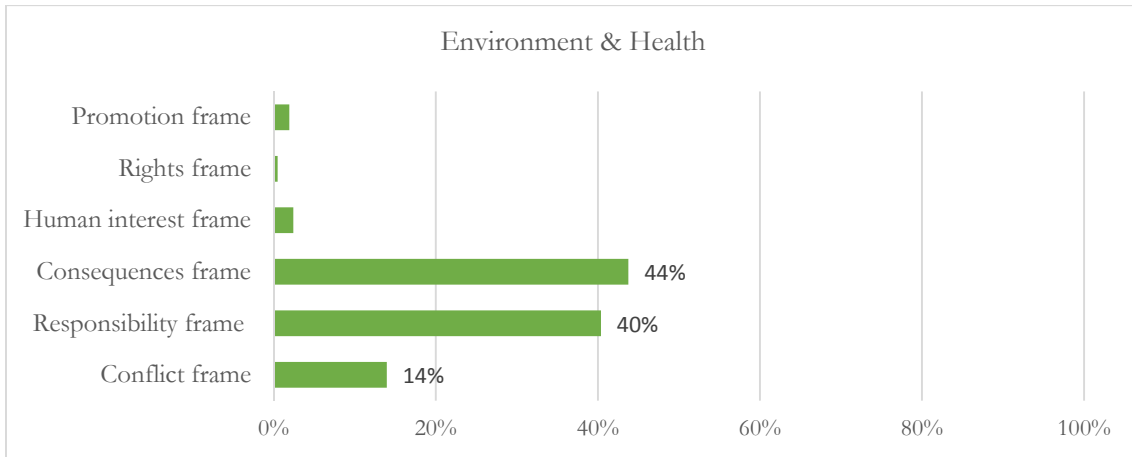
Environment & Health

Items on environmental and health issues were subject to the second most framing of all themes (after political issues, see below) (see Figure 3.4). In no less than 44%, media covered consequences that were experienced or expected. Articles on zika for example almost systematically described health consequences of a zika infection for pregnant women (microcephalus risk for babies) and media coverage on water pollution often mentioned negative effects on the environment and the risk of the bacteria and viruses causing infections or particular cases of athletes getting sick. Furthermore, consequence framing was found with regard to the environmental impact of the mega-event itself, or tourism and economic impact of the zika threat.

Secondly, media strongly framed environment and health issues through a responsibility frame (40%). For example, measures taken by the Brazilian authorities to fight zika with draconic precautionary and control measures (including deployment of the army to sensitise the population and exterminate the mosquitos) were discussed. With regard to the other major issue – the water pollution – the local government was blamed for not living up to its promises to tackle water pollution (install a sewage system and water cleaning system) and clean the waters and in Rio (an explicit promise in the Rio bid for the Games 2016). Other coverage involving responsibility (positively or negatively) had regard to the sustainability measures, accusations on deforestation, blaming organisers for the shooting of an endangered Jaguar, scientists working on a vaccination for zika, national Olympic teams taking health measures, and the IOC not posing sufficient demands with regard to environmental protection and sustainability, to name just a few examples.

Thirdly, 14% of the items under this theme mentioned some form of opposition, protest or conflict (conflict framing), such as locals and athletes protesting the water pollution or activists opposing the construction of an Olympic golf course in a preserved nature area. Also, the language used on Brazilian authorities ‘fighting’ a ‘battle’ against zika and ‘declaring war’ against mosquitos, implicates a form of conflict framing.

Figure 3.4 Frame use in articles on Environment & Health in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 208 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Infrastructure & Logistics

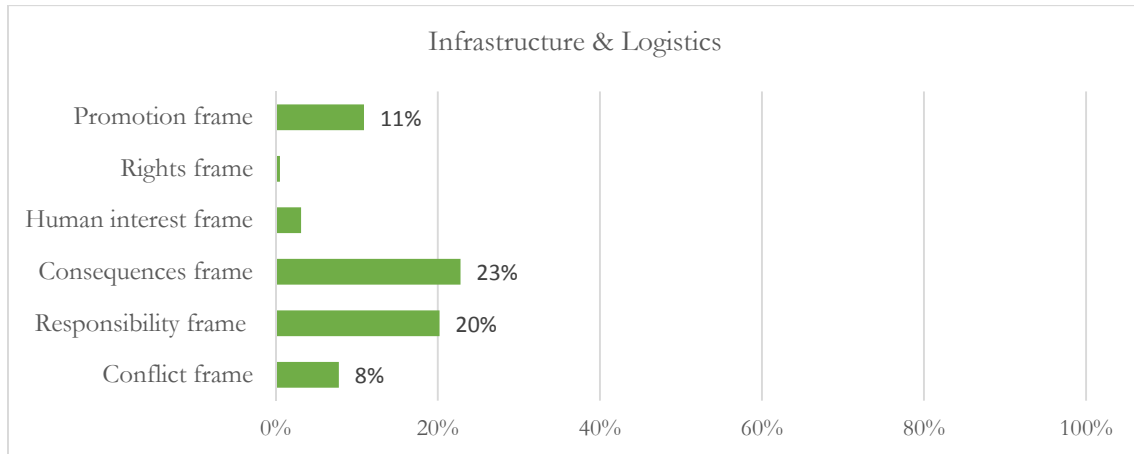
Similar to the financial theme, consequence framing was the primary frame in coverage on ‘Infrastructure & Logistics’ (23%) (see Figure 3.5). Infrastructural legacy or ‘city transformation’ was discussed and disputed, with some concrete examples of upgrading and sustainable use of infrastructure, but also a significant amount of critique on unnecessary infrastructure and questions raised about what will happen with it after the event (expected degradation). Another particular consequence of infrastructure construction faced by local population groups was displacement of inhabitants (Vila Autódromo) or rising real estate prices causing gentrification (driving out of original inhabitants).

Moreover, in one fifth (20%) of the items under this category, responsibility framing was found. This regards for example to promises of the local Olympic committee to take care of things and their responsibility to guarantee the provision of adequate infrastructure and smooth organisation. On the one hand, local organisers were praised for organisational successes and overcoming infrastructure challenges (e.g. “managed to get everything ready in time”; “having everything under control”). On the other hand, the organisation was held responsible for organisational failure and infrastructural problems, mobility issues, construction delays, misplaced infrastructure investment or unfulfilled promises. Also, the IOC was framed as ‘real estate promotor’ and blamed for costly and unnecessary infrastructure (‘white elephants’).

Where infrastructure and organisation were promoted (11%), it most often concerned the ‘legendary’ Maracanã stadium or other ‘impressive’ Olympic stadiums, the ‘all-inclusive’ Olympic village, the upgraded Porto Maravilha, the ‘eye-catching’ Museum of Tomorrow and the ‘spectacular’ opening ceremony.

Sometimes also a conflict frame could be detected (8%), due to coverage on protests and riots against construction of new infrastructure (e.g. golf course) and forced displacement, scepticism about legacy, and locals getting angry because of long waiting rows and mobility problems.

Figure 3.5 Frame use in articles on Infrastructure & Logistics in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 193 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Criminality & Safety

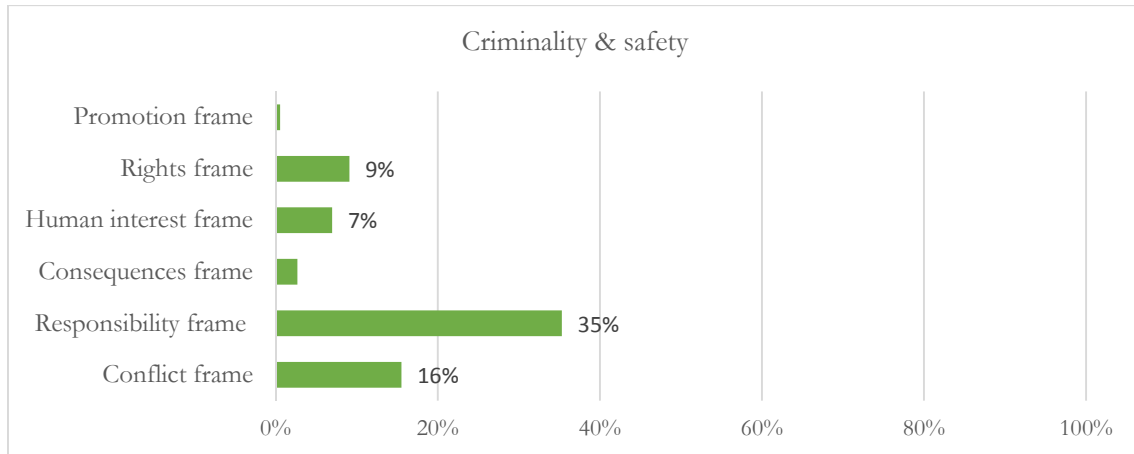
As presented in Figure 3.6, criminality and safety - a primary concern for Rio 2016 organisers - was primarily framed from a responsibility perspective (35%), focussing on (failed) pacification operations and (loss of) police control in the favelas, as well as the draconic safety measures (patrols, security checks, surveillance systems) and deployed police and army (no less than 85.000 men) tasked with guaranteeing safety during the mega-event. At a given moment, the latter caused a media stunt to declare that they could not guarantee safety due to budget deficits. Furthermore, responsibility framing could also be detected in general references to responsible actors causing widespread violent incidents in Rio (drug gangs, etc.) and the specific denouncement of illegitimate and unpunished use of violence by (military) police forces against innocent civilians.

The latter coverage of innocent victims of police violence also evoked human rights framing (9%), with reference to advocacy by human rights organisations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch or explicitly defining excessive police violence as a human rights violation.

In addition, the studied media paid attention to the perspective of both local population and visiting athletes by publishing human interest stories and victim testimonies (7%) on living or staying in the unsafe context of Rio or on particular incidents of violence.

Finally, criminality and safety items also included references to conflict framing (16%), such as descriptions of favelas as 'war zones', the 'war on drugs' and confrontations between the police and gangs, the 'conquering' of favelas, police forces protesting or striking, and fights between anti-Olympic protestors and order police.

Figure 3.6 Frame use in articles on Criminology & Safety in Belgian and Dutch press



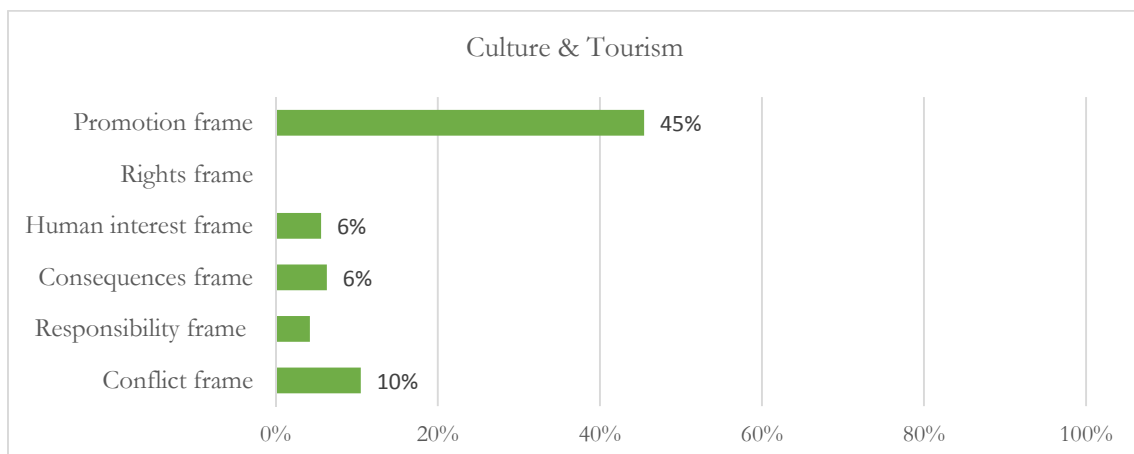
Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 187 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015–August 2016

Culture & Tourism

Of the 143 articles covering cultural or touristic aspects, promotion framing was applied in almost half (45%) (see Figure 3.7). The city of Rio and its environment, the Brazilian culture and the character of the locals was celebrated and praised through many descriptions and testimonies of journalists (see 2.2). The vocabulary in this promotional framing included ‘attraction’, ‘impressive’ ‘mythical’, ‘place to be’, ‘legendary’, ‘iconic’, ‘celebrate’ and ‘branding’. Moreover, several reports explicitly referred to Rio’s and Brazil’s intentions and efforts to show and promote itself to the world. Some media approached this rather cynically with concepts as ‘window dressing’ or ‘photoshopping’.

Furthermore, about 10 percent of the items under the ‘Culture & Tourism’ category included a conflict frame. This has regard to protests for conservation of art and culture in Brazil (in the context of the temporary closing of the Ministry of Culture), Brazilian artwork characterised by social criticism (‘soft power’), anti-tourism protest and protest against a ‘sexist macho culture’, as well as a certain ‘frustration and minority complex of the nation’ referred to in a number of articles. In a small minority (6%), also human interest framing (testimonies of locals on cultural topics, biographic elements of cultural icons) and consequence framing (reputational consequences of incidents, effects of the Games and zika on tourism) was applied.

Figure 3.7 Frame use in articles on Culture & Tourism in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 143 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015–August 2016

Politics

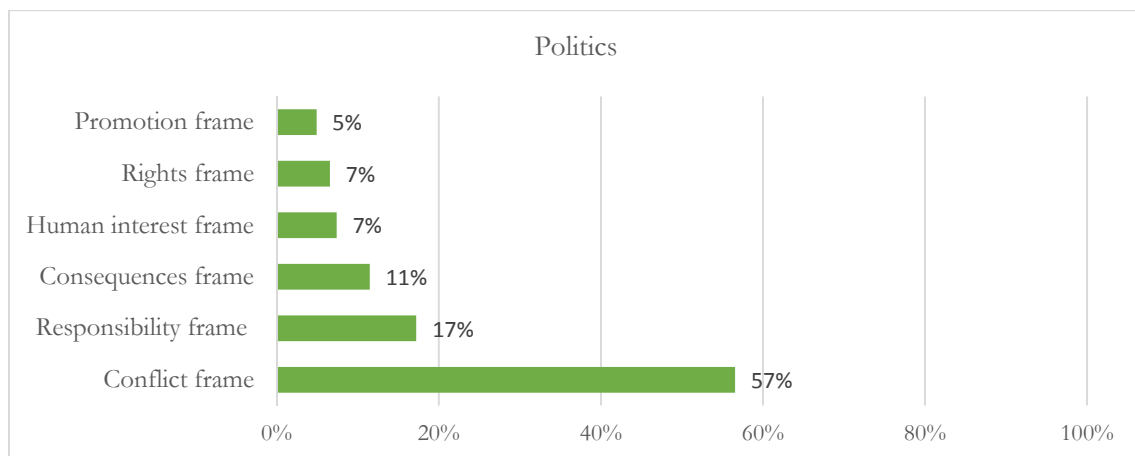
The theme of politics was subject to most framing of all themes and remarkably all of the six predetermined frames were found in coverage of this theme, as one can see in Figure 3.8. The Olympic Games coincided with a systemic political crisis in Brazil, culminating in the impeachment of president Roussef. This completely divided and polarised the population and caused widespread political unrest and fierce protest (from peaceful demonstrations to violent riots). This is reflected in the conflict frame dominating media coverage on political issues (57%). Additionally, such conflict framing was also applied to descriptions of political conflicts and power struggles between politicians (president Roussef versus vice president Temer), between parties and among members of the parliament or the senate.

To a notably lesser extent, responsibility framing (17%) and consequence framing (11%) was applied. The former regards for example president Roussef being held accountable for tempering with the state budget, politicians accused of corruption (Petrobras scandal) and blamed for bad economic policies or austerity measures. Reference was also made to mayor Eduardo Paes' local governing responsibilities. Consequence framing relates to economic, social and political impact of the political crisis and removal of Roussef, as well as specific developments such the closing of ministries and shutting down of social programmes. Also consequence framing was implied in the reassuring that the political crisis would not affect the organisation of the mega-event.

The political events were supplemented with biographic items or a narrative from the personal perspective of President Lula, former president Lula, vice president Temer and mayor Paes (human interest framing, 7%).

In 8 of the 122 political items, references to injustice or wrongful conviction of an innocent were included, as well as limitation of rights (rights frame, 7%). Only 6 items could also be linked to promotion framing (5%). They spoke of Brazil wanting to improve its country's reputation and present itself as a global power on the international stage.

Figure 3.8 Frame use in articles on Politics in Belgian and Dutch press

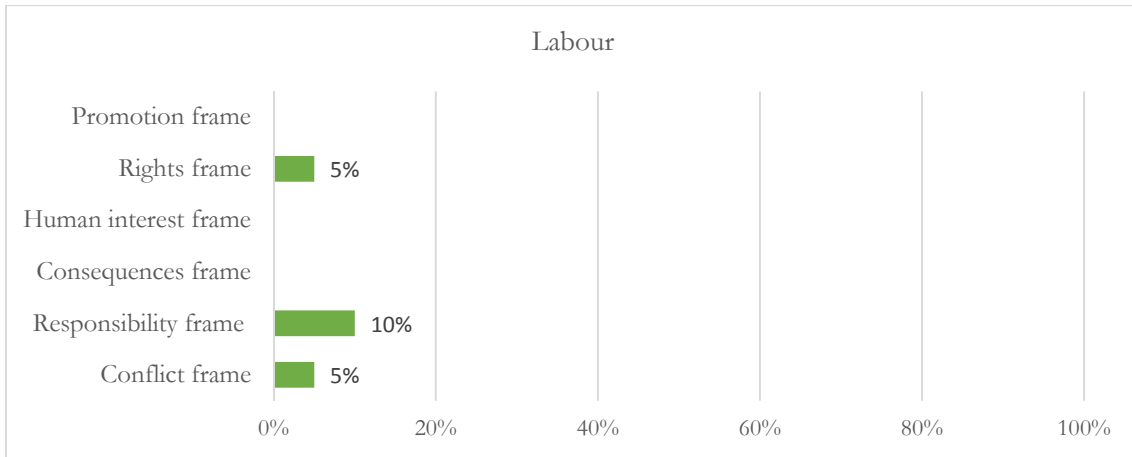


Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 122 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Labour

Finally, in the very few items that went into labour aspects - twenty in total - , two pointed to the labourers' being in charge to finalise the construction work (responsibility frame), one touched upon exploitation (rights frame) and one spoke of a strike (conflict frame)(see Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.9 Frame use in articles on Labour in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 20 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

When comparing framing trends between Belgian and Dutch newspapers, framing proved highly similar between the two countries. This can be seen in Figure 3.10 below. The following few notable differences can be reported.

Whereas almost half (47%) of the Belgian articles on ‘Social Affairs & Public Services’ included a conflict frame, this was only a quarter (26%) in Dutch press, which involved a slightly higher share of responsibility framing (15%) than in Belgium (8%).

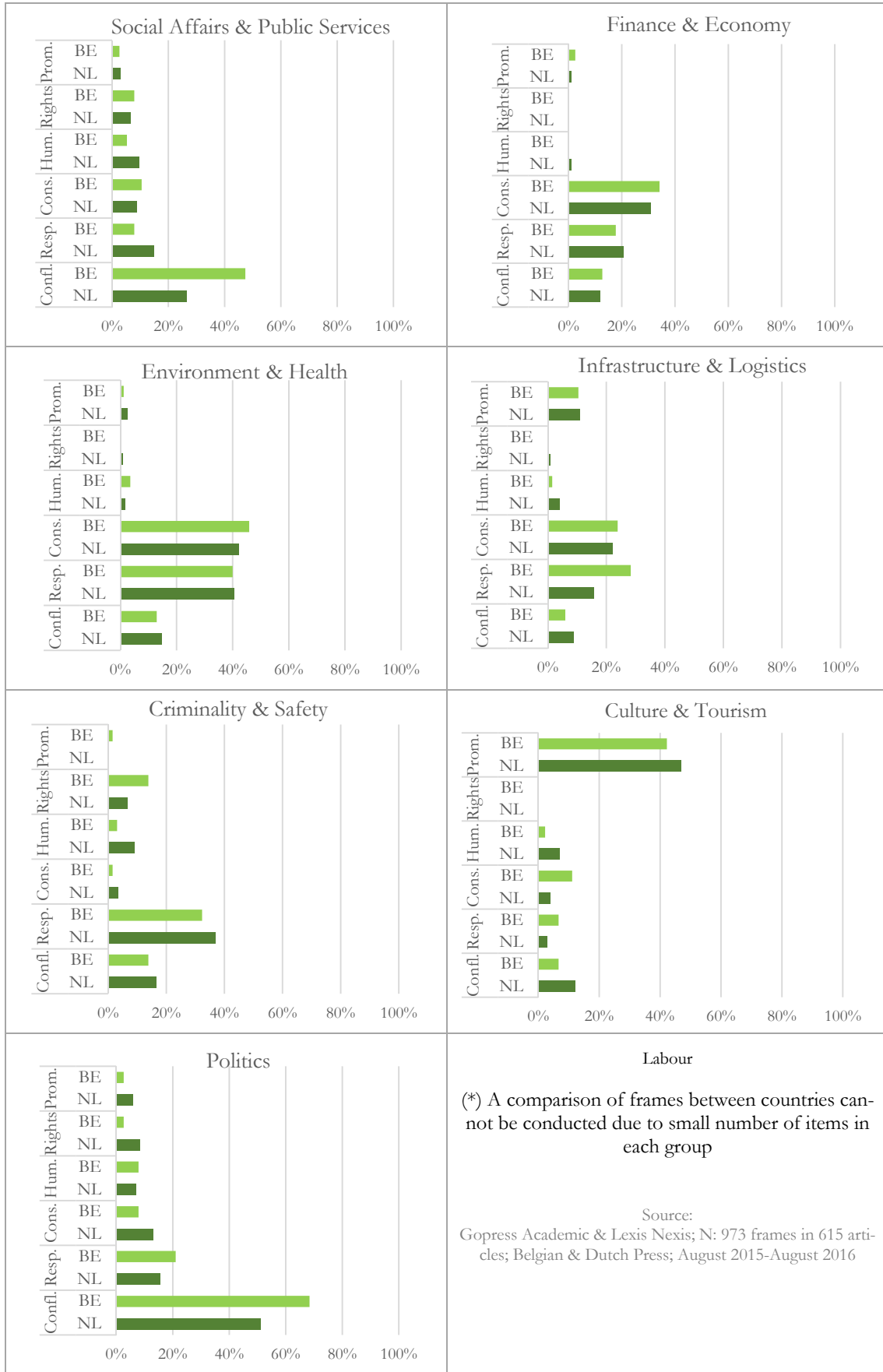
In articles on ‘Infrastructure & Logistics’ a higher share of responsibility framing was detected in Belgian press (28%) than in Dutch press (16%).

Dutch press framed ‘Criminality & Safety’ issues more from a responsibility frame (37%) and a human interest frame (9%), but less from a rights frame (7%) than Belgian press (respectively 32% 3% and 14%).

With regard to the ‘Culture & Tourism’ theme, the share of both promotion framing and conflict framing was slightly higher in the Netherlands than in Belgium (47% versus 42% and 12% versus 7%), as goes for the few cases of human interest framing (7% versus 2%). On the other hand, Belgian press included more consequence framing for this category (11% versus 4%).

Finally, Belgian press applied a conflict frame in two thirds (68%) of the political items, in comparison to 51% in Dutch press, and also applied responsibility framing more than its Dutch counterparts (21% versus 15%). In contrast, consequence framing and rights framing of political issues was detected slightly more in Dutch coverage (13% and 8%) than in Belgian coverage (8% and 3%).

Figure 3.10 Comparison of used frames per topic in Belgian and Dutch press



3.5 Evolution of applied frames

Over the course of the studied year, different frames dominated the image construction of Rio and Brazil at different times. Figure 3.11 below presents the frequency each of the six frames were detected, for every month of coverage analysed.

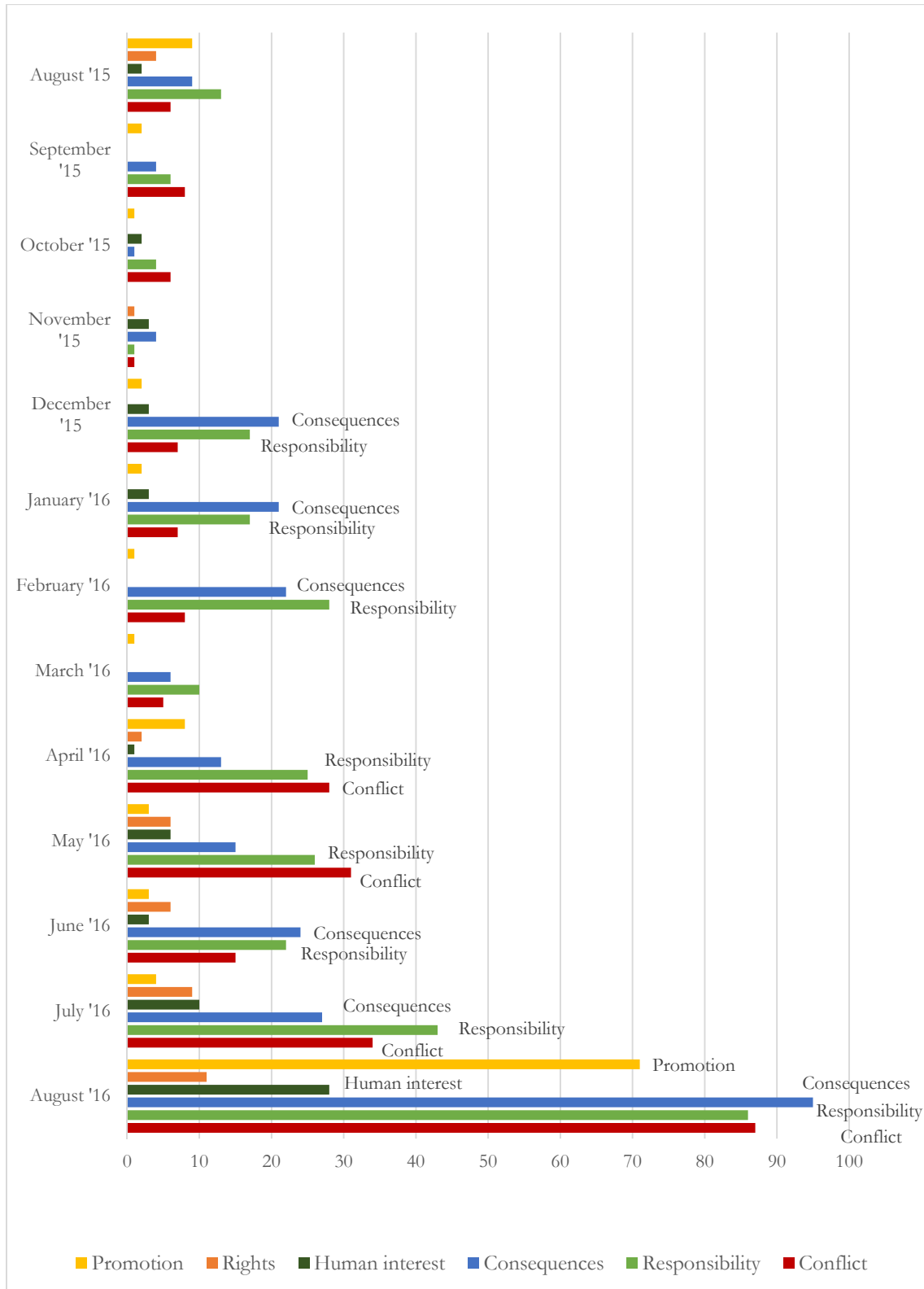
In the months December, January and February 2016, responsibility and consequence framing dominated, due to the high amount of coverage on the zika crisis.

In April and May 2016, consequence framing was surpassed by conflict framing, next to responsibility framing maintaining a high share. This conflict framing can be linked to a higher focus on the political crisis (suspension of president Rousseff, corruption scandals) among others. The continuously high responsibility framing is linked to financial or economic issues (economic crisis, budget deficits, cost of the Games), next to political, social, safety and other issues.

In June and July 2016, responsibility, consequence and conflict framing continued to be in the centre of coverage, related for example to the resurfaced attention for zika along with a number of athletes cancelling, the State of Rio declaring bankruptcy and ringing the alarm bell, mounting infrastructure problems, as well as a new focus on social issues (social problems, lack of money for public services, social unrest & strikes) and draconic safety measures in preparation of the event.

Only in August 2016, right before and during the mega-event, did promotional framing peak. This is due to the sudden rise in items on 'Culture & Tourism' (promotion of the city of Rio, Brazilian culture, character of Carioca's) this month. However, even then, consequence, responsibility and conflict framing continued to surpass the promotional framing in August. This relates to overall dominance of negative coverage on all other dimensions of the image constructed of Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympics 2016.

Figure 3.11 Frames use trough time in Belgian and Dutch press



Source: Gopress Academic & Lexis Nexis; N: 973 frames in 615 articles; Belgian & Dutch Press; August 2015-August 2016

Conclusion

In contrast to the fundamental objective of a mega-event host to promote a positive image of its city and country, the image put forward of Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympics 2016 in Belgian and Dutch press, is overwhelmingly negative. Barring one exception, media coverage on all main themes - financing & economics, infrastructure & logistics, environment & health, criminality & safety, politics, social affairs & public services, labour - included more negative items than positive ones. Political, financial and social issues received the largest share of negative press. Only cultural items and aspects related to tourism were predominantly covered positively.

In this study we departed from a research interest in the position of social issues in relation to other aspects with regard to the host of a mega-event. Although financial, environmental, infrastructural and safety aspects had the largest shares in the coverage on Rio or Brazil, the empirical analysis shows that there is also attention for the social context and effects of the mega-event on the population, such as displacement and misplaced public investments in contrast to poverty and lacking basic public services. Remarkably, social affairs were covered more than cultural and tourism items, which goes against the primary promotional objective of the host. Media coverage on Rio was remarkably similar in Belgium and the Netherlands in terms of topics covered. The analysis did show some difference between quality and popular papers. Financial and political topics had a larger share in quality papers, whereas popular newspapers paid more attention to safety, culture and tourism. The amount of coverage on the host of the Olympic Games 2016, increased in the months leading up to the mega-event. Remarkably, media coverage of social aspects only acquired a clear place in the spotlight in the month before the event, and cultural or tourism related aspects only in the month of the event itself.

Moreover, we questioned the extent to which a rights approach is applied to social and other dimensions in the image constructed of the mega-event host. 'Rights framing' was juxtaposed to 'promotional framing' inspired by the promotional objective central to mega-event hosts, and other common media frames 'conflict', 'consequence', 'responsibility' and 'human interest framing'. From this, we learned that a rights perspective is notably underexposed and almost absent in media coverage. A small minority of social issues was framed from a rights perspective, in contrast to a conflict frame included in almost one in three social items. A similar observation could be made for political topics. Consequence and responsibility framing dominated media coverage of financial and economic issues, environmental and health issues, and infrastructural or logistic issues, indicating among many other things a high share of criticism and pessimism about mega-event legacy. Coverage of safety and conflict was primarily framed from a responsibility and conflict frame. Promotional framing could only be detected with regard to Rio's and Brazil's culture and tourism. Consequent to the link between frames and themes, framing differences between Belgian and Dutch press, or between quality and popular newspapers, are most likely to be explained by thematic differences in coverage. With regard to evolution, it is relevant that only during the mega-event itself (and days leading up to it) promotional framing surfaced notably in the media coverage.

We can conclude that, despite the core objective of the mega-event host to promote a distinctive positive image and promote the city and country to a global audience, this study provides little evi-

dence of 'image value' of a mega-event. On the contrary, it appears more likely that such overwhelmingly negative media attention will impact negatively on the images and imaginaries constructed on Rio and Brazil as host of the Olympic Games 2016.

- APPENDIX -

appendix 1 List of articles

a1.1 Belgium

Date	Source	Title
31.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Telex Sport. Paralympische Spelen
29.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Sagan stapt af: al zoveelste zieke na Rio
27.08.16	De Tijd	Braziliaanse ex-president Lula in beschuldiging gesteld
25.08.16	De Tijd	Einde nakend voor Dilma Rousseff
24.08.16	De Standaard	Raken paralympiërs in Rio?
23.08.16	Metro	"Het waren wonderbaarlijke Spelen in een wonderbaarlijke stad"
23.08.16	De Tijd	Het evenement dat niemand nog wil organiseren
23.08.16	De Standaard	Voor financieel zekere Spelen, kom naar LA
23.08.16	De Standaard	Terroristische aanslagen en Brexit krijgen toerisme niet klein
22.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Klimaatactivisten reiken zwarte medailles uit aan Rio House
22.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Neymar de verlosser
22.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	column CAMPS
22.08.16	De Standaard	Neymar dan toch de held
22.08.16	De Standaard	15
22.08.16	De Morgen	Column De sportzomer van Vandeweghe
20.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	"Straks stoppen de Spelen en is Rio de Janeiro failliet"
20.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	column CAMPS
20.08.16	De Tijd	Olympisch goud komt met geopolitiek en veel geld
19.08.16	De Standaard	Wat is het IOC meer dan een bouwpromotor?
19.08.16	De Standaard	Brazilianen zijn kritiek op hun land spuugzat
18.08.16	De Morgen	Copacabana: volleybal, vrouwen en vitaminas
13.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	column CAMPS
13.08.16	De Standaard	Brazilië kan niet wat GB kan
12.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Rio 2016 kort
12.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Lot niet meer in eigen handen
12.08.16	De Morgen	Vechtlust blijft intact
11.08.16	De Tijd	Afzetting Braziliaanse presidente nakend
10.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Hier promotie maken voor onze sport
10.08.16	De Tijd	Geen zika op Olympische Spelen
10.08.16	De Standaard	Eindspel rond lot Rousseff ingezet
10.08.16	De Morgen	'Net zoveel kans op een medaille als de rest'
08.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	"Ik zat niet voor mijn plezier al die maanden in Rio"
08.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Ornelis
08.08.16	De Morgen	Iedereen Carioca? Afwachten
06.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	column CAMPS
06.08.16	De Tijd	Rio ontvangt recordaantal atleten
06.08.16	De Tijd	De wrange bijmaak van de Olympische Spelen
06.08.16	De Standaard	Het worden de Spelen van de chaos
06.08.16	De Standaard	Groots dromen, neen, doen we niet
06.08.16	De Standaard	Goud voor bedrog
06.08.16	De Morgen	Olympisch record improviseren
06.08.16	De Morgen	Brazilië, toon je ware gelaat
05.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Rio House klaar voor Olympische Spelen
05.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Openingsceremonie light met Pelé en Gisele Bündchen
05.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Olympische glorie, vergane glorie
05.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	"Ik heb het andere Rio gezien"
05.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	De Olympische Spelen die nooit hadden mogen plaatsvinden
05.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Bierviltje
05.08.16	Metro	Rio introduceert nieuwe snufjes
05.08.16	Metro	Openingsceremonie geeft vanavond geheimen prijs
05.08.16	De Tijd	Veiligheid blijft zorgenkind
05.08.16	De Tijd	Rio's olympische make-over

Date	Source	Title
05.08.16	De Tijd	Naar de Spelen reizen wordt nog duurder
05.08.16	De Tijd	Gaat de olympische sponsoring hoger, sneller en sterker?
05.08.16	De Standaard	Wel Spelen, maar geen carnaval in Rio
05.08.16	De Standaard	Vijfmaal fout
05.08.16	De Standaard	Brazilië bijna klaar voor Olympische Spelen
05.08.16	De Morgen	Brazilië schrappt 'olympische kunst'
04.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Zeilen in een open riool
04.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Extravaganza
04.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Deense atleten bestolen
04.08.16	De Standaard	Olympiërs zeilen 'in een open riool'
04.08.16	De Morgen	Tegenwind
03.08.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Maarten Vangramberen in Rio: "Het stinkt hier"
03.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	In dit 'dorp' is ALLES
03.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Het olympisch dorp in cijfers
03.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Alle ogen op NEYMAR
03.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	600 Brazilianen dragen olympische vlam naar Maracanã
02.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Ronde van Vlaanderen in Rio
02.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Opbouw Rio House gestart
02.08.16	De Morgen	Ronde van Vlaanderen in Rio
02.08.16	De Morgen	Kwart van olympische tickets niet verkocht
02.08.16	De Morgen	Column De sportzomer van Vandeweghe
02.08.16	De Morgen	De allerlaatste MEGALOMANE SPELEN?
01.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Op z'n Braziliaans
01.08.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Aanlegsteiger begeeft het
01.08.16	De Standaard	Toegelaten Russen moeten nog langs IOC
01.08.16	De Morgen	De sportzomer van Vandeweghe
30.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Brazilië pakt opnieuw IS-verdachte op
30.07.16	De Standaard	Met harde hand
30.07.16	De Standaard	Het leven na de Spelen
30.07.16	De Standaard	Braziliaans goud
30.07.16	De Morgen	Pacifist van de favela
29.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Advies aan atleten: "Zwem met je mond toe"
29.07.16	De Standaard	Aflevering 12 - Amnesty International
28.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Telex
28.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	"42 condooms per atleet, die komen wel van pas"
28.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Geschorste Rousseff niet op opening Spelen
28.07.16	De Morgen	Mix van stront, afval en modder'
27.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Record: 42 condooms per atleet in Rio
27.07.16	De Standaard	Olympische Spelen zijn altijd te duur
26.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Met bang hart naar Rio
26.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Terreur op Spelen laatste verdachte gevat
26.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	RIO, HERE WE COME ook al is het er een zootje
26.07.16	De Morgen	Waarom de vlam niet brandt
26.07.16	De Morgen	Olympisch dorp schiet tekort
26.07.16	De Morgen	Het is de schuld van Marc Wilmots
25.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Telex Rio
23.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Barco beveiligd Olympische Spelen
22.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	"Erg amateuristische" ISIS-aanhangers planden aanslag in Rio
22.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	10 "amateurs" wilden aanslag plegen op Olympische Spelen
22.07.16	De Tijd	Brazilië arresteert tien terreurverdachten
22.07.16	De Standaard	Braziliaanse politie pakt IS-aanhangers op
22.07.16	De Morgen	Brazilië pakt tien terrorismeverdachten op
20.07.16	De Morgen	Ook Spelen doelwit van IS
19.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Eyes For The World richt blik op sloppenwijken
19.07.16	Metro	Topgolfers slaan terug na kritiek op niet-deelname in Rio
15.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	"In 4 jaar al 7.000 mensen helpen zien"
14.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Per ongeluk gelekt: ISIS plant aanslagen tijdens Olympische Spelen
14.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	"Nu kunnen we zeker een medaille pakken"
14.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Belgen in Rio moeten kindermisbruik melden
14.07.16	De Morgen	Olympisch goud? Geen interesse
14.07.16	De Morgen	Minder kalifaat, nog meer terreur
13.07.16	De Standaard	Wat levert goud op?
09.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	De zeven plagen van Rio

Date	Source	Title
07.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	App toont alle schietpartijen in Rio tijdens Spelen
06.07.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Rio allesbehalve klaar voor de Spelen
06.07.16	De Morgen	Wie naar Spelen komt, zal niet veilig zijn'
05.07.16	De Tijd	Budgettaire crisis overschaduw Olympische Spelen Rio
01.07.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Lichaamsdelen aangespoeld op olympisch veld
29.06.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	"Verstand op nul zetten in Rio"
29.06.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Sport kort. Golf
29.06.16	De Standaard	Golf
23.06.16	Metro	Zikavirus houdt McIlroy weg uit Rio
22.06.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Jaguar-mascotte doodgeschoten tijdens olympische ceremonie
22.06.16	Metro	/
21.06.16	De Standaard	Snel vers geld nodig voor veilige Spelen
21.06.16	De Standaard	Schaduw over de Spelen
20.06.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	De Spelen staan voor de deur maar in Rio zitten ze zonder geld
20.06.16	De Morgen	Rio roept financiële noodtoestand uit
18.06.16	De Tijd	De impact van zika
16.06.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Olympische medailles gerecycleerd uit plastic
13.06.16	De Standaard	De soaps gaan boven de Spelen
09.06.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Verspringkampioen vriest sperma in voor Rio
04.06.16	De Morgen	Zika houdt toppers weg uit Rio
03.06.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Van Garderen weigert Spelen wegens zikavirus
03.06.16	Metro	/
02.06.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Rio House brengt Olympische Spelen en Braziliaanse sfeer naar zee
02.06.16	Metro	Olympische velodroom in het gedrang
02.06.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Wielrennen
02.06.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Rio House brengt Spelen naar Oostende
01.06.16	Het Nieuwsblad	TelexWielrennen
30.05.16	Metro	«Olympische Spelen moeten niet verplaatst of uitgesteld worden»
30.05.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	"Niet nodig"
30.05.16	De Standaard	Wereldgezondheidsorganisatie: zika geen reden om Spelen uit te stellen
28.05.16	De Standaard	/
24.05.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Spaanse topzeilers overvallen in Brazilië
24.05.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	42 condooms per atleet, "niet om mee te spelen"
18.05.16	Metro	«Braziliaanse economie heeft weinig baat bij Olympische Spelen»
13.05.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Olympische Spelen zonder presidente
13.05.16	De Standaard	President doet schorsing af als 'coup'
13.05.16	De Morgen	En nu, Brazilië?
13.05.16	De Morgen	Doemdag voor Dilma
12.05.16	De Tijd	M/V van de dag: Michel Temer
12.05.16	De Standaard	/
11.05.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	"Blijf weg van Spelen in Rio. Het is levensgevaarlijk"
04.05.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Ze is er: Olympische vlam landt in Brazilië
04.05.16	De Tijd	Olympische vlam komt aan in Brazilië
03.05.16	De Tijd	Zikavirus nog gevaarlijker dan gedacht
02.05.16	De Morgen	De linkse aderlating
30.04.16	De Morgen	Spelen van Rio staan op instorten
28.04.16	Metro	Politiegeweld in Braziliaanse favela's neemt toe
28.04.16	De Standaard	Favela's bibberen voor dodelijke politiegeweld
27.04.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Opbouw Olympische Spelen eiste al 11 levens
25.04.16	De Standaard	De olympische kruisweg van Brazilië
23.04.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	De watervallen van Iguazu in Brazilië
22.04.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Van Olympia naar Rio: de vlam brandt
22.04.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Olympisch fietspad stort in zee
19.04.16	De Morgen	Brazilianen feesten én huilen om afzetting president
18.04.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Haar 'laatste uur' is geslagen
16.04.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	"Minstens halfjaar veilige seks na Rio"
16.04.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Vijf terreurverdachten opgepakt in Engeland
16.04.16	De Morgen	Olympiërs krijgen seksadvies
15.04.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Seksadvies voor atleten
15.04.16	De Standaard	Geen onbeschermd seks tot half jaar na Spelen'
09.04.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Goudmijn, ook voor Belgische bedrijven
09.04.16	De Tijd	Bom dia, Senhora Presidente!
08.04.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Gezocht:

Date	Source	Title
08.04.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Financieel hordelopen tot aan de Spelen
05.04.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Belgische atleten krijgen extra bewaking in Rio
05.04.16	De Morgen	Belgische atleten op Spelen krijgen extra beveiliging
02.04.16	De Tijd	De vijf plagen van Brazilië
02.04.16	De Morgen	Dilma Rousseff op weg naar exit
01.04.16	Metro	Politieke chaos in Brazilië
19.03.16	De Morgen	Machtsspel stort Brazilië in crisis
10.03.16	Metro	Volg Olympische Spelen via virtual reality
05.03.16	De Morgen	Bom dia
04.03.16	De Standaard	Braziliaanse economie kampt met grootste recessie in kwarteeuw
03.03.16	De Morgen	Wie wil een kaartje voor Rio?
26.02.16	Metro	Australische atleten moeten in Rio uit de favelas blijven
24.02.16	De Morgen	Straling moet zika killen
23.02.16	De Morgen	Paniek in Rio: raakt metro op tijd af?
13.02.16	Het Nieuwsblad	"Zika-virus baart ons zorgen"
10.02.16	De Tijd	Zika houdt Keniaanse atleten weg van Spelen in Rio
10.02.16	De Morgen	Zika: Kenia overweegt boycot Spelen
03.02.16	Metro	Wereldwijde noodtoestand afgekondigd door zikavirus
03.02.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	"Alleen lange mouwen helpen"
03.02.16	De Tijd	T'Ata 'zica' gaat krijgt andere naam
03.02.16	De Tijd	Gespot Zika toont dat angst besmettelijker is dan infectie.
29.01.16	Het Laatste Nieuws	Zikavirus verspreidt zich razendsnel in Latijns-Amerika
29.01.16	De Standaard	Alarmniveauzikavirusextrem hoog
28.01.16	De Morgen	Moet zika u zorgen baren?
27.01.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Brazilië richt kanon op de muggen
27.01.16	De Standaard	Brazilië verliest gevecht tegen zikavirus'
26.01.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Zikavirus zal verspreid raken over bijna heel Amerika
25.01.16	De Standaard	Angst in Latijns-Amerika neemt toe
23.01.16	De Tijd	Brazilië zet leger in tegen zikavirus
15.01.16	Het Nieuwsblad	Hier duikt Evi Van Acker straks in het water
13.01.16	De Tijd	Brazilianen vieren carnaval in mineur
23.12.15	Het Nieuwsblad	De woorden van 2015. Riu
05.12.15	De Tijd	Atleten moeten zonder airco slapen in Rio
05.12.15	De Morgen	Olympische atleten moeten airco zelf betalen
07.10.15	De Tijd	Comité zet mes in budget Spelen Rio
18.09.15	Het Nieuwsblad	Sport Telex.Zwemmen
16.09.15	Het Nieuwsblad	Besparen op gezondheidszorg, niet op de Spelen
16.09.15	De Morgen	Vergeet Rio's riool, het paradijs wacht
29.08.15	De Morgen	Het RISICO van RIO
18.08.15	De Tijd	Brazilianen spuwen beleid Rousseff uit
13.08.15	Het Laatste Nieuws	Testrit Rio wijkt voor protest
06.08.15	Het Nieuwsblad	Evi Van Acker: 'Heb veel geleerd tijdens Zeilweek in Rio'
05.08.15	Het Nieuwsblad	Politie kan zich hier alles veroorloven'
05.08.15	De Tijd	Rio kort
05.08.15	De Tijd	Atletendorp in Rio moet goudmijn worden
04.08.15	De Standaard	Politie vermoordt jonge zwarten'
04.08.15	De Morgen	Amnesty: 'Politie Rio betrokken bij honderden moorden'

a1.2 The Netherlands

Date	Source	Title
27.08.16	De Telegraaf	De pijnlijke les van Maracanã
23.08.16	Trouw	Geldgebrek raakt Paralympics hard
23.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	De lessen van de aanslagen
23.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Met open armen
23.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Brazilië trots op 'wonderbaarlijke' Spelen
23.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Kogels dansen in Rio opnieuw de samba
22.08.16	Trouw	Rio, stad met twee gezichten, net als sport
22.08.16	De Telegraaf	Brazilië dankt het voetbal
22.08.16	De Telegraaf	Afscheid van Rio
22.08.16	Het Parool	De Spelen van de rijken en de groten
22.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Tien vierde plaatsen betekent óók dat Nederland hoort tot de mondiale top
22.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Magische titel geeft weer hoop
22.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Het kraakte en zuchtte maar Rio is trots
22.08.16	Metro	Zeventig incidenten
22.08.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Brood of Spelen
22.08.16	De Volkskrant	Maracanã danst, huilt, gilt en springt mee met Neymar
22.08.16	De Volkskrant	De mooiste tranen van de Spelen
22.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Het IOC: pakken en wegwezen
22.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Brazilië mag ambities nu niet doven
20.08.16	Trouw	Tudo bem: zie je wel, alles komt goed in Rio
20.08.16	Trouw	Jongeren uit favela's zien hun taekwondo-helden
20.08.16	Trouw	Braziliaanse jungle
20.08.16	De Telegraaf	Rio de Janeiro inspirerend
20.08.16	Het Parool	Wie het kan betalen, juicht voor Brazilianen
20.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Dag Rio, wat was je mooi en lelijk
19.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Mooi gebaar voor de jeugd van Rio
19.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Liegende zwemmers VS krenken trots Brazilië
19.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Geld in Rio op, paralympiërs de dupe
19.08.16	De Volkskrant	Mannen in het zwart
18.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Vroeger no-go-area, nu plein van geluk
18.08.16	De Volkskrant	Genieten? Het thuispubliek in Rio komt voor de winst
18.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Oeteldonk in Deodoro
18.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Groen water, Yuri en kogels
17.08.16	De Telegraaf	Atleten tellen maar een beetje mee in Rio
17.08.16	De Volkskrant	Brazilië blijkt geweldige gastheer van de Spelen
16.08.16	De Telegraaf	Olympische glorie kent een hoge prijs
16.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Idyllisch strand, vervuild water
16.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	In Alemão is geweld nu in alle hevigheid terug'
16.08.16	Metro	Heel eventjes in de huid van een olympiër kruipen
16.08.16	De Volkskrant	Phelps kan beter wegblijven uit Alemão
16.08.16	De Volkskrant	De monotonie te lijf
15.08.16	De Telegraaf	Bouwmeester slijpt messen
13.08.16	De Telegraaf	Water uit de noot
13.08.16	De Telegraaf	Spelen vrij van muggen
13.08.16	De Telegraaf	Spelen
13.08.16	De Telegraaf	Brood en Spelen
13.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	De Braziliaanse politie heeft twee personen opgepakt op verdenking van terrorisme.
13.08.16	De Volkskrant	Altijd feest in de mooiste stad ter wereld
13.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Yuri in Rio
12.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Olympische Spelen Twee Brazilianen verdacht van aanslag
12.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	De organisatoren van de Olympische Spelen in Rio de Janeiro nemen maatregelen
12.08.16	Metro	Op elke straathoek staat een militair
12.08.16	Metro	Groen water doet zeer aan de ogen
12.08.16	De Volkskrant	Rio stuurt nog meer militairen de straat op
11.08.16	Trouw	The girl from Ipanema maakt comeback
11.08.16	Trouw	Net terug op de Spelen en direct al onder vuur
11.08.16	De Telegraaf	Doof voor kritiek
11.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Op het zand is iedereen gelijk, van metselaar tot advocaat
11.08.16	Metro	De ruïnes van de Spelen
11.08.16	Metro	Aanval. Journalisten zijn hun leven niet zeker bij de Olympische Spelen
11.08.16	De Volkskrant	Rio lijkt fantastisch. Dat is een masker'
11.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Golf en Rio, nog geen echte liefde

Date	Source	Title
10.08.16	De Telegraaf	Sport
10.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Ben ik soms onzichtbaar voor je?
10.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Slaapverwekkend Brazilië
10.08.16	De Volkskrant	We zijn een vrolijk en informeel volk'
09.08.16	De Telegraaf	Keuken met kok voor favela-kinderen
09.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Buitenlandse Zaken waarschuwt Nederlandse bezoekers aan de Olympische Spelen
09.08.16	De Volkskrant	Ik mis politiek bewustzijn bij atleten'
09.08.16	De Volkskrant	De haven bruist weer, in elk geval tijdens de Spelen
08.08.16	Trouw	Van straatkunst uit de favela tot een beroemde modernistische tegelmuur
08.08.16	Trouw	Een blik achter de Braziliaanse 'beleza'
08.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Waar is de tijgermug?
08.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Improvisatietalent van Brazilianen schiet even tekort in Rio de Janeiro
08.08.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Brazilië is niet langer het beloofde land
08.08.16	De Volkskrant	De Spelen zijn goed voor de handel in 'ijskoude matte'
08.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Leve de ienienienietteams!
08.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Gratis kaarten om stadions te vullen
06.08.16	Trouw	Vervreemdend, zo'n verlaten metro
06.08.16	Trouw	Nou staat die rat van een Temer daar
06.08.16	Trouw	En in 2026 komen de echte uitslagen
06.08.16	De Telegraaf	Zwemmende Sfinx
06.08.16	De Telegraaf	Crisis tijdens Spelen
06.08.16	Het Parool	Brazilië is hoe dan ook kampioen improviseren
06.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Ook in Rio is het evenwicht zoek Wie beteugelt het gigantisme van de Spelen?
06.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Hinde
06.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Buitenspelen in Rio
06.08.16	De Volkskrant	Vervuilde Spelen
06.08.16	De Volkskrant	Een feest mag wat kosten, maar voor wie is dit feest?
06.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Spektakelshow bij opening in Maracanã
06.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Rutte: Er hangt iets positiefs in de lucht
06.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Parade met pijl en boog
06.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Dwars door Ipanema en Copacabana
05.08.16	Trouw	Klaar op de Spelen? Sorry, dan moet je naar huis
05.08.16	Trouw	Ideaal van Spelen niet achterhaald
05.08.16	Trouw	De Spelen gingen, de vervuilde lucht keerde terug
05.08.16	Trouw	Brazilië staat op scherp uit angst voor criminaliteit en aanslagen
05.08.16	De Telegraaf	Overgewicht
05.08.16	De Telegraaf	n Glaasje water, meer niet
05.08.16	De Telegraaf	Koning kent stadion goed
05.08.16	De Telegraaf	Kleurplaat
05.08.16	De Telegraaf	Het mag wel wat soberder'
05.08.16	Het Parool	Meedoen
05.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Opening met carnaval en maatschappijkritiek
05.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Geplaagd Brazilië wil indruk maken
05.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	De schaduwen over de Spelen in Rio hoeven het feest voor de mensheid niet te bederven
05.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	De grootste zorgen van Rio
05.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Het is maar hoe je een bananenrepubliek definieert
05.08.16	Metro	Spelen hebben Rio weinig goeds gebracht'
05.08.16	Metro	Militairen zichtbaar in straten van Rio
05.08.16	Metro	Hier gebeurt het in Rio
05.08.16	Metro	Frustrerend besluit
05.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Zware last
05.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Wij hebben Doutzen, Brazilië heeft Gisele
05.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Rellen in Rio langs route van olympische fakkel
05.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Pop-up ambassade in Rio voor Oranjefans
04.08.16	De Telegraaf	Unieke koers
04.08.16	De Telegraaf	Luchtje scheppen? Levensgevaarlijk!
04.08.16	De Telegraaf	Huftertje
04.08.16	De Telegraaf	\$206
04.08.16	Reformatorisch Dagblad	Christen Brazilië kritisch over Spelen in Rio
04.08.16	Het Parool	Geweld ontsiert Brazilië
04.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Die Spelen in Rio: een feestje voor de happy few
04.08.16	Metro	Stilte voor de storm

Date	Source	Title
04.08.16	Metro	Pelé: even aan mijn sponsors vragen
04.08.16	Metro	Nederland telt fanatiekste supporters tijdens de Spelen
04.08.16	De Volkskrant	Kan Amsterdam iets van Rio leren?
04.08.16	De Volkskrant	Brazilië schrapt kunst Rio
04.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Nederlanders brutaal beroofd van telefoon in Rio de Janeiro
03.08.16	Trouw	File en stank in Rio, maar de lach helpt
03.08.16	Het Parool	Knus? Nee, maar de koffie is gratis
03.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Bankroet Rio zet voor de Spelen zijn feestmasker op
03.08.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Bach: Spelen zijn katalysator voor Rio
03.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Lunch
03.08.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Gratis koffie en heel veel klussers
02.08.16	De Telegraaf	Straatkids van Poels
02.08.16	De Telegraaf	Schoonmoeder van Ecclestone bevrijd
02.08.16	De Telegraaf	Aanmodderen
02.08.16	Metro	Huilend van frustratie in de Braziliaanse modder
02.08.16	Metro	Armen Rio uitgezet'
02.08.16	Metro	3D-kunst toont lot van armen in Rio
02.08.16	De Volkskrant	Kwart kaartjes (anderhalf miljoen) nog niet verkocht
02.08.16	De Volkskrant	Bankroet Rio zet voor Spelen zijn feestmasker op
01.08.16	De Telegraaf	Schone schijn
01.08.16	De Telegraaf	Geboeft' kiest eieren voor geld
01.08.16	De Telegraaf	Alle zorgen voor de dag van morgen
01.08.16	Het Parool	Nog 4 dagen
01.08.16	NRC Handelsblad	Lula wacht proces, geen Spelen
31.07.16	De Telegraaf	Woekerprijzen en olympische cocaïne
31.07.16	De Telegraaf	Spelen in Rio's afvalput
30.07.16	Trouw	Smerig en onveilig, maar Rio is 'klaar' voor Spelen
30.07.16	Trouw	Favela met boetiekhotel en Franse bakker
30.07.16	De Telegraaf	Recordjacht in chaotisch rio
30.07.16	De Telegraaf	Glas in Rio ook halfvol
30.07.16	De Telegraaf	Boze bewoners:'Een favela is geen dierentuin'
30.07.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Extra geld voor bouw Olympische Spelen
29.07.16	Trouw	Coke met gekleurde ringen
29.07.16	Het Parool	Nu te koop in Rio: olympische coke
29.07.16	Metro	Vechten voor je rechten'
29.07.16	Metro	Rio is nog niet klaar voor de start
29.07.16	Metro	Problemen zijn in Rio van olympisch niveau
29.07.16	De Volkskrant	Op Favela Games laten kinderen hun wapens thuis
29.07.16	Trouw	Rousseff niet naar opening Spelen
28.07.16	De Telegraaf	Prestaties in bed
28.07.16	Het Parool	Zeilen tussen het afval
28.07.16	De Volkskrant	Kruistocht tegen de smerigheid
28.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Zwemmen en zeilen tussen het huisvuil
28.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Ik neem vast antibiotica'
27.07.16	De Telegraaf	Hulp van Boven
27.07.16	NRC Handelsblad	Trapveldjes in wereld van geweld
27.07.16	Metro	Vlekken en condooms
27.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Ecclestone: 33 miljoen voor schoonmoeder?
26.07.16	NRC Handelsblad	Onbewoonbaar olympisch dorp
26.07.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Friese dominee naar Rio
26.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Crisis, geweld, stakingen... én de Spelen
25.07.16	Reformatorisch Dagblad	Braziliaanse leger strijkt in Rio neer
25.07.16	Het Parool	Olympiërs, er zijn ergere dingen
25.07.16	De Volkskrant	Verstopte toiletten in het olympisch dorp
24.07.16	Het Parool	Kan rijkdom je tegen zika beschermen?
23.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Kans op zika in Rio is erg klein'
22.07.16	Trouw	Amateuristisch' plan voor aanslag op Olympische Spelen
22.07.16	De Telegraaf	Twee werelden in Rio
22.07.16	De Telegraaf	Amateuristische' IS'ers opgepakt
22.07.16	Het Parool	Kort nieuws. Terreurdreiging.
22.07.16	NRC Handelsblad	Tien arrestaties om plan aanslag bij Olympische Spelen in Rio
22.07.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Brazilië pakt beramers aanslag Olympische Spelen
22.07.16	De Volkskrant	Brazilië arresteert tien beramers van aanslag

Date	Source	Title
22.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Aanslag Rio verijdeld
20.07.16	De Volkskrant	Veiligheidssituatie maakt Rio behoorlijk nerveus
20.07.16	De Volkskrant	Helpt Brazilianen: geen trek in Spelen
19.07.16	NRC Handelsblad	Rio scherpt veiligheid aan na aanslag Nice
19.07.16	Metro	Zika. Golfers zijn kritiek op hun besluit om Spelen in Rio te mijden zat
19.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Golfers zijn kritiek beu
19.07.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Olympische Spelen vallen altijd te duur uit
18.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Niet naar Rio vanwege geld'
16.07.16	Het Parool	De Spelen van de uitsluiting
16.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Zika is een goede smoes voor golfers'
15.07.16	Trouw	Laat zika-epidemie maar uitrazen'
15.07.16	NRC Handelsblad	Is golf in Rio wel zo'n goed idee?
14.07.16	De Telegraaf	Zikavirus drogreden
14.07.16	De Volkskrant	Verwende golfjongetjes mijden Rio
09.07.16	De Telegraaf	Meer nodig dan de olympische gedachte
09.07.16	Nederlands Dagblad	De andere kant van de medaille
09.07.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Golf als olympische sport
06.07.16	Metro	Rio. Na Zika, berovingen en corruptie nu ook nog de 'superbacterie'
05.07.16	NRC Handelsblad	Rio de Janeiro is vlak voor de Spelen een optelsom van ellende
05.07.16	De Volkskrant	Wie naar de Spelen in Rio de Janeiro komt, is niet veilig'
02.07.16	Het Parool	Kort.Overval op materiaalwagen
02.07.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Hoe slim is het oog van Big Brother in Rio?
02.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Pim Ras ziet andere kant van medaille
02.07.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Duitse zenders overvallen in Rio
30.06.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Bezorgdheid kabinet om geweld Rio
29.06.16	Trouw	Golfer Day mijdt Rio vanwege zika
29.06.16	Het Parool	Kort Nieuws.Ook golfer Day mijdt Rio wegens zika
29.06.16	NRC Handelsblad	Ook topgolfer Jason Day meldt zich af voor Rio uit angst voor zika-virus
29.06.16	Nederlands Dagblad	/
28.06.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Geestelijke Dambman hoopt op 10e Spelen
23.06.16	Trouw	McIlroy meldt zich af voor Rio om zika
23.06.16	Metro	Rio zes weken voor Spelen al failliet
22.06.16	Het Parool	Noodlening Rio de Janeiro voor Spelen
20.06.16	De Telegraaf	Rio is in ieder geval geen doelwit terreur'
20.06.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Gouverneur Rio de Janeiro luidt financiële noodklok
20.06.16	De Volkskrant	President Brazilië helpt bankroet Rio de Janeiro
19.06.16	De Telegraaf	Noodklok om Spelen in Rio
17.06.16	Metro	Grootste atletendorp ooit
16.06.16	Trouw	Rio is voor even veilig
16.06.16	Trouw	Dilma laat zich niet ringeloren
15.06.16	Het Parool	Strijd voor dat restje regenwoud
15.06.16	De Volkskrant	/
15.06.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Zika verspreidt zich niet verder
13.06.16	Het Parool	Vlak voor Spelen is chaos in Brazilië totaal
13.06.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Geslepen politicus (even) aan het roer in Brazilië
09.06.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Enorme bedragen voor grote evenementen
09.06.16	Algemeen Dagblad	In de bagage voor Rio: een doosje oer-Hollandse kaarsen!
08.06.16	NRC Handelsblad	In Brazilië groeit de scepsis met de dag;
08.06.16	Metro	Spelen Rio zika-vrij?
08.06.16	De Volkskrant	Niemand besmet met zika bij testen in Rio
04.06.16	De Telegraaf	Vlak voor de Spelen is de 'Geweldige Stad' vooral gewelddadig
04.06.16	De Volkskrant	Uit angst voor zikavirus niet naar Rio
03.06.16	Trouw	Van Garderen mijdt Spelen van Rio vanwege zika
01.06.16	De Telegraaf	Oplevering olympisch dorp race tegen klok
30.05.16	NRC Handelsblad	Verkracht meisje in Brazilië krijgt steun én hoon
30.05.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	/
29.05.16	De Telegraaf	Massaverkrachting schokt Rio
28.05.16	Het Parool	Braziliaanse kunstzomer
28.05.16	NRC Handelsblad	Open brief artsen 'Stel Olympische Spelen uit om Zika-virus'
28.05.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	5 x Brazilië
27.05.16	NRC Handelsblad	Kritiek verpakt in poëtische kunst
26.05.16	De Telegraaf	Kunstenaarsprotest met kruidenthee
26.05.16	Algemeen Dagblad	De grootste zorg: de wielersbaan is nog steeds niet klaar

Date	Source	Title
23.05.16	Trouw	Naast het Nieuws
21.05.16	De Telegraaf	Zachte vormen harde inhoud
21.05.16	Nederlands Dagblad	/
14.05.16	De Volkskrant	Brazilië in impasse
13.05.16	Trouw	De afzettingsprocedure tegen Rousseff is slecht nieuws voor Brazilië
13.05.16	Het Parool	Iedereen heeft genoeg van Rousseff
13.05.16	Het Parool	Ik zal blijven strijden tegen deze coup'
13.05.16	De Volkskrant	Hoe ziet Brazilië eruit zonder Dilma Rousseff?
13.05.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Alleen de indianen houden nog van Dilma Rousseff
12.05.16	NRC Handelsblad	Kan Temer Brazilië er bovenop helpen?
12.05.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Advies ex-voetballer Rivaldo aan olympische fans: Blijf thuis!
11.05.16	Trouw	Op de bres voor schone zee en kankerbestrijding
11.05.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Senaat Brazilië stemt toch over afzetting president
11.05.16	Metro	Rivaldo: Blijf weg uit Rio de Janeiro
11.05.16	De Volkskrant	Is Rio de Janeiro op tijd failliet voor de Spelen?
07.05.16	Het Parool	Spelen van Rio staan op instorten
06.05.16	Reformatorisch Dagblad	Brazilië op de kaart gezet
04.05.16	Trouw	Olympische vlam geland in Brazilië
04.05.16	De Telegraaf	B&B in de favela's
04.05.16	Metro	De vlam is in Brazilië
04.05.16	De Volkskrant	Olympische vlam geland in Brazilië
29.04.16	De Volkskrant	5: Beeldende kunst
23.04.16	De Telegraaf	RIOOL de Janeiro
23.04.16	NRC Handelsblad	m/v van de week
22.04.16	Trouw	Olympische wielerveding ingestort: twee doden
22.04.16	Reformatorisch Dagblad	Twee doden door instorten fietspad Rio
22.04.16	Het Parool	Kort nieuws
22.04.16	NRC Handelsblad	In Rio is prestigeproject voor de Spelen ingestort
22.04.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Olympisch' fietspad in Rio ingestort
22.04.16	De Volkskrant	Twee doden door instorten fietspad Rio
22.04.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Olympische wielerveding stort in: 2 doden
21.04.16	Metro	'Olympische baai schoon'
19.04.16	NRC Handelsblad	Braziliaanse puinhoop raakt ook de regio en de sportfan
19.04.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Vlaggen en gejuich in Brazilië: president naar het schavot
18.04.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Humeurig Brazilië denkt niet aan Spelen
16.04.16	De Volkskrant	Gesjoemel, oké, maar corruptie?
16.04.16	De Volkskrant	Autocraten hebben het gelukkig ook moeilijk
13.04.16	De Telegraaf	Positie Braziliaanse president Rousseff wankelt
13.04.16	De Volkskrant	Niemand heeft het over de Spelen in verdeeld en humeurig Brazilië
13.04.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Oververhit Brazilië wil snel af van Rousseff
13.04.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Extra handicap: alligators op golfbaan in Rio de Janeiro
12.04.16	Het Parool	Niemand heeft het hier over de Spelen'
08.04.16	De Telegraaf	Wonderhaven
07.04.16	Trouw	Politieke ellende overschaduwde de olympische droom
06.04.16	Metro	Belgische atleten extra beveiligd
06.04.16	De Volkskrant	Belgische atleten in Rio extra beschermd
05.04.16	Het Parool	Belgische atleten extra beschermd
02.04.16	De Telegraaf	Klassenstrijd rond Spelen
26.03.16	De Telegraaf	Brazilië op scherp na 'Brussel'
18.03.16	De Telegraaf	Volkswede richt zich tegen Lula
18.03.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Lula beëdigd onder groot volksprotest
18.03.16	De Volkskrant	Volkswede na beëdiging Lula
10.03.16	NRC Handelsblad	Brazilië: deprimerend déjà vu
05.03.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Brazilië hoopte op ander 2016
04.03.16	De Telegraaf	Forse krimp voor Brazilië
03.03.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Nog volop olympische tickets te koop
03.03.16	Metro	Toeristen lopen risico na Olympische Spelen
03.03.16	Het Financieel Dagblad	Minder dan de helft van tickets Olympische Spelen verkocht
29.02.16	De Telegraaf	Befaamde bonenhap riekt naar corruptie
27.02.16	Trouw	Van Rijsselberghe vindt bevestiging op WK in Eilat
24.02.16	Trouw	Brazilië gaat mannetjesmuggen steriliseren
24.02.16	De Volkskrant	Brazilië gaat muggen te lijf met straling
23.02.16	Het Parool	Kort nieuws. Ziekavirus

Date	Source	Title
23.02.16	Metro	Problemen met metrolijn in Rio
20.02.16	Het Parool	Die ene piekweek wil ik in augustus hebben'
20.02.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Petrobras stopt sponsoring Spelen
20.02.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Als je ziek wordt, ben je écht de klos in Rio'
19.02.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Coating voor sporters tegen smerig water Rio
17.02.16	Het Parool	Alle muggen uitroeien, het kan echt wel'
16.02.16	De Volkskrant	Zwemploeg mijdt Brazilië in aanloop naar 'Rio'
14.02.16	De Telegraaf	Leger tegen killermug
13.02.16	Algemeen Dagblad	De oplossing? Uitroeien die zikamug!
10.02.16	Trouw	President Obama: Geen paniek, wel anti-zikaplan
10.02.16	Het Parool	Obama komt met plan voor bestrijding zikavirus
10.02.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Kenia gaat bij zika-epidemie mogelijk niet naar Olympische Spelen in Rio
09.02.16	Metro	Atleten VS mogen Spelen Rio mijden
09.02.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Zika is serieuze bedreiging voor Spelen Rio
05.02.16	NRC Handelsblad	Zika-alarm is politieke keuze
04.02.16	Nederlands Dagblad	De angst voor al-Zika
04.02.16	De Volkskrant	Voor sporter is zika net zo riskant als verkoudheid'
03.02.16	Nederlands Dagblad	Zikavirus komt ook naar Europa, dat is zeker'
03.02.16	Metro	Gevaar. Brazilië roept zwangere vrouwen op niet naar Spelen te gaan
03.02.16	Trouw	Muggen gedijen in Brazilië
02.02.16	Het Parool	Liever het risico op een 'vals alarm' dan een te late reactie
02.02.16	NRC Handelsblad	Epidemie WHO noemt uitbraak van zikavirus 'internationale noodsituatie'
30.01.16	Het Parool	Uitslag zikatest vaak niet juist'
29.01.16	NRC Handelsblad	Rio vreest mug in olympisch park
28.01.16	NRC Handelsblad	Zwanger en als de dood voor muggen - en abortus is verboden
28.01.16	Metro	Offensief tegen verspreiding van gevaarlijk zikavirus
27.01.16	Trouw	Rio opmaat voor versobering
25.01.16	Trouw	RIVM raadt reizen naar landen met zikavirus af
25.01.16	Het Parool	Rio in actie tegen zika in aanloop naar Spelen
25.01.16	NRC Handelsblad	Lopen baby's gevaar door zika?
25.01.16	Algemeen Dagblad	Brazilië wil mug doodsteek geven
19.01.16	NRC Handelsblad	Terugkijken via de Olympische Netflix
04.01.16	Het Financieele Dagblad	Alleen China heeft belofte Brics ingelost
02.01.16	De Telegraaf	Kind van Rio; Eduardo Paes burgemeester van Rio, organisator vande 28e zomer-spielen
31.12.15	Trouw	Sportwereld moet definitief schoon schip maken'
30.12.15	NRC Handelsblad	Brazilië wil even geen baby's uit angst voor hersenafwijking
19.12.15	De Telegraaf	Als kerstman de crisis door; Cursus 'Papai Noel' mateloos populair bij werkloze Brazilianen
16.12.15	Het Financieele Dagblad	Tien extravagante voorspellingen voor 2016 van Saxo Bank
10.12.15	Trouw	IOC kijkt andere kant op bij schending mensenrechten'
04.12.15	NRC Handelsblad	De bodem van dit schandaal is nog lang niet bereikt
04.12.15	De Volkskrant	Positie Rousseff wordt met de dag zwakker
25.11.15	Metro	'Terreur sloop sport'
25.11.15	De Volkskrant	Angst voor extremisten in Copacabana
24.11.15	NRC Handelsblad	Sport een aantrekkelijk doelwit voor terrorist
21.11.15	De Telegraaf	Dit wordt eenzware wedstrijd;
18.11.15	De Telegraaf	Olympische Spelen' naar Den Haag
14.11.15	Nederlands Dagblad	/
11.11.15	Het Parool	Recessie maakt einde aan Braziliaanse droom
10.11.15	De Volkskrant	Het atletenhuis aan de Candido Gaffree
07.11.15	Trouw	De Braziliaanse droom is uit
07.11.15	Algemeen Dagblad	Nederland krijgt extra entreekaarten voor Spelen
28.10.15	Algemeen Dagblad	Wereld is groter dan alleen het zwembad'
24.10.15	NRC Handelsblad	Beroemder dan voetballers
07.10.15	Het Parool	Rio kort uit angst voor opstand
07.10.15	Algemeen Dagblad	Rio 2016 bezuinigt om volk tevreden te houden
05.10.15	NRC Handelsblad	Brazilianen gaan van armoede naar welvaart en weer terug
03.10.15	De Telegraaf	Een goede bandiet is een dode bandiet'
01.10.15	Trouw	Gaat Rousseff de Spelen van Rio halen?
01.10.15	Het Parool	Uur van de waarheid voor Rousseff
16.09.15	De Volkskrant	Brazilië gaat toch bezuinigen
16.09.15	De Volkskrant	Beter dan Rio?
12.09.15	De Volkskrant	De vloek van de Olympus

Date	Source	Title
11.09.15	De Volkskrant	Brazilië krijgt junkstatus van Standard & Poor's
29.08.15	Algemeen Dagblad	Waar kan een kind nog over dromen in deze ellende?'
29.08.15	Algemeen Dagblad	Sportactiviteiten
26.08.15	Trouw	Antibioticakuur voor de start
25.08.15	De Volkskrant	Vies water alla, maar die golven
22.08.15	De Volkskrant	Wereldbuurten
08.08.15	De Telegraaf	Pleidooi voor vrij wapenbezit
06.08.15	De Telegraaf	Hete winter; São Paulo
06.08.15	NRC Handelsblad	Politie Rio blijft voorlopig moorden
06.08.15	NRC Handelsblad	NOC*NSF volgt waterkwaliteit Rio nauwlettend
05.08.15	De Telegraaf	Sloppen van Rio gastvrij
05.08.15	De Telegraaf	Hart voor de Spelen
05.08.15	Het Financieele Dagblad	Huizenzeepbel dreigt al voor begin Spelen voor olympisch dorp in Rio de Janeiro
05.08.15	Algemeen Dagblad	Ook Spelen in Rio weer race tegen de klok
05.08.15	Algemeen Dagblad	44x proefdraaien

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