

Empty Promises:

THE IOC OLYMPIC GAMES, FIFA MEN'S WORLD CUP, THE
DISPLACEMENT OF THE DISADVANTAGED AND THE ILLUSION OF
ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

EMILY K SCHIMELPFENIG

Introduction

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) represent the legacy of premier athletics, economic development and globalization of their sports and the global community. Their missions include peacebuilding, education, player development, and protecting the prestige of athletes through sport.¹ Cities around the world work hard to host these premier events and showcase the beauty and robustness of their community.

There is also a lot that goes on behind the scenes at these events, some of it an admirable promotion of the community, others less so, especially as more developing countries receive the opportunity to host. Whispers of state influenced doping (Sochi 2014), treatment towards transgender and gay people (Qatar 2018), and athlete safety (Rio 2016) make their way into the picture. As well, the construction of venues for these games adversely effects local populations, often the poor. This paper attempts to address the displacement of citizens in preparation for mega sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games. It asks the following questions. How are the locations for the Olympics and World Cup chosen by the IOC and FIFA? Why do the locations for the Olympics and FIFA World Cup end up in countries suffering from corruption and distinct economic inequalities?² How does hosting such events

¹ International Olympic Committee. 2015. "The Olympic Charter." *The International Olympic Committee Official Olympic Charter*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, August 2. Accessed December 11, 2016 . <https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-institution>.

² International Olympic Committee. 2016. *Governance, Legal, and Venue Funding Take Center Stage At Candidate Cities 2024 Workshops*. July 15. Accessed December 11, 2016. <https://www.olympic.org/news/governance-legal-and-venue-funding-take-centre-stage-at-candidate-cities-2024-workshops> .

- This question references choices pre-2024 because in the 2024 Olympic Games the candidate cities include Las Angeles, Paris, Rome and Budapest. Three of the choices are Western countries, and Budapest is a debatable member of Western civilization. In this paper, I would consider it as Western in compared to countries discussed in this essay.

establish state legitimacy?³ What types of people are affected by the location choice, such as rebuilding poor districts? Is this gendered?⁴

I will begin with an overview of both the IOC's and FIFA's bidding process. Then I will look at how three forms of legitimacy are used to answer these questions. I will argue that economic legitimacy influences states to host games based on perceived benefits that do not reach the majority of the population, especially the poor.⁵ I will argue that a second form of legitimacy, inherent legitimacy, focuses on the way that different types of spending are legitimized or not legitimized by the international community, and how spending on sports has an inherent legitimacy that for example, military spending does not. Finally, I will argue that legitimacy through terminology, marketing the perceived benefits to the community of the event, discusses the legitimacy that states receive for their actions, such as the displacement of citizens for infrastructure for the games, I will conclude by analyzing the gendered aspect of these events and the organizations that run them, using cases of corruption in the men's world cup bidding process versus the women's world cup to point to a gendered aspect of these organizations.

IOC Olympiad Bidding Process

The goal of the Olympic bidding process is to identify a country that is both capable of hosting the Games and that has a stable national government amendable to the rules and principles of the Olympic Charter. The first phase consists of a National Olympic Committee's (NOC's) selecting and submitting applications to the IOC. This application consists of a

³ Gilly, Bruce. 2006. "The meaning and measure of state legitimacy: Results for 72 countries." *European Journal of Political Research* 499-525.

- By state legitimacy I mean the acceptance of the state by other states as a member of their modern society (external state legitimacy) and the acceptance of the state's constituents as members of a state which has power over them (internal state legitimacy).

⁴ By gendered, I mean the perpetual bias and defined roles of men and women in society that places women below men.

questionnaire with an overview of their planning project and letters of guarantee from the national government stating that the national government will comply to the Olympic Charter. Then there is a technical evaluation of the city's ability to host. If the proposal meets this criterion it becomes a candidate city. In the second phase, the Evaluation Commission reviews the Candidate City file that deals with various issues, from developmental plans, infrastructure, finance, and legal obligations. This is where the IOC Evaluation Commission writes a report on each host city, which is then reviewed by the Executive Board, which creates the final list that is voted upon by the IOC members.⁹

Rule 33 of the Olympic charter states that "the national government of the country of any applicant city must submit to the IOC a legally binding instrument by which the said government undertakes and guarantees that the country and its public authorities will comply with and respect the Olympic charter."¹² Each country can only have one applicant, decided by its national Olympic community. The bye-laws to rule 33 stipulate a specific evaluation process for the candidate cities. There will be an election held at the end of the process after an evaluation commission studies the cases put together by each candidate city, this includes infrastructure, planning, polls for popularity, guarantees from the government and the NOC, and finance. The city is elected after the General Meeting Session has considered the report by the Evaluation Commission. The city must abide by the Olympic charter during and after its election, creating a close relationship between the IOC and the host city.¹³

FIFA World Cup Bidding Process

⁹ Valle, Gabriel do. 2012. "2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympics in Brazil - a real blessing for the people?" *The International Sports Law Journal* 89-107.

- The members are either athletes or members of the National Olympic Committees that are elected into office by other members. So far there are 98 from countries all around the world. Certain countries, Canada for example, have two members.

¹² International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Charter" pg. 73

¹³ International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Charter" pg. 73-74

Every four years FIFA puts on a men's World Cup, its premiere event. It is one of the largest international sporting events, comparable to the Olympics, International Rugby Federation World Cup, and the National Football League in the United States. Despite the size of the FIFA World Cup there is surprisingly little information available on the bidding process.¹⁴ Prior to the bid of the 2018 World Cup, FIFA rotated its hosting rights between continents. A country within the selected region for that World Cup placed a formal bid and hosting agreement to FIFA. FIFA officials then inspected the country and made a presentation of the bid to the Executive Committee which then chooses the country. As well, each country makes a presentation to the committee on its ability to logistically support the tournament and on why it should be awarded the bid. The 24-member FIFA committee votes, with the president breaking a tie. Usually the bidding process is completed 7 years in advance.¹⁵ After the voting is complete the name is put in an envelope, brought to a press conference and read aloud.¹⁶

FIFA uses a separate bidding process to choose host countries for the other FIFA World Cup events, including the Women's World Cup, and the U21 World Cup. The bidding timeline begins when FIFA sends requests for expressions of interest in hosting. the Member Associations (MAs) reply with their interest in the event FIFA sends its bidding information packet which includes the Bidding Manual and other documents, such as a hosting agreement. There is a workshop for interested bidders. The MAs return the agreement which confirms compliance with bid requirements, and the MAs submit bids following the Bidding Manual's process. FIFA then

¹⁴ Estrel, Mike. 2015. "FIFA's Corporate Sponsors Welcome Resignation of Sepp Blatter; Coca-Cola, Visa, Adidas, McDonald's and Anheuser-Busch Urge Reforms at Soccer Governing Body." *Wall Street Journal*, June 02. The lack of information can also be due to the bidding process reform that is occurring at FIFA due to the claims of corruption and the influence of Multi-national corporations that sponsor FIFA.

¹⁵ Longhofer, Sarah. 2014. "Contracting Away Sovereignty: The Case of Brazil, FIFA, and the Agreement for the Right to Host the 2014 World Cup." *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* 23: 147-171

¹⁶ Chaudhary, Vivek, and Matthew Joseph. 2000. *Germany and South Africa go to the wire*. July 6. Accessed December 11, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2000/jul/06/newsstory.sport1>.

evaluates the bid submissions and recommends a candidate. If the candidate accepts, FIFA announces the host.¹⁷

Economic Legitimacy

The ability of a country to host the Olympics or World Cup establishes economic legitimacy.¹⁸ It showcases the country as being strong in business, in consumerism, in investment and tourism. A successful bid is a source of national pride for a country. It creates legitimacy for other businesses and for the country as an investment opportunity. The ability to host exemplifies the stability and success of the country.

Hosting the Olympics or the World Cup is an opportunity for the host country to showcase their culture and the beauty of their cities and bring international investment into the city. The Longhofer article concludes that the effort and expenses incurred by nations in order to host these mega events suggests that there is a benefit, in the eyes of that country, to hosting the event.¹⁹ The benefits include an opportunity to enhance the profile of the city and make the city an attractive place for investment.²⁰

The way investment establishes legitimacy is two-fold. On the one hand, foreign direct investment is seen as an important piece of diplomacy. There is a correlation between foreign direct investment and the relationship between international community and host countries. This means that if countries have good relations with the home countries then they receive more foreign direct investment, and when countries do not they receive less, which can impact the

¹⁷ FIFA. 2016. *Bidding Process*. Accessed December 11, 2016. <http://www.fifa.com/governance/competition-organisation/bidding-process.html>.

¹⁸ By economic legitimacy I mean the legitimacy the state receives through investment and increases in standards of living and GDP.

¹⁹ Longhofer, "Contracting Away Sovereignty" pg. 152

²⁰ Hiller, Harry H. 2006. "Post-event Outcomes and the Post-modern Turn: The Olympics and Urban Transformations." *European Sport Management Quarterly* (Routledge) 6 (4): 317-322.

GDP of that country. This shows that international legitimacy is somewhat based upon investment. If countries are willing to open diplomatic relations and investment with the host country then that establishes a level of international legitimacy with the host country.²¹ The second part is the opening of economic relations with countries. A comparison between North Korea-US relations and European Union (EU)-US relations shows the difference. There are almost no relations between the US and North Korea, in fact the US places a large amount of sanctions on North Korea for its nuclear program and human rights violations. It also accuses North Korea of producing counterfeit US bills. There are no diplomatic relations with North Korea and travel to North Korea is prohibited. This lack of investment in the country provides a counterfactual evidence for investment and legitimacy.²² The US does not view North Korea as a country that is economically legitimate, because the US refuses to allow any kind of investment in the country. It does however view the EU as a economically legitimate country because it has diplomatic relations and is currently working on Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) to lower trade barriers and deepen the economic relations between the two. Legitimacy is part economic and a piece of that legitimacy is investment, because investment shows the level of economic legitimacy that a country can receive.

Mega sporting events can also be important in increasing tourism.²³ Mega sporting events increases education, youth, and environmental awareness both in the hosting areas, and statewide. These, coupled with city branding, community cohesion, and acknowledgement of cultural diversity, are often overestimated in their effect, but just the presence of the Olympic

²¹ Zhang, Jianhong, Jiangang Jian, and Chaohong Zhou. 2014. "Diplomacy and investment - the case of China." *International Journal of Emerging Markets* (Emerald) 9 (2): 216-235.

²² Haggard, Stephan, and Marcus Noland. 2008. "North Korea's foreign economic relations." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 8: 219-246.

²³ Minnaert, Lynn. 2012. "An Olympic legacy for all? The non-infrastructure outcomes of the Olympic Games for socially excluded groups (Atlanta 1996-Beijing 2008)." *Tourism Management* (ELSEVIER) 33: 361-370.

spirit leaves behind a legacy, whether or not it is the intended one.²⁴ The Rio 2016 games aimed to showcase Brazil's and Rio's capabilities, social and economic development and natural features.²⁵ These are all tangible benefits to a country that boosts its GDP, showcases its culture and boosts tourism. Capital investments in support of the event showcase the stability of the country.

Host countries also experience intangible benefits, especially a boost in their international reputation. This reputation is built through marketing initiatives that allow the host nation to present itself as progressive, likeable, and hospitable.²⁶ This boost in international reputation is a attractive reason for developing countries to host. It creates an economic legitimacy and the perception that a country has joined modern society²⁷

These benefits have changed the mega sporting events from a prestigious event to, as Essex describes, "a self-serving circus of property developers, construction companies, equipment suppliers, and commercial sponsors"²⁸ The Giulianotti article calls this 'festival capitalism'²⁹ a reason that city leaders, businesses and national governments are in support of hosting such

²⁴ London East Research Institute of the University of East London. 2007. "A Lasting Legacy of London? Assessing the legacy of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games." *Research commissioned by the London Assembly*. London: The Greater London Authority, May. 1-142.

²⁵ International Olympic Committee Evaluation Commission. 2009. "Report of the 2016 IOC Evaluation Commission." *Games of the XXXI Olympiad Research*. International Olympic Committee. 1-90.

²⁶ Longhofer, "Contracting Away Sovereignty" pg. 152-153

²⁷ Tomlinson, Richard. 2010. "Whose Accolades? An Alternative Perspective on Motivations for Hosting the Olympics." *Urban Forum* 21: 139-152.

– Modern Society is the advanced Western society that includes the financial systems of investment, consumption, and human rights. The human rights aspect is interesting, especially later on with the discussion of the displacement of citizens for hosting Olympic games.

²⁸ Essex, Stephen, and Brian Chalkley. 1998. "Olympic Games: catalyst of urban change." *Leisure Studies* 17: 187-206.

²⁹ Giulianotti, Richard, Gary Armstrong, Gavin Hales, and Dick Hobbs. 2015. "Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition: A Sociological Study of the London 2012 Olympics." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* (SAGE) 39 (2): 99-119.

- "the aspects of a major public event that are organized to advance private, commercial, and free-market interests, usually with strong financial, political and discursive support from civic authorities."

events.³⁰ Rio 2016 was seen by the Brazilian authorities as a ‘self-affirmation’ of the Brazilian People who were honored to have the games in South America. The games were also seen as a worthwhile investment into the future of the country.³¹ Prime Minister David Cameron said that the London games would help lift East London out of poverty and make it part in the growth and prosperity of Great Britain.³² These benefits, although widely supported, do not reach the entire population. The Essex article discusses how many of the benefits do not extend to the local communities.³³ Not only this, the spending on these events creates a divide between the groups of people who consume this world class entertainment and those who cannot and do not take part.³⁴

There may be benefits to the country at large, and to parts of the local community, but there are often many people who are unable to participate in the festival entertainment and receive little or none of the economic, social and cultural benefits.

Legitimacy Through Terminology or Marketing Language

Host nations have deceptive words and phrases to justify displacing the poor and powerless to facilitate their event. This misleading marketing language can be seen when one compares the Brazilian movement of people for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games and the Chinese movement of people to access minerals.

When Brazil received the bids for both the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games, it knew it was going to have to do an extensive security project to tame the Favelas. The Favelas are the many slum districts of major Brazilian cities that have previously been ignored by the

³⁰ Essex and Chalkley, “Olympic Games: Catalyst of urban change” pg. 189

³¹ IOC Evaluation Committee, “Report of the 2016 IOC Evaluation Commission” pg. 46

³² Guilianotti, Armstrong, Hales, and Hobbs, “Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition” pg. 103

³³ Essex and Chalkley, “Olympic Games: Catalyst of urban change” pg. 191

³⁴ Shin, Hyun Bang, and Bingqin Li. 2013. "Whose games? The costs of being "Olympic citizens" in Beijing." *Environment and Urbanization* 25 (2): 559-576.

government and are known for their drugs and violence. The security measures included the Police Pacifying Units (UPPs) used to oust gangs and drug lords and patrol these areas to reduce violence.³⁵ Along with the UPP came the enforcement of building codes, height of building codes, city expansion codes, and regulated utilities in the favelas. The poorer residents could no longer afford to live in those communities and did not have anywhere to go because the cost of living has risen so much in the areas where the UPP were present.³⁶ The 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games were the justification for the UPPs, as Brazil needed to be seen as able to ensure security for the thousands that would be entering the country.³⁷ Rio 2016 also claimed that it would relocate approximately 300 families living in illegal settlements to build the Olympic Park.³⁸ The idea of the illegality of these families is important because many of those living in the Favelas are undocumented, and the Favelas consist of unnumbered houses. Brazil is trying to mark its place in modern society by implementing policies that will urbanize the Favelas. These policies attempt to influence populations in the favelas to register themselves and their families (citizenship), and their property by creating addresses and obtaining vehicles licenses.³⁹ These all legitimize the state, showing that it is taking in measures of accountability, and reducing violence and drug trafficking. The use of the terminology ‘illegal settlement’s makes it seem as though the state, by giving those displaced legal status, is completing legitimate actions.

³⁵ Baena, Victoria. 2011. "Favelas in the Spotlight Transforming the Slums of Rio de Janeiro." *Harvard International Review*, 34-37.

³⁶ Forefront. 2012. *Extreme Makeover: Will the Transformation of Rio's Favelas Benefit Everyone?* June 10. Accessed December 11, 2016. *Extreme Makeover: Will the Transformation of Rio's Favelas Benefit Everyone?*

³⁷ Baena, "Favelas in the Spotlight" pg. 34

³⁸ IOC Evaluation Committee, "Report of the 2016 IOC Evaluation Commission" pg 53

³⁹ Freeman, James. 2014. "Raising the Flag over Rio de Janeiro's Favelas: Citizenship and Social Control in the Olympic City." *Journal of Latin American Geography* 13 (1): 7-38.

– By accountability I mean the actions of the government being held responsible for violations of international norms by the international community and the internal responsibly to observe the rights of its people.

More than 300 families were displaced for the Olympic Games. New plans were implemented to make space for the infrastructure for the games that included the clearing of some favelas, and the rebuilding of others in a gentrification initiative that would impact 260,000 households and 13,000 families.⁴⁰ In May 2011, homes in the Favela do Metro, which was next to the Maracanã Stadium, where the World Cup Finals were held, were unexpectedly marked for demolition, and the people living there were forcibly evicted, as the bulldozers destroyed their homes.⁴¹ These sets of interventions resulted in thinning the populations out of these areas, allowing for bigger roads, commercial buildings and more, but also displaced the population living there to ‘orderly’ public housing.⁴² This was all justified in terms of poverty alleviation and growth due to the presences of the games. The people in these areas were forcibly moved from their locations to build a secure city worthy of hosting the world’s most premier sporting events. The East Londoners were able to claim that the standard of living in these areas had gone up, and it had, but only because they moved the impoverished somewhere else, usually with short notice and a large gap in pay between the actual cost of relocation and the amount given into apartments or state housing.⁴³ The people removed from the favelas are now in new housing that does not fit with their cultural norms of expanding upward and/or outward as their families grow.⁴⁴ The East Londoners were removed from their jobs, their businesses, and relocated elsewhere, either having to commute further for their positions or to take new ones; the overall cost to the East Londoner’s of relocation was underestimated.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Baena, “Favelas in the Spotlight” pg. 37 – By gentrification I mean a renovating and renewing initiative to improve the standard of living in these areas.

⁴¹ Forefront, “Extreme Makeover”

⁴² James, “Raising the Flag over Rio de Janeiro’s Favelas” pg. 12

⁴³ Guilianotti, Armstrong, Hales, and Hobbs, “Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition” pg. 107

⁴⁴ James, “Raising the Flag over Rio de Janeiro’s Favelas” pg. 12

⁴⁵ Guilianotti, Armstrong, Hales, and Hobbs, “Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition” pg. 107

China, outside of the mega sporting event it hosted, has been largely involved in displacement of its own citizens and citizens of other countries where its corporations exist. In the past years China has displaced over 40 million people. Some of this has been due to the 10 million ‘reservoir settlers’ who are being moved for the building and completion of the Three Gorges Dam. However, there are also millions living up and down stream that will be affected by the dam, who are undergoing ‘livelihood displacement’. These people are often left in poverty once they are removed from their homes. The World Bank determined that 60% of the re-settlers live below the poverty line.⁴⁶ Along with the rapid ‘modernization’ and development of China has come Urbanization. Urbanization has displaced around 50 million people in the agriculture industry in order to build infrastructure and urban sprawl. China’s extending of state-owned property and unclear definitions of property rights result in a situation where ‘land is expropriated with the backing of the state using measures other than voluntary market purchase’. The environmental and socioeconomic effects are becoming more and more transparent and China is one of the main actors in land grabs that displace populations, especially in Africa, Asia, South America and Russia.⁴⁷

The terminology is very different between these two case studies, but both attempt to justify the forced removal of populations unable to protest or resist. Both case studies use the words ‘development’, ‘modernization’ ‘poverty alleviation’. These words cast a positive light on the actions committed by the state, and yet have a different affect in the communities. In general,

⁴⁶ Robinson pg. 2- 17 – The livelihood displaced are those who are not living in the areas directly affected by the dam reservoir, but rather those who are affected by the lower water levels down-stream and the change in the area upstream.

⁴⁷ Siciliano, Giuseppina. 2-14. "Rural-Urban Migration and Domestic Land Grabbing in China." *Population, Space and Place* 20: 333-351.

– By modernization Siciliano means the support of migration as a way to end rural urban inequalities and boost agricultural production and intensification. By urbanization Siciliano is referring to population growth in urban areas as one of the major social changes when countries are transitioning to market-based economies.

preparations for the Games, including hosting, policies and actions were worded to be related to the Olympic Games. This helps justify the actions of the state, especially for the displacement of the people, as well as giving the preparations urgency and exemption from standard planning and review processes.⁴⁸ Even though many of the locations hosting the World Cup claim to help alleviate poverty and poor sections of cities by bringing in growth and infrastructure, which helps establish legitimacy because they show a transition into a modern society with respect for human rights, the events mainly lead to the displacement of people in these areas, often moving them from one impoverished place to another, without improving the economic or social conditions underlying their poverty. This makes it difficult to argue against the displacement occurring, because it rests in the inherent legitimacy of hosting mega sporting events. The words moved and relocation, differ from the words used to describe the situation in china, such as ‘livelihood appropriation, land grabbing’⁴⁹ and ‘land appropriation’⁵⁰. Even though the actions are the same they are not perceived by people as justified, because displacement due to the Three Gorges Dam and mineral extraction projects do not have the justification that sport has. It seems that it is easier for people to accept displacement of populations for a sporting event than for simple mineral extraction or dam building.

The London 2012 Olympic Games discussed the movement of people as a ‘compulsory purchase order’ or land appropriation for land in Newham, in order to build the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.⁵¹ The Newham Mayor argued that the games would be a catalyst for regeneration and economic growth in the borough, where land could be developed and where there was a

⁴⁸ Shin, Bang, Li, “Whose Games?” pg. 571

⁴⁹ Siciliano, “Rural-Urban Migration and Domestic Land Grabbing in China” pg. 334

⁵⁰ IOC Evaluation Commission. 2005. "Report of the IOC Evaluation Commission for the Games of the XXX Olympiad in 2012." *Report of the IOC Evaluation Commission*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, March 22. 1-126. – Used in the 2012 Olympics in London to describe the buying of property in order to build the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

⁵¹ IOC Evaluation Commission, “Report of the IOC Evaluation for the... Olympiad in 2012” pg. 65

large investment opportunity.⁵² The evaluation done by the IOC discussed a 200-hectare regeneration project in this area, which would include employment, housing, education and recreation opportunities.⁵³ In Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park more than 400 residents and 200 businesses were evicted through the land appropriation measures, with the aim of establishing 12,000 permanent jobs, 14,000 new household properties, and a new park.⁵⁴ These people were moved into public or social housing, and many of the residents believed they were worse off.⁵⁵ One resident stated, “It’s about removing from some people what they have and giving it to some other people, and in the process not adequately compensating those people who have been deprived of what they had... They go on so much about how they’re supporting communities... the whole language of ‘legacy’ and ‘benefits’ is deployed all the time.”⁵⁶ The people in these communities are generally already marginalized (the poor, the female, and the non-white) and continue to be so by being displaced and forced into other accommodations in order to host the events. There is little on the gendered demographics or on the displacement of citizens due to the World Cup and Olympic Games, as most of the literature focuses on the general displacement of people out of these areas.

This is part of a broader theme present in Olympic games terminology. Socially excluded, poor, and developing people and areas are generally targeted by the host community to be beneficiaries of the event, at least on the surface.⁵⁷ There is a difference between the terminology used and the legitimacy of the actions imposed by that terminology between the displacement in China, which does not receive the legitimacy internally or externally, and the Favelas in Brazil,

⁵² Guilianotti, Armstrong, Hales, and Hobbs, “Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition” pg. 103

⁵³ IOC Evaluation Commission, “Report of the IOC Evaluation for the... Olympiad in 2012” pg. 64

⁵⁴ Guilianotti, Armstrong, Hales, and Hobbs, “Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition” pg. 103-104

⁵⁵ Guilianotti, Armstrong, Hales, and Hobbs, “Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition” pg. 107

⁵⁶ Guilianotti, Armstrong, Hales, and Hobbs, “Sport Mega-Events and Public Opposition” pg. 107 – Quote by James, activist and former Stratford resident, February 2012

⁵⁷ Minnaert, “An Olympic Legacy for All?” pg. 32

which also do not receive internal legitimacy but do receive external legitimacy because the illusion of improvement supports the Olympic Legacy. In a study on the 2008 Summer Olympiad, completed by Shin, he suggests that for developing countries' the Olympic experience is worse for urban marginal populations, who have suffered from inequalities over time.⁵⁸ The Olympic Games usually do not benefit these people, because they lead to forced displacement, as seen in London and Rio, that is justified in terms of hosting the games, and a presumed benefit and legacy it leaves for the people of that community.

The Inherent Legitimacy of Sports

There is a massive amount of spending that occurs before hosting the World Cup. South Africa spent \$1 billion on the stadiums for the 2010 FIFA World Cup.⁵⁹ The National Treasury of South Africa saved almost 33 billion to go towards the development, refurbishment, and construction of its stadiums.⁶⁰ The budget for the 2016 Olympic Games at Rio was set at \$244 million (para-Olympics not included).⁶¹ London's proposed budget in 2012 was \$2.46 billion.⁶² Comparatively the percentage of GDP in Iran that is spent on military is 2.3 percent, which equals about \$8.484 billion.⁶³ Russia's military spending budget in 2015 was \$65.6 billion which is 5 percent of its GDP.⁶⁴

These are much greater numbers of spending, but they are often met with economic sanctions from the international community. Iran for example received sanctions from the

⁵⁸ Shin, Bang, Li, "Whose Games?" pg. 574

⁵⁹ Longhofer, "Contracting Away Sovereignty" pg. 153

⁶⁰ Ngonyama. 2010. "The 2010 FIFA World Cup: critical voices from below." *Soccer & Society* 11 (1): 168-180. – This was justified along economic lines

⁶¹ IOC Evaluation Commission, "Report of the 2016 IOC Evaluation Commission" pg. 50

⁶² IOC Evaluation Commission, "Report of the IOC Evaluation for the... Olympiad in 2012"

⁶³<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS?end=2014&locations=IR&start=1988&view=chart>

⁶⁴ Choosing 4 different countries with different levels of GDP and different budgets on different things is not a perfect comparison, however it does illustrate the difference in actions for different kinds of spending, and the inherent legitimacy that spending for sports has in comparison of spending for defense, which internationally does not have that inherent legitimacy.

international community for its nuclear program. These sanctions crippled the community, nearly doubling the price of food in the country.⁶⁵ Sanctions were placed on Russia for its annexation of Crimea in 2014, an action condemned by the international community that supported Ukraine. With the continued conflict in Eastern Ukraine, there was an expansion of economic sanctions against Russia.⁶⁶ There is no inherent legitimacy for increased military spending in today's world due to the United Nations, and other supranational organizations that preach maintaining peace. Instead of direct conflict they use sanctions and other forms of soft power to change the actions of states. The prevention of further conflict and the Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) that weapons of mass destruction have created diminished the inherent legitimacy of military spending. Whereas sports receive an inherent legitimacy though the actions taken by states even though the spending on sports could have more benefit somewhere else.

These cases could be circumstantial, but they do point out a difference in the legitimacy of different types of spending. In both cases, the actions taken affect the citizens of the country, in the case of Olympic spending, it can lead to the displacement of citizens and usually fails to benefit economically the poor. In the case of sanctions for military spending sanctions can hurt the economy and thus the constituents of the country by their inability to afford for basic necessities. However, in the case of Olympic spending there is justification for the displacement that does not receive condemnation by the international community, whereas military spending does. This points to a level of inherent legitimacy that hosting these events has. The inherent

⁶⁵ Rafique pg. 15 – “One cannot deny the collateral damage in terms of making life difficult for innocent Iranian people, who have seen the prices of many basic foodstuffs more than double since 2011 and who are struggling to access even life-saving medicines.”

⁶⁶ Kazun, Anastasia. 2016. "Framing Sanctions in the Russian Media: The Rally Effect and Putin's Enduring Popularity." *Demokratizatsiya* 327-350.

legitimacy that sports receives, despite the harm it causes to communities, allows states to justify actions that would normally be condemned.

These large amounts of savings and budgets generally are spent on infrastructure for the games. Though they largely claim to help poverty alleviation by building up undeveloped or decayed urban areas through infrastructure and tourism, in the case of South Africa, the African National Congress as unable to show any correlation between the alleviation of poverty and the amount of public funds set aside for the World Cup. The states can justify spending on this level by focusing both internally and externally on the honor and priority that hosting such events are. These events are seen as a ‘top priority’ that can ‘unify’ a country.⁶⁷ Brazil was awarded the right to host the World Cup in 2014, not only because it was the only South American bid, but the FIFA Bid Inspection Committee praised the country’s love of the game and its ‘vibrant’ football culture.⁶⁸ This patriotic sentiment creates challenges for any anti-Olympic protest because sport gives patriotism and spending a form of inherent legitimacy.⁶⁹

This inherent legitimacy does not change the fact that there are credible reasons for states not to host the Olympics. Some states, mainly rich western ones, are unable to host the Olympics because they must ask for their populations opinion, and when a part of the population does not receive the benefits, then they do not have the support needed to host.⁷⁰ The countries that do not have to ask their people and who tote the inherent legitimacy argument without the support of

⁶⁷ Ngonyama, "The 2010 FIFA World Cup: critical voices from below." *Pg. 170*

– In the case of South Africa it was seen not only as a ‘unifying factor for the country, but for the African Continent.

⁶⁸ Longhofer, “Contracting Away Sovereignty” pg. 151

⁶⁹ Shin, Bang, Li, “Whose Games?” pg. 570-571- By inherent legitimacy I mean the legitimacy that sports automatically receive, and the lack of justification needed for spending and actions from both the internal community and the international community.

⁷⁰ Austrian Olympic Committee, German Olympic Committee, Swedish Olympic Committee, and Swiss Olympic Committee, . 2014. "Olympic Agenda 2020 The Bid Experience." *Evaluation of the Winter Games Bids 2010-2018*. International Olympic Committee, June. 1-15.

– By credible I mean justified and clear reasons to not hos the Olympics. This can include but is not limited to the deficit that Olympics, the long term use of infrastructure, the impact that it has on the local population.

their people are more and more often receiving the bids. Rich countries such as Germany, Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland, lose their bids in the official process because they cannot gain the national or even regional public or political support due to the public and politicians fearing the high costs, especially when compared to the perceived benefits. This is seen in the Olympic Agenda 2020, which will be put into practice in 2024.

The bidding process has been updated as of 2015 with changes going into effect for the selection of the 2024 host city. This change in process attempts to address claims of corruption described in the paper Olympic Agenda 2020: The Bidding Experience. This article, published by the National Olympic Commissions of Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, identified the challenges countries experienced during their bidding process for the 2022 and 2028 Olympic games.⁷¹ Olympic Agenda 2020: The Bidding Experience made recommendations for changes to the amount of information available to citizens of host countries, bid budgets (the amount of money the state puts aside for the event, the amount the IOC and other organizations contribute based upon predicted cost), and the gap between the technical evaluation and the actual host city election results.⁷²

The 2024 and 2028 host city is still in the process of being chosen, and being the first on the new system, I will focus on the past bidding process, because it is the process that is applicable to the cases chosen. There is not enough information at this time to see the affect that the reforms occurring will having on the bidding process for host cities to the Olympic Games.

Olympic Agenda 2020 called for more transparency of the IOC in the bidding process, including more speaking with the public about the costs and the benefits for their cities. It also

⁷¹ Austrian Olympic Committee, German Olympic Committee, Swedish Olympic Committee, and Swiss Olympic Committee, "Olympic Agenda 2020" pg. 1

⁷² Austrian Olympic Committee, German Olympic Committee, Swedish Olympic Committee, and Swiss Olympic Committee, "Olympic Agenda 2020" pg. 6-8

calls for more interaction between the state and the IOC once the decision is made. This will help these countries that have to ask their people to have more to discuss in order to influence the decision of their constituents. These measures are also supposed to help with the environmental and human rights sustainability of the Olympic events.⁷³

The IOC commissioned polls for each of the candidate cities as part of their evaluation. These polls help determine the level of support that each candidate city has for hosting the Olympics. At present? These factors do little in the overall scheme to influence a voter one way or another. For example, in the 2012 Olympics, there was 68 percent support in the London area and 70% throughout the country for hosting the Olympics. Moscow, another candidate city, received 77% popular support in Moscow and 76% around the rest of Russia, the second highest support of all the candidate cities that year.⁷⁴ Madrid received the highest in the opinion polls, with 91% in Madrid and 85% in Spain.⁷⁵ The remaining candidate cities all were very similar to London, and all were rich western countries. These polls show that support or lack thereof is not a deciding factor in the IOC's decision process. It is considered in the decision, but other factors such as infrastructure and budget take precedent over the actual support that the host city receives.

The IOC does require that each host city has an official poll taken on the support of hosting that event but as we have seen Generally, the level of support from the people does not matter. They also show that generally support in rich western countries is lower. Such as Chicago's 67%

⁷³ Austrian Olympic Committee, German Olympic Committee, Swedish Olympic Committee, and Swiss Olympic Committee, "Olympic Agenda 2020" pg. 4 – One of the projects that Olympics supports is the environmental sustainability of its events, which influences cities to provide measures that will make the event green, such as recycling measures. The human rights aspect is most often taught through education and poverty alleviation. The cities who claim this sustainability work to alleviate the poverty in the areas that host, though as shown later, this mostly causes the displacement of these people.

⁷⁴ IOC Evaluation Commission, "Report of the IOC Evaluation for the... Olympiad in 2012" pg. 47

⁷⁵ IOC Evaluation Commission, "Report of the IOC Evaluation for the... Olympiad in 2012" pg. 83

compared to Rio and Madrid's 85%.⁷⁶ The Olympic Agenda 2020 article noted that this difference in support by the local population occurred because of the transparency in and the general bidding process. That is why the new bidding process was put into place (beginning 2024), but it does not change the fact that many of these countries hosting do not have to address the benefits and consequences of hosting with their constituents, and that the polls taken do have little effect on the result of bidding process.⁷⁷

Then you have situations such as Brazil in the 2014 FIFA World Cup, where they were the only country to place a bid in that region. After Brazil won the right to host the event, their ability to do so came into question.⁷⁸ This however does not change the fact that Brazil was able to receive a level of inherent legitimacy internally for hosting the games by being a member of the Olympic legacy. The massive amounts of spending were seen as going to a good cause, to build infrastructure to host games that would help bring in investment and tourism into the city and move Brazil from a developing state to a modern state. This presumed economic legitimacy, validates the city as a stable place where development and investment can now occur. It also validates the terminology, the marketing arguments, used to gain support both internally and externally for the games, which includes the displacement of citizens, that in other situations, could be condemned by the international community.

Conclusion: The IOC and FIFA Gendered?

⁷⁶ IOC Evaluation Committee, "Report of the 2016 IOC Evaluation Commission" pg. 12, 48, and 66 – I find the decrease by 6% in terms of support by Madrid interesting, since the bids were only 4 years apart. However, the timeline, host cities are usually chosen 7 years in advance, would put the 2012 evaluation before the global financial crisis (2005) and the 2016 evaluation in the middle of it (2009), which could be the reason for less support in Madrid for hosting the games.

⁷⁷ There is no clear evidence of the impact that the Olympic Agenda 2020 will have, and the reform providing more transparency could have two different affects. The citizens of the host cities could enjoy having more information and lead to more support, or the increase in information could bring out many of the other flaws in hosting, such as the deficit that Olympic games run, and the large amount of displacement it causes. It will also be interesting to see how much the Olympic Agenda 2020 actually changes the bidding process and the cities who host.

⁷⁸ Longhofer, "Contracting Away Sovereignty" pg. 147-48

This is also the aspect that is most gendered, especially in the case of FIFA. The process of bidding for the men's World Cup is shrouded in lack of information and corruption, and yet the process to bid for the women's World Cup is detailed on the FIFA website.⁷⁹ There few if any cases of corruption found in the hosting of a women's World Cup, but the men's World Cup has many cases of corruption. There is the bid for the 2006 men's World Cup and allegations that Beckenbauer set up a 10 million Swiss Francs slush fund to buy votes.⁸⁰ The FBI are investigating former president Sepp Blatter and the 2014 World Cup in Brazil for bribery, in this and the next two world cups.⁸¹ The 2018 and 2022 men's World Cups in Qatar and Russia are filled with rumors of corruption and scandal and bribing.⁸² The idea that the FIFA men's World Cup is one of the most prestigious events to host, and that it can provide states with the legitimacy above, has given the men's World Cup enough more motivation? to use bribes to earn the votes to host. In comparison, the women's World Cup sees little of this money and influence.⁸³

In contrast to the men's world cup the women's in less corrupt, and this has to do with the economic power of the men's tournament. The men's world cup and the Olympics are such economic forces that host countries submit bids even if the population does not support the

⁷⁹ FIFA, "Bidding Process" - "FIFA has simplified its process for bidding for its Other World Cups and has developed a Bidding Manual to help guide member associations in compiling bids"

⁸⁰ Riach, James. 2016. *FIFA opens investigation into Franz Beckenbauer and Germany's 2006 World Cup bid*. March 22. Accessed December 11, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/mar/22/fifa-franz-beckenbauer-germany-2006-world-cup>."

⁸¹ Gibson, Owen. 2015. *FIFA corruption crisis: FBI inquiry now includes 2014 Brazil World Cup*. June 4. Accessed December 11, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/mar/22/fifa-franz-beckenbauer-germany-2006-world-cup> .

⁸² Gibson, Owen. 2015. *Russia and Qatar may lose World Cups if evidence of bribery is found*. June 7. Accessed December 11, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/jun/07/russia-qatar-lose-world-cups-if-bribery-found-fifa>.

⁸³ There is little on the gendered displacement and aspects of the IOC and hosting due to the fact that the Olympics is a single event, hosting both genders in the same place at the same time. One can get into the gendered aspect of the literature that comes out of the games, especially focusing on athletes such as Simone Biles, but this research has little to do with the hosting of the games and displacement of the games.

event, and they use the event to legitimize moving people against their will. They legitimize spending large percentages of their GDP, money that could address the underlying social issues fueling poverty, all for the honor and prestige of hosting the event and the economic investment and tourism it produces. They are also legitimized through marketing terminology that places the emphasis on poverty alleviation, the legacy of the Olympic games, and the perceived economic benefits. Finally, the inherent legitimacy of sports and sport events justifies the massive amount of spending, where in other occasions, the actions taken by the government to host these events would be unjustified and condemned by the international community. Perhaps though, the new bidding process will make both the benefits and the downsides of hosting these events clearer and allow host nations to make a wiser and more reasoned decision on the value of hosting the event, as well as reduce some of the inherent legitimacy so that the international community can prevent further violations of human rights in hosting situations.

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