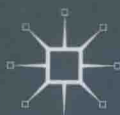




OLYMPIC GAMES, MEGA-EVENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETIES

Globalization, Environment, Resistance

Edited by Graeme Hayes and
John Karamichas



Olympic Games, Mega-Events and Civil Societies

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Edited By

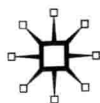
Graeme Hayes
Aston University, UK

and

John Karamichas
Queen's University Belfast, UK



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Abbreviations

ALP	Australian Labour Party
BC	British Columbia
BIE	Bureau International des Expositions
BOCOG	Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CNOSF	Comité National Olympique et Sportif Français
CO ₂ e	carbon dioxide equivalent, including CO ₂ and other greenhouse gases
COJO	Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympiques
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
EM	ecological modernization
EMS	Environmental Management System
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FINA	Fédération Internationale de Natation
GHG	greenhouse gases
ICC	International Cricket Council
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IRB	International Rugby Board
LOCOG	London Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
MCC	manual for candidate cities
NGO	non-governmental organization
NO ₂	nitrogen dioxide
OAP	Olympic Action Plan
OCA	Olympic Coordination Authority
PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Movement
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
SEPC	Shanghai Environmental Protection Committee
SOCOG	Sydney Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
TOROC	Turin Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
VANOC	Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic Games
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature

Acknowledgements

The genesis of this book can be traced back to the identification of a shared interest in mega-event politics between the two editors, through their interaction in the ECPR Green Politics Standing Group online message board. For us, sports mega-events are a sphere where our main research interests, civil contestation (protest and social movements) and environmental sociology and politics, coalesce.

In 2007 we directed a session on 'Mega/Hallmark Events and the Environment' for the Environment and Society Research Network of the European Sociological Association at the 8th ESA Conference in Glasgow, from 3–6 September. That experience reinforced our commitment in further pursuing and developing our interests by bringing together, under the same roof, scholars from various disciplinary specializations who have produced work in those areas. The end result was a two-day workshop, in June 2008, at Queen Mary, University of London. The papers presented at that workshop form the basis of the chapters that make up the greater part of this volume. The financial sponsorship provided by the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work at Queen's University Belfast and the invaluable hospitality and support offered to us by Queen Mary's Department of Politics in hosting that event are gratefully acknowledged.

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*Graeme Hayes
John Karamichas*

Contributors

Anne-Marie Broudehoux is Associate Professor in the School of Design, Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), Canada. She is the author of *The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing* (2004), which received the International Planning History Society book prize in 2006.

Pietro Caratti works for the Presidency of the Lombardy Region, Italy, and was Senior Research Fellow at FEEM (Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei). He is the author of numerous publications in the areas of environment and sustainability, including *Analysing Strategic Environmental Assessment* (2004) and *Development and Environmental Protection in Mega Events: The Case of the Turin 2006 Olympics* (2006).

Egidio Dansero is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Turin, Italy, where he teaches political and economic geography, and environmental policy. He is a founder member of the University of Turin's OMERO (Olympics and Mega Events Research Observatory) group. His international publications include articles in *Leisure Studies*, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* and *Geojournal*.

Hugh Dauncey is Senior Lecturer in French Studies at Newcastle University, UK, where he works on popular culture in France. He is co-editor of *France and the 1998 World Cup: The National Impact of a World Sporting Event* (1999) and *The Tour de France 1903–2003: A Century of Sporting Structures, Meanings and Values* (2003, both with Geoff Hare), and *Stereo: Comparative Perspectives on the Sociological Study of Popular Music in France and Britain* (2011, with Ph. Le Guern). He is currently finishing a monograph on the social history of French cycling.

Barbara Del Corpo is a graduate in International Relations of the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Turin, Italy, and is a collaborator with the university's OMERO (Olympics and Mega Events Research Observatory) group. She published an article on the Turin Games in *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* (2006).

Ludovico Ferraguto is Research Fellow at the Rome-based I-COM, where his research focuses on risk management and public consensus for mega-projects in the field of energy and environment. He is a contributor to Italian specialized magazines such as *Staffetta Quotidiana* and *Lavoce.info*.

John Horne is Professor of Sport and Sociology in the School of Sport, Tourism and the Outdoors at the University of Central Lancashire, UK, where he is Director of the International Research Institute for Sport Studies

(IRISS). He is currently Managing Editor in Chief of the journal *Leisure Studies* and a member of the editorial boards of the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* and *Sport in Society*. His publications include, as author, *Sport in Consumer Culture* (2006); co-author, *Understanding Sport* (1999, with Alan Tomlinson); and co-editor, *Sports Mega-Events* (2006) and *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup* (2002, both with Wolfram Manzenreiter).

Graeme Hayes is Senior Lecturer in the School of Languages and Social Sciences at Aston University, UK, and Marie Curie fellow, CNRS, in the Centre de Recherches sur l'Action Politique en Europe (CRAPE) at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Rennes, France. He is Editor in Chief of *Social Movement Studies*, author of *Environmental Protest and the State in France* (2002) and co-editor of *Cinéma et engagement* (2005, with Martin O'Shaughnessy). He is currently working with Sylvie Ollitrault on a book titled *La Désobéissance Civile* (forthcoming).

John Karamichas is Lecturer in Sociology at Queen's University, Belfast, UK. He has recently published articles on environmental politics and policy in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, *South European Society and Politics*, *European Environment*, *Human Ecology Review* and *Environmental Politics*.

Alfredo Mela is Professor in the Faculty of Architecture at the Politecnico di Torino, Italy, where he teaches urban sociology and environmental sociology. He is founder member of the University of Turin's OMERO (Olympics and Mega Events Research Observatory) group. He is the author of *Sociologia delle Città* (2006).

Arthur P. J. Mol is Chair and Professor of Environmental Policy at Wageningen University, the Netherlands, and Professor of Environmental Policy at Renmin University, China. His research interests are in social theory and the environment, globalization, informational governance, greening production and consumption, and environment and development. His latest books are *Environmental Reform in the Information Age* (2008) and *The Ecological Modernisation Reader* (2009, co-edited with Gert Spaargaren and David Sonnenfeld).

Jean-François Polo is Associate Professor in the Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Rennes, France, and member of the Centre de Recherches sur l'Action Politique en Europe. He has contributed a chapter to an edited volume titled *L'Europe telle qu'elle se fait: Européanisation et Sociétés Politiques Nationales* (2007).

Xavier Renou is an activist and researcher. He is the founder of *Les Désobéissants*, an informal network of activists, based in France, and a trainer in techniques of non-violent direct action. He is the author of *La Privatisation de la Violence* (2006), *Petit Manuel de Désobéissance Civile* (2009) and is series editor of *Désobéir*, short handbooks on civil disobedience.

Irene Ropolo is a freelance sociologist working on local development and participatory planning projects and processes at local and supra-local levels. She is a collaborator with the University of Turin's OMERO (Olympics and Mega Events Research Observatory) group.

David Whitson is Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. He is co-author of *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities & Cultural Politics* (1993, with Rick Gruneau) and of *The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System* (1990, with Don Macintosh). He has also written articles on the hosting of major sport events in *Third World Quarterly* and *Sociology of Sport Journal*.

Lei Zhang is Assistant Professor in the environmental policy research group at Wageningen University, The Netherlands. Her recent publications include articles on environmental policy in China in *Environmental Politics* and the *Journal of Contemporary China*.

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1

Introduction: Sports Mega-Events, Sustainable Development and Civil Societies

Graeme Hayes and John Karamichas

On 24 March 2008, at Olympia, the site of the ancient Olympic Games in Greece, a ceremony was held to mark the quadrennial ceremonial lighting of the Olympic torch. The event itself promised added value as a media spectacle for reasons beyond the symbolism of Olympic pageantry. The Olympic host nation, China, was subject to widespread criticism for its human rights record in general, and its violent repression of protest in Tibet in particular; the global media were expecting to capture the possible hijacking of the day's events by pro-Tibet campaigners. A year earlier, Greece had experienced the most devastating forest fires in its modern history; the last-minute salvation of the world heritage site of Olympia, as the flames had already entered the site, provided an opportunity for the Greek government to demonstrate the country's symbolic survival. Notwithstanding the extensive security operation that was mounted on the day by the authorities, three members of the Paris-based media advocacy group Reporters sans Frontières (Reporters Without Borders) managed to evade security and disrupt the speech of BOCOG (Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games) president (and Beijing Communist Party Secretary) Liu Qi and were arrested as they were about to unfurl a banner representing the Olympic Rings as handcuffs. Greek and Chinese state media acted promptly: live television coverage suddenly cut away to carefully selected footage of the ancient landscape. No footage of the incident was shown in the live transmission by either the Greek or Chinese state-run TV channels. 'If the Olympic flame is sacred, human rights are even more so', Reporters sans Frontières said in a statement. 'We cannot let the Chinese government seize the Olympic flame, a symbol of peace, without denouncing the dramatic situation of human rights in the country.' 'It's always sad when there are protests. But they were not violent and I think that's the important thing', countered IOC (International Olympic Committee) president Jacques Rogge (both quoted in *The Guardian* 24 March 2008).

This volume is about sports mega-events; their social, political and cultural characters; the value systems that they inscribe and draw on; the claims they make on us and the claims the organizers make for them; the spatial and ethical relationships they create; and the responses of civil societies to them. Our premise is that sports mega-events – in Maurice Roche's now familiar formulation, 'large-scale [...] events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance' (2000: 1), and which generally encompass Olympic and Commonwealth Games, FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) World Cups and UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) Championships (but also perhaps, in some observers' eyes, rugby and cricket world cups, and other recurrent multi-national sports or multi-sports tournaments) – are not simply sporting or cultural phenomena. They are also political and economic events, characterized by the generation and projection of symbolic meanings – most obviously over the nature of statehood, economic power and collective cultural identity – and by social conflict, especially over land use, and over the extent and contours of public spending commitments. Because of their peculiar spatial and temporal organization, they raise questions about the relationships between global cultural and economic flows and particular local and national spaces; because of what Hiller terms the 'phases in their evolution' (2000: 192), or not simply the time of the event itself but those of pre-event bid construction, tournament implementation and post-event 'legacy', they ask us to consider the effects of the event on the long-term direction, implementation and consequences of public policy. Most fundamentally, sports mega-events interest us because of their capacity to reveal the orientation of national and global political systems and processes, and the ideological assumptions and operations that underpin them.

This volume is designed to fill a major lacuna in the literature on sports mega-events. Given the size of their global audience and their political, economic and cultural importance, it is perhaps unsurprising that mega-events have begun to generate an impressive academic literature, particularly in the fields of tourism and leisure studies, business studies, urban studies, media and communication studies and sports sociology. Yet despite (as we shall see) the dominant trends and seemingly inherently controversial nature of the conditions under which sports mega-events are staged, they have given rise to relatively little in the way of analysis addressing the importance of globalization, environmental performance, claims to sustainable development, and social and civic responses from either sociology or political science. Such analysis and discussion are particularly important given the nature of pre-event claims made by metropolitan political, business and media ('booster') elites. Typically, these claims are designed to convince domestic publics and international regulatory bodies, such as UEFA, FIFA and the IOC, of the necessity of hosting sports mega-events

for the delivery of desirable urban policy goals, conceived in terms of the creation of post-event legacies. Increasingly, these projected legacies take the form of large-scale, top-down, transformative urban projects: new housing; leisure, corporate and retail construction projects; the development of transport infrastructures; the implementation of sustainable development and environmental best practice programmes; and so on.

This book therefore focuses on a series of specific characteristics of these events, characteristics which appear to us to be increasingly central to their staging and design, and of our understanding of their function. These are the questions of globalization, be it political, economic or cultural, and particularly in its neo-liberal guise, and the effects of mega-events on urban infrastructural development; of the increasingly corporate nature of sports mega-events, and their consequent social impacts; of the role of mega-events in showcasing and promoting sustainable development programmes, but also the impacts of mega-events on the physical environment; of their elite nature, and of the relationships between political elites and publics; and finally, especially given their promotion as popular cultural celebrations, of the nature of democratic participation in their design, and the subsequent responses of civil societies to mega-events. The contributors to this volume come from different academic disciplines – from sociology and from political science most obviously, but also from architecture and design, from management and urban studies, not to mention from social movements themselves – and we anticipate that the readers of this volume will likewise have backgrounds in different disciplines and sub-disciplines – comparative politics, environmental politics, political sociology, sports history, sports sociology, cultural studies and so on. We also hope this book will appeal to the general lay reader. Given the heterogeneous nature of the volume's audience, the aim of this introduction is to give a flavour of the nature of the different contributions the book brings together, and to establish the main developments and debates which the subsequent chapters will discuss. The introduction has therefore been divided into three sections: mega-events and globalization; mega-events, sustainable development and environmental politics; the corporate character and social impacts of mega-events, and civic responses and resistances to them. The volume as a whole replicates this structure.

Mega-events and globalization

For many observers, sports mega-events seem to crystallize, or reveal, the processes at the heart of contemporary globalization. Anthony Giddens, for example, in his foundational *Sociology* textbook, introduces his discussion of globalization by pointing to the FIFA World Cup as a key example of the globalizing effects of information and communication technologies (2006: 50), whilst Richard Giulianotti, introducing his selection of key