

Mega Sporting Events – ‘A double edged sword’

An analysis of the extent to which mega sporting events foster sustainable development for vulnerable communities, and how approaches of pacification, exclusion and gentrification impact upon their rights and capabilities

The case studies of Rio de Janeiro, London and Cardiff



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World Cup: Rio favelas being 'socially cleansed' in runup to sporting events

Slum dwellers say thousands forced out of their homes to make way for building projects for tournament and 2016 Olympics

(Guardian, 2013)

W News • Wales News • UEFA Champions League final

Homeless people say they have been told by police to leave Cardiff ahead of the Champions League final

(Wales Online, 2017)

South Wales Police have powers to remove people behaving antisocially for up to 48-hours

Declaration

I certify that this is my own original work unless otherwise specified (excluding tables, references and appendices).

I give consent for this thesis if accepted, to be made available online in the University's Open Access Repository and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

The university's ethical procedures have been followed and ethical approval was granted for the researcher to conduct the interviews used in this thesis.

Signed 

Date 18/09/2020

Abstract

Mega sporting events are beginning to be hosted more frequently in ‘developing’ countries. They are often portrayed by leading politicians from these countries to be a major turning point in development. However, they can negatively impact some vulnerable members of society. This thesis analyses how mega sporting events impact the development of vulnerable communities in host cities and evaluates whether they foster a sustainable path to development.

There are three main stages to the thesis. Firstly, an assessment of a less economically developed host city – Rio de Janeiro is conducted. Then examples of more economically developed host cities – Cardiff and London are assessed. Finally, a comparison is then made of the impact of mega sporting events on the case studies showing similarities and differences. The thesis adopts the approach of interpretative phenomenological analysis. It analyses the phenomena of mega sporting events and how vulnerable communities experience the processes of pacification, exclusion and gentrification that were used by local authorities in cities when mega sporting events were hosted.

The thesis argues that although mega sporting events are often believed to provide some positive economic boost, the economic impacts of the mega sporting events particularly in developing countries are often damaging. The social impact on development by mega sporting events is also felt far worse by vulnerable communities who are often excluded totally by the events and see their rights and capabilities impacted.

The thesis concludes that mega sporting events at present do not foster sustainable paths to development for developing countries. In order for them to be less damaging to vulnerable communities in host cities, principles from the capabilities and rights based approach need to be respected by local authorities, whilst organisations such as FIFA and the IOC should be required to stop prioritising their own financial gain at the expense of these communities.

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Sadly, I was informed that one rough sleeper in Cardiff passed away shortly after being interviewed. 'Paddy' was extremely kind to me, and only too happy to speak to me about his experiences of sleeping rough on the streets of Cardiff. He was well known by many homelessness NGOs and outreach workers and will be sorely missed.



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List of abbreviations

ASBO – Anti-Social Behavioural Order

BAME – Black and minority ethnic

BRL - Brazilian real

BRT - Bus Rapid Transit

CPN – Community Protection Order

FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GLA - Greater London Authority

GNP – Gross National Product

HDI – Human Development Index

HWC – Homeless World Cup

IPA - Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

IOC – International Olympic Committee

ITV – Independent Television

LDA – London Development Agency

MP – Member of Parliament

MSE – Mega sporting events

NFL – National Football League

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

ODA – Olympic Delivery Authority

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

ORiEL - Olympic Regeneration in East London

PAC - Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (translated as Growth Acceleration Programme)

PR – Public Relations

PSPO – Public Space Protection Order

RP – Renewal Programme

ROCOG - Rio Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games

TV – Television

UEFA - Union of European Football Associations

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UPP - Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora, (translated as Police Pacification Unit)

US – United States

USD – United States Dollar

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview – Contextualising the research

Mega sporting events (MSEs) are a global phenomenon that are widely discussed when they are hosted in a country, especially when they are hosted in a country that does not host them usually. “More recently, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has encouraged bids from developing countries and has awarded the games on several occasions to non-traditional countries” (Matheson, 2012:3). This has occurred more regularly since the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, South Korea and particularly since the beginning of the 21st century which has seen the Olympics and the World Cup hosted across a variety of countries that has led to the development of new infrastructure in order to host them, including Brazil, South Africa and Japan.

Huge financial investments are needed to host these events, and as a result, “the decision to bid for and host them attracts controversy as well as criticism” (Baum and Lockstone, 2007:35). MSEs are defined as a “special event that is a one-time or infrequently occurring event outside normal programmes or activities of the sponsoring or organizing body” (Getz, 1997:4). They are often discussed in terms of development for two main reasons. Firstly, they are developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal, and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term” (Ritchie, 1984:2). Secondly, they also “come with significant costs and long-term impacts on the built environment and the population of the host countries or cities” (Müller, 2015a:7).

Despite the huge impact MSEs have on development “there is still a distinctive lack of analysis of the bidding and hosting processes of these events in the context of the developing world” (Odhambo, 2015:395). Most academics (such as Ritchie 1984, Bob & Potgieter 2013, and Baumann and Matheson 2016 who even used Brazil as a case study) discuss mega sporting events in terms of tourism but fail to discuss why countries bid for them, and how they finance them.

This research uses interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) to study mega sporting events. IPA is an approach to qualitative research with an idiographic focus. This means that “it aims to offer insights into how a given person, in a given context, makes sense of a given

phenomenon” (Giannouli et al, 2019:1). Using IPA allows the researcher to better understand how much these events can impact upon an individual’s life. Rather than the researcher making assumptions, participants can offer meaningful insights which can be used to generate a better understanding of the impact of MSEs.

Furthermore, analysing mega sporting events through the lens of capabilities and rights-based approaches is something that has rarely been done before. Mega sporting events have a dark history of evictions of poor people in host cities, dating back to 1936 where “the Nazis evicted urban poor in Berlin before the Olympics to hide poverty from the international visitors” (Davis, 2007:106). Gentrification is a process that is often a result of MSEs. “Gentrification is the movement of capital, and middle and upper-class residents into urban areas which had previously been left to deteriorate, causing property values to rise, and leading ultimately to the displacement of the low-income population that had occupied the area when it was cheap and run-down” (Huron, 2002:9). This process has occurred often (Vance, 2015; Woods, 2015 & Facconi, 2017) as inner cities have been regenerated after mega sporting events and vulnerable communities lose out as a result. “Mega-events are said to function as a means of gentrification that “permanently place housing beyond the financial means of a significant segment of society” (COHRE, 2007: 11).

Still in the 21st century, there have been examples in literature of governments moving groups of people out of the city to accommodate for mega sporting events, for example Steinbrink, (2011) & Lemanski (2014) who analyse South Africa (host of the 2010 World Cup). Groups of people that are moved out of their homes very rarely receive any benefits, and as a result “mega-events could serve to exacerbate social problems and deepen existing divides among residents” (Ruthheiser, 2000:1). Preuss (1998:4) also states that “the games bring about a gentrification which is primarily to the benefit of the upper stratification”.

Favela dwellers in Rio de Janeiro have appeared often in literature as statistics. “In 2009 the Brazilian government published a document stating that 119 favelas in Rio de Janeiro were to be removed before the Olympics in 2016 “(Steinbrink, 2013:134). “67,000 people were evicted from their homes between 2009 and 2013” (Braathen & Sørboe, 2015). Stories made newspaper headlines in the build up to the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016, however, the majority of writing has been produced by reporters visiting the city for just a few days to cover the event. Consequently, after the mega sporting events have ended in Brazil,

little writing has been produced about the legacy of the mega sporting events and how they have changed the lives of favela residents forever.

Rough sleepers in the United Kingdom are a group that are very rarely discussed in literature when it comes to the hosting of mega sporting events, yet this thesis will analyse how those living on the streets can indeed have their rights and capabilities impacted. (Caplow et al, 1968: 494) defines homelessness as being “a condition of detachment from society, characterised by the absence or attenuation of the affiliative bonds that link settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures”. Homeless people in the UK share similarities to those living in favelas in Rio de Janeiro because favela dwellers too are without secure housing and are detached from mainstream society.

This thesis aims to address gaps in literature by analysing the case studies of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil which hosted the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016, and the UK which saw London host the 2012 Olympic Games and Cardiff host the 2017 Champions League final. In particular it will analyse the experiences of vulnerable communities living in the host cities when the MSEs were hosted.

Finally, the case studies will be compared, showing that despite the differences in stages of development, there are some similarities as well as differences in both the economic and social impacts of the mega sporting events. This is important to show how different levels of development can be influential on how positive/negative the impacts of an MSE are on vulnerable communities.

1.2 Research objectives

The overall aim of this thesis is to evaluate whether the hosting of mega sporting events fosters sustainable development or negatively impacts vulnerable communities. It also aims to analyse what type of legacy the mega sporting events leave behind. It aims to make comparisons between the mega events in the different case studies showing that there are commonalities between the two countries, despite them being at different stages of development. Finally, it will evaluate how these countries could apply principles from the capabilities and rights-based approaches to improve development in cities that host mega sporting events.

Mega sporting events change the city they are hosted in and construct new experiences for those people who live in the city. Therefore, when conducting research, the researcher adopts

the approach of interpretative phenomenological analysis. Based on existing research regarding MSEs and their impacts on vulnerable communities in host countries, a set of research questions was derived with the aim of gaining an understanding of how vulnerable groups of people in the case study cities experience MSEs. Whilst the questions are based on themes from existing research, there is no pre-conceived hypothesis to test. Conclusions will be made from the data given by the participants.

This shapes the way in which data is both generated and analysed as it also means the researcher is not looking to generate new theories from the data as a whole, but look at individual experiences from vulnerable communities during the hosting of the mega sporting events and show how these experiences compare with those from other cities. Through the rights based and capabilities approaches it will be analysed how these experienced could be improved should an MSE be hosted in their city again.

The research questions below will be answered during the next chapters of this thesis. Research question one should be answered by evaluating the case study of Rio de Janeiro and question two should be answered by the evaluation of the case studies of London and Cardiff. Research question three will be addressed by chapter six which should compare the two case studies showing any common themes and differences and further tie in the theories of development.

Research Questions

1) What were the impacts of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympics on the rights and capabilities of favela residents in the developing city of Rio de Janeiro?

1.1) How were the two mega sporting events financed and how effective was this use of funds in developing the city?

1.2) How did the mega sporting events impact the physical development of favelas in Rio de Janeiro?

1.3) How did the mega sporting events impact the rights and capabilities of favela residents and to what extent was the city of Rio de Janeiro gentrified as a result?

2) What were the impacts of the 2012 Olympics in London and the 2017 Champions league final in Cardiff on the rights and capabilities of rough sleepers in more economically developed UK cities?

2.1) How were the two mega sporting events financed, and to what extent did the money trickle down to rough sleepers and NGOs?

2.2) What was the legacy left behind by the mega sporting events for rough sleepers in the UK?

2.3) To what extent did local authorities engage with NGOs that work with rough sleepers in the UK to provide a 'joint approach' to development?

3) How do host cities compare in their development of vulnerable communities when hosting mega sporting events and what can be learnt?

3.1) How have the case studies from South America and Europe compared in their impacts on vulnerable communities when hosting mega sporting events?

3.2) How could tournament organisers use principles of development theories to improve the legacy of mega sporting events?

It is hoped that these questions will provide a focus to the research, and allow the researcher to investigate how mega sporting events impact development in the city they are hosted in. The answers to these questions should be clear to the reader by the end of the concluding chapter.

1.3 Rationale of the research

The main justification for this research is that the researcher has identified a gap in literature by analysing the negative impacts that vulnerable communities face, when cities host mega sporting events.

This thesis aims to build on previous research which evaluates the pros and cons of hosting tournaments, such as Malfas et al 2004, Matos Matos 2006 & Wilson & Lieu 2014. However, current research does not go far enough in looking at the impacts and can be obsessed with just looking at the economic benefits and costs. It is for this reason that the thesis will not just look at the economic cost but will examine where the funding for these events actually comes from and how governments make savings elsewhere in order to host these events. Furthermore, this thesis in particular focuses on the social impacts of hosting MSEs.

The justification for using Brazil as a case study is that it is a global south middle-income country, and a country that is still very much 'developing'. Brazil is not a developed country though it has several characteristics of one, including the largest economy in South America. "Brazil is still considered as developing due to its low GDP per capita, low living standards, high infant mortality rate, and other factors" (Investopedia, 2019:1). Therefore, by using Rio as a case study, it allows the researcher to see the impact that mega sporting events can have on the development of a city.

Furthermore, Rio has hosted the two biggest mega sporting events in recent years, hosting the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016. “Academic interest in sport in South America has been given a significant boost by the scheduled hosting of the two largest sports mega-events. One of the reasons, is that the staging of these, focuses the attention of the global media and academics on the host nation and cities involved” (Horne & Silvestre, 2016:2). Mega sporting events up until recently, have been held mainly in Europe or North America, so now the phenomenon of hosting mega events has reached South America, it is of interest to analyse the impact it has had there. Rio is the perfect example, having been a host so recently.

Rio is also used, due to it being home to its infamous favelas. This is useful for the purposes of this thesis as it allows the researcher to analyse how mega sporting events have impacted favela residents and then compare it to the case study of rough sleepers in the UK.

The reason for using case studies within the United Kingdom is that firstly the researcher is a UK citizen. This means that whilst using desk-based research to analyse the case study of Rio de Janeiro, the researcher has a better opportunity to conduct research in the field in the UK. Primary research is important as “one fails to absorb, see and understand if they are not close to the field” (Kakoly, 2015:1). Due to financial and safety constraints (plus the outbreak of covid-19) it would be extremely difficult to travel to Rio de Janeiro to conduct primary research. Research in the UK provides the perfect alternative, giving detailed primary data to compare with the case study of Rio.

The UK has also hosted many mega sporting events in the past, hosting the Olympics, Rugby World Cup, Cricket World Cup and the Champions League final amongst other events in the last decade. London and Cardiff have been chosen because they have recently hosted MSEs. The Olympics in 2012 and the Champions league final in 2017 hit newspaper headlines for their removal of rough sleepers, yet neither of these stories featured heavily in academic writing. Both cities have many NGOs that work with rough sleepers. This allows the researcher to compare how event organisers interacted with these charities and the impact the events had on these people.

This study will be the first of its kind that compares these extremely different case studies that have hosted mega sporting events. The fact that it analyses them through two development approaches with development for vulnerable communities as a focus, also makes it unique. It will allow for an interesting comparison between European cities that are used to hosting mega sporting events, to a South American city which is not.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised as follows:

Chapter two is the literature review and begins by analysing the rights based and capabilities approaches. These are development theories that are applicable to the studies. It then provides a critical review of literature that discusses how sporting events are categorised and evaluates the positives and negatives they bring to a host city. It goes on to scrutinise the concept of securitisation, before analysing gentrification, which is a key consequence of development in this study. The review then discusses one of the case studies - Rio de Janeiro and its favelas, before reviewing the literature surrounding the other case study - homelessness in the United Kingdom, its classification, its causes, and finally examples of how some UK cities have removed rough sleepers.

Chapter three discusses the methodology guiding the research, discussing the different types of qualitative research methods that are used and the justifications behind them. It discusses the use of interpretative phenomenological analysis and the comparison of the case studies. It also explains how both primary and secondary research methods are used in the thesis. Finally, it shows the different groups of people that are interviewed and explains the rationale for this and the ethics behind it.

Chapter four discusses the case study of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil which hosted the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016. It evaluates the economic impacts on the city as a result of the mega sporting events, the impacts of pacification on violence and displacement in the favelas, how the city has been gentrified and how the favelas have changed physically. This is done with the overarching aim of analysing how these processes have impeded on the rights and capabilities of the favela residents. This chapter answers the sub research questions under research question one.

Chapter five discusses the case studies of London and Cardiff, UK which hosted the Olympics in 2012 and the Champions league final in 2017. It analyses the economic impacts on the cities as a result of the mega sporting events, before evaluating the impact of the events on the rights and capabilities of rough sleepers in the cities. Finally, it looks at the extent to which a joint approach to development was present between local authorities and NGOs. This chapter answers the sub research questions under research question two.

Chapter six compares and contrasts the case studies showing the similarities and differences that they had on impacting development in the host cities. It shows that despite the vast differences in development, there are similarities in the way vulnerable groups of people were treated. It also looks at principles from the development approaches that could improve the legacy left behind by mega sporting events. This chapter answers the sub research questions under research question three.

Chapter seven is the concluding chapter and gives an overall evaluation of how mega sporting events impact the development of vulnerable communities in the cities they are hosted in. It highlights the limitations of this thesis and gives recommendations for future research.

These chapters show that there are many negative consequences of mega sporting events alongside the positive impacts on the population of a host city. Tournament organisers did not interact enough with NGOs that work with these groups of people, and the approach implemented impacted the rights and capabilities of these vulnerable communities severely.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to critically review literature covering the key concepts of the thesis. It does not unpack the breadth and complexity of the surrounding literature in full but does aim to highlight any gaps. It will follow the structure as outlined on page 19.

2.2 The rights-based approach to development

“The human rights-based approach is a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and is operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights” (UNICEF, 2020:1). It began with the universal declaration of human rights by the United Nations in 1948. This is an important document that will be very important for the purposes of this thesis as it identifies what human rights every person should be entitled to. Such rights that are included are the rights to “life, freedom, fair trial and own property” (UN, 1948).

There is a large amount of literature that has focused on a lack of human rights enforcement in developing countries such as Cook (2012) who focuses on how women in poorer countries suffer from human rights abuses. Whilst case studies often focus on low-income countries, there is also literature covering a lack of human rights enforcement in more economically developed countries such as the US, e.g. Sunstein (2009) who illustrates how poorer US citizens suffer from a lack of social and economic guarantees. This shows how human rights are a global issue. The rights-based approach is popular today and has been incorporated into many strategies for development such as the Millennium and Sustainable development goals (Alston, 2005., & Nelson, 2007).

For example, Millennium development goal number 3 is to “promote gender equality and empower women” (UN, 2015:5). This relates to the right to equality. The approach is also advocated for by a number of NGOs (Non-governmental organisations) such as Amnesty International who state that “human rights belong to every single one of us, anywhere in the world” (2020:2). With human rights argued to have such importance in policy making it is therefore perhaps surprising that it is not mainstreamed in every single country.

The approach however has come under criticism due to “citizens issuing an endless list of ‘demands’ to ‘duty bearers’, usually governments” (OXFAM, 2014:2). This is not always effective, as governments can claim it is hard to meet every single right for its citizens. Despite this, it is said that no matter how long the list, “governments cannot pick or choose which rights to honour” (Scottish Government, 2019:1) and therefore theoretically there should be no breaches of human rights anywhere in the world.

Especially in lower economically developed countries, the rights-based approach to development has largely not been used by governments. This is argued by Uvin (2007:598) who states “from a political, real-world, perspective, the track record of the right to development is catastrophic”. For example, in one city that will be used in this thesis - Rio de Janeiro, it is claimed that “some police officers kill unlawfully, torture detainees, and mistreat children...other human rights problems include violence against women, killings of journalists and bloggers because of their work” (Human Rights Watch, 2017:8). This relationship between low economic performance and an infringement on human rights is not a new theory and has been further supported by Pogge (2005); Osinbanjo & Ajayi (1994); Vizzard (2006). It is therefore relevant to the focus of this thesis because it could mean that Brazil’s lower stage of development, could correlate with a poor human rights record when hosting MSEs.

The rights-based approach is relevant to mega sporting events because it has been said that human rights are often “impacted by mega sporting events” (Institute for Human Rights and Business, 2013:3). Literature has shown us how this has ranged from “forced evictions, resettlement issues and housing rights abuses during land acquisition and development, to labour rights questions” (Amis, 2017:137). In this specific research, it will be examined the extent to which the mega sporting events impacted the human rights of favela residents living in Rio de Janeiro in particular.

2.3 The capabilities approach to development

In the 1980s, the “capabilities approach emerged as the leading alternative to standard economic frameworks for thinking about poverty” (Clark, 2005:2). This was due to some of the “problematic assumptions and conclusions of output-based approaches to development” (Nussbaum, 2004:200). For example, measures of poverty such as Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) did not consider any other indicators than wealth

to help the most vulnerable. Rather than just taking income as the indicator of poverty, the capabilities approach identifies other aspects such as health, housing and happiness.

The approach “is essentially a ‘people-centred’ approach” (Drèze & Sen 2002:6). This means that it puts human agency rather than organizations such as markets or governments at the centre of the stage. This is important for this thesis as it can be argued that focusing on development on the people living in cities rather than focusing on infrastructure is more beneficial to their development. The two authors who have produced major works on the capabilities approach are Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen.

Nussbaum (2011a:18) has described the capability approach as “consisting of two clusters, one focusing on comparative quality of life, and the other theorising about justice”. Comparative quality of life is “the assessment of individual well-being” (Robeyns 2011:3) and evaluates the capabilities that people have and if they are currently able to reach their full potential of them, for example if they are as healthy as they should be. This can then be used in policy making to help people reach their full potential.

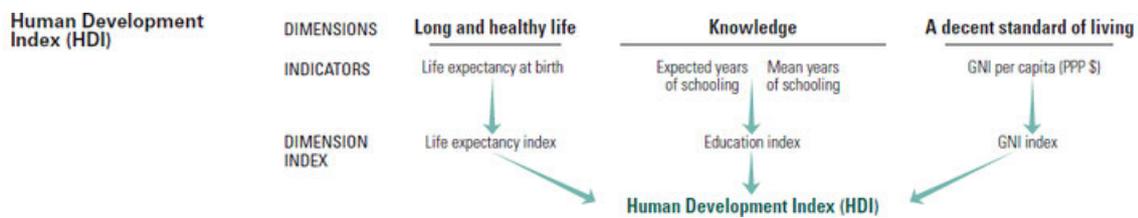
Sen’s idea of theorising justice moves beyond just capabilities, with multiple dimensions in capability, space, as well as principles, and processes. It focuses on “ranking alternative societal arrangements (whether some arrangement is less just or more just than another), rather than focusing exclusively on the identification of a fully just society.” (Sen, 2006:216). This means that the approach looks at social injustice as well as economic injustice, but also looks at different levels of injustice across society and suggests how to address them. These suggestions will come in useful when discussing how the hosting of mega events could be improved.

There are ten principles laid out by Nussbaum (2000) to the capability approach and these will be important for the purposes of this thesis. They include life, bodily health and most importantly for this thesis “control over one’s environment”. Control over one’s environment is defined as “being able to hold property (both land and moveable goods), not just formally, but in terms of real opportunity; having property rights on an equal basis with others” (Nussbaum, 2006:76). This definition goes further than just identifying a right to having shelter and states that everyone should have the same opportunities for housing. Especially in the case study of Rio de Janeiro, it will be analysed if residents were offered the same opportunities to housing when the two mega events were hosted in the city, as they had prior to the event.

Sen’s capabilities approach however has not been without its criticism. These have been published in two waves. The first wave of criticism forcefully encapsulated the scepticism of economists and philosophers who did not think the approach could be operationalised. Questions were asked by academics such as Streeten (1984), on how the approach could be put into practice. This however was defended by Alkire (1998:2) who highlighted that some direct poverty reduction activities already seek to empower poor persons to be active agents in social and political structures. The Millennium Development Goals for example, are also inclusive of capabilities as well as human rights and seek to promote control over their own environment for those living in poverty.

A second more recent wave of criticism from Sugden (2008:299) argues that “Sen’s capability approach, can lead to society making judgements about what is, or is not good for us which in turn can lead to objectionable restrictions on liberty”. Despite these criticisms, adaptations to build on Sens approach mainly by Nussbaum to include free choice, have resulted in it becoming one of the most important approaches to development. This is shown through the Human Development Index (HDI) created by capabilities theorist Mahub ul Haq, which has been used by the United Nations (UN) since 1990 to rank countries in terms of development.

Figure 1 (United Nations Development Programme, 2020)



HDI considers economic measures, but also encompasses life expectancy and level of education. Interestingly for the purposes of this thesis, in 2019 the UK was ranked 15th in the HDI whereas Brazil was ranked 79th. On the next page are shown both countries HDI.

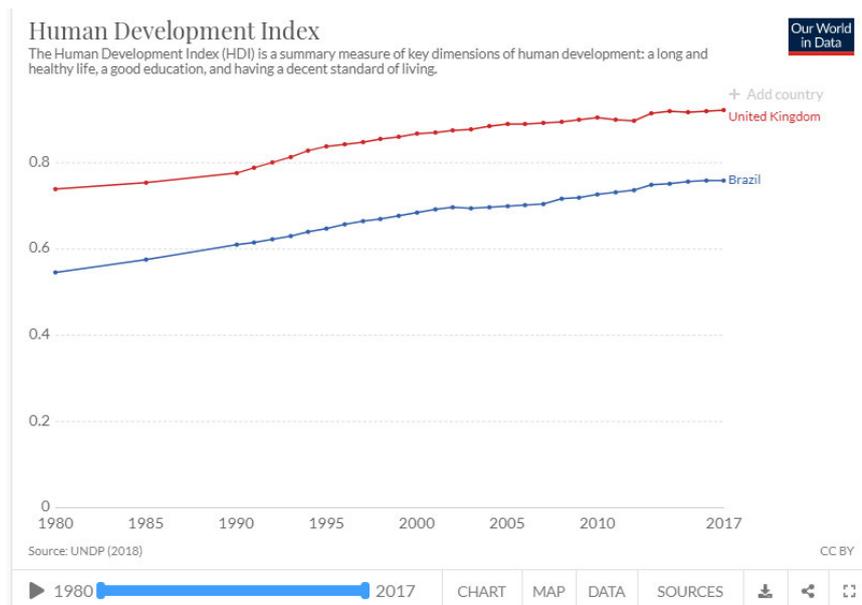


Figure 2 (Roser, 2014)

This is important for this research for it tells us that the people of Brazil are at a much lower stage of development than those living in the UK with a lower standard of living and a less healthy life. It means that it is important to understand the extent to which the impacts of the MSEs were felt more by those living in Brazil than those living in the UK. Did people living in poverty feel the impacts of the mega event worse because they are at a lower stage of development? Literature would suggest that this is the case, with the impacts of mega sporting events being felt worst where there is widespread poverty and inequality (Pillay & Bass, 2008).

2.4 Categorising international sporting events

Mega sporting events more commonly referred to as ‘MSEs’ (Essex, 2004; Matheson and Baade, 2005; Barclay, 2009; Chappelle, 2012) have been defined as being “one-time sporting events of an international scale organized by a special ‘authority’ and yielding extremely high levels of media coverage and impacts for the host community because of the event's significance and/or size” (Byers et al, 2012:103). This is often considered to mean the Olympics and the World Cup which are hosted over a few weeks, once every four years, but are discussed for many years afterwards.

The hosting of these two events “has been actively pursued by some of the world’s major centres as a way to ‘fast-track’ their urban regeneration agenda and stand out among the global competition for international capital” (Silvestre, 2008:2). In recent years a number of lower economically developed countries have hosted MSEs to advance their economies. The example

used in this thesis - Rio de Janeiro “has pursued sports mega-events as a development strategy for two decades and each successive event brings changes to urban and social structures” (Gaffney, 2015:173). This is important for this research as it will be analysed how successful the hosting of the events was in changing urban and social structures and how this benefitted the lives of people living in the city. It is also important to evaluate whether the changes were made for the benefit of the people living in the city or tourists.

In 2006, Horne and Manzenreiter debating how events are categorised, stated that “two commonly considered standards are attendance at the event and television viewership of the event” (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006:4). This creates some debate as some events such as the London Marathon can have 40,000 runners, with 750,000 spectators on the street, and the Superbowl which attracts a global television audience of 98 million, but both are only held on one day so therefore are considered smaller to other events. (Marris, 1987:3) suggested a “minimum of one million visitors is needed to make an event qualify as a mega-event”. A one-day event such as the Champions League final used in this thesis is unlikely to reach such numbers as World Cups and Olympics, which combined last for over seven weeks. However, the Champions League final can be considered a mega sporting event in terms of television viewership for it often has up to “380 million viewers” (UEFA, 2018) on TV/online streaming services.

Alongside television viewership and event attendance, the tourism generated both immediately and long after the sporting event has finished, has been a way to categorise international sporting events in literature. Mega-events “seem to have shaped world tourism patterns, highlighting new tourism destinations and creating so-called lasting legacies in the host cities or countries” (Fourie & Gallego, 2010:1). Melbourne for example has tried to use this to its advantage, through a strategic use of sports. It hosted international sporting events such as the 2003 Rugby World Cup and the Melbourne Cup (horse racing). “The city not only gained immense exposure as a sport tourism destination during the events, it also became an attractive place for all “active sport” tourists” (Higham 2009:84).

A problem with this is that an MSE does not always result in a tourist boom for the host country despite how significant it is. For example, after hosting the 1994 Winter Olympics, the Norwegian national and local authorities expected a ‘big boom’ in tourism. “The actual effects have been different from predictions, and 40% of the full-service hotels have gone bankrupt”

(Teigland, 1999:306). Anomalies such as this make it difficult to categorise sporting events based on tourism.

Another way which mega-events are often categorised by in literature, is through their economic impacts, particularly how much they cost to host. The following graph produced by Bladen et al shows the socio-economic impact of different types of events (2012:244).

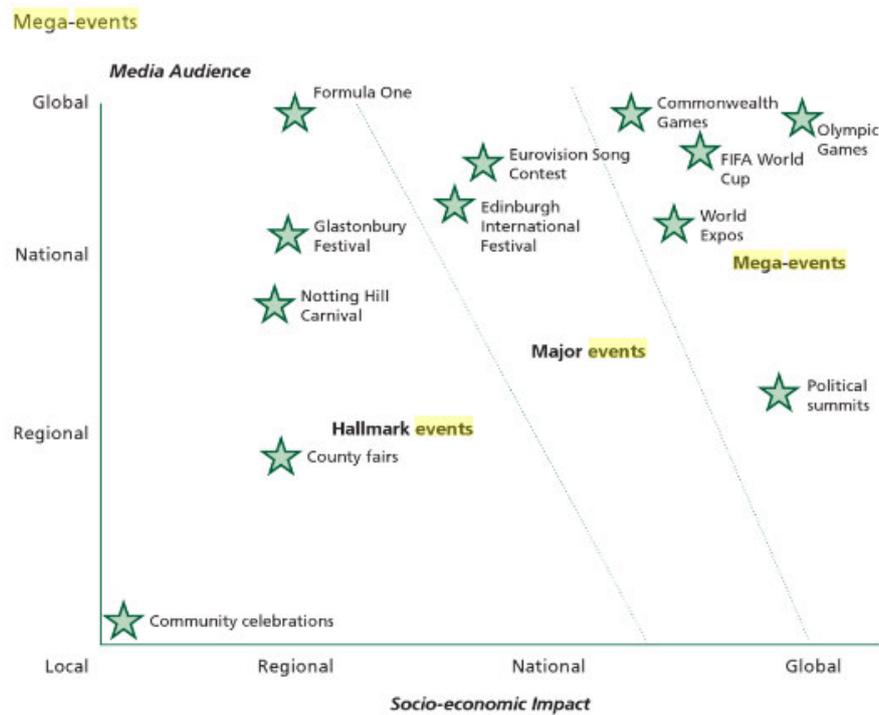


Figure 3

In terms of the sporting events included on this graph, Bladen includes the Commonwealth Games in the mega-events tier, whilst also introducing two other tiers to events. Again, in literature it is the two events (The World Cup and the Olympics) which top the charts in terms of spending. “Clear examples for such an argument are the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics in Brazil which had a cost of over US\$10 billion each” (Carmel, 2018). This is important for the research as Brazil is unique in hosting the two biggest MSEs in such quick succession. It raises many questions such as the extent to which extra pressure was put on the economy. Also did hosting the two MSEs give Brazil twice the amount of exposure they would have had if they had just hosted one?

Mega-events frequently also overrun their predicted costs. An example of this is “the 2010 Commonwealth Games in New Delhi (India); initially estimated to cost about USD \$50

million, the actual total budget was more than USD \$4 billion” (Müller, 2015a:8). The Olympics and World Cup again typically top the charts for over expenditure on events with “the average cost overrun for the Olympic Games since 1960, including operating and direct capital costs, being at 179%” (Flyvbjerg & Stewart, 2012:13). Therefore, as well as sporting events being categorised in terms of expenditure they have also been categorised in terms of ‘over expenditure’. It will be studied in this thesis how the cities of Rio, London and Cardiff over spent in comparison to their original budget and the extent to which this had on the economy and people living in the city.

Costs can vary on events depending on the country in which they are hosted in. For example, if they are hosted in a lower/middle income country, the cost could be far higher because the infrastructure to host a major event such as roads, sporting stadiums and hotels may not be in place. This is demonstrated by the two case studies in this thesis and will be further explained in the findings chapter. London paid “£9.3 billion for hosting the Olympics in 2012” (Wills, 2019:7) whereas Brazil spent around \$30 billion in providing the infrastructure needed to host its two mega sporting events. This is because a new bus system had to be put in place as well as major airport expansions. London already had in place the majority of infrastructure needed to host a mega sporting event.

As shown through event attendance, tourism, media coverage and event cost, literature concludes that the Olympics and the World Cup are the two that have almost always been classed as the biggest sporting events. However, there have been some instances where academics have claimed there to be other mega-events such as the Rugby World Cup (Jones, 20001; Jackson, 2013; Werner and Dickson, 2015) and the Cricket World Cup (Van der Merwe, 2007; Lorde et al, 2011) where audiences are smaller and the sport less practised worldwide. Therefore, currently it is accepted in literature that “it is ultimately difficult not to argue that where one draws the line between mega and non-mega-events is somewhat subjective” (Maennig & Zimbalist, 2012:13).

2.5 Mega sporting events - a ‘double edged sword’ (Rowe, 2017)

As well as the numerous benefits of mega sporting events, they also have many negative impacts that will be explored in this section. Zizek (2005:23) suggests that “it is an academic’s duty to look critically at the assumptions, beliefs and misrepresentations that are often suppressed, or perhaps more accurately, repressed, about sports mega-events”.

The “recognition of the negative effects that are often associated with sporting mega events has emerged relatively belatedly in the academic literature” (Higham, 1999:82). It has been argued that this was because previously mega-events were sold as a path to development for a country and therefore “much attention has focused on the economic development potential of sporting events” (Burgan & Mules, 1992:700). Maennig & Zimbalist (2012:3) note the turning point in literature to be of the “early 2000’s” when MSEs began to be hosted more often by countries outside of Europe and North America such as the World Cup to Japan in 2002 and South Africa in 2010, and the Olympics to China in 2008 and Brazil in 2016. This new phase of alternative countries hosting MSEs prompted academics to explore the impacts that these events were having on the country, and consequently it was found that they were not always positive.

In regard to the benefits of hosting MSEs however, they have in some instances been successful in developing cities as they can positively effect “the event-related job creation on the unemployment rates of the host region” (Miguellez & Carrasquer, 1995:27). Examples of this include Guangzhou, which utilised the 2010 Asian Games for its “wholesale urban restructuring and redevelopment” (Shin, 2014:2961) and Poland which used the Euro 2012 tournament as “an occasion to modernise its highways” (Müller, 2015b:632). This trend is set to continue with the FIFA World Cup that is going to be held in Doha during the summer of 2022. “Billions of dollars are being invested into the infrastructure of the stadium, metro system, airport, and a seaport” (Yehia, 2018). This has led to an increase in employment for Qatar and its neighbouring countries.

In addition, another benefit shown in literature is that “hosting the Olympic Games sends a signal to the world that raises the stature of both the host city and the nation on a global stage”. (Ricketts, 2012:3). On top of the investment into infrastructure and the job creation, the legacy that the event leaves behind can be of benefit to the country. If the event goes well, tourists will continue to visit the country for many years after the event. For example, “pre the 1992 Olympics, Barcelona was the 16th most popular tourist destination in Europe, seven years later in 1999 it was found to be the 3rd most popular” (Fairweather, 2008:10). The Olympic Games are said to have played a massive part in this tourism boost. If Rio de Janeiro and London in this research similarly received huge tourism boosts this could be positive for the economy and therefore future development.

However, whilst the Olympics in Barcelona are said to “have changed tourism in the city forever” (Cross, 2017:1), the local residents contest if this is in a positive way or not. “While

tourists spent an estimated €30 billion in 2017, they are viewed by some as a threat to Barcelona's identity” (Burgen, 2018) with many residents wanting tourists to go home. In response the mayor of Barcelona has raised tourist tax. This can be seen as an attempt to reverse the tourism that MSEs have brought to the country.

What is now more commonly discussed in literature, are the negatives of MSEs. Rowe states “for cities, hosting major sporting events is a double-edged sword” (Rowe, 2017:1).

Firstly, in terms of economic impact, “it is clear that mega-sporting events are extremely liable to less-than-accurate sporting impact studies. These may “understate costs and overstate benefits” (Barclay, 2009:2). For instance, “the 2010 Commonwealth Games in New Delhi (India); initially estimated to cost about USD \$50 million, the actual total spend was more than USD \$4 billion” (Müller, 2015a:9). Such an increase in costs could substantially cripple a country’s economy and have an impact on public services, particularly for Rio which hosted two MSEs in quick succession.

In regard to the benefits of mega sporting events being overstated, “the economic benefits for the host region tend to be moderate and significantly lower than expected” (Zimbalist, 2015:4). This has been shown in many previous MSEs. For example, “windfalls from the summer Salt Lake City winter games of 2002 did not materialize as predicted by the politicians championing the event” (Kuo, 2012:72). In this research it will also be important to analyse whether the host cities saw the economic benefits that local authorities predicted at the time of bidding for the MSEs.

A further critique in literature, surrounds the legacy that a mega-sporting event leaves behind. Whilst “China and South Africa recently showed that it can be an exceptional opportunity to devise a new identity to both their local citizenry and global audience” (Zhukovsk, 2017:14) often the legacy left behind can be remembered more for being a negative one. For example, “the bribery and corruption that surrounded the 2018 Russia World Cup” (Bensiger, 2018:1). Such stories can overshadow the positive change and inspiration a mega sporting event should bring. In the example of Rio de Janeiro in this thesis, the MSEs are remembered in literature for a legacy of displacement as “hundreds of thousands of people were relocated from favelas ... in order to build hotels, restaurants, parking lots, and various other structures for World Cup” (Butler & Aicher, 2014:307). This point highlights how vulnerable communities often fall victim to the hosting of MSEs and can have their lives greatly impacted by them. It will be important in this thesis to analyse individual claims by those vulnerable communities living in

Rio, London and Cardiff to really see the impact that the events have had on their everyday lives.

Furthermore, countries can be left with stadiums and infrastructure they do not use. It was reported that “Korea spent \$109 million in building the PyeongChang Olympic Stadium for the 2018 Winter Olympics. However, the 35,000-seat stadium will only be used four times, before it is demolished” (Cao, 2018:2). It raises the question that rather than investing in an MSE, the money could have been spent elsewhere to the benefit of poorer members of society in a host city. In the case of Rio de Janeiro “there were no sporting or cultural projects associated with the World Cup meaning that 100% of public investment is being directed towards the development of professional grade sporting infrastructure” (Gaffney, 2014:1). This implies that the hosting of the event had very little benefit to people living in Rio, and in fact could be of detriment. This could mean that money was actually saved by not being spent on welfare projects and was instead invested in stadiums and other infrastructure which would be rarely used by the public. It will therefore be important in this thesis to analyse just how much money was spent on the mega sporting events in Rio and the impact this had on the authority’s ability to provide services for residents.

This has led academics to conclude that “the argument against developing cities hosting major sporting events, revolves around the claim that it is not clear if the staging of a major sporting event is an efficient way of investing scarce public resources” (Preuss, 2006:11). Whilst there are claims that hosting an MSE is beneficial in the long term to development of all people (Moustakas, 2016), in Brazil and other developing countries this appears not to be the case as “mega sport events have benefitted mostly the commercial elites in Brazil” (Gursoy et al, 2017:345). If indeed the mega sporting events have benefitted the elite, rather than poorer residents, then the polarisation between these two groups will continue to widen in the country.

Literature in this section has shown that money is spent on infrastructure such as sporting stadiums and other infrastructure for tourists that will not be used after the tournament. Furthermore, the “employment that is generated in creating the infrastructure is usually only temporary” (Ahmed & Leahy, 2016:1) as this work is no longer required after the tournament ends. This is relevant to the thesis, as one research aim is to investigate if the money invested in MSEs really benefits residents living in the host city.

2.6 The Securitisation Approach

A securitisation approach to development is often taken by cities to justify measures they undertake against groups of people. There are many examples of this in literature. For example, migrants travelling to the UK “has been described as an invasion” (Pruitt, 2019:393). This type of labelling can result in police/military intervention such as that seen in the three case studies in this thesis. Whilst ‘increased security’ has become a major component of mega sporting events in recent years and has impacted many communities by excluding them from the events, ‘securitisation’ is how leading officials persuade the public that a certain group of people is a risk to public safety and therefore justifies taking measures against them. Securitisation therefore means “by labelling something a security issue, it becomes one” (Wæver 2004: 13). In this research, vulnerable groups were labelled a security issue and hence removed from the city when the MSE was hosted, rather than being labelled a socio-economic issue requiring support from the government.

Whilst this theory has only been around since the 1990s in International Development academia, securitisation has become increasingly important over the last 20 years. Cornelissen states, “in the aftermath of 9/11, sport mega events are today regarded as major security or terror risks” (2011:3224). Tournament organisers and authorities cannot risk anything going wrong with the world’s attention on their city. Therefore “the provision of adequate security has thus become one of the most important organisational tasks for hosts” (Taylor and Toohey, 2007:7). Analysing the securitisation approach taken in Rio, London & Cardiff means that the researcher is not just analysing the impacts of the events on residents, but the justifications used by authorities to impede on their lives. It will be examined in this thesis the extent to which local authorities have labelled vulnerable communities a risk to public safety in order to win support for their policies.

In Rio de Janeiro ahead of the World Cup and Olympics a securitisation approach was used by the municipality as another justification of hosting the competitions. The Government aimed to foster a legacy of security and safety as part of the MSE. Largely this was bought into by the people of Rio, “because of the real and perceived security improvements in the areas surrounding occupied favelas” Gaffney (2012b: 78). However, whilst this policy claimed to be in the interest of resident safety, it also benefitted local authorities who were able to sell off land to developers for high prices.

Criticism of securitisation approaches has come from Aradau who argues that “the negative groundworks of securitisation inhibit the managing process and causes troublesome results” (Aradau, 2004:388). Securitisation can cause troublesome results for those people that are excluded by securitisation policies as they can also become victims of hate (induced by fear) by the general population. Rather than a safer city, policies of securitisation can cause tensions between different groups. For example, the migrant camps in Calais, France are often referred to as ‘the jungle’ (Clare, 2016; Sanyal, 2017 & Ansaloni, 2020). This is an act of ‘securitisation’ as it makes them sound threatening and perhaps corresponds with the higher intolerance shown to migrants in France in recent years. In the context of this thesis, it is important because it will be studied how policies of securitisation impacted upon vulnerable communities, how these communities were treated by the rest of the population, and how this impacted their everyday life.

In speeches by politicians in Rio, London and Cardiff, the vulnerable communities discussed in this thesis have been named as risks to security, and this has resulted in justification of policies that have resulted in their exclusion when mega sporting events have been hosted. Giulianotti (2011) discusses the need for researchers to explore how such security strategies impact on the public. This thesis will examine how strategies of exclusion and removal in host cities have impacted upon vulnerable communities.

2.7 Excluded communities and their ‘right to the city’

Excluded communities are central to this thesis as the research will be conducted to analyse the extent to which excluded communities suffer as a consequence of mega events. “Social exclusion is the process in which individuals are blocked from (or denied full access to) various rights, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of a different group” (Levitas, et al, 2007:18). In this thesis it will be analysed how vulnerable communities in host cities were excluded by the hosting of the tournament and were denied rights to services such as housing, freedom and mobility.

The need for inclusion of excluded communities has often been discussed in the academic literature (Room, 199; Byrne, 1999., & Fuller & Mellor, 2006) and calls have been made for excluded groups to have “universal and equitable access to human rights” (Mannan et al, 2012, p.69). Many academics have conducted case studies in less economically developed countries and studied how vulnerable groups are excluded and not supported by their governments.

Excluded groups also form an important part of global policy making. The World Bank twin goals – ending extreme poverty and promoting shared prosperity, place the topic of inclusion front and centre. Likewise, Sustainable Development Goal 11 calls for “inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” cities. However, it is also stated that “despite wide recognition and commitment, building inclusive cities remains a challenge” (World Bank, 2015:1). Despite global commitments to integrate excluded communities, there are still many groups of people such as rough sleepers and favela residents living on the fringes of society.

The right to the city is an idea and a slogan that was first proposed by Henri Lefebvre in his 1968 book ‘Le Droit à la ville’. He described it as “a conglomeration of various rights, including the rights to information, access to services, to operating in urban space and to using the city centre” (Lefebvre 1991:34). His belief was that these rights should be available to all citizens including those who are vulnerable. It is therefore of interest to this research to understand in the case studies of Rio, London & Cardiff whether vulnerable groups are indeed included in policymaking and have the right to the city. It is also of interest to understand how the hosting of mega sporting events impacted upon this.

The concept of ‘the right to the city’ is still increasing in popularity today as “over the past decade or so, the right to the city has become one of the more talked-about concepts in urban studies” (Purcell, 2013:12). Recent works have been produced by academics such as (Marcuse, 2009; Mayer, 2012; Domaradzka, 2018 & Hintjens, 2019). The right to the city is a concept that involves who controls the city and changes it. Harvey defines it as being “far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city...the freedom to make and remake our cities” (Harvey, 2008). This means that people living in the city should be able to have a say in changes that are made.

However, at present, the remaking of a city often results in economic success at the expense of excluded groups. For example, a lack of affordable housing for low income workers in the city has meant “many rural migrants settling in urban slum areas and this has made them vulnerable to health problems” (Kuddus et al, 2020:6). This means that not including the needs of the poor (understood in this thesis as those without “not only income but also those without the fulfilment of basic needs, capabilities and participation” (Akindola, 2009:146), can have a really negative impact on their lives. In this thesis it will be explored the extent to which poor residents were consulted in the hosting of the mega sporting events and the extent to which local authorities took their needs into account.

There has however been some criticism of the right to the city movement by academics such as De Sousa (2010:317), who claims it has been “fashionable” to protest for the right to the city. He states that the “‘right to the city’ often only means for many grassroots activists, opposition to gentrification, with the result that alternative politics is reduced to a “politics of turf””. The right to the city as a concept was not intended by Lefebvre to simply be used to gain affordable housing in the city but was intended to revolutionise the way in which people think about capitalism and commodification.

Furthermore, the right to the city also has not been successfully implicated in most cities despite the theory being around for around fifty years. “The UK still has 320,000 homeless individuals in its cities” (Butler, 2018:1) whilst millions of tourists continue to visit and leave their mark each year. Still big corporations such as factories enter and pollute cities bringing with them many commuters from nearby towns. At present in the 21st century, capitalism is still argued to be “prioritised over the rights of the people” (Scott, 2006:28). At the expense of vulnerable communities, changes in cities (such as hosting MSEs) are made with the hope of advancing economies.

It is therefore surprising that “one of the earliest initiatives for the right to the city actually emerged in Brazil, where organizations among the urban poor, especially in the favelas of the large cities, began to advocate for a right to the city for slum dwellers” (Rodrigues & Barbosa, 2010:17). The right to the city was even included in Brazil federal law in 2001 where “guidelines ensure democratic city management and the recognition of the ‘social function’ of urban property and the city” (SmartCitiesDive, 2017:4). Later sections of this review will discuss how the favela residents right to the city has not always been prioritised by authorities in Brazil.

The right to the city is a vital component of this research. It is important to the case studies used in this thesis whereby corporate sporting events are brought to cities and favela residents and rough sleepers are potentially excluded. As Langegger & Koester state “evicting individuals from marginal spaces and banning them from being visibly homeless in everyday and prime spaces, deprives them of a fundamental right to the city” (2016:17). There are many examples in literature of sporting mega events being accused of removing or excluding rough sleepers from the city e.g. Johannesburg (Smith, 2010) & Beijing (Borger, 2007). This thesis will analyse the extent to which this happened in Rio de Janeiro, London and Cardiff.

2.8 Gentrification

This thesis will also look at how cities are gentrified for (and as a result of) MSEs. The concept of gentrification has changed in literature throughout the last forty years. “Gentrification was initially understood as the rehabilitation of decaying and low-income housing by middle-class outsiders in central cities” (Sassen 1991:255). In the late 1970s a broader conceptualization of the process began to emerge, and by the early 1980s new scholarship had developed a far broader meaning of gentrification, “linking it with processes of spatial, economic and social restructuring” (Slater, 2011:2380). This shows the development of the concept from the basic definition of a poor urban area being changed by wealthier people moving in, to seeing how this policy transferred from city to city, and the social and economic impacts it has on all stakeholders.

Gentrification being a fairly new term, faced examination of the costs and benefits in the early 2000s. “A key focus has been to unravel which groups benefit and/or suffer from processes of gentrification” (Cameron, 2003:2367). One advantage of gentrification is that it is “beneficial to those who are homeowners because they can sell their houses for a higher price than what they bought it for” (Atkinson 2002:17). Once an area has been gentrified, often it becomes a wealthier area with houses costing more due to an influx of wealthier residents, increased investment and fewer social problems such as crime and poverty.

An example given in literature is that of Cape Town, South Africa (host of the World Cup in 2010). “In what was once a ramshackle suburb plagued with crack houses, is now a thriving market neighbourhood, and is a haven for celebrated cosmopolitan restaurants, organic farmers, art galleries and antique shops” (Chan, 2017). This is a positive of gentrification, where previously shoddy properties (or properties where criminal activity occur) are refurbished, and there is an increase of businesses and therefore jobs available in the area. A second example with similar positive results is the Saint Roch district in Vancouver which “had gone through a period of decline but has seen the derelict buildings turned into bars, restaurants and cafes, attracting young professionals into the area” (Quastel, 2009:694). One important aspect of this research therefore, must be to look at some of the positive impacts that mega sporting events can bring to a country if they bring with them the positive impacts of gentrification.

However, in more recent years, the focus in literature has primarily been on the victims of gentrification. Negatives of gentrification include “displacement” and “lack of affordable housing” (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005:3). Following the increase of house prices due to gentrification, it is often the poorer people that used to live there that can no longer afford house/rent prices. Kirkland argues in 2008, that “researchers overlook the race of individuals who are being displaced and through one research study it was seen that gentrification displaces blacks and minorities” (Kirkland, 2008:18). Gentrification has led to many famous ‘ghettos’ on the outside of cities such as Cape Town but also New York and Paris where poor ethnic/black people tend to live.

This has also been debated in UK literature after the Grenfell Tower tragedy in 2017. There have been claims that “the seduction of gentrification has been attributed as one of the reasons cheaper cladding was used on Grenfell Tower, saving the government £300,000 during the building’s refurbishment” (Longdon, 2018:2). “Of the 67 Grenfell residents who died in the fire (with the other five being visitors and a stillborn child), 57 were from a BAME background” (Thomas, 2020:3). This has led to Labour MP David Lammy suggesting there is a case of “Social Apartheid” (Bulman, 2018:1) occurring in London. This literature shows that poorer residents and in particular poor minority ethnic residents suffer most from the impacts of gentrification. This has influence for the research as it is important to understand whether poor people suffer more from gentrification brought in by the MSE and if so, why?

There are both positives and negatives for the case of gentrification because whilst it often improves the aesthetics for an area and does regenerate inner cities, it is often the poorer members of society and ethnic minorities who fall victim to this. It will be a core concept in this thesis, as it will be evaluated how mega sporting events impact the process of gentrification. The mega sporting events in Brazil are argued to have “displaced poor residents in the name of beautification projects that attract global capital and tourists” (Woods, 2015:17) however they are also claimed to have improved infrastructure within the city. This thesis will establish to what extent gentrification was of benefit/detriment to the city and the impacts it had on the vulnerable groups of people.

2.9 Rio de Janeiro ‘A Cidade Partida’ - A divided city (Ventura, 1994)

As this thesis partially focuses on the city of Rio for major sporting events, it is important to understand the historical and current situation in the city. The concept of a divided city was

first coined by Ventura in 1994, however favelas have been in the city since the late 1800s. “The favelas were formed far prior to the dense occupation of cities and the domination of real estate interests “(Dos Santos Oliveira, 1996:710). This means that the favelas have long been a part of the history of the country and have been around long before big business and investment came to the city, yet still have failed to be removed or incorporated into the fabric of the city.

Physically, the city is still more or less divided into four main zones, the historic central zone, the tourist-friendly wealthier South Zone, the residential less wealthy North Zone and the wealthier suburbs in the West Zone. “There are over nine hundred favelas” (Costas, 2011:115) spread out all over the city, but mainly on the hillsides which surround. This research will look at the location of each favela and analyse whether there is a relationship between tourist hotspots and favela removal.

Rio as a divided city is usually thought of as divided in the economic and class sense. As Resende states. “Rio’s society is strongly marked by class issues, thus yielding a ‘social apartheid’ legitimized by discursive praxis” (Resende, 2009:7). Furthermore, a report by Oxfam in 2017 states that “Brazil’s six richest men have the same wealth as the poorest 50 percent of the population; around 100 million people” (Oxfam, 2017:1). There are great disparities in wealth throughout Rio with the extremes of the rich living in gated off communities in stark contrast to the favelas.

More recent literature however, analyses the changes in inequality in Brazil and recent attempts by the Government to lessen the divide in the city of Rio. For example, a new law created in 2012 that “reserves 50% of spots in Brazil's federal universities for students coming from public schools, low-income families and those who are of African or indigenous descent” (Carneiro, 2013:5). This affirmative action shows that there have been attempts to reduce inequality in the city. It now must be studied to what extent this action has been successful. Corrigan writes that “Brazil has had some success in reducing poverty and inequality over the last two decades – in contrast to the global trend of widening gaps between rich and poor” (Corrigan, 2015:17). It could therefore be argued that perhaps the majority of literature is unnecessarily negative towards the current situation in Brazil when there has been at least some progression to reduce inequality in recent years.

Nolen however, argues that there is an ‘illusion’ of Brazil's income equality. “Instead of offering a lesson in how to reduce inequality, the country turns out to be an illustration in just

how difficult that is” (Nolen, 2018:8). Inequality is still ever present in the city and appears unlikely to be fully eradicated any time soon. “At the current rate inequality is decreasing in Brazil, it will take the country seventy-five years to reach the United Kingdom's current level of income equality” (Oxfam, 2019:1). This statistic shows that if the country is to use the hosting of the MSE to improve its record on inequality, it needs to make drastic changes and quickly.

Rio at least up until the hosting of the World Cup and Olympics, was still a divided city. The common understanding is that “there is a pronounced divide between social classes, which in this case also runs along racial lines. With a range of affirmative action initiatives, the city is creeping closer to equality but it’s not quite there yet” (Abdullah, 2017:83). This is a fair criticism based on the fact that there have been some positive moves towards reducing inequality (such as the scheme discussed by Carneiro). However, compared to many more economically developed countries, inequality in Brazil is far more widespread.

Crooks (2014) poses the question “will the World Cup and Olympics unite Brazil or create further unrest?” This thesis will aim to answer that question and analyse the impacts of the MSEs on inequalities in Rio.

2.10 The representation of the favela

Lacerda (2013:74) states that “favelas (Brazilian slums) are arguably the strongest representations of division in the city, and therefore analysing the constructed imagination of favelas helps to show this”. They show vast inequalities, extreme poverty and high levels of crime. This has led to many debates on how fairly these communities are represented in the media (Jaguaribe, 2004; Souza and Barbosa, 2005 & Perlman, 2010).

Cath states that “the development of the (stereotypical) representation of the favela is popular” (Cath, 2012:1). In recent years, there have been large amounts of reports, and news articles appearing about the favelas of Rio due to the hosting of mega events there. Grey literature proves useful when discussing events in the favela as ‘The Guardian’ is praised by local charity Catalytic communities for “consistently providing some of the best and most nuanced coverage of the military intervention in Rio” (RioOnWatch, 2018).

One example is an article headlined “Brazil military's growing role in crime crackdown fuels fears among poor” (Phillips, 2018) which discusses recounting the narrative of a family whose

lives were interrupted by the violent death of 21-year-old Márcio Sabino. This Guardian article effectively reports a grave act of personal violence in structural problems that the military intervention fails to uproot, in addition to exposing human rights abuses committed by police and the military.

The media especially have kept people around the world updated on the changing shape of the favela, and the policies that are being applied there. As a result, this helps to put pressure on the government. Bailey et al (2017:82) discuss the powerful role that social media played in shaping coverage, as “what began as a small protest about Sabinos death lacking media interest, quickly shifted when the images and video clips of police brutality captured by citizen journalists were shared via social media”. As grey literature can be churned out in a matter of hours or even minutes, it has been effective in bringing attention to some of the injustices that have occurred in the favelas.

However, on the other hand, it has been argued that the great amount of writing which came about as a result of the city being awarded the World Cup and Olympic games, has given a false portrayal of the favela. Williamson, publishing a report on ‘How the Global Narrative on Favelas Changed in Rio’s Mega-Event Years’ detected a “significant lapse between the reality of Rio’s favelas and the coverage that ensued, particularly from ‘parachute journalists’ who would arrive for short periods” and this led to “inaccurate, unbalanced, stigmatizing portrayals of favelas” (Williamson, 2017a:10). Due to the coverage of the World Cup and Olympics in Rio being indeed written by foreign journalists, there just to cover the MSEs, what was less heard by people around the world was calls by local writers such as Williamson to drop the clichés and write about real local struggles.

Robertson in his paper, discussing false claims about favelas by international newspapers such as Australia’s Herald Sun and USA Today, states that “foreign journalists unfamiliar with Rio have already made bewilderingly incorrect claims” (Robertson, 2016:4). Reporting incorrectly on favelas can take attention away from some of the real injustices and mean that people do not listen to the real issues that are present in the favelas.

The favelas best represent the poorest parts of Rio and Brazil. They are arguably the most debated part of the city in literature and have created the question often of how to find the best solution to them. It is clear that some of the literature surrounding favelas in recent years is grey literature and this has posed its own challenges, as it is unclear if reporters have spent enough

time in the city to give an accurate representation. This thesis will aim to address the gap in academic literature surrounding the relationship between the two mega events and the favelas.

2.11 Pacification and Gentrification in Rio de Janeiro's favelas

Pacification occurred as part of Rio's Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC). During pacification, highly trained police officers (BOPE) would enter the favelas heavily armed, before the Police Pacification Unit (UPP) would set up infrastructure within the favela. As a result, there is some literature discussing the positives and negatives of this process.

Opened in 2011, the "Teleferico do Alemao cable car system is the most obvious outward example of how the lives of people in favelas have been transformed by pacification" (Shukman, 2016:7).

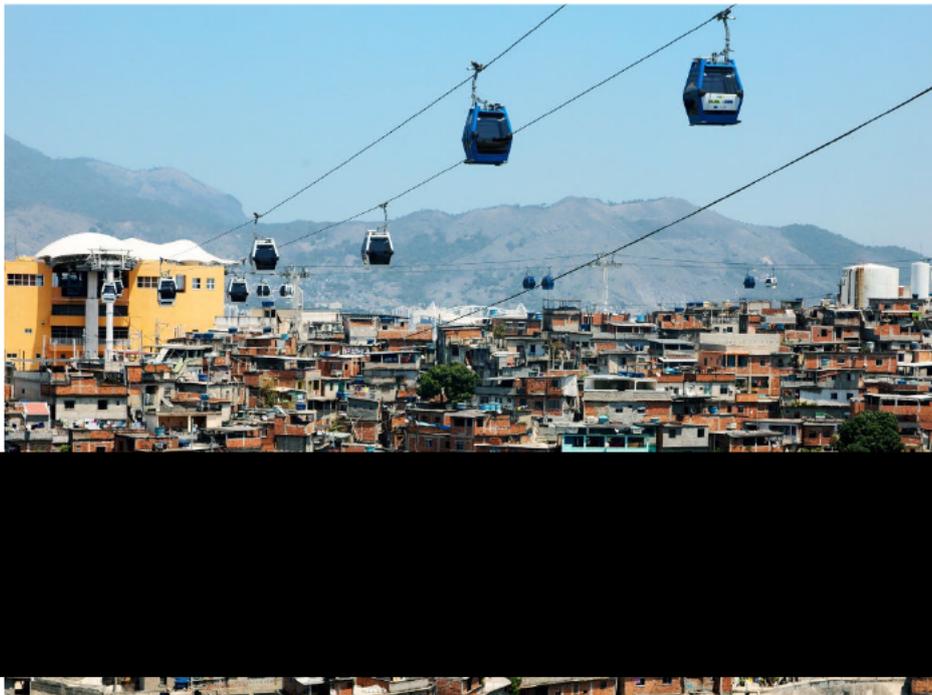


Figure 4 (Halais, 2019)

The group of favelas in the North Zone were pacified and infrastructure has now been implemented. Cable cars enable residents to get from one end of the favela to the other in just sixteen minutes, to walk it would take two hours. This is a result of the area being made safer and now the authorities are allowed to enter and introduce infrastructure. This should mean that it is easier for favela residents to move around and commute to jobs.

However, what has also been discussed to an extent in literature, has been the ethics behind the police taking control of the favelas (Angelli 2015, Salem 2017 & Balego 2019). Ivester discussing the pacification of Rio's favelas states that "low-income neighbourhoods are often stigmatized by dominant social forces looking to justify their demolition, the Olympics, as an urban spectacle, served to highlight social inequality" (Ivester, 2017:981). This quote implies that the pacification as a result of the mega events did not benefit the favela residents and widened gaps in equality. It also implies that the authorities in Rio were looking for an excuse to demolish the favelas. Prouse (2012:14) suggests that this excuse was that the government wanted to "project an image of security both domestically and globally". In essence, Rio was using the events to show the world (and tourists) that Rio was becoming a safer city.

Ethical issues were raised around the force in which the police used. As Rocha writes, "the 'pacification' of Rocinha was conducted as a war operation with 18 large armoured vehicles, 4 helicopters, dogs, horses and over 1000 heavily armed police and marines" (Rocha, 2011:11). The tactics used are claimed to have been heavy-handed, "attracting worldwide attention, much of it far from positive". (Tansley, 2016:3). "Police mistreatments have ranged from unwarranted searches, beatings and torture in an effort to obtain information about traffickers, and summary executions" (Desmond, 2012: 101). These are extreme instances of police brutality and suggest that many favela residents right to be free from violence was indeed breached.

However, in defence against the violence used by the UPP, it could be argued that the violence used by police was necessary to regain control of the favelas and it was for the greater good. Garcia-Navarro (2015:2) states that "inside favelas with UPPs, homicide rates have actually been halved". Many pacified favelas are now safer than before, so arguably the initial violence was necessary for long term peace. This does however require further research. Accounts from both residents and local authorities would be useful to understand whether the pacification process was a success in making the city safer, or whether it had detrimental impacts on people living in the favelas.

It has been argued that in addition to the violence shown, in many of the favelas people have lost their right to housing and control over their environment as there has been widespread displacement. In one favela named Babilônia, there has been a plan provided for the removal of homes in three "risky" categories: "those in areas of Environmental Protection; those whose residents receive social rent and who have been rehoused; and homes in "areas of risk" (Griffin,

2016:12). Areas of risk are not defined clearly, so although it would be expected to mean those at immediate risk of violence, the authorities can claim a house is at risk and demolish it, should they wish to develop the area.

Residents displaced under this scheme have been rehoused up to forty miles away in Santa Cruz, in the west of Rio. Meanwhile wealthier residents are moving into the favelas in search of cheap housing in a good location. “A total of 13 percent of people living in the favelas are now considered rich by Brazil standards compared to just 1% in 2001” (Rapoza, 2012:1). These figures appear to show the favelas have indeed been gentrified as a result of the pacification. Although “gentrification is a word that urban politicians do not like” (Ehrenhalt, 2015:6) because of the negative connotations it has, the phrase “urban renewal” which has often been used by the Mayor of Rio, Eduardo Paes (Atlantic Council, 2014:1) means little different. Whilst pacifying the favelas has reduced crime rates and improved infrastructure, it has resulted in displacement of the poor and the introduction of more affluent residents.

2.12 Homelessness

The other group that will be studied to analyse how they have been impacted by MSEs are the rough sleeping communities in the UK. There have been different definitions of homelessness over the years due to the argument over whether it should be called “homelessness” or “houselessness” as there is still a lack of a global definition (Springer, 2000:14). As recently as 2018 the UK government stated that “the term ‘homelessness’ is often considered to apply only to people sleeping rough” (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2018a:1). This does not include people who do not have secure housing but only those who live on the streets.

This is criticised by Crisis, who argue that “rough sleeping is the most visible form of homelessness but there are a wide range of situations that are also described as homelessness” (Crisis, 2019:2). Daly suggests that there are four different classifications of homelessness - “rooflessness (i.e. sleeping rough); houselessness (i.e. living in institutions or short-term ‘guest’ accommodation); insecure accommodation; and finally, inferior or substandard housing” (Daly, 1994:2). This definition encompasses more people than the definition by the UK government and includes even those living in houses to be classed as homeless, if the accommodation is substandard. Crisis (2004:3) has estimated that there are “380,000 ‘hidden homeless’” people in the UK trapped in circumstances that leave them on the fringes of society.

This means that there are hundreds of thousands of people with unsecure housing that are not classed as homeless by the UK government.

UK homelessness has appeared more in literature in recent years. This is attributed to being because “in the UK, the number of rough sleepers is growing annually, as has been the case for the past seven years” (Butler, 2018:4). A rise in the number of people rough sleeping in particular has made the issue of homelessness more visible and therefore brought more attention to it. There are many different factors resulting in this rise of rough sleepers. such as the Conservative government (Doward, 2017:1) who have made cuts to welfare. Fitzpatrick argues “unless we address the wider causes – such as a lack of affordable homes, welfare reforms, low wages and irregular work, and an inadequate safety net for people in poverty – new homelessness will continue to happen” (Fitzpatrick, 2017:10). These factors given by Fitzpatrick, attribute causes of homelessness to those beyond the individual’s control and suggest that we need wider societal change.

However, rough sleepers are seen by some to be on the streets as a result of their own actions. The UK government defines intentionally homelessness as being if “they deliberately do or fail to do anything in consequence of which they cease to occupy accommodation and it would have been reasonable for them to continue to occupy the accommodation” (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2018b:1). If a person is judged by the government to have made themselves intentionally homeless, they also receive little help from the authorities. Therefore ‘intentional homelessness’ is a highly controversial topic in literature.

In 2018, Conservative politician Simon Dudley said about homeless people in his borough of Windsor: “a large number of adults that are begging in Windsor are not in fact homeless and if they are homeless, they are choosing to reject all support services... in the case of homelessness amongst this group, it is therefore a voluntary choice” (Sherwood, 2018:3). This argument has also been the standpoint of Cardiff Council (who are analysed in this thesis). They have insisted that there is “no need to sleep rough” (Discombe, 2018:1), as there are enough places in hostels and shelters. It is therefore necessary to understand the importance of classifying people as intentional or unintentionally homeless and how this impacts the support they receive.

Statements such as those made by Dudley, were heavily criticised by many NGOs and even the Prime Minister at the time - Theresa May. She stated “it is often assumed that people who refuse offers of help must prefer to remain homeless. Choices are affected by the range of options on offer” (Bowpitt, 2011:2). Another example of why someone may stay on the street

is that they have mental health problems so will decline offers of hostel places due to past experiences of exploitation. Perhaps in this instance, rather than blaming the individual, councils could improve the outreach services to this individual that they have on offer.

A high-profile case in 2019 brought the debate of intentional homelessness into focus as “a single mother of four was decided by the local council to be “intentionally homeless” because she was unable to afford the rent” (Bowcott, 2019:1). This is the discussion of the case of *Samuels v Birmingham City Council*. After the Council had claimed she had made herself intentionally homeless, the Supreme Court overruled the high court and unanimously decided that she had been made homeless as a result of approximately a £150 shortfall in her housing benefit. This case is said to “have significant implications for assessments of ‘affordability’ elsewhere in the discharge of homelessness duties by Local Authorities” (Reeson, 2019:483).

Another focus for academics and NGOs has been youth homelessness. For example, in 2014, Harding identified young people “needing to face the responsibilities of independent living before they are ready for them” as being a cause of homelessness (Harding, 2014:2). It has now become particularly important for the Government to focus on young people who are either homeless or at risk of becoming homeless because it is easier to break the cycle early on, “exit rates out of homelessness fall with age” (Cobb-Clark et al, 2014:4).

There are many more reasons why young people also become homeless. “Violence, abuse, family breaking and problems with mental health mean young people often become homeless because it’s safer to leave home than to stay” (Centrepint, 2019:3). It has become more important for authorities to understand these reasons, in order to have a better preventative approach that stops young people becoming homeless in the first place.

Overall, there is a great amount of literature on the debate around the word ‘homelessness’ and particularly clarification on ‘intentional homelessness’. Whilst most agree homelessness encompasses more than just rough sleepers, there are still those who use the phrases ‘homeless’ and ‘rough sleeping’ interchangeably. The next section will discuss literature regarding rough sleepers when mega sporting events are held in the UK.

2.13 Rough sleeping policies in UK cities

Part of the findings section of this thesis will study the treatment of rough sleepers in London before the 2012 Olympic games and Cardiff for the 2017 Champions league final. “Rough

sleeping is often associated with nuisance activities such as begging, street drinking and antisocial behaviour that can make an area feel unsafe” (Appleby & Taylor, 2018:19). As a result, in literature there are recent examples of rough sleepers being moved out of cities in order to make the area appear pleasant for visitors.

In England for example, it was reported in 2018, the same politician Simon Dudley who had said that many homeless people choose to rough sleep, asked that police “get rid of homeless before Prince Harry and Meghan Markle’s royal wedding” because there was an epidemic of “rough sleeping and vagrancy”(Sherwood, 2018:1). This is an example of someone in a position of power demanding rough sleepers leave an area because they are perceived to be a source of anti-social behaviour.

A major focus of this thesis is how cities are ‘cleaned up’ before mega sporting events by local authorities. Kenelly & Watt (2007:776) suggest that in London “removing rough sleepers for the Olympics was in order to make the public spaces of East London presentable for inspection by the world’s media”. This therefore raises the question whether policy makers were more concerned about the image of the city than looking after the rights of rough sleepers. It was reported that around the time of the 2012 Olympics, one-way tickets were bought for rough sleepers in the UK to other cities and countries. “The Greater London area accounted for the majority of tickets purchased, with 4,159, more than a third of which were for journeys out of the UK, mostly to destinations in Eastern Europe” (Greenfield & Marsh, 2018:13). This could be argued to be offering migrants who have come in the search of work and have found themselves homeless, a one-way ticket back home, so they are no longer a problem in London.

Alison Butler, deputy leader of Croydon Council defended this by saying “we would only reconnect people if they want to be reconnected” (Dearden, 2017:4). It is difficult to judge this decision to offer rough sleepers in the UK one-way tickets to other cities without knowing the other options on the table. The council refer to it as ‘reconnections’ in the sense they are doing the individual a favour by paying for them to be reunited with family elsewhere.

Similarly to London, Cardiff has had a great deal of bad publicity in the media when it comes to its treatment of rough sleepers over the years. Firstly in 2014, it was reported that “Cardiff University has installed cages over warm air vents surrounding its building to prevent homeless people sleeping beside them to keep warm” (Kelly, 2014:3). The University however, declared that the cages were erected due to health and safety reasons defending their actions, stating that “there would be an increased risk to people sleeping next to the grilles for long periods”

(Dearden, 2014). Nonetheless, this received a huge amount of criticism from students of the university, as it seemed to be an unfair persecution of rough sleepers.

Much more recently in early 2019, in reference to rough sleepers in Cardiff sleeping in tents in the city centre, a Conservative Councillor was suspended for tweeting “if you seek safety in our city centre, if you seek prosperity for local businesses, if you seek a better image for Cardiff tear down these tents.” (Perraudin, 2019:1). This more extreme measure of removing rough sleepers’ shelter would have a profound negative impact on the rights of rough sleepers, leaving them exposed to the elements.

However, although often criticised in tabloid headlines for treatment of rough sleepers, Cardiff has been praised in academic literature for being a leader in change of policy. As Mackie (2015:41) states, “There has been a paradigm shift in homelessness policy where we have entered an era of homelessness prevention”. It is perhaps surprising is that “Wales is the first country where the government has sought to fully reorient services towards prevention and to make services universally available” (Mackie et al, 2017:81). Wales has been at the forefront of change which has seen early intervention to prevent those at risk of becoming homeless ending up on the streets where it is harder to get them back into housing.

The recent changes in policy are detailed further in a comprehensive review of homelessness in the European Union published by the European Commission (2013). This points towards three main characteristics of effective prevention services. They should be “timely, individualised and persistent” (European Commission, 2013:12). In Wales, under this preventative model, people approaching a local authority for assistance with housing should receive a formal interview offering advice on all of their housing options.

This section has discussed how cities in the UK have tried to remove rough sleepers, however, it has also looked at the progressive work that has occurred in order to prevent people from losing their homes. It has shown that in Cardiff and London, homelessness has been a major topic for debate. There are many headlines which have discussed the removal of the rough sleeping population prior to the Olympics in London and the Champions league final in Cardiff. These will be analysed and questioned in the case study chapter of this thesis.

2.14 Conclusion

To conclude, it is clear that there is a great amount of literature surrounding the important concepts in this thesis. The Rights based approach, The Capabilities Approach, Mega sporting

events, Gentrification, Pacification, Securitisation and Homelessness are all concepts that have been attempted to be defined by academics and grey literature alike, however it is impossible to still give one clear definition of some of these concepts and many still argue over their benefits and costs.

Whilst a great amount of literature surrounds MSEs, there is a lack of literature that looks at it through the lense of development approaches and its impacts on vulnerable groups of people. Events are usually looked at for their impacts on the economy and tourism. It is clear from literature that the World Cup and Olympics are the two largest ‘mega’ sporting events of their kind and have strong impacts on a host city. Therefore this thesis will aim to address this literature gap and provide an academic account and comparison of the impacts of MSEs on host cities and their vulnerable communities in one less economically developed case study city in Brazil, and two more economically developed case study cities in the UK.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the types of research used in order to produce this thesis. It will begin by explaining and justifying why qualitative research was preferred to quantitative research, before analysing the use of primary and secondary research in the study. It will then explain the use of case studies in the research and why semi-structured interviews were used, before discussing the ethics that had to be taken into consideration when conducting interviews with vulnerable groups such as rough sleepers. Finally, the limitations and the quality of the research will be discussed.

3.2 The importance of methodology

Research methodology is defined by Leedy & Ormrod (2001:14) as “the general approach the researcher takes in carrying out the research project”. It is vital to include a methodology section in this thesis:

- 1) “Because if you are going to understand an area of study, you have to become familiar with the research methods it uses” (Roundy, 2018:1)
- 2) “So, the research study can be replicated or repeated” (Labaree, 2009:6)

By understanding the research methods, the researcher can ensure the best type of data is obtained to suit the research aims. By making the research replicable it allows for similar research to be conducted with other case studies in the future.

3.3 Qualitative research methods

Firstly, it is important to distinguish between quantitative and qualitative research methods. Mcleod (2019a:4) gives the key difference to be that “quantitative data is information about quantities, and therefore numbers, whereas qualitative data is descriptive, and regards phenomenon which can be observed but not measured, such as language”. Minchiello et al (1990:5) provides further differences between the two types of research in the below table:

	Qualitative	Quantitative
Conceptual	Concerned with understanding human behaviour from the informant's perspective Assumes a dynamic and negotiated reality	Concerned with discovering facts about social phenomena Assumes a fixed and measurable reality
Methodological	Data are collected through participant observation and interviews Data are analysed by themes from descriptions by informants Data are reported in the language of the informant	Data are collected through measuring things Data are analysed through numerical comparisons and statistical inferences Data are reported through statistical analyses
<i>Source:</i> Adapted from Minichiello <i>et al.</i> (1990, p. 5)		

Table 1

Qualitative data is mainly used in the research. The reason for qualitative research methods being preferred is that they “can help researchers to access the thoughts and feelings of research participants, which can enable an understanding of the meaning that people ascribe to their experiences” (Sutton & Austin, 2005:226). It was believed not enough to just produce statistics regarding how many people have been displaced as a result of MSEs, rather the researcher wanted to gain detailed accounts of how mega sporting events impacted the thoughts and emotions of those affected.

Qualitative research allows the respondents to give their own answers, whereas quantitative research methods involve structured questionnaires with close ended questions. As Chetty (2016:7) states, quantitative research “leads to limited outcomes”. The results cannot always represent the exact statements people wish to give, rather they are generalised usually due to limited responses given in a questionnaire.

Qualitative research methods allow the exact response the participant wishes to give. This allows the researcher to “understand phenomena deeply and in detail” (Atieno, 2009:4). This is important in this particular piece of research where complex answers that will be specific to each participant are required in order to understand the connections between concepts such as MSEs, securitisation, gentrification and homelessness.

3.4 The approach to the research

In this research, interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is used as an approach situated in constructivism for exploring the impact which MSEs have on vulnerable communities in

host countries. “IPA is a qualitative approach which aims to provide detailed examinations of personal lived experience” (Smith & Osborn, 2015:41). In this context, the researcher aims to gain knowledge of the experiences of vulnerable communities when the mega sporting events were held. It is believed that each participant will not have experienced the mega sporting events in the same way. Each research participant will have had a different experience when the MSE was hosted. For example, in Brazil, police brutality may have made some of the participants’ experiences much more difficult than for those in the UK.

Using IPA is useful for the researcher to build a clear picture of how the mega sporting events impacted each group of people. These can then be compared as the researcher is looking to analyse the extent to which the mega sporting events impacted each vulnerable group of people’s lives, and whether there are any similarities and differences across the case studies.

It could be argued that using grounded theory may be a more effective approach in collecting data from each case study and would allow for new theories to be created. However, there is already a range of literature which has done this, as shown in the literature review. There is however, far less literature looking at mega sporting events through the individuals that have experienced them. This is what the researcher aims to address and will be displayed by the accounts given by vulnerable individuals who experienced the mega sporting events.

In order to best gain data from these experiences the researcher will use semi-structured interviews in his primary research. It is believed by the researcher that this gives each participant the best opportunity to tell about their experiences in their own words, with some careful probing from the researcher to try to entice more information from them. The participant is hoped to tell the researcher about their experiences during the time of the event e.g., how they were treated by authorities and how it impacted their lives.

This also impacts the way in which the data will be analysed. Rather than trying to test a hypothesis, key claims from the participant will be discussed and interpreted by the researcher. In this thesis, they will then also be linked to existing literature and claims by other participants. It is then believed that the themes that arise from the data will give a full picture of how MSEs impacted vulnerable groups of people. Experiences of participants in each case study will then be compared.

3.5 The use of case studies

The case studies of Rio de Janeiro - Brazil, and London and Cardiff - United Kingdom were used in the research in order to investigate MSEs and how they change host cities. Yin (1994:13) defines a case study as being “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”.

An advantage of using this type of research is that “case studies allow a researcher to investigate a topic in far more detail than might be possible if they were trying to deal with a large number of research participants” (McLeod, 2019b:8). It is of benefit to this thesis if the responses are more detailed, as the researcher seeks to obtain the best possible understanding of how MSEs have impacted the three host cities, rather than having a limited understanding of how MSEs impact cities more generally.

Lundberg & Winn however argue that a disadvantage of using case studies is that they also “can be a time consuming way of research” (Lundberg & Winn, 2005:268). This is why it is again beneficial that the researcher uses secondary data when it comes to the case study of Brazil, as the case study has already been researched and therefore it has taken less time to extract and compile this data from a variety of researchers.

3.6 The use of primary and secondary research

“Primary data is data collected for the specific research problem at hand using procedures that fit the research problem best” (Hox & Boeijs, 2005:1). Secondary data on the other hand, is data that has already been collected by someone else and is being reused, for example using data from other academic papers, books and journals.

Both primary and secondary data are used in this research for they both have certain advantages. “Primary research gives you more control over how to collect the data and how you will use it later to nurture the response you want” (Crowder, 2015:3). This means that the researcher does not have to change their research questions to find other data or try to match another persons findings to their questions but can get the data that matches their study perfectly.

However primary research can be time consuming as “collection of data requires a specific research plan for a specific issue and thus takes longer time to acquire than secondary research” (Fidel, 2019:19). In this thesis if the researcher was to use only primary research it would mean that he would have to travel to Rio de Janeiro. This would take a long period of time as well as being expensive.

Therefore the researcher believed it to be better to use primary research collecting data in the field for the UK case studies via semi structured interviews, and used secondary data (in the form of document analysis) when it came to the case study of Brazil. A clear benefit of using secondary data is that “much of the background work needed has already been carried out, such as literature reviews or case studies” (Horn, 2018:1). “The utilization of this existing data provides a viable option for researchers who may have limited time and resources” (Johnston, 2014:619). This was useful for the researcher who had a strict time limit of twelve months to carry out this research.

3.7 Document analysis

Document analysis was used for the case study of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. “Document analysis is a systematic procedure for evaluating documents—both printed and electronic” (Bowen, 2009:2). In this case all documents were found online via government archives, and academic databases such as Scopus, JSTOR and Google Scholar.

Document analysis differed from reviewing wider literature for the literature review as rather than general reading, the researcher used the framework of searching the names of favelas such as Metrô Mangueira (used as parking for the Maracana stadium) and Vila Autódromo (used for the Olympic village), alongside the key word ‘pacification’ into both academic databases (such as JSTOR) but also into google to find examples in grey literature. Then when such an account was found, the researcher would specifically look for interactions between favela residents and the police. These were then highlighted and compiled under themes e.g. examples of violence

used by police, or an example of displacement. The most detailed accounts were then used by the researcher.

As well as document analysis saving considerable amounts of time, documents are stable, non-reactive data sources, meaning that “they can be read and reviewed multiple times and remain unchanged by the researcher’s influence or research process” (Bowen, 2009:31). This is of benefit as it could be argued that the researcher otherwise could inevitably bias the findings in this study because they are trying to get the findings they want. As the research on mega sporting events in Brazil has already been produced, the findings cannot be changed.

Document analysis is often used as part of triangulation—“the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon” (Denzin, 1970:291). As stated, it is used in this research in combination with semi-structured interviews. “Using mixed methods has the benefit of guarding against the accusation that a study’s findings are simply an artifact of a single method, or a single source” (Patton, 1990:172). By using a variety of methods, the study becomes more respected and reliable as an academic resource.

3.8 The use of semi-structured interviews

Interviews were used in the case studies of London and Cardiff . From prior reading on the case studies, the researcher developed a list of initial questions to ask each participant. A set of questions was devised to ask rough sleepers and a set of questions was devised to ask NGOs. A third set was then devised to ask the local authority. Semi-structured interviews were used rather than informal or formal interviews because whilst the interviews needed some structure based on the research aims and academic reading, the researcher also wanted the participants to be able to raise any other points the researcher may not have been aware of. This was particularly effective when NGOs gave their views on to what extent there was a joint approach with local authorities in each city.

Easwaramoorthy & Zarinpoush define an interview in research as “a conversation for gathering information. A research interview involves an interviewer, who coordinates the process of the conversation and asks questions, and an interviewee, who responds to those questions” (Easwaramoorthy & Zarinpoush, 2006:9). The researcher was the interviewer, and interviewees included rough sleepers, local authorities, mega sporting event organisers, and employees from NGOs that have worked with rough sleepers in the case study cities.

To contact NGO staff and local authorities, emails were sent out to both the general email address for the organisation, but also to individuals working for the charity/institution where possible. The researcher attempted to make contact with at least one outreach worker and one director/policy officer at the NGO. In order to contact rough sleepers, the researcher made contact with an unofficial organisation named Help the Homeless who provide hot meals for rough sleepers in Cardiff. The researcher offered up his time and was able to interview rough sleepers whilst helping the volunteers to serve food.

The majority of interviews were planned to be face to face in a place convenient for the interviewee. This is because in-person interviews have the advantages of being able to “capture an interviewee’s emotions and behaviours, being in-the-moment, free from technological distractions” (DeFranzo, 2014). However, on the occasion that an interviewee was unable to meet in person, Deakin and Wakefield note that online interviews can be a valuable tool. They state that Skype “provides an opportunity to talk to otherwise inaccessible participants’ (Deakin & Wakefield, 2013:5). Furthermore, Iacono et al also states that Skype is “a very convenient way of being able to maximise your research effort on a budget” (Iacono et al, 2016, 7). In the event that an interviewee was unable to meet in person, Skype was used as an alternative. Initial interviews were carried out in person with interviewees from both case study cities. Then in some cases, follow up interviews were conducted. Some of these were carried out via Skype.

The interviews were then transcribed and responses from each participant were compiled under certain themes. For example, one theme that became apparent in the case study of London from prior reading was that three main measures were used against rough sleepers. These were hosing down the street, Public Space Orders and the reconnection policy. If an NGO then was to mention one of these policies (e.g. reconnections), follow up questions would be asked about this, and the responses would then be categorised into responses regarding the reconnection policies. The researcher then also tried to present questions to the local authorities/police regarding these claims in order to obtain their account of the policy, and to ensure the data was balanced.

Below are the tables of the interview participants for both the Cardiff and London case studies.

Cardiff:

<u>Interview participant</u>	<u>Position</u>
Councillor Lynda Thorne	Cardiff Council Cabinet Member for Housing & Communities (also a Champions League Final Ambassador)
South Wales Police	A statement provided by a spokesperson for the South Wales Police Chief Constables Office
Wallich 1	Head of Communications and Public Affairs for the Wallich (A homelessness NGO in Wales)
Wallich 2	Cardiff Rough Sleeping Projects Manager for the Wallich
Cymorth Cymru 1	Policy and External Affairs Manager for Cymorth Cymru (An umbrella body for providers of homelessness in Wales)
Cymorth Cymru 2	Project Manager for Cymorth Cymru
Help the Homeless Wales 1	Founder of Help the Homeless Wales (an unofficial organisation that provides basic services for rough sleepers in South West Wales)
Help the Homeless Wales 2	Volunteer for Help the Homeless Wales
Working Word	Spokesperson for Working Word (a PR Agency for Homeless World Cup held in Cardiff in 2019)
Aaron	Rough sleeper sleeping in Cardiff city centre
John	Rough sleeper sleeping in Cardiff city centre
Jack	Rough sleeper sleeping in Cardiff city centre
Robert	Rough sleeper sleeping in Cardiff city centre
Rachel	Rough sleeper sleeping in Cardiff city centre
Steven	Rough sleeper sleeping in Cardiff city centre

Table 2

London:

<u>Interview participant</u>	<u>Position</u>
London Metropolitan Police	A statement provided by a spokesperson for the London Metropolitan Police
Nigel Carpenter	Former Director of Supported Housing for the Newham Community Renewal Programme in 2012
Simon Community	Spokesperson for the Simon Community (a homelessness NGO in London)
Nightingale Angels UK	Spokesperson for Nightingale Angels (an unofficial organisation working with rough sleepers in London)
Manifesto club	A spokesperson for Manifesto Club (An organisation that campaigns against the hyperregulation of everyday life in London)
Museum of Homelessness	Spokesperson for the Museum of Homelessness (a social justice museum based in London)
Shelter	Spokesperson for Shelter (a homelessness NGO working in London)
Bloomsbury Baptist Church	Spokesperson for Bloomsbury Baptist Church (A christian organisation that work with rough sleepers in London)
Friends of the Homeless	(an unofficial organisation working with rough sleepers in London)

Table 3

3.9 Comparison of the case studies

In chapter 6, there will then be a social and economic comparison between the secondary data from Brazil and the primary data from the UK. In this section, the researcher will look for common themes between the two sets of data (e.g. violence used by police forces when removing vulnerable groups of people) and discusses the extent to which the examples are similar or different and why this may be (for example, due to the lower stage of development in Brazil there is a lack of human rights enforcement).

There were expected to be many differences, and the experiences of the favela residents in Brazil were indeed expected to be harsher. However, the researcher believed it would be interesting to compare the studies to show that rough sleepers in the UK also faced extreme measures despite the country being at a higher stage of development.

Analysing similarities and differences between case studies is important for the research as the researcher can show how a country being at a different stage of development can mean that the impacts of an MSE are felt far worse by vulnerable communities. It could be argued that the researcher could instead focus in-depth on the overall cause and effect explanation of mega sporting events and impacts felt by vulnerable communities. However, by highlighting common themes across different case studies, this thesis shows that many of the impacts are felt in different countries, by vulnerable groups when an MSE is hosted. It does show however that being at a lower stage of development exacerbates these impacts as local authorities have less resources to help these communities.

3.10 Limitations

Accessing vulnerable communities

The rough sleeping populations in Cardiff and London are the two vulnerable communities that were contacted in this research, alongside using existing research on the vulnerable residents of Rio de Janeiro's favelas. Vulnerable people are defined as "groups that experience a higher risk of poverty and social exclusion than the general population" (EQAVET, 2019:1). "Excluded groups are often difficult for researchers to access because of their social or physical location, vulnerability, or otherwise hidden nature" (Ellard-Gray et al, 2015:14).

In this study, it is difficult conducting semi-structured interviews with members of the rough sleeping community due to the hidden nature Ellard-Gray discusses, and furthermore they may not wish to be interviewed due to personal issues. This made the research more time consuming in order to get a substantial amount of research.

To overcome this, initially observations were carried out in the case study cities. "Observations are appropriate to seek a better understanding of another culture or situation" (Silverman, 2014:43). In this case, observations gave the researcher a better understanding of where such groups were located in the city, however after careful consideration it was concluded unethical to just approach these vulnerable groups of people.

To try to deal with this limitation, as explained, organisations were contacted that work with rough sleeping communities in the case study cities, and asked if any rough sleepers would like to be interviewed. This worked very well as this provided a snowball effect whereby “a participant recruits people he or she knows to be in the study, those new participants then recruit people and so on” (Allen, 2017:1614). This meant that participants who may not have otherwise been accessed were able to be, whilst ‘Help the Homeless’ acted as gatekeepers. “Gatekeepers, by virtue of their personal or work relationship to a respondent, are able to control who has access, and when, to the respondent” (Lavrakas, 2008:300). This was important in order to give further protection to the vulnerable interviewees.

The impact of the covid-19 pandemic

In March 2020, midway through the writing of this thesis, sadly the coronavirus pandemic began to spread widely throughout the UK. Lockdown was announced on the 23rd of March, and this made it impossible to conduct any further face to face interviews. The rough sleeping population immediately became out of reach, whilst the majority of NGO staff were either working from home or placed on furlough.

Fortunately the majority of initial interviews had been conducted, however it did mean that in some instances follow up interviews were unable to be carried out. Where possible, the researcher conducted follow up interviews instead via Zoom, though sadly this was not possible with all interviewees.

3.11 Ethics

Ethics are even more so crucial to this study compared to other research as Pittaway states “when working with populations at risk, there can be ethical issues involved” (Pittaway et al, 2010:229). In this research some of the interviewees were rough sleepers and therefore classed as vulnerable. As such, the following issues needed extra attention: (it is important to note an ethical approval form was completed and returned to Swansea University before any research took place).

In qualitative studies “researchers are often required to clarify their role in the research process” (DeWalt et al, 2010:259). The researcher immediately introduced himself to participants and gave the research aims before data was recorded. No personal details such as personal contact details were shared by either the researcher or participant. Each person interviewed was a fluent

English speaker and nobody below the age of 18 was interviewed. Extra effort was given to ensure the participants understood the boundaries between researcher and participants.

One situation that arose was research participants asking for payment. Head states that “it appears that the practice of giving cash or gift vouchers to research participants is becoming increasingly common”. (Head, 2009:335). It had been decided by the researcher that participation was entirely optional but unfortunately not paid. In the case of rough sleepers, compensation was offered in the form of a hot meal and drink from a local Greggs store. In the case of NGOs, compensation was offered in the form of voluntary work at the organisation.

Pollner and Emerson (1988:189) “argue that no field researcher can be a completely neutral, detached observer, outside and independent of the observed phenomena”. It is important that the researcher remained neutral when conducting interviews, in order for the research not to be biased. Audio recordings of the semi-structured interviews were carried out (in agreement with research participants) and reviewed to ensure no leading questions were asked. By this sentiment, the researcher tried everything possible to ensure there was no bias in the research.

Another ethical consideration is that “informed consent is an ethical and legal requirement for research involving human participants. It is the process where a participant is informed about all aspects of the research” (Nijhawan, et al, 2013:134). The researcher obtained written consent where possible from interviewees in the research. Informed consent forms (attached in the appendix) were given to every single participant to read before the start of the research, and at least verbal consent from the interviewee after reading the form was gained. Informed consent also means that the researcher had to inform research participants about the context and aims of the research. They were also told about their right to withdraw from the research at any point.

Finally, “It is crucial that social researchers maintain anonymity and confidentiality when necessary in order to protect research participants” (Economic & Social Research Council, 2019:14). In regards to NGOs’ and local authorities, research participants names were kept confidential if requested, and job roles/organisation names were used instead. As rough sleepers are a vulnerable community, research participants from this community will not be named in the research and instead, pseudonyms will be used. All data has been kept secure either electronically on a password encrypted document or in paper form in a locked cabinet. After use, all data will be destroyed.

3.12 Quality

The quality of data could have been stronger if the research in the field had been conducted for a longer amount of time and with more participants, however this was not possible due to the limited research time and budget. In the time available and within budget constraints, a high quality of data was gathered from a wide variety of participants.

Furthermore, people working for councils within London rejected to engage with the researcher. This did not help research as it would have been better in terms of the variety of participants to have had more interviews from mega event organisers and those who welcomed the mega events to the case study cities. In this case the researcher is extremely grateful for Cardiff Council agreeing to participate in the research.

Overall, it is believed by the researcher that the research is of a high standard. This research could be replicated in future with the case studies used in the thesis . The same methodology could be used to apply this research to other case study cities such as Johannesburg, South Africa which hosted the 2010 World Cup or Moscow, Russia which hosted the 2018 World Cup. If such studies were carried out, there would be an even wider range of data available on how mega sporting events impact the development of different host cities.

Chapter 4

Case Study – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil



Figure 5 (Antunes, 2014)

4.1 Introduction

Brazil is currently ranked 79th on the Human Development Index and “has been criticised in literature for breaches of its citizens human rights” (UNDP, 2019:301). The 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games were hoped by many to begin positive change in the country. However, “human rights and labour groups have protested the World Cup and Olympics for a variety of reasons, including displacement of local workers, and the gentrification of neighbourhoods around the 12 host cities” (Attanasio, 2014:9).

Rio de Janeiro is the host city that appears in literature to have been most impacted by the two events. The city has a population of approximately 6.7 million, of which “around 1.4 million are living in favelas” (Geromel, 2013:1). “In 2009, the Brazilian government published a document stating that 119 favelas in Rio de Janeiro were to be removed before the year 2016” (Steinbrink, 2013:134). Indeed, “67,000 people were evicted from their homes between 2009 and 2013” (Braathen & Sørboe, 2015), and “170,000 families have had their housing rights violated between 2007 and 2013” (Saborio, 2013:37).

Using studies such as Facconi (2017), this chapter will analyse the impacts of the two mega sporting events on the development of Rio de Janeiro, discussing the economic cost of the mega events. It will analyse many accounts given by those who experienced the mega sporting events to understand how the events and the pacification process impacted upon their lives.

4.2 The economic cost of the Rio MSEs

4.2.1 The FIFA World Cup

Whilst there are varying figures published as the cost of the two mega sporting events, it is believed that the costs of the 2014 FIFA World Cup totalled approximately \$13 billion USD, “making it the most expensive World Cup to date” (ESPN, 2014:1). The table below shows a breakdown of how money was spent in hosting the tournament.

Area	Total budget (in BRL 1,000)
Airports	6,281,000
Communication tools	6,600
Tourist developments	180,221
Stadiums	8,005,206
Temporary structures (Confederations Cup)	208,800
Public transport	8,025,093
Other services (monitoring and volunteer programs)	41,443
Harbours	608,700
Public security	1,879,100
Telecommunications	404,602
Total BRL	25,640,765
(Total USD)	13,354,565)

Table 4 (De Paula, 2014:3)

The table shows the majority of funds were spent on new infrastructure in host cities, such as airports, public transport, and notably stadiums. The second table below shows where this money was sourced from.

Federal government (CEF financing)	Federal government (BNDES financing)	State governments	Municipal governments	Others
38%	29%	23%	9%	2%

Table 5 (ICDR, 2017:16)

Direct public spending was split between the three levels of government – federal, state and municipal – with additional funds in the form of loans coming from two major federal banks, the Federal Savings Bank (CEF) and the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES).

Prior to the tournament, leaders in Brazil promised it would be majority “privately financed” (Nobre, 2016:13) and therefore would have little economic detriment to the public. However, the above table appears to show that just 2% of the World Cup hosting costs ended up being privately funded, with 98% coming from the public sector, including the majority being sourced from the two loans made to the federal government.

As a result of this “thirteen other projects that public funds would have been spent on were scrapped” (Atkins, 2013:7). Such projects may have been of more benefit to poorer residents than the World Cup and included many rail links to poorer areas of the city. The financing of the World Cup in Brazil has therefore led to “public anger at spending and corruption” (Reade, 2014:4) from people who believe so much public money should not have been spent on the tournament, and criticise politicians for “attempting to pass a law that would make World Cup finances secret” (Spalding et al, 2016:220). The UN states that “corruption itself is best seen as a structural obstacle to the enjoyment of human rights” (UN, 2020:1).

With such heavy investment by local governments such as Rio’s, improvements such as airports and transport could potentially be a worthy use of public money that could be seen as positive long-term development and enhancement of capabilities for all living in the city. Making it easier for citizens to travel would provide benefits such as “links to employment, promoting community involvement and better public realm” (Campaign for Better Transport, 2020:12). Improved transport can give some (though not all) people the ability to take advantage of opportunities in nearby areas.

However, it is questionable whether an investment of 8 billion BRL (\$3.8 billion USD) from public funds was invested as wisely on building stadiums such as the Maracanã that are no longer in use after the World Cup and Olympics have finished. Poorer citizens did not benefit from being able to visit these venues as they could not afford tickets, and now the stadiums are abandoned.

These stadiums also proved to be tragic for the ‘bodily health’ (a key capability) of workers on the stadiums. Eight workers lost their lives building the stadiums.

Arena Corinthians, São Paulo	Arena da Amazônia, Manaus	Estádio Nacional, Brasília	Arena Pantanal, Cuiabá
Ronaldo Oliveira dos Santos, 43; crane accident, Nov 2013	Marcleudo de Melo Ferreira, 22; after fall from roof, Dec 2013	José Afonso de Oliveira Rodrigues, 21; Jun 2012	Muhammad'Ali Maciel Afonso, 32; electrocution, May 2014
Fábio Luiz Pereira, 23; Mar 2014	Raimundo Nonato Lima da Costa, 49; Mar 2013		
Fábio Hamilton da Cruz, 23; Mar 2014	Antonio José Pita Martins, 55; crane accident, Feb 2014		

Table 6 (De Paula, 2014:7)

It could be argued that deaths in construction in Brazil are common. “The incidence rate for all fatalities in construction is 3.6 per 100,000” (Khodabandeh, 2016:469) which is higher than the global average, so these deaths may have happened on other projects that money may have been spent on anyway. However, this is contested by Yuson, (2016:2) who states the deaths were due to “a lack of respect for workers lives, and organizers putting profits over workers safety”. FIFA can be accused of making financial gain at the expense of the rights and capabilities of the people of Rio. Whilst FIFA has every right to prioritise financial gain as a corporation, it has a moral and legal responsibility to not violate the rights of people when aiming to make a profit.

A financial report by FIFA in the year 2014 states that “FIFA covers the entire operational costs of the FIFA World Cup, while the host country is responsible for the cost of any infrastructure improvements that they undertake, such as stadiums and transport systems”. Further analysis shows that the operational costs of the World Cup in Brazil were far less than the infrastructural improvements that local governments such as Rio de Janeiro had to finance. “For FIFA, the World Cup generated a grand total revenue of US\$4.8 billion after incurring total expenses of US\$2.2 billion, thus leaving a profit of US\$2.6 billion” (Fédération Internationale de Football Association, 2014a).

For Brazil, “tourist spending returned just 2.5% of the total expenditure on the World Cup for Brazil”. (De Aragoa, 2015:18). This implies that FIFA made huge financial gains whilst Brazil paid the price. However, this is defended by a study conducted by the Economic Research Institute Foundation (2016:37) that determined the World Cup would inject “\$13.43 billion in the overall Brazilian economy”. If this is true, then it appears to show that the country broke even on the tournament.

Further analysis shows that this is not the case. Cascione states that “the month-long tournament added just 0.2 percentage points to Brazil’s economic growth this year” (Cascione, 2014:11). Such a small return was not enough to lift Brazil’s economy out of its four-year-long malaise. It would therefore appear that the World Cup did not have the economic boom that was hoped in Brazil.

Part of the bidding process to host the tournament, was that Brazil had to sign “the Document of Governmental Guarantees” Rekow (2016:6). It granted for FIFA “many tax privileges, ensured Brazil's public funds covered any legal costs, in effect imposed a ban on competition by street vendors and finally, the Brazilian government was liable for any general injury or damage suffered by FIFA” (De Paula, 2014:5).

This was detrimental to Brazilians as it meant that legally Brazil were responsible for any financial loss by FIFA. The ‘ban on street vendors’ in particular would have directly resulted in making those living in and around the stadiums poorer. Families who would have expected increased income from being able to sell more produce to tourists, were banned from doing so. Furthermore, vendors recruited by FIFA were allowed to retain just “30 percent of the value of each good sold” (Attanasio, 2014:32). This is far less than they would have earned if they were able to sell products independently and would have had a knock on in impact on their quality of life, in some cases potentially making them no longer able to afford basic rights such as food and drink.

Therefore, whilst bringing in the positives of increased tourism and temporary employment, it can be concluded that the FIFA World Cup of 2014 was detrimental to the economic development of the city for three main reasons. Firstly, the lack of transparency on the financing of the event. Secondly, a large section of this money was then spent on football stadiums that are no longer in use, and finally, the signing of the Document of Governmental Guarantees which made Brazil liable for any damage suffered by FIFA.

4.2.2 The 2016 Olympics

It is firstly important to understand the cost of the Olympics in 2016, because Zimbalist (2015:210) states “the real number, in my view, is above \$20 billion and rising”. The city government on the other hand “calculates that the games have cost just \$4.1 billion in direct expenses such as arenas and the Olympic village”. (Ahmed and Leahy, 2016:1). The estimate

by the Rio Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (ROCOG) quoted in Zimbalist, (2016:8) and others, place the direct Olympic cost at being “around \$16 billion”.

Settimi (2016:2) states that the increased revenue of the Olympics “totalled \$9 billion” and therefore there would have been losses of approximately \$7 billion. The Olympics organisers, the ‘International Olympic Committees’ (IOC) revenue from broadcast rights (its main income source) set records, “touching \$2.87 billion” (Grohmann & Baker, 2018). The tournament organiser once again made large profits whilst Brazil bared the cost.

Table 7 (Zimbalist, 2016)

	Millions			
	R\$ 2008	US\$ 2008	R\$ 2016	US\$ 2016
<i>Capital costs</i>				
Airport and ports	2,002.5	1,001.3	2,688.1	1,161.2
Roads and railways	8,903.0	4,451.5	11,951.2	5,162.8
Accommodation	111.6	55.8	149.8	64.7
Sports venues				
—Competition venues	958.6	479.3	1,286.8	555.9
—Training venues	21.9	11.0	29.4	12.7
Olympic village	854.1	427.1	1,146.5	495.3
Barra media village	1,624.8	812.4	2,181.0	942.2
Power/electricity infrastructure	1,540.0	770.0	2,067.3	893.0
Environmental management	2,409.6	1,204.8	3,234.6	1,397.3
Medical	20.0	10.0	26.9	11.6
Security	1,625.9	813.0	2,182.6	942.9
Telecommunications				
IBC/MPC	405.9	202.9	544.8	235.4
Urban legacy	1,640.4	820.2	2,202.1	951.3
<i>Subtotal capital costs</i>	22,118.2	11,059.1	29,691.0	12,826.3
<i>Operating costs</i>				
Security	874.7	437.3	1,174.2	507.2
Transport				
Medical				
Environmental management				
Cultural programming	45.2	22.6	60.7	26.2
Decoration of the city	24.0	12.0	32.2	13.9
Special projects	173.2	86.6	232.5	100.4
<i>Subtotal operating costs</i>	1,117.1	558.6	1,499.6	647.8
TOTAL NON-ROCOG COSTS	23,235.4	11,617.7	31,190.6	13,474.1
GRAND TOTAL COSTS	28,865.7	14,432.8	38,748.6	16,739.1

The above table shows that despite huge outlays for the World Cup, where projects for the public benefit were scrapped in order to fund the event, a further \$1 billion USD was spent on infrastructure such as airports, whilst a further \$473 million was spent on stadiums for the Olympics.

Barnato (2016:1) noted that “around 70 percent of the cost of the Rio Games would be funded by the private sector, potentially offering some relief for the struggling government coffers”. This means that the tournament should have placed less stress on already depleted public funds and should not impact future projects for the citizens of Rio as much as the World Cup did.

However, further analysis shows that despite just 30 percent of the Olympic funding coming from state money, “part of this money was \$849 million which was transferred from the Brazilian government in emergency funds to the state of Rio de Janeiro to pay for infrastructure and security” (Soto, 2016:5) as the Governor of Rio had declared a state of emergency. The two mega events had put such a strain financially on the city that funds had totally run out. The impact of this is said to have been felt by the citizens of Rio who a year on saw “the state government voting on an austerity package that would slash state workers’ wages and pensions by 30%” (Zimbalist, 2017:230).

With the extent of the economic damage of the Olympics to Rio revealed, further issues arise when it comes to analysing where the Olympic investment was spent in Rio. As Viehoff and Poynter state “transportation projects are favouring Barra over the working-class north-western periphery which is 10x more populous. \$4 billion of public funds are being spent on a sixteen km subway expansion towards Barra where many Olympic venues including Olympic villages will be concentrated” (Viehoff & Poynter, 2015a:113).

This means that the wealthy, living in the Barra region saw increased transport links which improved their opportunities to the right to work and the capability of play (being able to enjoy recreational activities), whilst those living in other regions of Rio did not. Whilst providing benefits for wealthy residents in this area, this spending therefore did not improve the capabilities and rights of poorer residents in other areas and in fact reinforced inequality between the two classes. This makes it extremely difficult for the state to justify borrowing \$849 million in emergency funds when poorer residents in Rio seem if anything worse off.

4.2.3 Summary of the economic impact of the MSEs in Rio

This section has aimed to give a clear breakdown of the costs of the two mega events in Rio, which parties bore the brunt of the costs, what the money was spent on and how this has resulted economically for the city, the government and the tournament organisers. It can be concluded that the phenomenon of MSEs was detrimental to development in Rio for both the city and the people who resided in it.

The two events together cost a collective total of approximately \$30 billion. Although out of the two, the World Cup appeared to receive a higher percentage of funding from the local government compared to private investors, the Olympics resulted in such overspending that the local government had to lend from the federal government in order to complete the work.

The money spent has benefited the richer citizens of Rio rather than the poorer residents. The vast majority of money spent was on the airports, improving the transport system to richer areas of the city and building stadiums. The building of the stadiums has been the most controversial point of funding, with stadiums such as the Maracanã being left abandoned since the end of the Olympics and therefore representing a waste of public money. The fact that public projects that could have benefited poorer citizens have been scrapped due to a lack of money available, makes the spending on stadiums even more unjust. The building of airports, whilst potentially benefitting the overall economy, is also unlikely to directly benefit poorer people such as favela residents in the city who do not have the money to fly.

Ultimately, the Government's huge investment of public funding in two back-to back mega-sport events crippled the economy and occurred at the expense of local development. In the meantime, organisations such as FIFA and the IOC made record profits. Economically therefore, this study concludes that the events produced unjust outcomes benefiting the Olympic coalition at the expense of the public interest.

4.3 The impacts of mega sporting events on the development of favela residents in Rio de Janeiro

4.3.1 The implementation of the 'Programme for Growth Acceleration'

Fussey and Kaluser state "the promise of stringent security guarantees is a precondition for hosts who operate under a constant risk of catastrophic reputational damage should they not be met" (Fussey & Klauser, 2014:191). The key issue of security surrounding the hosting of the events in Rio de Janeiro was the high crime rates in the cities favelas. If the favelas had not been pacified and a tourist or athlete was harmed during the hosting of the Olympics, it could have had disastrous consequences for tourism in Rio de Janeiro. This violence was therefore dealt with via police intervention.

The need for improved security became a constant rhetoric from politicians in the lead up to the MSEs in Rio.

“It is obvious that the communities are historically troubled places, which have serious problems related to drug trafficking. [...] Rio is not an easy-to-grasp city, we have to make adaptations”- José Mariano Benincá Beltrame (Brazilian federal police commissioner and former Secretary of Security of Rio de Janeiro).

“Without firing a shot, our police reconquered a territory that had been under the control of criminals for decades. Peace is the basis for all other achievements, including for the new moment that Rio lives, attracting billions of dollars in investments in various sectors of the economy. Without peace, none of this would be possible.” - Sérgio Cabral Filho (Former Governor of Rio de Janeiro).

In order to achieve this, in 2007 (the same year in which Brazil launched its bids for the World Cup and Olympics), the federal government announced the investment of US\$650 million (from national, regional and local funds) in slum upgrading in Rio de Janeiro. This was named the ‘Programme for Growth Acceleration’ - Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC). This plan was supposed to integrate the favelas into the fabric of the city, meet the increasing needs of the favela populations, and importantly make the city safer.

The impacts can be discussed in terms of its direct impacts on crime, displacement, the environment and the physical changes in Rio’s favelas, and the indirect impacts can be discussed in regard to the increase in house prices due to gentrification.

4.3.2 PAC impact on violence in the favelas

Prior to the MSEs in Rio, everyday violence from gangs and drug lords led to some concluding that “human rights don't exist in Brazil's favelas” (Carneiro, 2013:9). The Universal declaration of Human Rights (1948:2) states that everyone “has the right to life, and nobody shall be subjected to violence, torture or degrading treatment”. Furthermore, Nussbaum (2000:82) defines the core capability of ‘bodily integrity’ “to be secure against violent assault”.

Therefore, a potential major positive for state intervention in the favelas was that it would reduce violence. To achieve this, Pacifying Police Units (UPP) were used to gain control of favelas from drug lords. The aims of the UPPs were given by politicians as “twofold: to firstly restore state control within favelas, thereby increasing security, and also to return them to the residents” (Oosterbaan et al., 2015:181).

When investigating crime in favelas, Ferraz and Ottoni (2013:18) found that violent crime rates were significantly lower in all favelas in 2012.

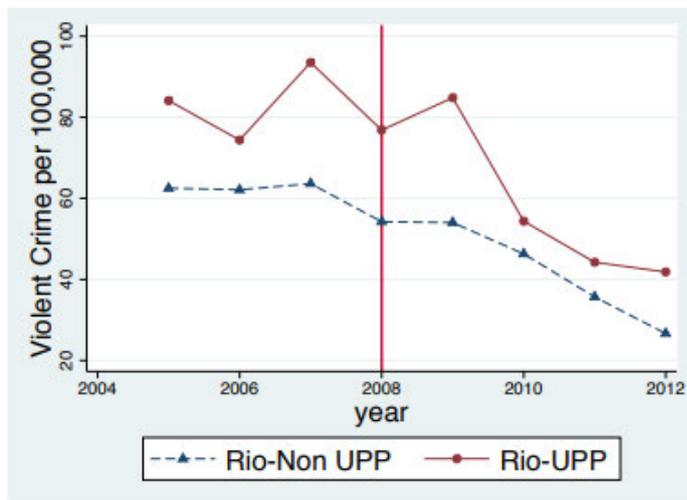


Figure 6 (Ferraz & Ottoni, 2013:18)

In 2012, after the UPP had been deployed, violent crimes in pacified favelas halved to just over 40 per 100,000 a year compared to over 80 per 100,000 in 2005. These statistics therefore give the impression that the pacification of favelas, reduced violence and therefore gave greater protection to human rights and capabilities of the favela residents who no longer suffered at the hands of drug lords and gangs.

This is corroborated by an account given by a favela resident interviewed by Oosterbaan & Wijk (2015:184)

“I used to be afraid to come home because of the shoot-outs. Now life is more “tranquilo” (tranquil) and I can come and go as I please. I can finally have a normal life where I can take my children to school and come and go to work without fear. We gained more space from the UPP since we and our children can safely use the public space in our community”

This extract shows many apparent benefits of pacification, including improved facilities for children to play in. The area being safer, means the favela residents have benefitted and have the right to be free from violence.

However, when broken down further, a study by Bellego and Druard (2019:26) found that although “murder and robbery rates decreased in pacified favelas by approximately 7% and 14% following pacification, on the other hand, assault, rape, theft, and threat rates increased

by 71%, 13%, 25%, and 81%, respectively”. This evidence shows that although some crime rates had decreased, others were still very much present in favelas post pacification.

To understand the impact of pacification on the lives of favela residents, it is therefore important to analyse accounts given by residents. Interpreting these interviews brought out common themes. One such theme was a fear of speaking to the police.

A respondent interviewed by Koenders & Koonings (2012:23) said that:

“if they (gangs) see you talking to the police, you will get a visit from them and in some UPP favelas, traffickers have even gained more space and are visibly carrying their weapons and dealing drugs openly”.

Residents in some favelas clearly still did not have the right to live free from fear of violence, as they were too scared to report crimes to police for fear of repercussions. Also in some favelas the UPP appear not to have been that effective anyway with gangs still present.

Analysis of a report by Human Rights Watch, shows that the culture of violence in favelas has even been reinforced by police, revealing a disregard for international standards governing the use of lethal force. “One interviewee even described his participation in an operation where a fellow officer executed a suspected drug trafficker as he lay injured on the ground” (Human Rights Watch, 2016:5). This shows that at least in some instances the UPP used unnecessary excess force against favela residents. Such abuses of power by police used against favela residents, meant that their human rights and capabilities have not been protected as well as they should have been. More examples will be analysed in the next section.

Despite at the beginning of this chapter, officials stated that favelas were pacified for the benefit of the city and residents as a whole, it is believed by some that pacification “occurred in order to make the city safe for tourists for the upcoming mega events” (Freire-Medeiros, 2009:4). Increased violence of any kind should not be a consequence from a mega sporting event whether it be directly or indirectly, as this can seriously damage the rights and capabilities of residents.

4.3.3 Forced evictions of favela residents

In addition to the violence faced by favela residents, a major criticism of the mega sporting events in Rio de Janeiro, has been how they forced some residents out to the peripheries. Another key capability stated by Nussbaum (2000:85) is “control over one’s environment”.

Similarly, the Human Rights Act 1948 states that “nobody shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property” UN, 1948:5). Despite this, Muller and Gaffney state that “displacement was rife for the two mega-events in Rio de Janeiro, where both gentrification and forceful relocation were rampant” (Müller & Gaffney, 2018:258).

It is therefore important to interpret further interviews from both the authorities and favela residents to understand the extent to which gentrification occurred as a result of the hosting of the events.

A statement from Eduardo Paes (Mayor of Rio) denied that the World Cup or Olympics factored into the evictions. The Rio Prefeitura report (Anzilotti: 2016:57) states that “*the resettlement of families... occurs mainly to guarantee the physical integrity of the population submitted to some type of land sliding risk and areas subject to floods and houses in precarious conditions*”. This suggests relocation of residents only occurred when it was in their best interests and therefore was for the benefit of their rights and capabilities to save them from potential harm.

However, in the case of a favela named Vila Autodromo, further analysis reveals that:

“Justifications for eviction vacillated constantly and continued to do so over the subsequent years. Initially, in 2009 it was said the community actually occupied the future media centre needed for the Games. When the future media centre location was moved, the new justification became a “security perimeter” around the Olympic park” (Williamson, 2017:67).

This contradicts the statement given by the mayor and categorically states that people were deprived of the right to remain in their home, in order to host the mega sporting events. This therefore requires further analysis.

The map below depicts which favelas were pacified and their location in relation to the Olympic venues:



Figure 7 (The Economist, 2013)

The map shows that the majority of favelas that have been pacified are located near sporting venues used for the World Cup and the Olympics, such as the Maracanã Stadium or tourist areas such as near Copacabana beach. Outside of these zones, apart from the Rocinha favela (the biggest favela in Rio), all other favelas remain untouched by police presence. This would appear to show that the families were indeed displaced not for their own safety but to create a security perimeter around venues and tourist areas.

Furthermore, a report named the 'Exclusion Games' produced by the World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee of Rio de Janeiro, states that "as of July 2015, a total of 22,059 families, amounting to 77,206 people, had been forcibly removed from their homes since 2009 in Rio" (World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee of Rio de Janeiro, 2015:11). The table on the next page is produced in the same report and shows the amount of families that lost their fundamental right to housing as a result of hosting the events.

Community	Year of establishment	N° of families removed	N° of threatened families	Families in total	Justification
1. Largo do Campinho/Campinho	1980	65	Completely removed	65	BRT Transcarioca
2. Domingos Lopes Street (Madureira)	Not available	100	Completely removed	100	BRT Transcarioca
3. Guáxima Street (Madureira)	1970	27	Completely removed	27	BRT Transcarioca
4. Penha Circular	Not available	40	Completely removed	40	BRT Transcarioca
5. Largo do Tanque	Not available	66	Completely removed	66	BRT Transcarioca
6. Arroio Pavuna (Jacarepaguá)	1938	68	28	96	Access to luxury condominium BRT Transcarioca overpass Environmental preservation
7. Vila das Torres (Madureira)	1960	1.017	Completely removed	1.017	Construction of Madureira Municipal Park / "Legacy" associated to Transcarioca
8. Restinga (Recreio)	1994	80	Completely removed	80	BRT Transoeste
9. Vila Harmonia (Recreio)	1911	120	Completely removed	120	BRT Transoeste
10. Vila Recreio II (Recreio)	1996	235	Completely removed	235	BRT Transoeste
11. Notre-dame (Recreio)	Not available	52	Completely removed	52	BRT Transoeste
12. Vila da Amoedo (Recreio)	Not available	50	Completely removed	50	BRT Transoeste
13. Other removals'		129		129	BRT Transoeste
14. Vila Taboinha (Vargem Grande)	1990	—	400	400	Repossession of land
15. Asa Branca (Curicica)	1986	—	Not available	Not avail.	BRT Transolímpica
16. Vila Azaleia (Curicica)	1990	—	100	100	BRT Transolímpica
17. Vila União (Curicica)	1980s	340	—	340	BRT Transolímpica
18. Colônia Juliano Moreira	1935	—	400	400	BRT Transolímpica
19. Metrô Mangueira	1980	566	46	612	Parking lot for the Maracanã Stadium
20. Vila Autódromo (Jacarepaguá)	1985	430	120	500	Olympic Park BRT Transolímpica Environmental preservation
21. Belém-Belém (Pilarés)	1972	—	300	300	Construction of new access to João Havelange Stadium (Engenheiro)
22. Favela do Sambódromo	Not available	60	Completely removed	60	Broadening of the Sambadrome
23. Morro da Providência	1897	140	692	832	(1) Implementation of cable cars and inclined plan; (2) unstable area
24. Machado de Assis Occupation	2008	150	Completely removed	150	Project Porto Maravilha
25. Hor do Asfalto Occupation	2006	30	Completely removed	30	Project Porto Maravilha
26. Occupations at Livramento Street	Not available	—	400	400	Project Porto Maravilha
27. Boa Vista Occupation	1998	35	Completely removed	35	Project Porto Maravilha
28. Quilombo das Guerreiras	2006	70	Completely removed	70	Project Porto Maravilha
29. Zumbi dos Palmares	Not available	133	Completely removed	133	Project Porto Maravilha
30. Carlos Marighela Occupation	Not available	47	Completely removed	47	Project Porto Maravilha
31. Casarão Azul Occupation	Not available	70	Completely removed	70	Project Porto Maravilha
Subtotal relativo às remoções vinculadas diretamente aos megaeventos		4.120	2.486	6.606	WORLD CUP AND OLYMPICS
32. Other communities	Multiple	17.939 ²	Not available	17.939	The Prefecture alleges that these families were removed because of they were on unstable areas or they were resettled at the same site due to improvement developments in their communities.
General Total of Removals in the City of Rio de Janeiro		22.059	Not available	Not available	

Table 8 (World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee of Rio de Janeiro, 2015:11)

This table reinforces the argument that the reasons for the removal of each favela community were indeed to make way for sporting venues, or the new Bus Rapid Transit system which was introduced as part of Brazil's bid to show that they could transport tourists between the Airport and Olympic Zones quickly.

Therefore, it is important to look at how people were forced out of their homes in order to evaluate to what extent the games impacted favela residents' rights and capabilities. One favela of interest shown in the above table, is that of Metrô-Mangueira which was supposedly removed to make way for a parking lot for the Maracanã stadium.

Faconi as part of her research in 2017 found that:

“in the middle of 2010, government workers came to Metrô Mangueira, and did not disclose their intentions”. Later, the Municipal workers came to Metrô Mangueira and told the residents they had to move to Cosmos. The residents did not want to leave and started protesting. The military police were sent into the favela to silence the citizens with violence” (Facconi, 2017:63).

This is quite a shocking account of residents being given no notice of them losing their fundamental right to housing. When they protested, this statement tells us that they faced a second breach of their rights by violent police forces. In this instance development was not at all of benefit to the residents of this favela.

Another researcher who conducted interviews with residents, this time from Vila Autódromo also found this put into practice when *“a woman’s home was demolished and alternative housing for her was not arranged until five months later”* (Salvesen, 2015:76). This is a further issue, as with alternative housing not being arranged quickly, residents suffered without this right for some time.

Literature states that the local authorities of Rio de Janeiro breached even more human rights when developing the city. Talbot & Carter (2017:70) claim that:

“Rio’s government committed six violations of Vila Autódromo residents’ constitutional rights in the lead up to Rio 2016 including a lack of information provided to residents, a lack of community involvement, low levels of compensation, threats, pressure and coercion and finally the use of the justice system as a tool against citizens”.

The above interviews concur with this statement. The claim in this particular account, that there was a “lack of community involvement” is of importance because Nussbaum (2011b:23) when discussing capabilities, suggests that there should be “a focus on choice, involvement and freedom”. The interviews so far show that favela residents were given no choice at all over their fate.

No interviewees said they had received compensation, and they continued to talk of the measures that had been used against them. One female resident stated:

“I was in work when they told me they were tearing down my house at 11am. I hadn’t received a penny in compensation, so I didn’t accept that. I ran home and saw the

machine tearing down the gate. I tried to get in front of it, but a guy who was working with them didn't let me, they tore down the walls in front of me” (Néri, 2012:3).

Another shopkeeper said, *“when I did not move, they kicked down the door of my shop and dragged me out down the street before destroying it” (Néri, 2012:3).*

These further examples of forced evictions again show that residents were not consulted in the move, or even informed in advance. Both the shop owner and the female resident could have been left in severe financial difficulty without compensation, and unable to afford other basics such as food and clothing.

A capabilities approach to development on the other hand would have been for the favela residents to be able to choose where they wanted to live and not be forcefully evicted. By removing this choice, it can have a knock-on effect on other capabilities and rights such as their ability to work in the same job, and ability to be a part of the same community. For these interviewees, pacification did not enhance either of these capabilities and instead viewed residents as an obstacle that needed to be removed. As these accounts have shown, favela residents were treated as “non-citizens, as disposable human beings and considered to be an impediment to development” (Pacheco, 2018:714).

Finally, tournament organisers and local authorities also did not involve local NGOs when evicting residents from favelas. NGOs instead in Rio provided a critical role of the processes caused by the events “keeping media and state attention on the favelas” (Charles University, 2017:4). “The simple presence of NGOs limited police abuse” (Arias, 2008:15). The role of NGOs as critics worked within the capabilities framework as the approach acts as “a critique of other approaches to promote well-being and justice” (Robeyns, 2003:61). In this instance NGOs such as ‘Catalytic Communities’ have worked closely with global press to produce headlines on their reporting website ‘riononwatch.org’ such as the one below to criticise the actions of the police.

(Catalytic Communities, 2014)

**World Cup Final Protest Met with
Severely Disproportionate Force, Arrests
& Police Brutality**

4.3.4 The impacts of the implementation of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) lines

The introduction of the BRT lines has also impacted on favela residents. As shown in the table on page 74, some favelas were removed for their implementation.

The BRT lines are important to analyse because “in contrast to the BRTs’ much touted success, very few academics have raised concerns over the question of whom BRTs benefit” (Vermeiren et al, 2015:13). The introduction of Rio de Janeiro’s Bus Rapid Transit system has not faced a great amount of criticism despite being argued to be built in the main to serve the MSEs. Ferranti, et al (2020:17) concludes that the BRTs show that there were “conflicting priorities where those specific to the MSE surpassed pragmatic transport modelling decisions, which could have been made in line with a more coherent sustainable transport strategy”. The figure below shows the new infrastructure and how it passes through favelas and protected areas.

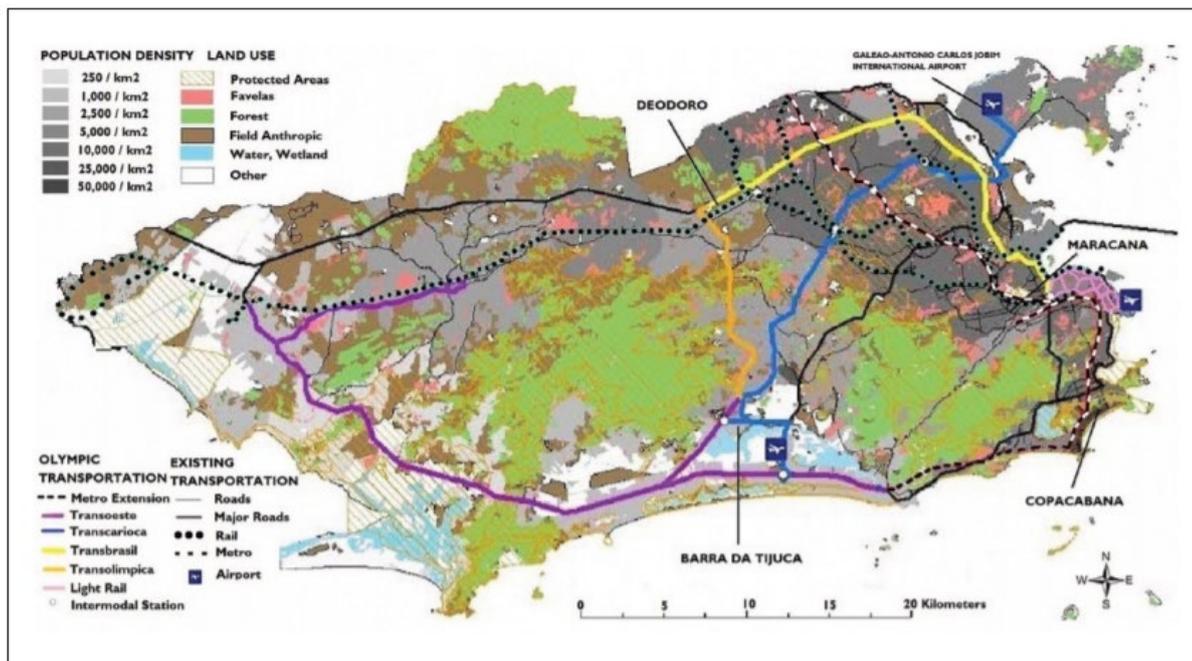


Figure 8 (Source: Kassens-Noor, 2018:1)

As shown by the map, the BRT connects the Barra da Tijuca with Olympic venues such as the Maracanã and also tourist areas such as Copacabana beach.

It is said that “to meet the strict construction schedule for the frequently changing BRT trajectories, Rio’s government acquired land through forced evictions and eminent domain disappropriations” (Gusmão de Oliveira, 2015:131). This means that much of the negative impacts of pacification discussed in section 4.3.2 was as a result of the implementation of the BRT lines.

Furthermore, figure 8 shows that the BRT Lines pass through some protected areas on its course. Gaffney states that “their construction resulted in the dislocation of tens of thousands of residents and will have permanent environment impacts on local wetlands, now subjected to intense real-estate development and accrued vehicular traffic” (Gaffney, 2012a:231). This environmental impact is of further detriment to residents because another core capability as given by Nussbaum (2000) is ‘Other Species’ – “being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature”. This ability was taken away for those who were not evicted but saw the environment they used to live in destroyed.

However, on the other hand, some positives are said to have come from the BRT system. According to the real estate developer Carvalho Hosken quoted in Kassens-Noor et al, the residents that were displaced, would benefit from being able to take the BRT back to their places of employment. “Residents that were displaced from Barra da Tijuca to Santa Cruz now use the Transoeste BRT to commute to their jobs in Barra” (2015:665). Article 23 of the universal declaration of human rights is “everyone has the right to work” (UN, 1948:60). In this sense the BRT system is argued to improve the ability of the favela residents to be able to commute to new jobs. Hoskens belief therefore being that the gentrification of the city did not negatively impact the favela residents.

To some extent this is true. A case study by C40 cities found that:

“BRTs have reduced an inner city trip from 1 hour and 40 minutes to 45 minutes, the share of trips made by public transport in Rio de Janeiro is expected to increase from 18% to 63%, with more than 150 km of exclusive BRT corridors expected to carry two million passengers each day. It is expected to save an estimated 107,000 tons of CO² per year over a 20-year period” (C40 cities, 2016:7)

This shows that the BRT system should have been used by at least some citizens in the area. The BRT lines cannot be considered a total success in terms of sustainable development, but despite the initial environmental damage caused by their implementation, long term they may have a positive impact, significantly reducing CO² emissions and they also importantly save up to £23 million a year for Rio. This is a small amount however compared to the \$1.3 billion cost of their implementation ahead of the MSEs.

4.3.5 The physical impact on Rio's favelas

Despite the negative impacts of the measures discussed so far in this chapter, many of them were implemented with the aim of regenerating the city. The photos below show how areas of Rio had been regenerated and made to look nicer as part of the favela development programme.



Figures 9 & 10 (Saad et al 2019:245)

As discussed in the literature review, regeneration of an area brings with it some positive impacts. In Rio there has been an “aestheticisation of the favelas” (Jacobi, 2014:13). The pleasant picture above of previously run-down favela is therefore a positive side effect of the mega sporting events being held in the city. The photos above show how streets were paved, rubbish was removed, and trees were planted.

The area looking nicer is more than just an improvement to the physical structure of the favelas. It can be of benefit to the core capability of ‘emotion’ of some residents as “regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods can improve residents’ mental health” (White et al, 2017:473). This can lead to the residents having a better standard of living.

However, many had been moved out of the favela and therefore unable to benefit from these changes. Ley (2003:2572) argues that “artists trigger a process of pioneer gentrification through exploiting a similarly marginal terrain”. By this he means that upgrading an area will welcome new middle-class buyers looking to buy affordable housing in a nice-looking area. This appears to have happened in Rio as demonstrated in the literature review on page 43 where it was said that “a total of 13 percent of people living in the favelas are now considered rich by Brazil standards compared to just 1% in 2001” (Rapoza, 2012:1). This means that wealthier people will benefit and not the original residents.

4.3.6 Increase in cost of living due to gentrification

The graph below shows the Olympics being hosted in a city, is often followed by rising house prices for “three years after the event” (Kozhevnikova, 2016:6).

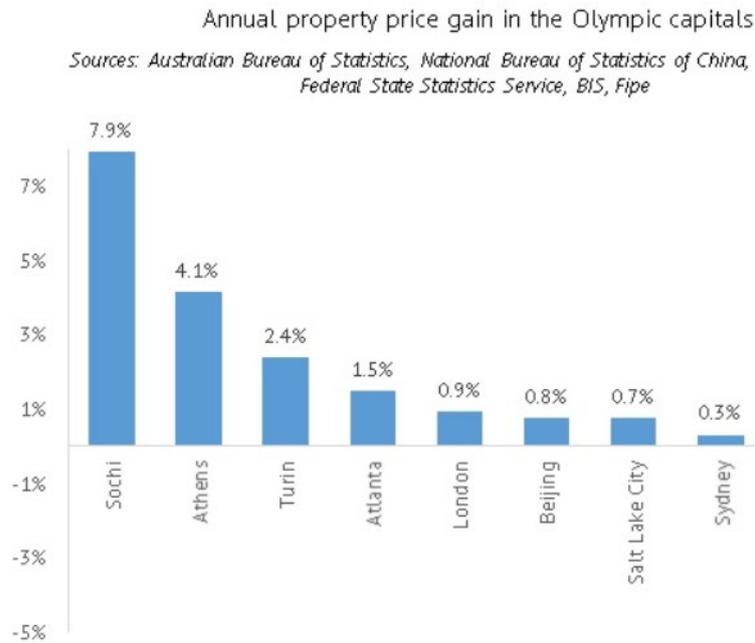


Figure 11

Whilst it is difficult to determine if this is directly due to the hosting of the event, it was important to analyse whether the same happened in Rio de Janeiro. In order to do this, a range of texts and documents were analysed before once again interviews with residents are studied to truly understand the impact of the event on residents.

Cahill (2016:1) indeed states that the mega sporting events in Rio de Janeiro “increased house prices”. This would have had the impact of making it even harder for favela residents to afford the housing they should have the right to. The Exclusion Games report also shows that in the three years leading up to 2015, the increase in value of the square meter of properties sold in Rio de Janeiro was 29.4%, while rental prices increased 9.5% (World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee of Rio de Janeiro, 2015:21).

One informant named ‘Dora’, interviewed by Tadini, states that she had to come to terms with the fact that Vidigal (a former working-class neighbourhood) had become too expensive.

“I was forced to sell my apartment, as the bills had become too expensive. When I looked for a house in Vidigal, with a small garden where my daughter could play, I did not find anything that I could afford” (Tadini, 2013:94).

Dora ended up buying a house in Freguesia, in the West Zone of Rio. This means that it was not just those who were forced out by the evictions for the hosting of the events but that also poorer residents not forcibly removed, could no longer afford the cost of living as the city became gentrified.

The graph below depicts Rio’s real estate prices in relation to time.

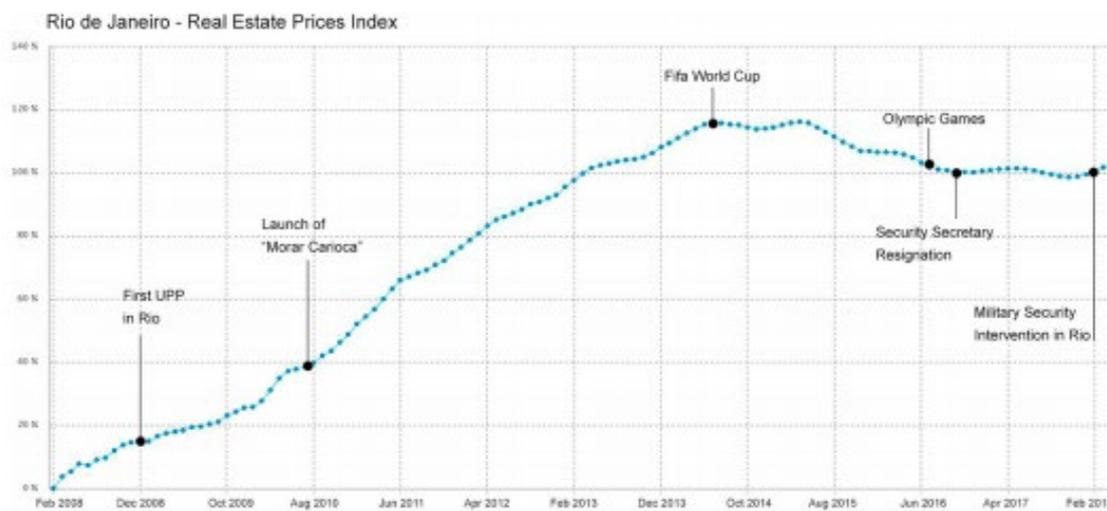


Figure 12 (Comelli et al, 2018:640)

As shown by the graph, house prices began to rise in February 2008. They continued to rocket from the point of the arrival of the UPP in Rio de Janeiro in October 2008, up to a peak of nearly 120% by the time of the hosting of the FIFA World Cup in 2014. Although house prices had levelled out by the time of the Olympic games, they were still considerably higher than the beginning cost in 2008. This implies that the development in the city caused by the hosting of the mega events, indeed had a massive impact on rising house prices.

This is despite a general trend in Brazil that has seen growth of house prices slow in recent years.

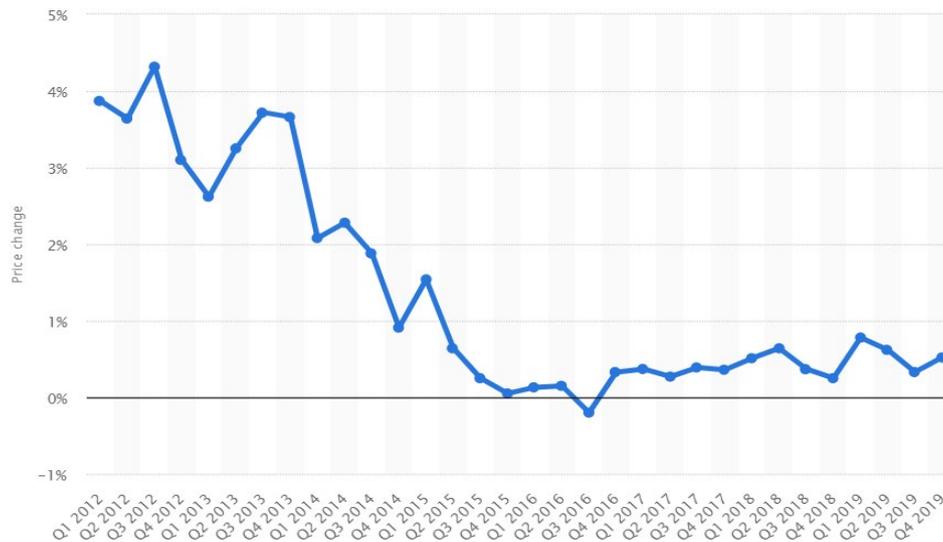


Figure 13 (Rios, 2020)

Figure 13 shows that the increase in house prices in Brazil as a whole was much lower than the increase in the prices in Rio. On average, growth of house prices in Brazil has slowed to 0.52 percent in the final quarter of 2019 compared to well over 4 percent in the first quarter of 2012. Rio being the mega event host city, means that the reason for the city not following this pattern, is very likely due to the increased investment into the city for the two mega sporting events. Whilst this means the events are responsible for the aesthetic benefits as discussed in the last section, they must therefore also be held responsible for further impacting resident’s ability to remain in their housing.

4.3.7 Summary of the impact of the MSEs on the rights and capabilities of favela residents in Rio

Analysis of statistics show that in terms of reducing violence, the PAC has certainly been successful in resulting in less crime overall in pacified favelas. The UPP have successfully taken favelas from the hands of drug lords and reduced crime rates. In theory, this should therefore mean that favela residents should now be free from fear of violence. However, it is clear that not all residents have this right and capability. The majority of favelas that have been pacified were near Olympic zones. Other favelas away from tourist areas have been left alone and there are still high levels of crime faced by residents. Therefore, it cannot be said that the programme was for the benefit of the city as a whole.

Furthermore, in the favelas that have been pacified, there are countless stories both in academic and grey literature of the violent human rights abuses faced by favela residents at the hands of the UPP. Analysis of the case studies used in this thesis corroborate with this literature.

Secondly in terms of the right to housing, approximately 77,000 favela residents were displaced by the preparation for the mega events in the city. Although initially told it was because the areas in which they lived were unsafe, it became clear that this was a consequence of the hosting of the events. Car parks for stadiums, and other Olympic venues were built on the sites. The new BRT system was also built across demolished favela sites. From the examples used in this study and other literature, evictions were brutal, and often the residents were left with little compensation and no option but to move further out of the city. The destruction of favelas in Rio de Janeiro is potentially the single biggest example of MSEs resulting in human rights abuses and show the development of the city was not for the benefit of the capabilities of these communities.

The long-term impact of these tournaments, therefore, is that many favela residents are worse off than they were before. A further consequence of the gentrification that has been identified, is that the cost of living has increased. This has the knock-on effect that others who were not displaced but are still very poor, struggle to afford to live in the city centre and may have to still move out. Once forced out it is highly unlikely these excluded communities will ever have the money to return.

There is an argument that such widespread changes should not be made simply to accommodate a tournament. After MSEs such as the world cup are held, organisations such as FIFA are often vilified and viewed as having “tentacles reaching into every nation-state” (Clarke, 2016:92). When so many people are impacted in a negative way by an MSE, it makes it harder to justify their hosting.

Whilst improving security ahead of any mega sporting event is essential, citizens of Rio should not have been so negatively impacted. This could have been achieved by assessing whether each favela was absolutely necessary to be removed, and whether the negative consequences of their removal outweighed the benefit in removing them. Furthermore, more attention could have been given to limiting the impacts of the pacification process on favela residents. For example, more warning could have been given to those who were being displaced so they would have more time to prepare. NGOs could have been informed and also utilised, to lessen the impact of the displacement. Finally, favela residents could have been worked with and

supported better by the local authorities to live in a place they wanted to live rather than be moved out of the city and not given any compensation. This would give them better freedom of choice over their lives and help them to live the life they were previously capable of. These points should be considered when mega events are held in global south countries in the future.

Going forward, tournament planners and local authorities of global south countries hosting mega events, such as Senegal, who host the 2022 Youth Olympic Games, could benefit from researching and understanding the severity that processes such as the one implemented in Rio, have had on the capabilities of its residents and development of cities. Careful decision making should be made on redevelopment that severely impacts the rights and capabilities of its residents, that is not economically or socially worthwhile for a tournament lasting less than one month.

Chapter 5

Case Studies - London & Cardiff, United Kingdom

5.1 Introduction

The United Kingdom ranks far higher than Brazil on the Human Development Index, placing 15th. Cardiff and London are two UK capital cities that have hosted an MSE in recent years. London was the host city for the Olympics in 2012 and has a population of 8.9 million (World Population Review, 2019). ITV reports show that over half of the UK's homeless population are living in London, “nearly 170,000 people are roughing it in the capital out of a total of 320,000 nationwide” (Stew, 2018:2).

Cardiff was the host city for the UEFA Champions League final in 2017 and has a population of around 489,000. The Welsh Government estimate there to be 100 sleeping rough across the streets in the city of Cardiff (Davies, 2019:8), however it is estimated to be more by some such as Discombe (2019:1) who states that “more than 4,000 people asked Cardiff council for help with homelessness in the last year as the true scale of the issue in the capital can be revealed”.

During both MSEs, headlines appeared in national newspapers discussing the removal of rough sleepers from the streets near to the sporting venues:



(Wales Online, 2017)



(Evening Standard, 2012)

This chapter will analyse how the rights and capabilities of rough sleepers were impacted, the legacy left behind by the tournaments and whether a joint approach to development was used by local authorities with homelessness NGOs. Interviews given by participants will be interpreted and common themes drawn out, to examine the true impact of the events on rough sleepers.

Firstly however, this chapter will discuss the financing of the events.

5.2 The economic cost of the UK MSEs

5.2.1 The London 2012 Olympic Games

“At the time of London’s bid in 2004 to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2012, the cost of the Games was estimated to be just over £4 billion. The costs were to be met by public sector funding of £3.4 billion, with a further £738 million from the private sector” (House of Commons, 2008:3).

The table below depicts how the projected cost of the Olympics more than doubled between the time of bidding to just three years later.

Costs and provisions	March 2007 Budget (£million)	The estimates at the time of the November 2004 bid (£million)	Difference (£million)
Olympic Delivery Authority budget:			
Core Olympic Costs	3,081	1,966	1,115
Infrastructure and regeneration	1,673	1,684	(11)
Contingency	500	No estimate included	500
Sub-total (Note)	5,254	3,650	1,604
Other (non-ODA) Olympic	388	386	2
Other provisions			
Policing and wider security	600	No estimate included	600
Tax (Note)	836	No estimate included	836
Programme contingency	2,247	No estimate included	2,247
Sub-total	3,683		3,683
	9,325	4,036	5,289

Note: The Minister’s announcement on 10 December increased the ODA’s pre-tax budget by £43 million to £5.297 billion, with an equivalent decrease in the tax provision to £793 million.

Source: C&AG’s report: *The budget for the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, HC612 (2006–07)*

Table 9 (House of Commons, 2008).

Whilst this table shows the estimated cost of the Olympics to be around the £9.3 billion mark, already a £5 billion difference, more up to date sources such as Flyvbjerg & Stewart estimate the indirect costs to be as high as £14.8 billion (2012:13).

This shows that similarly to the Rio case study, originally a much lower figure was given to the public than what the final cost of the MSE actually was. The below tables show the breakdown of how the money was spent on the Olympics, between the Olympic Delivery Authority budget (ODA) and other costs.

Table 10 (Berman, 2012 :17)

Public Sector Funding Package	SR Baseline (Em)	31 December 2011 forecast (Em)	31 March 2012 forecast (Em)	Funding released 31 March to 31 May 2012 (Em)	Variance from 31 December 2011 to 31 May 2012 forecast (Em)
ODA ¹ , including:	7,321	6,777	6,761	-	-16
<i>ODA programme contingency</i>	-	102	88	-	-14
Park Transformation ¹	0	294	296	-	+2
Policing and wider security	475	475	475	-	-
Elite and community sports	290	290	290	-	-
Venue security	282	553	553	-	-
Paralympic Games	95	95	95	-	-
LOCOG Park Operations	67	67	68	-	+1
Funding available to LOCOG	65	154	183	-	+29
Operational provisions ²	62	95	102	15	+22
'Look' of London and wider UK	32	33	33	-	-
City operations	22	23	23	-	-
Domestic and International tourism campaigns	0	4	4	-	-
GLA Olympic and Paralympic programmes	0	13	13	-	-
PSFP contingency and other savings remaining	587	425	403	388	-37
Total	9,298	9,298	9,298	-	-

Table 11 (Berman, 2012:18)

Detailed Breakdown of the ODA AFC at 31 March 2012		Nov 07 ODA Baseline Budget Em	31 December 2011 forecast Em	31 March 2012 forecast Em
Site Preparation and Infrastructure	Powerlines	282	286	287
	Utilities	256	238	235
	Enabling Works	364	386	386
	F10 Bridge	89	56	55
	Other Structures, Bridges and Highways	740	553	565
	South Park Site Preparation	116	82	82
	Prescott Lock	5	5	5
	Other Infrastructure (Landscaping)	243	208	207
Total Site Preparation and Infrastructure	2,095	1,814	1,822	
Venues	Stadium	496	431	428
	Aquatics	214	253	251
	Velopark	72	86	87
	Handball	55	41	41
	Basketball	58	40	40
	Other Olympic Park Venues	59	101	101
	Non-Olympic Park Venues	84	111	103
	Total Venues	1,038	1,063	1,051
Venues Reconfiguration	17	55	55	
Total Venues Operations	17	55	55	
Transport	Stratford Regional Station	119	121	120
	DLR	86	80	80
	Thorntons Field	47	23	23
	North London Line	110	107	107
	Other transport capital projects	178	98	99
	Other transport operating expenditure	357	457	465
	Total Transport Projects	897	886	894
Parkwide Projects	Logistics for site construction	337	243	239
	Security for park construction	354	238	228
	Section 106 and masterplanning	127	96	94
	Insurance	50	50	50
	Parkwide Operations	0	203	209
	Security screening and operational areas	0	48	49
	Other Parkwide Projects	0	26	27
Total Parkwide Projects	868	904	896	
Media Centre and Village	Stratford City Land and Infrastructure	522	623	618
	Stratford City Development Plots	(250)	(71)	(71)
	Village Construction – public sector funding	0	701	712
	Village Receipt	0	(324)	(324)
	IBC/MPC	220	292	295
Total Media Centre and Village	492	1,221	1,230	
Programme Delivery	647	737	729	
Taxation and Interest	73	(5)	(4)	
Total AFC Before Contingency	6,127	6,675	6,673	
Assessed Risk programme contingency	968	102	88	
Total Potential AFC	7,095	6,777	6,761	

The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) was the public body of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport responsible for ensuring the delivery of venues, infrastructure and legacy for the 2012 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games in London. The above tables show that £7.3 billion out of the £9.3 billion cost of the Games was spent by the ODA with the majority of the rest of the money being spent on policing.

Whilst money spent on policing is of benefit to both tourists and local residents as it should ensure a safer city, such extensive policing would not be required if it were not for the hosting of the event. The hosting of MSEs “leads to a significant increase in most property crimes such as bag-snatching, pick-pocketing, shoplifting, and burglary” (Campianello, 2011:148).

Table 11 shows the money spent by the ODA broken down further, with over £1 billion spent on stadiums and nearly £500 million spent on media centres. The majority of the stadium costs were spent on the Olympic Stadium constructed especially for the Games.

One benefit of this stadium being built in comparison to the stadiums used in Rio de Janeiro, is that it is still in use today with Premier league football team West Ham United having moved in. This therefore should mean that the taxpayers money spent on this stadium does not represent as much of a waste of funds, with the stadium still being enjoyed by fans.

However, whilst it is of benefit that the stadium is still in use, further analysis shows that “the overall bill for the Olympic Stadium in Stratford, largely met by taxpayers, soared to more than £700m from its initial £280m estimate” (Gibson, 2012:2). Despite this huge outlay, West Ham “pay just £2.5m rent per season” (Fawbert, 2017:259), meaning it would take them over 280 years to pay the cost back. This means that in fact this outlay of public funds is unlikely ever to be recovered.

British economist Stefan Szymanski (2012:14) further criticises the investment as he states “there are many infrastructure projects that would have generated a bigger return than the Olympic Park. East London is a vast area requiring redevelopment, the Olympic Park is only one square mile”. An investment into a different aspect of the economy, for example schooling, may have been a more effective way to boost the economy overall. “The proportion of pupils not reaching Key Stage 2 is higher in East London than in any other region” (MacInnes & Kenway, 2009:75). Bhutoria, (2013:19) suggests “each additional year of education is associated with an 18% higher GDP per capita”.

In conclusion, it is hard to disagree with Szymanski who concludes that the Olympics in London were “not economically viable”. An additional £6 billion of public funds was spent on the tournament compared to the Governments initial estimates released to the public upon bidding for the Games. The fact that as much as £1 billion of this was spent on venues such as the Olympic Park which is now rented out for as little as 0.5% return, shows that the Olympics did not provide the massive economic development to London that politicians had hoped for. Instead it put a huge strain on public funds.

5.2.2 The Cardiff 2017 UEFA Champions League final

The Champions league final was considerably cheaper to host in comparison to the London Olympics. Being just one ninety-minute match, it is a much smaller scale event and its hosting does not require huge infrastructural changes. It was reported that “it cost £5.7m to police the Champions League final in Cardiff” (BBC, 2019) with over half of this coming from grants such as a “£1.95m grant from the Welsh Government, £263,708 from the Football Association of Wales and a further grant of £1.4m from the Home Office” (Day, 2018:2).

South Wales Police force spent £2.1m on policing the event, out of its £262.7m budget for the year 2017. Whilst this is nowhere near the scale of the cost of many mega sporting events, for a country as small as Wales, it could be argued that it is still a substantial amount, especially when two years later in 2019, South Wales Police stated that “savings of over £7 million” needed to be made (Lewis, 2019:1).

However it is suggested that the economic benefits of the Champions league were far greater for the city than the cost of policing the final as “direct spending in the city and its vicinity was expected to reach around £45m in the period around the final” (Kelsey, 2017:9). It is said “that over 100,000 people visited the city, each spending an average of £400 – £600” (Jaimangal-Jones, 2018:13). This £45 million economic boost is far greater than the £5.7 million cost to police the final, so therefore unlike the other MSEs in this thesis, the hosting of this event appears to have made economic sense for the city.

Cardiff’s hosting of the champions league final appears to break the trend of smaller return than investment for cities hosting MSEs. This is perhaps due to the overall cost being so low. With one stadium (The Principality) only being needed, and already in existence, virtually no money was needed to be spent at all on infrastructure. Cardiff has its own airport and there are airports nearby in Bristol and London that were more than capable of coping with the additional tourism. The fact that the event was only held on one day also meant that alongside the 75,000 fans that watched the match there was a total of just “314,000 said to have visited the capital for the event” (ITV, 2017a). Cardiff is used to such crowds on Six Nations rugby match days, so had no additional need to build extra accommodation or transport systems for tourists, who stayed in pre-existing hotels in Cardiff or surrounding towns. Finally, there was no need for an ‘Olympic village’ to be built with both teams able to stay in high security hotels in the city.

5.2.3 Summary of the economic impact of the mega sporting events in the UK

The analysis of finances associated with the UK mega events has shown that whilst in London the event was once again detrimental to the economy, in Cardiff it had many benefits.

Despite the London Olympics bringing in enough money for the economy to break even, a £6.24 billion overspend can be considered nothing less than catastrophic when discussing the economics of the tournament. This £6.24 billion spending of public money came in a time of austerity after the 2008 global financial crash, where cuts to the police and the National Health Service occurred. “Between 2010 and 2013, the coalition government said that it had reduced public spending by £14.3 billion compared with 2009–10” (Merrick, 2017:3).

Cardiff produced a higher percentage of economic return from its mega sporting event. Although it did not have the same level of job creation and restructuring for the UK as a whole, it certainly put Cardiff on track to host more events in the future. Cardiff since the Champions League final, has been seen as a destination for the fights of World Champion boxer Anthony Joshua (and has even been talked about as a future NFL host).

There is perhaps therefore a point to be made by this research, that smaller scale, cheaper mega sporting events such as the Champions League final are of more benefit (or at least less detriment) than the Olympics and the World Cup to a host city. Further research would be needed however before making this conclusion.

5.3 The legacy of MSEs in the UK for rough sleepers

This section will discuss interviews that took place with rough sleepers, local authorities and NGOs that were around at the time of the hosting of the MSEs. Interpretive phenomenological analysis is then used to once again show how the mega sporting events impacted upon the rights and capabilities of rough sleepers in both cities. It will also evaluate the legacy the events are said to have left behind.

5.3.1 The ‘purge’ of rough sleepers in London

Many newspaper headlines circulated around the time of the Olympics discussing the removal of rough sleepers such as the one on the next page.

News

Met ‘targeting homeless in 2012 Olympic Games purge’

(Evening Standard, 2012)

If this is true and members of the rough sleeping community were indeed targeted by police officers and moved out of the city during the hosting of the London Olympics, the event should be remembered for its breaches of human rights, destruction of capabilities and legacy of displacement of a vulnerable community. Currently however, there is less literature available on the London Olympics that discusses these points.

It is therefore important to interview participants who experienced the hosting of the mega sporting event. The analysis of these interviews should then show the true extent of the impacts of the Olympics in London.

In an interview by the researcher, a spokesperson for the Museum of Homelessness in London stated that:

“1 in 25 people in Newham are homeless and much of that is due to the legacy of the games. There was community and cultural activity after the games to cement it's legacy but much of that has involved bringing large-scale sporting events and cultural institutions to the area, which has not really addressed the structural causes of homelessness and has in fact reinforced the displacement of people”. (Museum of Homelessness, personal communication, February 5, 2020).

This interviewee tells us that indeed there was a darker side to the games, and that similarly to the case study of Rio, the London Olympics has resulted in displacement. From interviews by the researcher, three main policies to remove rough sleepers have been identified. The first policy said to have been used by local authorities was deterring rough sleeping in certain boroughs by hiring contractors to wash down city centre streets.

A spokesperson from the Simon community, the charity which were interviewed as part of the newspaper headline shown on the previous page, stated:

“There were cleaning contractors contracted by Westminster council, to wash down streets daily as a way to move people on. If people did not move, they were soaked,

which was life threatening to people which are sleeping outside. They were risking people's lives by literally swilling them off the streets. They were waking people up and soaking the pavement, so it would come through the cardboard” (R. Cullen, personal communication, February 2, 2020).

This is an extreme measure to move rough sleepers off the streets of London. London Metropolitan police and Newham and Westminster councils unfortunately declined to comment when approached by the researcher, however, amid the claims of authorities trying to move rough sleepers on from London streets in 2012 “both Westminster Council and the Metropolitan Police said they were not aware of such measures” (Esslemont, 2012:3).



Figures 14 &15

(Photographs of T-shirts worn by members of the Simon Community used in protest over the treatment of rough sleepers in 2012. These photos were given to the researcher by the Simon Community, 16.01.20)

The measure of washing down streets which intentionally or unintentionally had the consequence of rough sleepers being unable to sleep on them, draws comparisons to pest control which is represented by the t-shirts used in a protest against these measures by the charity.

It therefore appears that the rights and capabilities of the people who suffered from this measure were not respected by local authorities. Rough sleepers had to choose between staying in the spot where they wanted to sleep, be soaking wet and potentially suffer health wise from this

which impacts their right to life, or lose the ability to stay in the same spot they had been sleeping in and no longer have control over their own environment (a core capability).

From the accounts given above it is clear that there are disagreements between Westminster Council and the Simon Community about whether this measure occurred or not. Therefore, it is important to further analyse this. The below photo taken by Bloomsbury Baptist Church, shows the streets of London indeed being washed down in the run up to the 2012 Olympics.



Figure 16 (Photo given to the researcher by Bloomsbury Baptist Church, 24.02.2020)

Furthermore, Boyes (2012:4) confirmed this measure took place by writing that:

“Cleaners would spray favourite haunts with high-powered water jets to prevent return after asking homeless to move on. This practice of 'wetting down' is uncivilised and demonstrates harassment difficult to reconcile with the remit of offering help”

Figure 16 is photographic evidence that Westminster council hired contractors to hose down streets where rough sleepers frequented, and the above quote appears to confirm the measure was intentional. The Simon Community argue this was done “daily” which makes it appear more likely that this was a targeted operation aimed to prevent people from sleeping in the areas in which they wanted too. This had the impact of making life extremely difficult for rough sleepers in these areas and would also have impacted them mentally and emotionally as well as physically should they have chosen to stay on the wet pavements.

There are further examples of measures used by local authorities in London to remove rough sleepers given in the interviews. A former director of supported housing for Newham stated that

“The council were setting up drinking exclusion zones and making these bigger and bigger hence pushing rough sleepers out of the city” (N. Carpenter, personal communication, January 24, 2020).

This second measure is one that has been continued to be used by councils ever since the Olympics. It could be argued therefore that it has left a lasting legacy and changed the way police treat rough sleepers in cities. Since 2014, banning alcohol consumption in certain public areas has been formally named a Public Spaces Protection Order (PSPO), which places restrictions on a public area, such as a park or a town centre.

These again are denied by local authorities as targeting rough sleepers, however the fact that they ban behaviours of some rough sleepers – such as begging or drinking alcohol, means often it is rough sleepers who are served an Anti-social Behavioural Order (ASBO) forcing them to leave certain areas. Once again therefore, this is an example of a measure used by police that intentionally or unintentionally removed their capability to live in the environment they choose.

Article 9 of the Human Rights Act is “no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile”, whilst article 13 is “everyone has the right to freedom of movement”. PSPOs can have the impact of exiling rough sleepers from certain areas and take away their previous freedom to move around the city as they wish. It forces them to choose between changing their behaviour or no longer staying in the same places.

A picture of an ASBO served to a rough sleeper who breached a PSPO.

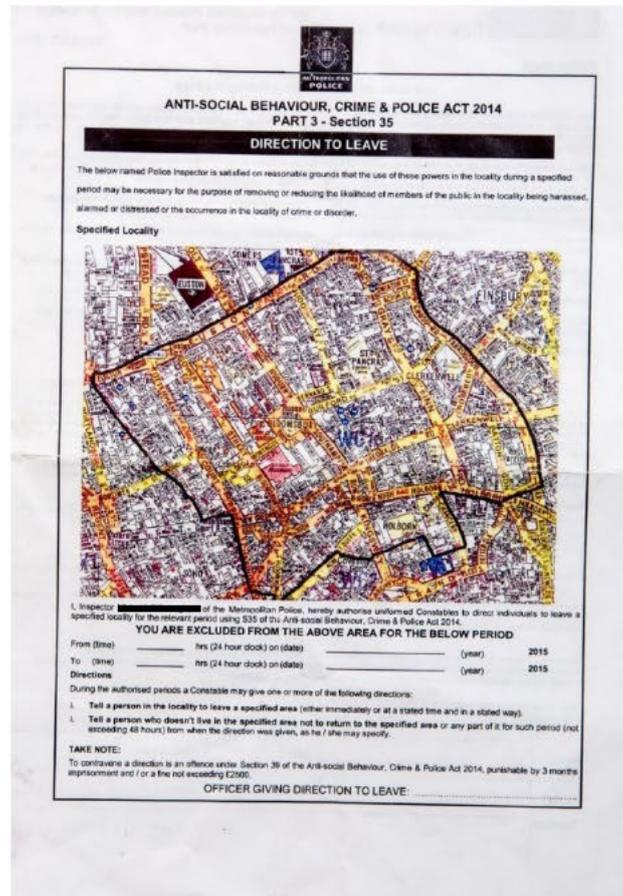


Figure 17 (Museum of Homelessness, personal communication, February 5, 2020)

In bold capital letters at the top of the order is “direction to leave” whilst at the bottom it states, “you are excluded from the area”. This makes it very clear that PSPOs are designed to remove people from a certain area. This is argued by some to be an attempt at clearing the area up and making it look more pleasant.

Mr Carpenter the Director of Supported Housing for Newham argues that they were used to target rough sleepers:

“A response to what was seen as antisocial behaviour by homeless people, drink exclusion zones were set up around Newham and extended to the outskirts of the borough. At the same time, a lot of money was spent on Newham, improving roads and the general look of the place to improve things ready for the attention of the worlds press during the Olympics, e.g. flowers, a welcome sign, and road improvements and

coloured metal “trees” to obscure the view of the old Stratford Centre when coming from Stratford station” (N.Carpenter, personal communication, January 24, 2020).

It would be an extreme coincidence to operate the policies of removing rough sleepers and introducing decorations that hide areas from view in co-ordination in 2012. It would therefore appear that these policies were operated in order to clean up the streets in preparation for the Olympics. Rather than a rehabilitative approach for rough sleepers to try and treat them for their problems which may cause these anti-social behaviours, banning these people from certain areas just hides it from public view. As the ASBOS given out are usually 24/48 hours, in the long term this has no positive impact for the place when rough sleepers return. It certainly does not benefit the capabilities of the rough sleepers who are given them, who are forced to find somewhere else to stay for a period of time

The third policy said to have been used by local authorities in preparation for the Olympics is the reconnection policy which was discussed in the literature review (pg46). Local councils in London are said to have increased the amount of time that rough sleepers need to have had a connection to the borough in order to access services, from three to five years. Alongside this they offered rough sleepers not meeting this requirement one-way tickets to other cities or countries of origin.

Figure 18 – The number of rough sleeper reconnections from/within London April 2011-December 2013 by destination (Johnsen & Jones, 2015:17).

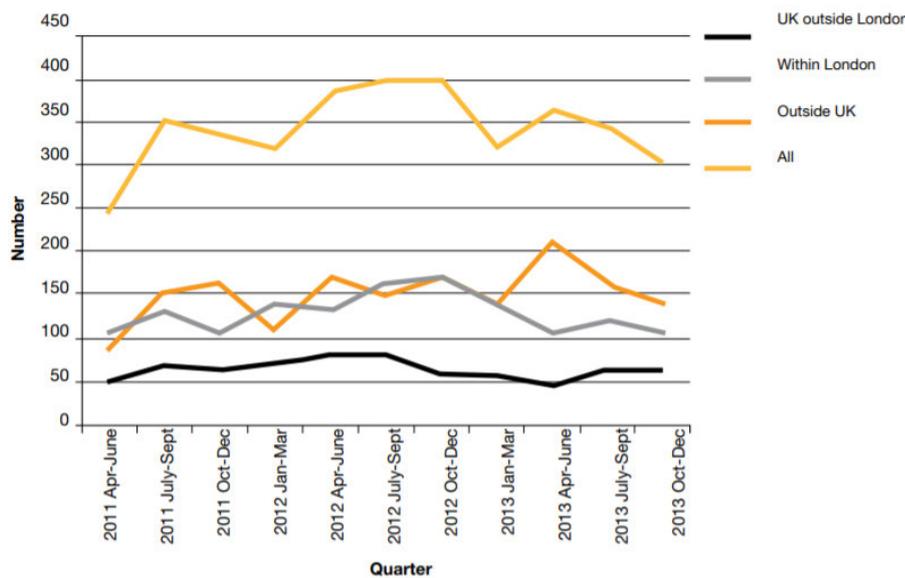


Figure 18 shows that the prevalence of reconnections from/within London has fluctuated over the study period. The total number recorded, ranges from 245 in the second quarter of 2011 (April-June 2011) to 396 when the Olympics were held in July 2012. The graph then tails off slightly in the latter half of 2013. It shows that many were reconnected to outside of the UK, between 100-200 every quarter.

A spokesperson from the Simon Community stated that:

“Borough connections are now much longer. You have to prove you have been here for 5 years. The big difference is someone with no recourse to public funds can’t access homeless provisions because they can’t get into hostels or day centres, also overstayers cannot beg because if they get picked up, they get detained” (Cullen, personal communication, February 2 2020).

This policy specifically targets foreign rough sleepers, preventing them from claiming benefits and encouraging them to return home. This could be argued to show that the councils of London were eager to remove these people from the city before the hosting of the Olympics. The impacts of this would have been severe as the interviewee states those impacted have no access to “homeless provisions”. This would leave them without the rights to basic services such as shelter, water and sanitation but also others such as the right to work and the right to education, trapping them in their current situation.

Additionally, their capabilities would be impacted as their ‘practical reason’ is taken away from them. Rather than being able to “form a conception of the good, and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s life” (Nussbaum, 2000:87) they are forced to make a rash decision for survival, whether they are deported back to their country of origin and give up on hope of a better life, or stay in the UK but remain on the streets indefinitely.

On the other hand, the reconnection policies were defended by a spokesperson from a local unofficial organisation named Nightingale Angels that works with rough sleepers who said that:

“I can’t really say anything bad about my council, we tend to find a lot of Eastern Europeans would rather sit in Stratford shopping centre drinking cheap drinks, they’ve been offered help, but they don’t want it. The majority of them we find they are all scammers. In regard to people being offered flights, it’s not so true, basically well it is

kind of true, some of them say they are stuck, they want to go home” (Nightingale Angels, personal communication, February 2020).

Although this statement denies malicious intentions from the council in returning rough sleepers back to their countries of origin, it reaffirms that people were offered flights home instead of access to services. This encouragement to return home, did not give them the ability they should have had to start a better life in the UK, rather just sending them back to their places of origin so they were no longer the responsibility of the local authorities. It took away their ability to make a practical decision and did not offer them any basic human rights in the UK.

In conclusion, this measure in conjunction with the other policies, shows that the councils of London alongside the Metropolitan Police used a variety of ways in order to remove rough sleepers in the build up to the 2012 Olympics and this had numerous implications on their rights and capabilities.

5.3.2 The legacy of London 2012

The objective of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games was to “inspire a generation” (Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, 2012:1). Although mainly used to advertise the fact that the Olympics would inspire the population to increase sport participation, it was also used to talk about the impact that the Olympics would have on housing in the capital city.

Boris Johnson, Mayor of London at the time stated:

“The 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games infrastructure and investment have created the most important strategic regeneration opportunities in London for the next 25 years” (Mayor of London, 2011:44).

This section will now examine to what extent the 2012 Olympics provided housing.

The main programme to improve housing in London, was the Olympic regeneration in East London (ORiEL programme) using the Olympic Village.



Figure 19

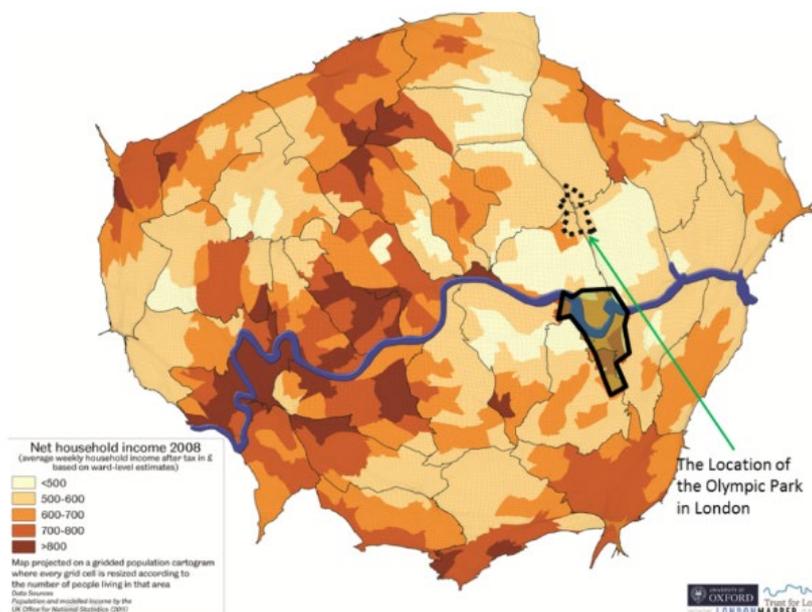


Figure 20

Figures 19 and 20 (Gamesby, 2020) show that the Olympic park is situated in Stratford, an area of East London with one of the lowest net household incomes in the city.

The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA), had responsibility for transforming the Athletes Village post-Games, into accommodation suitable for residential use. More than 2,800 properties were made available with “51 percent of the site to be marketed as private rental accommodation, and the remaining 49 percent of the site made available for affordable housing, of which 675 properties were for social rent” (House of Lords Committee on Olympic and Paralympic Legacy, 2013:63).

This represents a unique way in which the Government created an Olympic site and then used it for the benefit of the public afterwards. This meant that the buildings did not go to waste after the Olympics but that the tournament should fulfil the right to housing for thousands of people.

According to a government report, “all 675 social rental homes in the East Village were occupied. Furthermore, 704 affordable homes had been rented or bought”. (HM Government and Mayor of London, 2015:43). The homes being filled quickly, showed the need for the additional housing. Therefore, it could be argued that the £1.23 billion investment on constructing the village (shown on page 89) was a good investment of public funds. It ensured a legacy of providing affordable housing for those that had previously not had it. This also enhanced the capabilities of those that were able to take advantage of the new housing and it provided the opportunity to better their lives.

However, there is an argument that this project did not provide enough people with affordable housing. ORS (2013:33) have identified a “need for affordable housing in London’s Olympic area which amounts ‘to more than 100 percent of planned dwelling delivery’”. This means that over double the amount of affordable housing would be needed in order to meet the growing demand. Whilst producing some extra housing, the £9 billion investment into the Olympics still did not change the fact a further “65,878 homes were still needed in 2017/18” (Baratt. 2019:4). Therefore, it cannot be said that the investment into the Olympics solved London’s affordable housing problem.

The literature review analysed how BAME communities in particular, have suffered from London’s housing crisis (pg 37). It is therefore of concern that “London’s Olympic housing ‘legacies’ are looking like they will largely fail to benefit East London’s ethnically diverse

working-class communities” (Sagoe, 2016:558). This is an issue of equality. The ‘material’ capability identifies that “everyone should have property rights on an equal basis with others” (Nussbaum, 2000:76). The Olympic regeneration should have helped poorer ethnic communities to have an equal opportunity to others, to buy their own home. However, still today “BAME (black and ethnic minority) families in London are disproportionately affected by housing affordability problems as a result of the growing disparity between their family income and private rents” (Garvie, 2017:5). The Olympics did not do enough to improve the capabilities of BAME communities, as the gap between them and white communities is still widening in terms of housing.

In summary, the Olympics were marketed as leaving a legacy to inspire. Although they provided some additional housing, they are argued to have not provided enough. Furthermore, they certainly did not have a positive impact on rough sleepers.

This view was shared by homelessness NGOs in London, as the spokesperson from the Simon community stated:

“Boris Johnson was mayor at the time, he actually promised to end homelessness by 2012 – great job he made of that –he just gave us all a lot of hope” (Cullen, personal communication, February 2, 2020”.

It is therefore concluded that overall, the legacy of the London Olympics for both rough sleepers and those seeking affordable housing, was not a positive one.

5.3.3 The removal of rough sleepers in Cardiff

It is now important to analyse accounts given by those living in Cardiff at the time of the hosting of the 2017 Champions league final. This analysis will give a fuller picture of how rough sleepers in Cardiff were treated by authorities during the hosting of the event.

Figure 21 shows how many people were supported in Cardiff monthly by the Wallich Rough Sleeper Intervention team between the years 2013 and 2019.

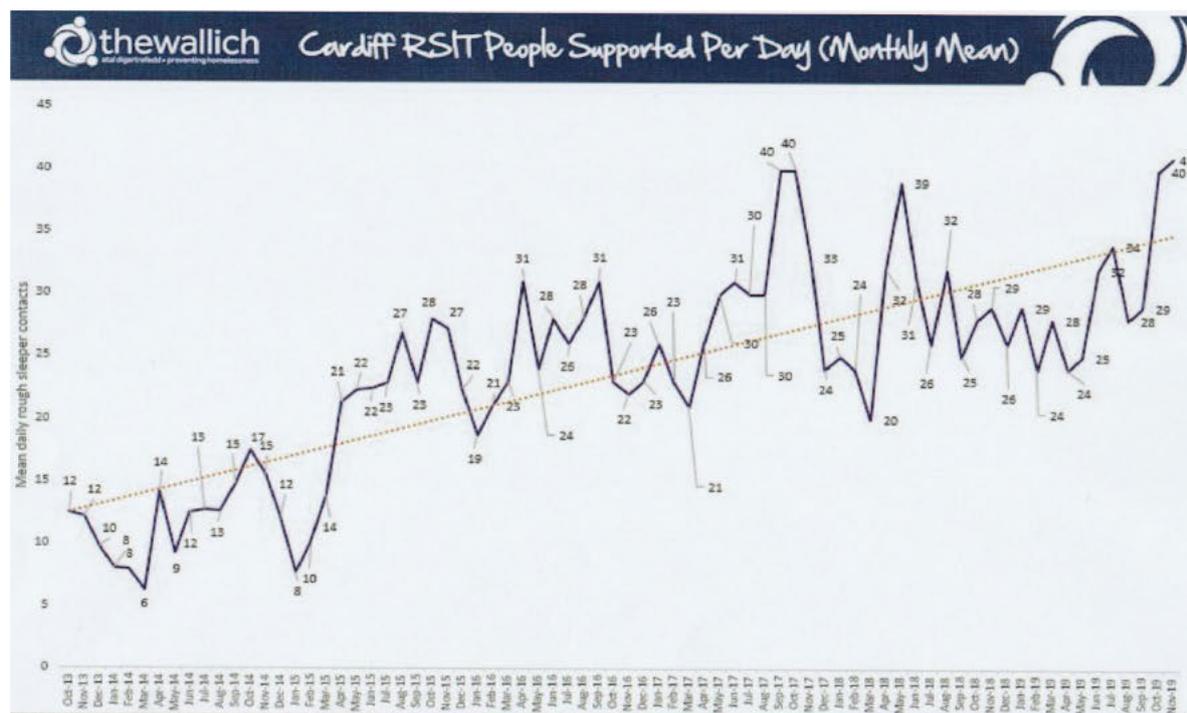


Figure 21 (Graph given by the Wallich to researcher, 23.01.2019).

June 2017 (When Champions league final was hosted)

Overall, the graph shows a general increase over the last 6 years with there now being quadruple the number of rough sleepers seen each day in November 2019 compared to November 2013 rates. More importantly for the purposes of this thesis, it shows that when the Champions League final was hosted in June 2017, there was an increase in people supported to 31 people on average every day, compared to the months leading up to the event which had seen numbers as low as 23.

This is of note because in the leadup to the Champions League Final being hosted in Cardiff, newspapers such as the one on the next page reported that rough sleepers were being removed from the streets of Cardiff by police. Therefore, more rough sleepers may have been seeking help from rough sleeping NGOs such as the Wallich.

Wales News • Wales News • UEFA Champions League final

Homeless people say they have been told by police to leave Cardiff ahead of the Champions League final

South Wales Police have powers to remove people behaving antisocially for up to 48-hours (Wales Online, 2017)

If the above headline is true, then many rough sleepers had the capability to control their own environment taken away from them due to the hosting of the Champions League Final.

However, despite these headlines in grey literature, South Wales Police (SWP) denied the claims stating:

“We don’t target homeless people and rough sleepers, unless there is a specific safety concern or crime prevention issue. We never intentionally ‘move on’ rough sleepers or homeless people”. (SWP Chief Constables office, personal communication, January 8, 2020).

This statement opposes the newspaper article shown above and if true would therefore mean that nobody was removed in order to host the champions league final. The case study therefore requires further analysis of interviews with rough sleepers who were on the streets at the time of the hosting.

The response from the rough sleepers was clear, with all rough sleepers interviewed feeling they were removed from the city due to the hosting of the final. The most extreme statement came from a rough sleeper who said:

“they didn’t ask us to leave, they fucking dragged us down the street. They told us they were moving us out for tourism, and we had to leave the centre. They told us our stuff was at the landfill to collect, then when we got there, they incinerated it in front of us” (Aaron, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

This contradicts the police statement and appears to show that rough sleepers were targeted prior to the final being hosted. Similarly, to favela residents in Rio, this shows that the rough sleepers right to remain free from violence was ignored by the police as they were “dragged down the street”. They also once again had their ability to choose where they wanted to sleep taken away from them. This statement is corroborated by many other rough sleepers.

One said:

“They just say you have to leave. My friend then tells me it is because of the football and the tourists you know” (John, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

Whilst another stated:

“I was told I could stay in the city centre as long as I behaved and kept my things tidy but half an hour later, I was told I have 24 hours to leave. When I refused, I was forced to sit in a corner whilst they got a van to move me. It’s wrong I’m told to sit in a corner like a dog, I aint no dog”. (Robert, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

This last statement again gives the impression that rough sleepers were treated as animals by police officers. This shows similarities to the case study of London where NGOs felt rough sleepers were treated like pests. This implies that rough sleeping communities in both cities feel that they were deprived of their human rights and treated as ‘sub-human’.

This also ties in with the literature review which discussed the dark history of mega sporting events removing vulnerable communities from cities. NGOs also seemed to be of the opinion that rough sleepers were moved on due to the hosting of the final, though perhaps wary of exaggeration in some cases.

A spokesperson for the Wallich stated:

“Before all mega events we get anecdotal reports from rough sleepers that people have been moved on by operations, On the one hand I can understand it to make the city safer, however I can also see it as disguising the problem to look better for TV cameras” (The Wallich, personal communication, January, 23 2020).

Cymorth Cymru stated that all such measures do *“is remove trust in the system”*. (Cymorth Cymru, personal communication, January 16, 2020). There is a fine line for local authorities to manage between keeping the city centre safe ahead of an MSE, and systematically removing rough sleepers and breaching their human rights. Many (though not all) of the rough sleepers admitted anti-social behaviour such as begging, street drinking and drug use, which are activities that can lead to the public feeling intimidated and even unsafe.

However, local authorities appear to have crossed this line. One rough sleeper named Steven said he was moved out for what was described as *‘aggressive begging’*.

“I buy stuff out of begging, I don’t buy drugs, I even show people the stuff I am going to buy out of the begging”, They told me to move out and if I came back, they’d arrest me. They should look after their own, I’ve had mates die on the streets and all they care about is tourists” (Steven, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

This is another powerful quote from a rough sleeper in Cardiff city centre who believes the correct help is not being delivered to him. As seen on page 96, begging is often punished by police. This is what happened to Steven as he was forced to leave the area.

Steven had his ability to gain an income and potentially gain access to other services taken away from him. Rather than just banning him from the city centre, a better approach may have been for him to be helped into other forms of work. McCormack et al (2016:36) recommends “access to support as the first approach” before using anti-social behavioural powers when dealing with street-based activity. Perhaps if greater attention to rehabilitation, and provision of basic services was taken by local authorities, there would have been less anti-social street-based activity by rough sleepers in Cardiff. During the hosting of the Champions league final however this was not the case, rough sleepers were seen as a problem and therefore removed temporarily, damaging their rights and capabilities.

5.3.4 The legacy of the 2017 Champions league final - The Homeless World Cup/ The removal of tents?

In 2017, leader of Cardiff council - Huw Thomas said that “*holding such a prestigious event as the Champions League final will have a long-lasting legacy for the Welsh capital*” (ITV, 2017b:1). Prior to the final being hosted, a match between 20 homeless individuals was played in front of fans at the Champions league Fanzone in Cardiff Bay. This could be argued to have begun a legacy of inclusion of rough sleepers. In 2019, this legacy potentially came to fruition as the Homeless World Cup was hosted in Cardiff.

When asked if the hosting of the Homeless World Cup was linked to the Champions league final, Cllr Thorne - Cardiff Council Minister for Housing (who was also a Champions League ambassador) stated “*there would have been a relationship*” (Cllr Thorne, personal communication, February 10, 2020). Therefore, it could be argued that the Champions league final left a legacy in the city, with local authorities using sporting events to benefit the rough sleeping community.

In terms of economic impact, the Homeless World Cup had no negative impact on public funds. A document released by the Homeless World Cup Foundation, states that it was funded by a “mix of private donors and companies. No funds have been raised from the general public or public funds” (Homeless World Cup Foundation, 2019:9). Furthermore, for rough sleepers “a proportion of the funds raised goes towards the ongoing work of Street Football Wales for the

next three years, creating a deep legacy in their work across North and South Wales” (Homeless World Cup Foundation, 2019).

The tournament being of economic benefit to a vulnerable community, without costing the public, can only be considered a positive. Funds given directly to NGOs who work with rough sleepers day in day out, can be used to better fulfil the capabilities of rough sleepers who will benefit as these NGOs should have a better idea of what services/provisions rough sleepers require.

The Homeless World Cup in Cardiff is also known for its successful social impacts:

“An amazing 94% of players consistently say that the Homeless World Cup has had a positive impact on their lives” (Homeless World Cup, 2019:8).

As well as improving the rights and capabilities of rough sleepers, the tournament was free for spectators to attend so was accessible to all. This is positive work on the right to equality as unlike the example of mega sporting events in this thesis, it gives the opportunity for people who often cannot afford to watch sport, the chance to do so. If the Homeless World Cup came to Cardiff as a result of the Champions league final, this can only mean a positive legacy has been left.

However, a representative from Cymorth Cymru stated that:

“The bidding was not at all in anyway related to the bidding or hosting of the Champions League final, rather it came about as a result of Michael Sheens influence. He wanted to ensure a legacy” (Cymorth Cymru, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

Judging by this, it would seem the event did not occur as a result of the hosting of the Champions league final as Cardiff Council had suggested. This was further confirmed by a spokesperson for PR company ‘Working Word’ who covered the event. When asked if the council were involved, a spokesperson said, *“as far as I am aware not directly, no”*. Therefore, whilst the city benefited from the positives of hosting the Homeless World Cup, it appears unfair to claim that this was due to the legacy of the Champions league.

Instead the legacy can be attributed to *“the bid that Michael Sheen and his fellow organisers put together in order to host the HWC in Cardiff 2019. It was exceptionally strong and that is*

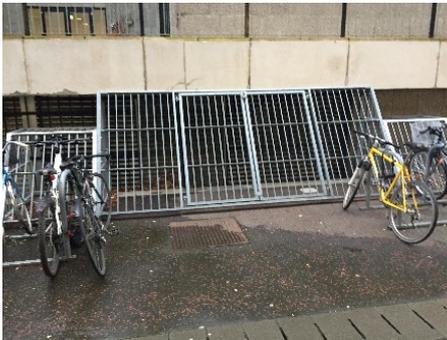
why the city was awarded the hosting rights” (Working Word, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

In fact, a negative legacy has been suggested to have been left in Cardiff by the hosting of the Champions league final, for rough sleepers. This is one of “*mindless Public Space Protection Orders and criminalisation of rough sleepers” (The Wallich, personal communication, January 23, 2020).* As discussed in the last section, rough sleepers were moved out of the city for the Champions League final. Ever since, there have been more instances of rough sleepers being moved out of the city by police. One such example is the tents that have popped up in the city and have been consequently removed by local authorities. In addition to this many anti-rough sleeping measures such as barriers on benches and grills over air vents, have been implemented.

Below are photos of some of the tents that have appeared in the city in recent months.



Below are examples of so called anti-homeless measures introduced by local authorities and Cardiff University.



(Figure 22) Photos taken by researcher 16.01.20)

In late 2019, many tents began to appear in the city, being used by rough sleepers as the nights became colder. However, newspaper headlines such as the ones below began to appear.



(The Guardian, 2019)

A spokesperson for Help the Homeless Wales who were founded in May 2017, just as rough sleepers began to be moved out of the city for the Champions league final, stated that:

“They were binning people’s possessions when they removed tents and told us we would receive ASBOS if we handed out tents. If I was on the streets, I would turn to alcohol or drugs if I was treated how they are treated” (Help the Homeless Wales, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

Removing tents is even more damaging than removing rough sleepers from an area, as tents are considered a ‘dwelling’. “This means that an officer would have to treat it in a similar way to a home” (Deacon, 2019:3). Therefore, tents whilst being extremely basic, represent some form of shelter and taking away a tent from a rough sleeper, is taking away their right to housing.

However, Cllr Thorne stated that:

“The issue was that once they had given tents, homeless people stopped engaging. One person who was diabetic failed to go to hospital and was found by police to be in a coma. We have had a couple of overdoses in tents, there are examples of women being manipulated. The outreach team will really try to get rough sleepers indoors. Tents are only removed when abandoned. Removing them is up to the police” (Cllr Thorne, personal communication, February 10, 2020).

To some extent the Wallich also seemed sympathetic for the view of the council

“We do not give out tents – it’s a barrier to support, we cannot see if they are alive, we cannot communicate with them as by law they are a dwelling so we cannot enter. We do not condone giving out of tents. If they have tents, often they do not want to engage

with services, so they are counterproductive” (The Wallich, personal communication, January 23, 2020).

These two communications give the impression that rough sleepers who have been engaging with outreach services, once given tents, gain a false sense of security and no longer engage. This has impacted their capabilities. The quote from Cllr Thorne, has shown health has suffered as a result, with authorities unable to check on rough sleepers, and one diabetic falling into a coma, and another rough sleeper overdosing. The manipulation of female rough sleepers Cllr Thorne discusses, implies sex work occurring in tents. This is also of concern as a study by Balfour & Allen (2014:15) states that “at least 79 per cent of sex workers suffer from physical and/or mental health problems”.

Furthermore, rough sleepers no longer engaging, are unlikely to leave the streets and move into more secure housing and paid work. A similar study by Homeless Link (2018:3) found that “enabling, rough sleepers to stay on the streets, rather than encouraging engagement with support agencies” could lead to a rough sleeper “refusing to accept assistance from the welfare state and therefore not claim benefits, which prevents access to permanent accommodation”. This would prevent rough sleepers from gaining the right to housing. Therefore, it could be argued that local authorities are acting in the best interest of rough sleepers by removing these tents.

However, these points do not give police officers justification to use excessive force, and to destroy other possessions of rough sleepers. It certainly would appear that in Cardiff as a result of the hosting of the Champions league final in 2017, relations between rough sleepers and local authorities deteriorated. Although it has been argued this is due to the reluctance of rough sleepers to engage with services, local authorities must also share some blame for using continuous harsh measures against rough sleepers such as removing tents.

5.3.5 Summary of the legacy left behind by MSEs in the UK

Both London and Cardiff had policies in place that impacted rough sleepers during the hosting of the mega sporting events. This involved simply banning them from areas in Cardiff which took away their control over their environment, to more extreme violent measures in London which included hosing down streets or even offering them flights back to their country of origin.

In terms of London, the Olympic park provided some affordable housing and was filled quickly. However, it did not produce anywhere near enough to solve London's housing crisis. This alongside the three policies used to target rough sleepers, meant that the term 'inspiring a generation', therefore did not come into fruition unfortunately for the rough sleeping communities of London.

The case study of Cardiff is a little more complex. Whilst there are arguments for the hosting of the Champions league final partially resulting in the hosting of the Homeless World Cup in 2019, there are also arguments that the measures taken by police to move rough sleepers in June 2017 set a precedent for similar measures to be continued over the last few years. In reality it would be unfair to attribute the hosting of the champions league to either legacy.

In the case of the Homeless World Cup, the Champions League Final no doubt helped to prove the city was capable of hosting such an event. However, it is clear from interview responses that the bid was put together by Michael Sheen in cohort with NGOs and purposely did not involve local authorities and politicians or have a relationship with the Champions League bid. Similarly, however, in regard to the removal of tents in the city, it would be unfair to say that this happened as a continuation of measures used for the Champions league final as there is no definitive relationship.

Overall, both MSEs in London and Cardiff resulted in the temporary loss of rights and capabilities for rough sleepers. The consequences of the events being hosted, for these communities were more negative than good. The legacy left behind especially in the case of London whilst perhaps remembered as 'inspiring' by some, for rough sleepers and NGOs should always be remembered as times of exclusion.

5.4 To what extent was there a joint approach to development of rough sleeping communities between local authorities and NGOs in the UK?

Next to be analysed is the extent to which local authorities worked/did not work with NGOs to meet the needs of the rough sleepers during the hosting of the mega sporting events. Again, this is conducted through the analysis of interviews with key stakeholders to understand their experience of local authority and NGO relations.

Marrufo states that "sustainable development is a joint approach among those (e.g., governments, businesses, environmentalists, and others) who seek economic growth with wise

resource management, equitable distribution of benefits and reduction of negative effects on people” (Marrufo, 2013:4). This implies that in order for vulnerable communities to be part of sustainable development when MSEs are held, a joint approach should occur between local authorities, NGOs and all other stake holders.

In both case study cities however, NGOs claimed they were not included by local authorities. In Cardiff, when asked if the council or police engaged with them in regard to the hosting of the Champions league final, the Wallich stated “*we do not remember them making any contact with us talking about the sporting events*”.

Furthermore, since the hosting, the Wallich stated that their welfare van – a mobile vehicle which provides outreach services to rough sleepers had even been moved on by the Council.

“We had a prime spot on Queen street, we had great impact with lots of engagement however they sold it to someone else. They then moved us around to a few different places, so the rough sleepers did not know where we were”. (The Wallich, personal communication, January 23, 2020).

This welfare van is designed to meet some basic rights of rough sleepers, such as providing them with medical treatment, a shower, food and water. Cardiff Councils apparent refusal to operate a joint approach alongside the Wallich, resulted in rough sleepers missing out on these rights. Therefore, in Cardiff it appears there is still a lack of joint work by NGOs and the local authorities and this has had a negative impact on the rights and capabilities of rough sleepers.

In London, it appeared that local authorities actively prevented NGOs from helping rough sleepers when the Olympics were hosted. The Simon Community stated:

“At the time of the Olympic games we were not allowed to do any outreach on the streets. Tournament organisers didn’t engage in any way with homeless people. We certainly, didn’t receive any increased exposure, and no economic impact” (Cullen, personal communication, February 2, 2020”).

This is even worse than the situation in Cardiff, as local authorities are claimed to have actively worked against NGOs and prevented them from improving rights and capabilities for rough sleepers.

It appears that there is not a joint approach in either city to the development of the rough sleeping community. Therefore, it must be evaluated how councils and NGOs could work

better in order to provide this joint approach to development. In Cardiff for example, NGOs and Cardiff Council cannot even agree on the number of rough sleepers in the city centre. On the 23rd January 2020 Cardiff Council released a statement saying that rough sleeping in Cardiff was “down to 34, the lowest for 6 years” (Thorne, 2020). Yet all NGOs interviewed, said that the number of rough sleepers in the capital had increased over the last few years. If the Council are not honest in recognising the true extent of the problem, it makes it more unlikely for a successful partnership with NGOs to improve development for rough sleepers.

NGOs have also called for councils to include them in their plans for rough sleepers in the city. Cardiff Council were defensive however over this and when questioned over not including the Wallich during Champions League final preparations said *“they say this frequently, they were part of the recent review and are involved in our at least monthly meetings”* (Cllr Thorne, personal communication, February 10, 2020).

Whether this is true or not, the very least local authorities could do before a mega sporting event or operation that will impact rough sleepers occurs, is inform homelessness NGOs in that area. Whilst NGOs may not want to be a part of that operation if it has negative impacts for rough sleepers, at least they can prepare to provide services for rough sleepers in the right way.

Cardiff Council were however praised for their changed attitude towards rough sleepers by homelessness NGOs. Whilst previous statements from the council had said things such as *“there is no need for anyone to sleep outside”* and that rough sleepers are making *“lifestyle choices”* by staying in tents on the streets, The Wallich stated that:

“there has been better communication recently. There is now more of a joined-up approach, with different organisations working together such as housing first, council outreach and Salvation Army all working together, it is the best it’s ever been without a doubt” (The Wallich, personal communication, January 23, 2020).

Furthermore, the council themselves stated that there has been improvement in working towards a joint approach,

“I regret the work we do now wasn’t done then. We would want to engage much more with NGOs and rough sleepers should this happen again” (Cllr Thorne, personal communication, February 10, 2020).

However, relationships evidently remain fragile as shown by the hosting of the Homeless World Cup. As discussed, Cardiff Council were not involved in the hosting.

The council however claim it is because *“I can’t put my hand on heart and say it is value for money when there are 1400 people in temporary accommodation”* (Cllr Thorne, personal communication, February 10, 2020) although others claimed they were not involved by NGOs anyway as hosts *“did not allow council or government funding and did not allow politicians to speak in the discussion tent”* (The Wallich, personal communication, January, 23 2020). This disagreement and deliberate leaving out of politicians show that a joint approach to development for rough sleepers despite improvement is still not fully present.

In London, it was also clear that in order for a joint approach to development to occur between NGOs and local authorities, there is more work to do. For the Simon Community this why one of their founding principles is not to accept government funding – *“We can campaign against them, so we aren’t subject to austerity measures”* (Cullen, personal communication, February 2, 2020).

A former Director of supported housing agreed that targeting of rough sleepers occurs in London too, which makes it difficult for NGOs to work with the councils. He said that *“attitudes to rough sleepers were institutional”* (N. Carpenter, personal communication, January 24, 2020). With accounts like this coming from someone who actually worked with the council during the run up to the Olympics, it is clear to see why often local authorities are criticised for their approach to rough sleepers. It appears that some councils are unwilling to change their harsh approach to rough sleepers and still are not prioritising their rights and capabilities.

In summary, whilst there has been some progress in Cardiff, and NGOs have said it is currently the best it has been, the hosting of the Homeless World Cup showed just how fragile relationships still are, and still frequently NGOs and the council disagree. In London, the case seems to be worse. Despite the Olympics being nearly a decade ago, still NGOs believe the councils treat rough sleepers badly. In order to improve these relationships, local authorities have to firstly be honest when documenting the extent of rough sleeping numbers that the cities currently face, and secondly change institutional attitudes towards rough sleepers and *“stop arresting people for their housing situation”* (The Wallich, personal communication, January 23, 2020). This only hinders development. Finally, local authorities should involve NGOs in decision making and at least inform them of any planned policies regarding rough sleepers.

Chapter 6

A comparison of how mega sporting events impact development in host cities at different stages of development

6.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, the case studies of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, and Cardiff and London in the UK, have shown the impact of MSEs on the development of vulnerable communities in host cities. The analysis of the interviews shown in the previous sections now becomes particularly important as section 6.2 will now analyse how these case studies from two different continents compare, primarily by looking at the similarities in their negative impacts on vulnerable communities. Section 6.3 will then look at how principles of development theories could be used to improve this.

6.2 Comparing the case studies of Rio de Janeiro and Cardiff and London

As discussed in the literature review, there are vast differences between the stages of development the case study countries are at. The introduction section to each chapter has shown that the HDI rankings place UK at 15th in the world and Brazil at 79th (UNDP, 2019:301).

Consequently, as expected there are differences to what extent a mega sporting event impacts upon the city when it is hosted. Despite this, the findings in this thesis showed more similarities than first expected. The next sections will now discuss some of the similarities and differences shown in the experiences of the vulnerable communities when the mega sporting events were held.

6.2.1 Economic comparison

Firstly, as seen in chapter 5.2.2, Cardiff's event being of a much smaller scale, required virtually no infrastructural investment so cannot really be compared to the other two case study cities.

Rio de Janeiro spent approximately \$14 billion (approximately £11 billion) on their Olympics whilst London spent £9.3 billion. This thesis has shown that the difference in price on hosting the same event is due to London being at a further stage of development and therefore already having the majority of infrastructure needed to host such an event and tourists the event would bring.

Whilst both cities needed new host stadiums, London already had an effective bus and tube system, with many surrounding airports. Rio de Janeiro on the other hand needed a complete redevelopment, huge investment into airports, stadiums and the introduction of the BRT system as seen on page 78. This meant that the financial impact of the Olympics would be felt far more by Rio than London.

Rio de Janeiro, had somewhat of a double whammy, having already spent around \$13.4 billion on their World Cup before spending a similar figure again on the Olympics. Having hosted the two biggest MSEs in quick succession, clearly put immense financial strain on Rio and left them needing emergency funds from the central government (as shown on page 68). For a country still needing huge development, this all but crippled the economy. Perhaps hosting just one of the events would have been enough to bring the great infrastructural development needed, the increased tourism politicians craved but also without doing such to the finances of a country.

London, although having overspent by £5 billion as seen on page 87, was able to cope better than Rio de Janeiro. This is also partially due to it being at a higher stage of development and having a wealthier economy, with a higher GDP and much higher GDP per capita.

6.2.2 Social comparison

In terms of the social impacts of development on vulnerable communities, in all cities police operations shared similarities in the sense they all severely impacted the rights and capabilities of vulnerable communities. In Rio de Janeiro, it was favela residents who were treated with extreme violence, saw their housing destroyed and were displaced for the mega events. In London and Cardiff, it was rough sleepers that were removed and also suffered from violence.

The major difference, however, is the brutality used by police in conducting the operations as shown by the extract from by Koenders & Koonings (2012:23) on page 72. In Rio de Janeiro, this thesis has shown that as documented in literature, evictions were brutal and clashes between gangs and police often resulted in innocent civilians getting caught in crossfire. In Rio by June 2016 “127 people were killed by officers - mostly young, black and poor men” (Brooks, 2016). This meant that alongside losing their right to housing and control over their environment they lost their capability of bodily integrity and right to freedom from violence.

In Cardiff and London no lives were lost directly due to the hosting of the mega events. Conditions were certainly made worse, with some cases of violence which is still a major

breach of human rights, however not to the extent that was seen in Brazil with brutal beatings as described by the human rights report extract on page 72.

The second difference is that in the UK case studies, nobody was actually made homeless such as in Rio de Janeiro (see page 77) or had their right to housing taken away from them. Whilst being moved on still meant losing control over their environment and left rough sleepers suffering emotionally due to being forced out of the city for a period of time, they technically had no housing to lose.

Thirdly, in London and Cardiff, evictions were also temporary with rough sleepers moved out of the city for the event, able to move back in after the event had occurred. In Rio, the measures forced favela residents out permanently and meant that the previous functions that residents were able to do such as live in the same community, go to work nearby and have adequate shelter were removed indefinitely. Another key social difference therefore, has been the permanent gentrification in Rio as wealthier residents have now moved into these areas.

However, despite these differences, perhaps what was most shocking is that rough sleepers in Cardiff claimed to have been “*dragged down the street*” (see page 105) by police, and charities. In London it was claimed that rough sleepers were soaked by hoses used by street cleaners (see page 95). These are measures that would enrage any human rights activist and show more similarities to the case study of Rio than expected. All three events and host cities should be remembered for the legacy of how they treated and excluded their vulnerable communities when hosting the events.

In terms of the positive impacts of the redevelopment programmes, in London the ORiEL programme provided some new affordable housing for vulnerable members of the community as shown on page 101. Whilst critics will argue that not enough affordable housing was created, there was considerably more created than in Rio. The PAC programme in Rio de Janeiro brought more affluent buyers into the area at the expense of the favela residents that had been moved out. Whilst areas were made to look nicer and more appealing with improved infrastructure, people did not benefit from having their housing situation improved.

In regard to a joint approach to development, the local authorities in all cities did not work effectively with NGOs. In the case studies of London and Cardiff the criticism of the councils and police, by NGOs and rough sleepers have been documented already in this thesis. Cardiff

has since shown some improvement, but during the hosting of the mega sporting events, a joint approach was not fully present in either city.

Similarly, Rio de Janeiro's police also did not give favela residents or local NGOs any warning of the evictions. However, police in Rio took a greater heavy-handed approach appearing to resort to violence if anyone appears to protest against them. They are often heavily criticised in literature by NGOs such as 'Catalytic Communities' who argue local authorities and police do not work with them at all. Therefore, it appears unlikely for a joint approach to be in place in Rio any time soon.

6.2.3 Conclusion

In summary, the case study cities of Rio de Janeiro and London & Cardiff despite being on two different continents and at different stages of development show more similarities than first thought. The Olympics in London, and the Olympics and World Cup in Rio de Janeiro all resulted in overspend far greater than the original estimated costs. All three cities appeared to have strategic operations to remove vulnerable communities who were seen as a hindrance to the development of the city for the mega sporting event. The treatment from police forces in all three cities to some extent used force and impacted on the capabilities and rights of the vulnerable communities, furthermore the local authorities did not make any attempt to work with NGOs to reduce the negative impacts of these polices.

Where the cities differ however, is to the extent the MSEs impacted the communities and the development of the city. The lack of development in Brazil exacerbated the negative impacts of the events for favela residents. The impact on the economy due to hosting the two events in quick succession was far greater than in the UK, and the effects are still being felt now as "the city still struggles with debt incurred, maintenance costs for abandoned facilities, and under-equipped public services" (McBride, 2018:4).

"The trend for mega sports events and so-called emerging economies is set to grow closer" (Viehoff & Poynter, 2015b:262). It is therefore of concern, that this thesis has shown that the impacts of MSEs on the development of host cities and their vulnerable communities, are felt far more in these countries.

6.3 How could local authorities use principles of development theories to improve the legacy of MSEs?

6.3.1 Introduction

As shown in the case studies in this thesis, approaches by local authorities have resulted in negative impacts for vulnerable communities in host cities. This section will identify how local authorities could use principles of the human-rights and capabilities approaches to reduce the negative impacts of MSEs for these communities when one is hosted in their city. This chapter will also advocate for a joint approach between local authorities and NGOs to best meet the needs of vulnerable communities.

6.3.2 Rights based approach

Initially in developing countries such as Brazil that are hosting MSEs, principles from the rights-based approach should be adopted. In developing countries, “there is an under-fulfilment of human rights, which has been directly linked with poverty” (Pogge, 2005:1). Mega sporting events despite being supposed to bring positive change, have shown in the case study of Rio to result in human rights abuses of vulnerable communities. “Human rights issues such as freedom of speech, equality, and displacement are repeatedly connected with the hosting of sports mega-events” (Schofield et al, 2018:3).

Arguably, most importantly is the right to housing. Residents should not be displaced as a result of the hosting of a mega sporting event. Being able to stay in the same home is important because if this right is changed, shelter, food, drink, sanitation and culture are all at risk of being denied to the individual. As stated in section 4.1, in Rio around 70,000 people lost their homes, and were forced to move away from their communities, facing violence and potentially even loss of life if they protested. This is not a one off as “720,000 people were forcibly evicted from their homes ahead of the 1988 Seoul Olympics and 1.25 million individuals were displaced before the 2008 Beijing Olympics” (COHRE, 2007:12). In order to lose the association with its darker legacy, evictions must stop before the hosting of mega events and assurances given to these communities that their housing and also health is not at risk. If the MSE can result in additional affordable housing, then this is of further benefit to the rights of vulnerable communities.

In terms of the right to equality, it has already been discussed in the literature review (chapter 2.4) and case studies, that mega sporting events frequently benefit the rich who have the money to attend the events. Whilst vulnerable communities suffer forced evictions, the infrastructural changes in the city rarely benefit them, instead benefiting those fortunate enough to attend the

mega events. Mega sporting events therefore at present “rely on and reinforce national difference” (Müller, 2017:236). To improve development in the future, more attention should be given to include poorer residents during the hosting of mega events. Far greater development could be carried out if better funding was given to this aspect of the tournament, and more effort was made to include NGOs who could be involved in such programmes that benefit the city as a whole.

The right to freedom has also proved relevant in the case study of Rio. Horne describes the restrictions of freedom by MSEs as the “Olympic Bubble” (Horne, 2007:89). The Document of Governmental Guarantees discussed in chapter 4.2.1, introduced by FIFA imposed a ban on competition by street vendors near stadiums. This reinforces the inequality discussed in the last paragraph and banned street traders from selling their produce near stadiums. Developing countries should be wary of the impact this had on the citizens of Rio and should not accept such a condition when hosting mega sporting events. Organisations such as FIFA who claimed, “The World Cup must be for everyone and Brazil as a whole” (FIFA, 2014b), should also reconsider their policies instead of maximising profits at the expense of citizens.

The right to freedom of movement is also relevant to London (5.3.1) and Cardiff (5.3.3) where rough sleepers were not allowed to stay in certain areas, and this was justified by stating their behaviour was anti-social. More investment into the rehabilitation of rough sleepers, rather than just banning them from a certain area, may prevent these behaviours and be of more benefit to the individuals.

The right to fair legal trials is also relevant. For example, in Rio authorities bypassed the legal system to use extreme force to pacify favelas. Often, literature shows that it is NGOs that have implemented rights-based approach to development when governments have denied this access as “NGOs have played a primary role in focusing the international community on human rights issues” (United for Human Rights, 2019). In Rio ‘Catalytic Communities’ held the police in Rio to account over their brutality. NGOs should not have to combat unjust police forces on their own. Local authorities with more power should do more to ensure the fair treatment of vulnerable communities when it comes to their legal rights.

The final human rights affected by MSEs have been the right to be free from violence and right to life. All three case studies have shown some form of unjust violence used by local authorities against the vulnerable communities as a consequence of the mega sporting events. Particularly in Rio, where the account on page 72 describes someone being executed as they lay on the

ground. For MSEs to leave a positive legacy, they cannot result in the amount of violence and loss of life that is seen particularly in developing countries when mega sporting events are hosted. In Rio, there seemed to be a complete disregard for human life in general with the hosting of the mega sporting events. For example, as seen on page 64, eight Brazilians lost their lives building the stadiums – the safety of the workers should be a much higher priority to organisers, and this should in future be prevented from happening.

6.3.3 The Capabilities approach

The Capabilities approach takes ability further than just basic human rights. Therefore, in already developed countries, such as the UK where basic human rights should be established, the capabilities approach is the main theory that local authorities could learn from. “The capability approach highlights the critical importance of the substantive freedoms and opportunities of individuals and groups” (Vizard et al, 2011:15). In more economically developed countries where usually human rights are established it is therefore more important to ensure the hosting of MSEs does not impact the freedoms and opportunities of people.

For example, in London and Cardiff the majority of human rights were not necessarily breached. The rough sleeping community did not have housing taken away from them, nor was there loss of life. However, it is not acceptable to therefore say the mega sporting event did not have a profound negative impact on them. The opportunities and freedoms they previously had living in the city were taken away from them. As discussed in the literature review the 10 essential functions required for a “well lived” life that Nussbaum identifies (2003) are: “life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliations; other species; play; and control over one’s environment

Life and bodily health are very similar to the human right to be free from violence. Whilst rough sleepers in London and Cardiff faced much less violence than faced by favela residents in Brazil, there were still instances of them being ‘dragged down streets’ (page 105) and ‘hosed down’ (page 95). These are unacceptable measures to use and more thought should be given to the victim in these instances. Especially with regard to rough sleepers sleeping on wet pavements, this could have long term health implications as “exposure to cold and damp can quickly make you rundown and ill” (Shelter, 2020:3). Such measures cannot happen again in more economically developed countries in the 21st century.

Bodily integrity is perhaps the capability that has been most impacted by MSEs in the UK. It is defined as “being able to move freely from place to place and being able to be secure against violent assault” (Nussbaum, 1999:41). As seen in Cardiff, rough sleepers were moved out of the city centre. In London a range of measures were put in place that deterred them from frequenting areas near Olympic venues. The bodily integrity of vulnerable communities should be carefully considered when policies to move people are being used. If it prevents people being able to move freely in certain areas, this isn’t a fair price to pay just to make the area look nicer for tourists. However, on the other hand if it is necessary, for example a security checkpoint being set up to avoid terrorist attacks, this could be of benefit to the city as a whole. If a measure is to specifically target a vulnerable community that poses no real physical threat it should not be used.

Nussbaum’s, fourth, fifth and sixth central functions are “thought, emotion and reason”. However, in the lives of vulnerable communities these can become intertwined. In the case study of Cardiff, a respondent from one organisation said, “*if I was on the streets I would turn to alcohol or drugs if I was treated how they are treated*” (Help the Homeless Wales, personal communication, January 16, 2020). In the lives of many of the rough sleepers interviewed, alcohol and drugs were used as a form of escapism in order to be capable of achieving some form of happiness. “however, this constrains ability to live a good life and acts to destroy it” (McNaughton, 2008:135), it also prevents them from being able to make good practical reason.

There was no real attempt at rehabilitation of the rough sleepers by local authorities when the events were hosted and measures to move them out of the city only served to make their problems worse. Pressure on rough sleepers to return to countries of origin in London or receive no assistance further prevented rough sleepers from being able to form practical decisions about their future. In future, rehabilitation rather than removal/banning may provide a better outcome for both the individual and the city in the long term.

The tenth and final component of the list - control over one’s environment, has also been discussed a great deal in regard to the UK case studies. It is defined as being able to ‘participate effectively in political choices that govern one’s life’ (Nussbaum 2003:42). Too often mega sporting events take away this control, as has happened in this thesis. Removing or banning vulnerable communities from an area gives these individuals little control over their lives, as they cannot carry out the previous functions, they were able to do.

Residents should not only be allowed to stay in the environment they have lived in for some time, but the concept of ‘right to the city’ as discussed in the literature review should mean that residents as stakeholders should have some element of input into changes made in their city. As shown in the literature review on page 30, some cities such as Barcelona have introduced measures to reclaim parts of the city from tourists. Similar sorts of interventions could be implemented when hosting MSEs to ensure residents are involved and are able to have some control over the changes made to their city.

Finally, Darnell and Dao argue that “the capabilities approach can contribute towards an ethical conceptualisation of sport’s place within efforts to improve the lives of underserved people and communities” (Darnell & Dao, 2017:24). A capabilities approach to development would use the abilities of rough sleeping communities of London and Cardiff as a focal point and support development in the city in a way that would enhance these. Principles of the capabilities approach could be used therefore to ensure future hosting of World Cups and Olympics have less of a negative impact on vulnerable communities.

6.3.4 A Joint Approach

A joint approach as discussed in the case studies of Cardiff and London can help to mitigate the impact of a mega sporting event on vulnerable communities. In all three case studies, if local authorities had told NGOs in advance of plans to alter a city, NGOs could have had time to prepare services to provide increased support to the communities that may be impacted.

Furthermore, NGOs may have been able to help inform local authorities of how best to mitigate the impact on a vulnerable community. For example, in Rio de Janeiro, local authorities could have consulted NGOs and asked their opinion on which favelas to remove in order to have the impact on the least amount of residents. NGOs also could have been consulted in the process that decided where favela residents that were being displaced would be rehoused. NGOs that work with vulnerable communities, may know better than local authorities the impact that measures may have, as “staff and volunteers often know the people they serve on a one-on-one basis, (Lentfer, 2015:3). Therefore, they should at least be consulted when a mega sporting event is to be hosted in a city.

6.3.5 Conclusion

To conclude, in countries at a lower stage of development where there are examples of police brutality and evictions when mega sporting events are hosted, a rights-based approach is

initially needed to ensure the rights of residents are not damaged by the hosting. However, it is unacceptable to say a mega sporting event is a success, just for not sacrificing the human rights of the people in the city.

For events to be part of positive development they should improve the capabilities and opportunities of those living in the city. In more economically developed countries, MSEs should be seen as a chance to better the lives of the people in the city, not to exclude some groups.

Finally, a joint approach should be in force in all cities when a mega sporting event is hosted. If tournament organisers and local authorities consulted NGOs and local residents in what they would like to see changed in their city when the event is hosted, already the impression that MSEs are solely for the elite is broken down somewhat. This should be a priority when bidding for a mega sporting event that local authorities reach out to these communities, otherwise they face being remembered for a legacy of exclusion.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

This thesis has set out to address the gap in literature, surrounding the impacts on vulnerable communities when MSEs are hosted. It has addressed this issue through the rights based and capabilities approach to development. It has therefore aimed to analyse whether hosting a mega sporting event is a sustainable way for cities to develop or if they provide too many negative impacts on vulnerable communities. By analysing the accounts of vulnerable communities living in Rio de Janeiro, London and Cardiff and seeing how processes of exclusion and gentrification have impacted them, it has achieved this aim.

The focal point of this thesis has been to answer the three main research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Firstly, the thesis critically analysed how MSEs have impacted on a case study of a developing city – Rio de Janeiro. Secondly, it analysed how MSEs have impacted on case studies of more economically developed cities – London & Cardiff. Finally, the two case studies were compared with their similarities and differences discussed.

This concluding chapter reprises the key points of each chapter and goes on to draw together the literature and evidence on the hosting of mega sporting events and their impacts on development in host cities. This is then followed by a summary of the contribution to research by the thesis, reflections on its limitations and recommendations for future research.

7.2 Thesis overview

The first chapter of the thesis began by contextualising the research and giving the rationale behind it, before stating the research questions and how the thesis would be structured.

Chapter 2 began by discussing the capabilities and rights-based approaches to development. After this, MSEs were defined, and their classification examined. The chapter then went onto discussing the positive and negative impacts of MSEs on host cities, and securitisation which is often used by tournament organisers and local authorities when mega sporting events are hosted.

Then, literature surrounding vulnerable communities was analysed, before gentrification – a process they often face as a result of MSEs, was studied. The history of Rio de Janeiro, which

is often discussed as a 'divided city' in literature was then discussed as well as the favelas in the city and the pacification process that occurred in advance of the World Cup and Olympics. Finally, homelessness as a concept was broken down, due to its relevance for the UK case studies. Policies that have been used to move homeless people out of certain areas of the UK in recent years were also discussed.

Chapter 3 discussed the methodology behind the thesis, justifying the use of qualitative research methods. It explained the use of the case studies, the approach to research through interpretive phenomenological analysis, the methods of semi-structured interviews and document analysis and the rationale behind them, before outlining some of the limitations in the methodology of the research. This chapter also explained what steps had been taken to ensure correct ethical procedures were followed when conducting the research.

Chapter 4 adopted a critical analysis of the case study of Rio de Janeiro as a host of MSEs. The chapter began by analysing the economic cost of the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016. This section discussed the document of guarantees that Brazil signed prior to the World Cup. It broke down the combined spending of nearly \$30 billion by the country on the events, and the impact this had on the economy, whilst also discussing the money the tournaments generated. The chapter then went on to discuss the impact the events had on the development of favela residents and how their rights and capabilities suffered as a result. The PAC whilst making positive aesthetic changes to the city, displaced residents, resulting in brutal treatment by police, and rising house prices that they are unlikely ever to afford.

Chapter 5 analysed the UK case studies of London, which hosted the Olympics in 2012, and Cardiff, which hosted the UEFA Champions league final in 2017. Similarly, to the previous chapter, this one also began by analysing the economic cost of the MSEs. The impact of the MSEs on the development of rough sleepers in the capital cities was then assessed through a capabilities and rights based lens. Finally, it was analysed whether a joined-up approach to the development of these communities (a topic that did not appear so much in literature but became a constant theme in interviews with NGOs) was in place in the cities between local authorities and NGOs.

Chapter 6 compared the case studies. This provided a comparison between a Global North, European, often classed as 'more economically developed' country and a Global South, South American, often classed as a 'developing' or 'emerging' country as hosts to MSEs. It analysed

what principles of development theories could be applied to the case studies to improve development of vulnerable communities when MSEs are hosted

7.3 Answering the research question - Are mega-sporting events sustainable paths to development for vulnerable communities?

Azzali (2015) discusses “mega sporting events as a key driver to support sustainable development”. MSEs bring with them urban restructuring, an influx of tourism and temporary job creation. However, as this study has shown, MSEs also bring with them negative impacts that can impact the rights and capabilities of vulnerable communities such as violence and displacement. This section will conclude to what extent sustainable development is provided through mega sporting events in terms of economic and social development.

7.3.1 Economically sustainable?

In terms of economics, to higher economically developed countries, MSEs are not as important as they are to lower economically developed countries. Being as they are already ‘developed’, it is not ‘make or break’ for the country whether the event makes financial sense or not. In the paper by Azzali she states that “recent hosting practices show that it is possible to obtain urban sustainability benefits from staging major events, demonstrating that sports events can drive urban regeneration, boosting the local economy” (Azzali, 2015:2).

Such examples she may have been referring to were discussed in the literature review section 2.4 and include Guangzhou in China, and Poland, which used their mega sporting events to introduce infrastructure, whilst not compromising other forms of development. As shown in section 5.2.2, Cardiff as a case study in this thesis also has benefitted economically from hosting a mega-sporting event by not over investing in hosting the event, and marketing it as much as possible to reap the rewards from increased tourism.

In the main however, MSEs have proved not economically beneficial for already developed economies. As shown by section 5.2.1, the London 2012 Olympics cost a whopping £9.2 billion, of which at least £6 billion was overspend and came from the public purse. This could have been used to provide far more than the 2,818 new homes which were introduced.

This lavish overspending by the government came during the time after the 2008 financial crash where increasing austerity measures were being faced by the citizens of the UK. Similar examples of overspending without a far greater return have been displayed in Athens. “The

2004 Olympics may not have triggered Greece's financial meltdown but hosting the Athens Games surely couldn't have helped. "The Greek government overran their budget by 97%—spending almost \$11 billion on the events" (Scherer and Shi, 2016).

For lower HDI ranked countries such as the case study of Brazil, but also African and Asian countries such as Senegal and Qatar who look set to host mega events in the future "pursuing the redevelopment of the city only through extraordinary events can be a risky approach, as the speed and acceleration given by mega events are not necessarily synonymous with good and sustainable planning" (Smith, 2012:112). It is far more important, for these countries at a lower stage of development to ensure the event is a financial success, as a badly planned event costing billions of pounds could easily cripple the economy and hinder development for decades to come.

As shown in section 4.2, in the case study of Rio De Janeiro, the economy was indeed crippled by both mega sporting events. For a country where these events were so pivotal in its stage of development, the result was not a positive one. This has also been the case in many other developing countries that have adopted the strategy of using hosting MSEs to trigger development, such as Johannesburg - South Africa the host of the 2010 FIFA World cup.

Similarly to Rio, critics argue that the infrastructure spending was too narrowly focused on the needs of the World Cup and would have been better directed elsewhere. "Economist Stephen Geld calculated that the state could have built 90,000 new homes each year during that same period" (Desai and Goolam, 2010:157). Instead, "the state was plagued with cost overruns that grossly exceeded the numbers put forward in its World Cup bid" (Hurst, 2012:8). This is the problem with mega sporting events in developing countries, that if the country manages to keep its spending down (South Africa directly only spent around \$4 billion), they will stay face scrutiny over whether the money could have been more wisely invested in the development of infrastructure that would better benefit its citizens.

Therefore, to summarise, in short, this thesis states that MSEs are not sustainable paths to economic development, however it is more complex than this. Whilst the majority of MSEs have resulted in losses for host cities/countries there are some anomalies. Certainly, for a country to host two MSEs in quick succession as Rio de Janeiro did appears to be financially disastrous. Even for more economically developed countries, mega sporting events can harm the economy and impact spending on other services, but for developing countries the impacts will be felt far worse.

7.3.2 Socially sustainable?

When discussing the social impacts of MSEs, Ritchie states that it can be argued that “such an event will provide sociocultural benefits for the host region.” (Ritchie, 1984:2). However, in recent years the negative effects of MSEs have been realised. This has been shown in the last three chapters by the impacts they have had on the rights and capabilities of vulnerable communities.

Urban restructuring can result in displacement and gentrification. Hartman & Zandberg states that “people may be displaced when they are forced to relocate, which potentially involves relocating issues to other parts of a city” (Hartman & Zandberg, 2015:111). This was present in all three case studies and is a major argument against the sustainability of MSEs, as they do not benefit all members of society equally, and in some cases even support social inequality. It is these social issues discussed in the literature review section 2.5 which instead lead some to conclude that “for cities, hosting major sporting events is a double-edged sword” (Rowe, 2017).

Out of the three cities in this thesis, the Champions league final in Cardiff because of its small scale appeared to have the least negative impact on the development of vulnerable communities. However even in this instance as admitted by the council and champions league ambassadors themselves “*there were huge disadvantages of hosting the champions league final, as well as the advantages*” (Cllr Thorne, personal communication, February 10, 2020). Both newspaper headlines and the accounts given by interviewees, stated that rough sleepers were moved out of the city in the lead up. Furthermore, homelessness NGOs did not receive any benefits from the hosting.

As shown by section 5.3.1, the displacement was even more pronounced in London whereby a conglomeration of three different measures appeared to be used to remove rough sleepers from streets near venues when the Olympics were held. This appeared to be more tactical than in the other two cities and whilst were not seen to use force, hosing down pavements, issuing PSPOs and using reconnection policies, all resulted in rough sleepers losing control in where they wanted to sleep.

In Rio, once again the impacts were far worse than in the other two case studies. Much research has noted that “mega-events exacerbate gaps between rich and poor within host cities through various urban revitalisation activities such as forced evictions, mass demolition of low-income housing and widespread displacement” (Gruneau & Horne, 2016:35). Chapter 4.3 shows that

all of these occurred in Rio. Whole favelas were destroyed and families that refused to move or protested were beaten by police, whilst many innocent civilians were caught in the middle of police and gangs. These are not coincidences and have occurred in other developing host cities such as Johannesburg in 2010 where the government “took people from the streets because they did not want them in the city for the World Cup and put them in a concentration camp”(Smith, 2010:7). For mega sporting events to be more sustainable they cannot result in such widespread displacement for vulnerable people, especially when they seem to bring little benefit for these groups.

Mega sporting events are marketed as bringing positive changes to communities and in this sense should be sustainable, however this is very rarely the case. In Rio de Janeiro, favelas such as Metrô-Mangureira were removed to make way for the Maracanã stadium, yet the Maracanã is now left abandoned and has been damaged and looted. Destroying the culture and wellbeing of the residents who lived in the community in order to build a stadium which will only be enjoyed by the wealthy for a few events is not sustainable.

Another issue therefore as discussed in the literature review and the case studies is that the majority of the infrastructure built for mega sporting events is built with the primary purpose of accommodating tourists. In Rio de Janeiro, which because of the 2016 Olympics is receiving more government investment than any other city, “there are only nine public sport centres, the majority of these in very poor repair” (Nocera, 2016:2). As stated in section, 4.2.1 (pg64), thirteen public projects were also scrapped due to the hosting of the mega sporting events.

There are similarities in other countries too, in Johannesburg for example it has been said that “poor South Africans cannot eat a legacy discourse. With an education, health, housing and jobs crisis so severe it can only, indeed, be compared to the aftermath of a scriptural catastrophe” (Rodrigues, 2010:26). This once again shows that mega sporting events do not provide enough social benefits for poorer communities.

Although it can be said that “a mega-event is not capable to solve ‘all of society’s problems’ by itself” (Lenskyj, 2000:79) often the opportunity is missed to engage several segments of the society. Host cities can only produce and benefit from lasting social legacies if they are an integral part of a long-term urban strategy that is not dependent on the mega sporting event for its implementation.

With at present, developing countries pinning all their hopes of development on the economic boom mega sporting events are supposed to bring, it is unlikely that the cities will sustainably develop, and vulnerable members of society in particular will not receive the benefits of development. Unless harmful policies of displacement and violence are stopped (which is also unlikely), social development will also continue to be impacted by these events.

7.4 Research limitations

The two major limitations laid out in the methodology chapter, the accessibility of vulnerable communities and the impact of the covid-19 pandemic. Fortunately, to an extent both of these limitations were overcome.

In terms of the accessibility of vulnerable communities, in both London and Cardiff contact was made with unofficial organisations who gave hot meals and clothes to the rough sleeping communities. These NGOs helped the researcher to meet rough sleepers, and interview them in an environment they felt safe and comfortable in. Furthermore, it allowed the researcher to give something back, by volunteering time with these organisations, helping them to give out clothes and food. A prime example of this was with Help the Homeless Wales, where the researcher contacted the charity and interviewed both volunteers and rough sleepers in great detail. The researcher was also able to donate some time to helping serve soup to rough sleepers in the city.

The major obstacle to conducting this research and completing the thesis became the outbreak of Covid-19 across the UK. The pandemic reaching the UK in February, is still affecting the country more than six months later. It made it extremely difficult to conduct interviews with participants who were not in office, and rough sleepers who became immediately impossible to reach due to lockdown restrictions. Fortunately, a large part of the research had already been conducted, and Zoom was utilised by the researcher for interview purposes where possible during this time.

Before the outbreak of Covid-19 however, London Metropolitan Police and many councils within London, as well as the Mayor's office declined to comment on the issues raised. This caused some difficulty as the researcher was unable to question these local authorities on claims raised by NGOs on the treatment of rough sleepers in the city. This means that perhaps some elements of the research could be argued to lack credibility, as the authorities would neither confirm nor deny if these policies took place. In order to overcome this, a wider range of NGOs

were contacted than in Cardiff, including NGOs that work alongside the councils. Furthermore, a former Director of Supported Housing during the time of the Olympics was interviewed. By conducting these additional interviews, the best possible balance was given.

7.5 Contribution to research

The main contribution of this thesis is the comparison of how MSEs impact the development of vulnerable communities in cities in the Global North and the Global South. Whilst the positive and negative impacts of MSEs are discussed in academic literature, a discussion about the impact it has on cities at different stages of development rarely occurs. By analysing existing evidence from Rio de Janeiro and comparing it to new research on London and Cardiff, this thesis has addressed that gap.

Through using interpretive phenomenological analysis, the thesis is unique in looking in depth at how individuals within vulnerable communities are impacted during the hosting of mega sporting events. Rather than just speaking about the impacts of the events generally, analysing them in depth and making comparisons, allows for people to really see that a mega sporting event can (negatively) impact the lives of thousands of people.

Furthermore, a key part of this thesis has been to evaluate the case studies through a capabilities and rights-based approach paradigm. Principles of the development approaches have been analysed and suggested to be implemented by local authorities in host cities when MSEs are hosted in the future. Mega events have been and will continue to be a part of global culture for years to come, whether NGOs and vulnerable communities like it or not. Therefore, rather than just condemn them, it is useful to provide some guidance to how they could be less harmful and provide more sustainable development.

Finally, this thesis has already proved to be a useful contribution to research with a number of NGOs from both Cardiff and London requesting to read it upon completion. Furthermore, one organisation – ‘The Manifesto club’ who challenge the hyper-regulation of public spaces, have expressed an interest in publishing a blog post based on the findings of this thesis. This is displayed in the appendix.

7.6 Recommendations for future research

There are several recommendations for future research to finish. Whilst there are examples of MSEs from both global north and global south cities in this thesis, it is hard to generalise one

study to another. Therefore, the obvious recommendation is for case studies to be conducted on more host cities. Particularly with many new hosts in the coming years, it will be important for academics to study the impact of the MSEs on the development of the cities.

Secondly, further research could use a different framework drawing on elements of development approaches such as the modernisation and dependency approaches. Whilst it was felt most appropriate to use the capabilities and rights based approaches for this piece of work, the modernisation theory is an approach MSEs are often sold to the public through, whilst the dependency theory is relevant to many developing countries that could be set to host MSEs in the near future.

Additional research could also explore the bidding processes by developing nations for MSEs rather than just the hosting. These bidding processes can have a profound impact on development. Future research could analyse clauses in contracts that countries are forced to agree to in order to host events and how such clauses impact other development processes in the country.

Finally, research could study the impact influxes of corporations have on the development of vulnerable communities in cities. Whilst this thesis discussed the impact of sporting events from bodies such as FIFA and the IOC, interviews with rough sleepers and NGOs spoke of how commercial organisations had moved into cities and bought up land. Examples included St David's Ltd Partnership in Cardiff who own St David's shopping centre and the Hayes and are claimed to have prevented rough sleepers from frequenting these areas. Research into how organisations such as these, transform public spaces and also exclude vulnerable communities would be of interest.

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Appendix one

Manifesto Club blog post

Mega sporting events are marketed by governments as bringing positive changes to communities. However, they often restrict public spaces as seen across the world – particularly in Rio de Janeiro with the destruction of the favela communities and the removal of over 60,000 people.

With events such as the Olympics, Rugby World Cup, Cricket World Cup and Champions league final being hosted in the UK in recent years, I have spent the past 12 months analysing the impacts hosting these events has had on vulnerable communities such as the homeless.

Interviews with rough sleepers in Cardiff revealed that they were “*dragged down the street*” and “*treated like dogs*” when the city hosted the Champions league final in 2017. They are believed to have been moved out of the city centre in order to reduce anti-social behaviour and make the streets appear nicer to tourists.

Similarly, during the hosting of the London Olympics in 2012, homelessness NGOs claim that rough sleepers were “*hosed down*” if they refused to move, whilst foreign rough sleepers were “*offered one way tickets home*”, again to reduce anti-social behaviour before the tournament, and to hide the extent of the capitals rough sleeping problem from the rest of the world.

In the 21st century, this is unacceptable. With mega sporting events often seen as a path to development by less economically developed countries – local authorities should not be targeting vulnerable communities. Any events hosted in the future should be scrutinised by the public and NGOs alike – holding councils and tournament organisers to account over their reservation of public spaces for the elite at the rest of our expense.

By Joseph Rees

Appendix two

Consent form given to rough sleeping interviewees

TITLE OF STUDY

Hosting Mega Sporting Events – A double-edged sword?

An analysis of how host cities approaches of pacification, exclusion and gentrification impact upon the development of vulnerable communities

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Joseph Rees

MRes International Development Student, Swansea University



(please feel free to contact me via Help the Homeless Wales if that is easiest)

PURPOSE OF STUDY

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how rough sleepers were treated by local authorities during the hosting of the 2017 Champions League final in Cardiff / 2012 Olympics in London

The researcher will ask you a series of questions and the responses will be used to present how homeless people feel they were treated by local authorities when the event was hosted.

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW

You may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at

any time if you choose.

BENEFITS

Unfortunately, as the researcher is a student, the researcher is unable to provide any financial benefit. It is hoped that this research may benefit the homeless community when mega events are hosted in the city in the future.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses in this interview will be anonymous. Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve your confidentiality including the following:

- All responses and consent forms will be kept on a memory stick owned by the researcher, this will be kept locked away, and not shared with anyone.
- All interviewee responses will be anonymized and Pseudo names will be used in the presentation of this research

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have questions at any time about this study, or you experience adverse effects as the result of participating in this study, you may contact the researcher whose contact information is provided on the small card I am about to give to you. Please also contact the researcher if you wish to withdraw your responses from the research at any time.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed.

CONSENT

I have read, and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant signature _____ Date _____

Investigator signature _____ Date _____