# CHICAGO AND THE 2016 OLYMPICS:

## Why Host the Games?
## How Should We Host the Games?
## What Should We Accomplish by Hosting the Games?

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On June 4, 2008 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced that Chicago is one of the group of four finalist ("candidate") cities—also including Madrid, Rio de Janeiro, and Tokyo—that are competing to host the 2016 Summer Olympic Games. The Olympic Games and soccer's World Cup are the world's premier sporting events, drawing participants and observers from many countries and generating globe-spanning media coverage. As a result, staging these events—the biennial Olympic Games, the final round of World Cup competition (presented every fourth year)—has itself become a much desired prize for both nations and prospective host cities.

Whether or not Chicago will win the four-city contest to host the 2016 Olympics will be determined by a vote of the IOC members in October 2009. In the coming months the Chicago 2016 Committee will prepare its "bid book," in effect, a response to the preliminary assessment offered by the recently released "2016 Working Group Report" (IOC Candidature Acceptance Working Group—IOCCAWG, 2008) and the city's final plan for hosting the Games. Among the four candidate cities, Chicago's preliminary Olympic proposal (Chicago 2016 Applicant City, 2008) was consistently ranked below the Tokyo and Madrid plans. The IOC Working Group, for example, concluded that in both Tokyo and Madrid, Olympic venues are more accessible via mass transit than Chicago's Olympic sites (IOCCAWG, 2008: 27, 29, 33). The Working Group also expressed concern regarding the clarity of Chicago's plans to improve accessibility to Games sites in advance of 2016 (IOCCAWG, 2008: 27, 68). Some of the fiscal elements of Chicago's proposal were also questioned: the cost estimates for facility construction, which were judged to be low; and apart from a $500 million commitment authorized by the City of Chicago, the precise means any excess of Games expenditures over revenues would be defrayed (IOCCAWG, 2008: 40, 86).

It is quite easy to suppose that if Chicago is selected to host the 2016 Olympics, the proverbial "win-win" situation will be achieved. Chicago is renowned for its vibrant downtown area, architecture, and lakefront parks, and of equal importance, is well endowed with high-quality sporting venues. In addition, Chicago's racial and ethnic diversity will make it a welcoming destination for visitors from all corners of the globe. Bringing the Games to Chicago will represent an excellent choice for the IOC and yield an impressive sporting spectacle for the world at large. Concurrently, the many spectators attending the Games, and as well, the intense media concentration on Chicago for the duration of the Games, will be economic boons for our city. In the short term, spectator spending for accommodations, meals, and memorabilia will enrich local merchants. Over the longer run, favorable coverage of Chicago, its citizens, and its enterprises will boost the city's profile in international business circles.

In fact, the experiences of Olympic host cities are much more mixed than the preceding scenario implies. To the degree that public funding underwrites Olympics-related costs—notably development of physical infrastructure—there is the risk that Games-generated revenue shortfalls can leave local taxpayers shouldering significant, long-term debt. This was precisely the fate of Montreal, which initiated an ambitious public works program in conjunction with the 1976 Summer Olympics (Chalkley and Essex, 1999: 382-384). More generally, Olympic cities find themselves—once the two and one-half weeks of Olympic competition have been completed—dotted with special-purpose sports facilities that are often difficult to convert to other uses (Hersh, 2008). And then there is the troubling reality that Olympics boosters rarely acknowledge: not all Olympic Games function smoothly, and when they do not, the concentrated global media gaze often portrays the host city, its officials, and residents as not quite up to the task of entertaining the world. Sometimes this comes to pass due to clearly tragic circumstances, such as the terrorist attack on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich games. On other occasions, an accumulation of small breakdowns—transportation snafus, cost overruns, local Olympic committee/media miscommunication—produce a less than stellar evaluation of the host city. Such was Atlanta's bad fortune in the wake of the 1996 Summer Olympics (Applebome, 1996; Whitelegg, 2000).

The purpose of this report is to examine the circumstances and conditions that are likely to affect how well Chicago plans for—and if selected to host the Olympics—delivers the 2016 Games. Our purpose is neither to boost Chicago's bid nor discredit it. Rather, we make use of the huge body of literature analyzing recent Olympic Games to try to identity key opportunities and risks presented to Chicago by hosting the Games. We would like to think that this report will be read by government officials and private sector Olympics advocates, as well as by rank and file Chicago citizens, and used to formulate the best possible strategies for funding the Games, carrying through the physical planning and development of Olympic facilities, and ultimately, using the Olympic Games to produce community benefits for our city's neighborhoods.

In the immediately following pages we frame our analysis of the Chicago 2016 Olympics bid by discussing two contextual factors that structure the subsequent discussion of Chicago's Olympic planning process: the varying rationales driving individual cities and nations seeking to host the Olympics, variations in the organizational structures and physical formats of past Olympics. The main body of our report examines three topics: fiscal issues associated with Chicago's Olympic bid, the records of four recent Olympic host cities, and Chicago's 2016 Olympic planning process. In reference to the latter topic, we emphasize whether or not Chicago's Olympic planning appears to be serving the community development interests of the city's neighborhoods.

## Why Cities Bid for the Olympics

During the last quarter-century the Olympic Games have achieved such a degree of global prominence that to ask the question—"why seek to host them?"—at first thought, may appear to be unnecessary. The perfectly evident response to the unnecessary question is another question: "what city wouldn't want to host the Olympics?" Actually, hundreds of substantial urban centers lack either the current physical infrastructure or the fiscal wherewithal to build the facilities necessary to stage the contemporary Olympics. Indeed, a key enabling factor for some cities that seek to host the Olympics is the fiscal back-up provided by their national governments. This was clearly the prerequisite for Athens' seeking to host the 2004 Olympics. Using the Olympics to boost national prestige is even more clearly the underlying rationale for Beijing's hosting the 2008 Olympics. In the words of one commentator:

> While other cities have monumentalized the Olympics, Beijing's mega-projects are unprecedented, and reflect China's ambition to reclaim its position as a world leader…By pursuing symbols of progress, efficiency, and economic success, China emphatically signaled that it no longer wished to 'catch up' with the modern world, but it had arrived on the world stage and now strived to get ahead (Broudehoux, 2007: 385).

As a rule, cities that happen to be national capitals can seek the games based on the proviso that substantial fiscal support will be provided by their country's central government ("London Costs Rise," 2007). In such instances, the city seeking to host the Olympics serves as a vehicle for promoting its nation's international aspirations.

Of course, non-capital cities—which may not expect to receive substantial national government fiscal support—also make Olympic bids, and in the case of these cities, there are two characteristic (and related) rationales for seeking the Games. On the one hand, local business, civic, and governmental leaders may view Olympic hosting—following the classic logic of mega-event boosting—as a sure route to economic bonanza (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2001: 33-52). The planning and construction phase will generate contracts and jobs. During the short window of Games activities, tourist spending will flood the city. Over the long haul, positive media coverage and aggressive promotion of the city and its firms can produce new business contacts, contracts, and other locally directed investment.

The related city-based rationale for seeking the Games is to make a move up the global urban hierarchy by showing off local assets and physical attractions, as well as the competence of local government, business, and civic elites. Many cities construed as "second-" or "third-tier" globally try to use the Games for this purpose. In the words of former mayor Pasqual Maragall (2004: 69), hosting the 1992 Summer Olympics contributed to Barcelona's "great leap forward" into the elite club of globally prestigious urban destinations. The same thinking animated Atlanta's bid for the 1996 Summer Olympics (Whitelegg, 2000), as well as the Olympic bid committees in many of the second- and third-tier cities such as Manchester, England and Melbourne, Australia that have sought unsuccessfully to host recent Olympics.

## Variations in Olympic Organizational Structures, Financing, and Games Physical Lay-out

From a general institutional standpoint, Olympic Games are delivered by way of an unvarying set of organizations: the IOC, the National Olympic Committees representing particular nations, the International Federations governing particular sports, and the Olympic Organizing Committees overseeing activities in the Olympic host cities (see Appendix 1). Yet closer examination of the details of Olympic planning and presentation reveal that there is much variation in the organizational and fiscal structures created to stage particular Games. And these variations are not just window dressing. They impact the transparency of Olympic planning and financing, the degree that taxpayers (locally or nationally) will bear the cost of the Games, and the likelihood that local areas within the host city will benefit from the Games. Olympic host cities, over time, have also adopted widely varying approaches to physical planning and the siting of Olympic facilities.

Since the first modern Olympic competition in 1896, the funding of Olympic Games has often been inadequate and has depended on various sources, including—in the early years—the largess of individual donors (Chalkley and Essex, 1999: 390). However, following World War II and extending into the 1970s, public funding—including national government and local government sources—typically covered the bulk of expenses associated with presenting the Games. Olympics fiscal expert Holger Preuss (2004: 19) estimates that the public share of expenditures for the Munich (1972) and Montreal (1976) Games exceeded 75% of total spending. However, following the Montreal fiscal debacle, the IOC and local Olympic committees have increasingly turned to the private sector to fund the Games. Preuss (2004: 19) estimates that more than 75% of the funding for the Atlanta Games was derived from private sources.

Since 1984, the sale of television rights and corporate sponsorship agreements have provided the bulk of Olympic fiscal support (Bergen, 2008a). However, two other points qualify this generalization: (1) Governmental funding of the Games has remained high in the instances when national governments have been, de facto, the Olympic hosts. For instance, the huge expenditures for the Beijing Olympics—by some estimates, $40 billion—will be borne largely by the Chinese government. (2) IOC rules specify that Games revenues must be used to pay for directly Games-related expenses and facilities. Among the potential local expenditures that cannot draw on Games-derived revenues are transportation improvements including highways and mass transit, as well as other public space improvements such as parks development.

In practical terms, there are two related dimensions along which Olympic Games planning and execution vary: the degree of public versus private control of the Games; the level of government exercising principal influence over Games decision-making. Among recent Olympics, the Los Angeles (1984) and Atlanta (1996) Games involved relatively little governmental input. Government has played a much larger role in delivering the Barcelona Games (1992) and this year's Beijing Games. Also relevant are variations in the level of government exercising principal influence on Games planning and execution: Barcelona's municipal government (in part due to Catalonia's semi-autonomous status as a Spanish region), the Chinese national government, the New South Wales (Australia) state government in 2000.

The other significant variation in the staging of recent Olympic Games involves facility- and site-planning. The Barcelona and Sydney Games represent telling examples of the two basic alternatives in the physical presentation of Olympic events. The Barcelona municipal government, in conjunction with a long-term physical improvement program, selected four areas in the city for extensive new development and renovation of existing public infrastructure. The Games competitions and Olympic Village were not located at a single site, but as result of Olympics-related investment Barcelona was able to make substantial improvements in its largest public park and along its waterfront, the site of the residential Olympic Village (Esteban, 2004: 123-124). Conversely, Olympic planners in Sydney identified a site several miles west of the central city, Homebush Bay, at which were concentrated the main Games facilities including the Olympic Stadium and the Olympic Village. Critics of New South Wales' choice of 2000 Olympics site have noted that the upgrading of Homebush Bay was inconsistent with ongoing planning priorities in the Sydney metropolitan region (Weirick, 1999: 73-74). In addition, though the Sydney Olympic Park is a visually impressive site, finding economically viable uses for its venues subsequent to the Olympic Games has been challenging (Cashman, 2006: 139-166).

## Chicago 2016: Fiscal Issues

Olympic Games are huge enterprises, typically requiring multi-billion dollar capital investments to enhance basic infrastructure and construct sporting venues, bringing thousands of Games participants, officials, and spectators to host cities. Since the 1980s a large part of the cost of directly presenting the Games—venue construction, operating expenses—has been covered by income derived from corporate sponsorship agreements and through the sale of television rights (Preuss, 2004: 95-192, esp. Figure 8.2; Bergen, 2008a). Some sense of the scale of the prospective Chicago 2016 Olympics can be communicated by considering the size of one physical component of the Games, the proposed Olympic Village along the south lakefront. Intended to house up to 16,000 Olympians, the preliminary price tag for the Olympic Village exceeds $1 billion (Chicago 2016 Applicant City, 2008: 29; Bergen and Hersh, 2008).

Given the immensity of such undertakings, it is easy enough to suppose that hosting the Olympics *must* represent a tremendous economic stimulus for any city. Nevertheless, a leading analyst of Olympic economics, John R. Madden (2002: 19) asserts that "[i]t is important that over-optimistic projections of the effects of mega events, such as the Olympics, are not made." More pointedly, Lake Forest College sports economist Robert Baade told a journalist in 2007:

> I'm not against the games per se, but don't try to sell it as an economic bonanza. Prior to a mega-event, people tend to stay away. Prices for virtually everything are higher than they otherwise would be. And we know from research around the world that residents leave a city hosting a mega-event. They take their money and spend it elsewhere (Gaus, 2007).

In this report we do not attempt to generate numerical estimates of the economic impact of the proposed 2016 Chicago Olympics. Our line of analysis, instead, focuses on factors that will tend either to increase or diminish the Games' economic effect, the scale of governmental support and the particular governmental mechanisms that will be created to help underwrite the Games, and ultimately, the likely consequences for Chicago taxpayers.

Professor Madden's examination of the Sydney Olympics offers a useful starting point for identifying the main flows of Olympics-related spending. He makes an initial distinction between direct and indirect "induced-Olympics expenditures." The former items include:

- expenses associated with Games operations, which include spending in the years preceding the event and during the relatively short duration of the Olympics
- construction expenditures, including sports venues and transportation infrastructure
- visitor expenditures, with "visitor" inclusively defined: spectators, athletes, Olympic officials, and media personnel
- additional tourist expenditures, that is, by visitors brought to the host city due to Olympic publicity

Madden's other main category of expenditure is "indirect": "generated as the economy reacts to the new Olympics expenditure." Madden's analysis of the indirect effects of the Sydney Games estimated the Olympic impact on "12 industries, a representative regional household, a state government, the federal government, and investors in each of Australia's eight states and regions" (Madden, 2002: 10-11). Olympic advocates argue that such expenditure calculations actually underestimate total economic impact by not accounting for non-quantifiable benefits such as a city's enhanced reputation derived from successfully hosting the Games.

Though Chicago is still eight years from hosting the Olympics if its 2016 bid is successful, Olympic proponents and analysts have begun to circulate the figure of $5 billion as the Games' likely economic impact. In a presentation on September 20, 2006 Mayor Daley discussed the Chicago bid in relation to the 1996 Atlanta and 2000 Sydney Games, whose economic impacts he pegged at $5.1 billion and $6.5 billion, respectively (Daley, 2006). In a report released in mid-2007, the Chicago Urban League described the Games as "an exceptionally lucrative opportunity for the city, with projected direct spending in excess of $5 billion" (Chicago Urban League, 2007: 2). A *Chicago Tribune* article discussing lessons the Sydney Games offered Chicago, which was published in late 2007, included an estimate by a member of the 2000 Sydney bid committee that the Games were worth "at least $5 billion" (Goering, 2007). While the precise meaning of these estimates and comparisons in all likelihood varies from source to source, the $5 billion figure probably approximates what Madden would specify as the sum of direct Olympic expenditures.

The figure of $5 billion has also been offered as the Chicago 2016 Committee's estimated budget for presenting the Games, with $3 billion constituting operating expenditures and $2 billion allocated to construction (Bergen, Washburn, and Hersh, 2007). As we draft this report, the Chicago 2016 Olympic bid

committee has not released estimates of its overall ticket sales, nor has it projected the number of visitors the Games will bring to Chicago. However, in its January 15, 2008 report submitted to the IOC (Chicago 2016 Applicant City, 2008: 23), the committee did project domestic ticket sales of $705 million, which represents 28% of the Games' estimated domestic revenues. Visitor spending (this estimate not including foreign visitors) is thus expected to generate a substantial portion of the funds underwriting the costs of presenting the Games, as well as providing a major part of the general economic stimulus associated with the Games. Given the record of previous Olympics, just how realistic are estimates such as the above, and more importantly, are there any "offsets" to tourist spending at the Games, or beyond the Games sites, in host cities? Richard Cashman (2006: 97-99), author of *The Bitter-Sweet Awakening: The Legacy of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games*, the most detailed analysis of the Sydney Games—which are universally typified as very successful—notes that the Sydney Olympics' tourist visitation was overestimated, that there were substantial numbers of unoccupied Sydney hotel rooms during the Games, and that the Games drew spending away from other Sydney venues. Similarly, a post-Atlanta Olympics analysis appearing in the *Journal of the American Planning Association* reported that "local spending was shifted away from entertainment activities to the Olympics, other revenue-generating activities were displaced near the Olympic time period, and visitor spending on food and lodging was less than expected" (French and Disher, 1997).

Holger Preuss (2004: 51; also see Johnsson, 2008) offers the more general observation that "it is difficult to predict tourist figures…most figures in pre-Olympic forecasts are overestimated." Preuss further categorizes local resident and prospective visitor attitudes toward the Olympic events, noting that there are significant numbers of "runaways" among the former—who leave the city, and in effect, carry their spending with them—and "avoiders" among the latter. Avoiders choose to not visit the host city "but would have come without the Olympics." In short, the scale of the Olympics and the reasonable economic assumptions of some prospective visitors (for example, that for the duration of the Games, hotel accommodations will be over-priced), produce counter-effects to the main flow of revenue into the city.

The hosting of Olympic Games typically requires vast construction expenditures, and consequently, proponents of Games expenditures sometimes portray themselves, practically speaking, as advocates of needed public works. However, such spending does engender opportunity costs: the money devoted to building an Olympic stadium otherwise could have been used to renovate aging school buildings. At the present time it is difficult, from this standpoint, to judge the economic implications of the Chicago Olympic proposal. The Chicago 2016 Committee (Chicago 2016 Applicant City, 2008: 73) has identified $2.7 billion in transport-related spending preliminary the Games, but this itemization of projects is clearly padded. The second greatest expenditure item ($530 million) is the Chicago Transit Authority's Brown Line station renovation project, planned long before Chicago made its Olympic bid and unlikely to transport more than a tiny fraction of Olympic personnel or visitors to Games venues. And, once more bear in mind, these projected public works expenditures are not components of the construction program as budgeted by the 2016 Committee.

In reference to venue construction (which is an Olympics budget item), estimated to cost $800 million (Chicago 2016 Applicant City, 2008: 69), the bid committee identifies only one project (the aquatics center) as publicly financed. Whether or not government funding will ultimately contribute to more of the Olympic facility construction budget remains to be seen, but given the vagueness of current documents and funding arrangements, making any kind of opportunity cost estimate is impossible. However, one key point should not be forgotten. Cost overruns associated with the construction of Olympic facilities could force the commitment of substantial public funds, that is, governmental resources which, in all likelihood, would otherwise have been directed to other purposes.

At present, the extent of direct governmental commitment of funds for the 2016 Games is the following: (1) a $15 million contribution by the Park District to assist construction of the aquatics center in West Side Douglas Park—with the total cost of this facility estimated to be $107 million, (2) the Chicago City Council's commitment of $500 million to cover Olympics expenses in excess of revenues, and (3) the Metropolitan Pier and Exposition Authority's (MPEA) agreement to release for Olympic purposes funds derived from the sale of air rights south of McCormick Place (Greising, 2007; Ciokajlo, 2007). At the time when MPEA made this commitment, the Chicago 2016 Committee's plans were to place the Olympic Village at this site, and the purchasers of the air rights were presumed to be the Olympic Village developers. The revenue generated by this sale—estimated between $100 and $125 million—was to be transferred to the Chicago 2016 Committee. At present, the status of this third fiscal commitment is unclear. In the summer of 2008 the city government was preparing to acquire the Michael Reese Hospital property adjoining the McCormick Place site, which might have resulted in either an expansion or relocation of the Olympic Village (Bergen and Dardick, 2008). Due to cost and environmental remediation concerns, the Daley administration subsequently withdrew its offer to the Michael Reese property owners (Spielman, 2008). These three commitments of funds represent approximately ten percent of the Chicago 2016 Committee's projected capital and operations budget. On the one hand, this fairly limited governmental contribution to funding the Games is consistent with recent trends in Olympic finance. On the other hand, the City of Chicago's $500 million commitment is not a paltry sum, and at this time, there has been no detailing of just how these funds—if they are needed—will be generated. Notwithstanding Mayor Richard M. Daley's protestations to the contrary, local governments, and in turn, local taxpayers will be taking on some degree of financial risk if Chicago is selected to host the 2016 Olympics.

In Richard Cashman's (2006: 112-115) view, one of the most important and positive economic impacts of the Sydney Games resulted from the promotional campaign that built on Olympic media coverage and Games visitation, emphasizing Sydney's attractions as a headquarters city, and more generally, as a western Pacific hub for business. It is highly speculative to attach a dollar value to the gains derived from such a promotional campaign, but it is our sense that some such effort will be necessary to maximize the economic boost provided by the prospective Chicago Games. It will not be enough to host the Games. Chicago's municipal government and business leaders should plan a communications campaign aimed at magnifying new investment to Chicago in the years following the 2016 Olympics.

As to how consequential Chicago's Olympic economic boost might be, local governmental, civic, and grassroots leaders should consider this further point. Among the cities that have recently hosted summer

Olympic Games, Barcelona is generally viewed as having achieved the greatest long-term positive benefit: (1) due to the congruence of Games' investments and the municipal government's longer term redevelopment program, (2) due to the smooth presentation of the Games themselves, and (3) due to Barcelona's using the Games to rebrand itself as a culturally rich and distinctive contemporary metropolis (Chalkley and Essex, 1999: 385-387; Marshall, 2004; Preuss, 2004: 63; Muñoz, 2006). We think that these considerations are critical. Cities that can use the Games to fundamentally transform their national/international images have the most to gain from hosting the Olympics. Other cities—and this may well include Chicago—whose international profiles are already established and whose reputation is less likely to be redefined by a short-term event such as the Olympics, are in turn less likely to experience a sustained economic boost from the Games.

Finally, we return to John Madden's careful study of the 2000 Sydney Olympics. Estimating the 12-year impact of the Sydney Games—that is, over the six years preceding the Games (during which most of the infrastructure investment occurred) and the six years following (which captures tourism gains attributable to Olympics publicity)—Madden (2002: 19) calculates that the annual increment to the New South Wales economy was one-quarter of one percent per year. Bear in mind New South Wales' population, which is approximately six million, or, perhaps two million fewer residents than the Chicago metropolitan region. In short, for a metropolitan region of approximately the Chicago area's scale whose central city is the urban hub of a prosperous country, the measurable economic impact of hosting the Olympic Games was decidedly modest.

## The Record of Recent Summer Olympic Host Cities

One way to illustrate the prospective opportunities and risks associated with Chicago's 2016 Olympic bid is to examine the experiences of recent Olympic host cities. Our research has focused on journalistic and academic accounts of the 2000 Sydney, 1996 Atlanta, 1992 Barcelona, and 1984 Los Angeles games. Each of these cities hosted the Summer Olympics, and unlike Athens (2004) and Seoul (1988), none of the four is a national capital. As such, the scale of the events and the financing issues confronted by these cities approximate the challenges for Chicago if it is selected to host the 2016 Olympics. Table 1, based on a three-step ranking of performance (in effect, limited, medium, or high performance/impact) summarizes our assessment of the Sydney, Atlanta, Barcelona, and Los Angeles Games.

In scoring our four cities in reference to sustained economic development, we have de-emphasized numerical estimates—which, in any event, are not really useful for comparative purposes (Preuss, 2004: 4; Bergen, 2007b)—and instead sought information regarding structural or institutional economic development impacts. Our strongly positive rankings of Sydney and Barcelona are based on the following considerations: (1) the concerted government/business collaboration that used the 2000 Olympics to showcase Sydney as a well-situated Asian business hub (Cashman, 2006: 112-131), (2) the long-term municipal government-led program to upgrade Barcelona's public infrastructure and to redevelop its waterfront (Marshall, 2004; Muñoz, 2006: 181-183). Evidence of Sydney's growth as a Pacific basin

business center is its booming convention trade during the last 15 years (Cashman, 2006: 103-107), while Barcelona—once a little known and rarely visited regional center—has become one of Europe's most celebrated metropolises.

**Table 1**

**HOST CITY PERFORMANCE AND IMPACTS, FOUR RECENT SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES**

| | Sydney 2000 | Atlanta 1996 | Barcelona 1992 | Los Angeles 1984 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sustained Economic Impact | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Reputational Impact | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Neighborhood Impacts | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Quality of Consultation | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

*Scoring Key: (1) very limited effort or impact (2) mixed record…some positive effort or impact, but also effort, impact shortcomings (3) strongly positive*

Evidence of sustained local economic development as an outgrowth of the Atlanta and Los Angeles Games is less evident, though in the case of Atlanta, Olympic economics expert Holger Preuss (2008: 65) reports that external investment in the city increased in the years preceding the 1996 Games.[1] Various factors reduced the institutional or structural economic effects of the Los Angeles Olympics. The 1984 Olympic events were, for the most part, staged in existing facilities. Nor was there a significant program of public infrastructure development in anticipation of the Los Angeles Games. It is also important to bear in mind that the sheer size of the Los Angeles regional economy means that the proportionate effect of a short-term event such as the Olympics will inevitably be smaller than the impact of a comparable event presented in a smaller metropolis such as Sydney or Barcelona.

Of course, reputation-boosting may be as important an outgrowth of hosting the Olympics as tangible economic impacts. We have scored three of our four study cities "strongly positive" in terms of reputational impact. In the cases of both Sydney and Barcelona, well-presented Olympic Games "brought the world" to cities whose locations and histories heretofore had given them limited international stature. From a reputational standpoint, Los Angeles also benefited tremendously from its hosting of the 1984 Games. Following the politically contentious 1968 Mexico City, 1972 Munich, and 1980 Moscow Olympics—as well as the financially disastrous 1976 Montreal Games—the well-organized and fiscally self-sustaining 1984 Summer

1. During these same years, Atlanta was also designated by the Clinton administration as a federal empowerment zone site.

Olympics brought great credit to Los Angeles, and in particular, to Peter Ueberroth, the business executive who directed the Los Angeles Olympic effort (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2001: 79-80).

Like the 1984 Los Angeles Games, the 1996 Atlanta Games were closely associated with a particular individual, attorney Billy Payne, the original promoter of Atlanta's Olympic ambitions and subsequently head of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games. Payne has been described as an "inveterate booster [who] had a vision of bringing glory and honor to his city" (Von Hoffman, 2003: 161). However, the presentation of the 1996 Summer Olympics did not go especially well: information system breakdowns impeded press coverage, transportation access to Olympic events was uneven, and toward the end of the Games a bomb was detonated in Centennial Olympic Park. Foreign journalists were especially hard on Atlanta. Frank Keating of *The Guardian* described the city as a "tin-pot jumble of derelict used-car lots cowering below a score of skyscrapers." An article in *The Economist* echoed Keating's sentiment, describing Atlanta as "physically dull" (Whitelegg, 2000: 812). Certainly, many Atlantans would take issue with such characterizations (Bragg, 1997), but the larger point to be derived from the Atlanta Games of 1996 is that winning IOC approval to host the Olympic Games does not guarantee that the Games will be presented successfully. And indeed, success in hosting the Games is sometimes subject to "outside forces"—such as individuals determined to disrupt the Games in some fashion—that are beyond the control of Olympic managers.

Local Olympic advocates typically contend that the physical developments associated with the Games—both the facilities built specifically to house athletes and present the competitions, as well as associated public works such as public space and transit improvements—will insure a boost for host city neighborhoods. Across our four study cities, the evidence of substantial neighborhood improvements is far from impressive. This is, in part, a result of the varying physical development strategies adopted by the different cities. For example, in the years preceding the 2000 Games, Sydney selected a site at Homebush Bay, several miles west of the central city, to create a large, multi-functional venue at which the Olympic Village and Olympic Stadium would be located. A relatively small number of events were staged elsewhere, and though Sydney's conversion of the Olympic Village to permanent housing has been a successful venture, neighborhood and outlying community improvements away from Sydney Olympic Park—practically speaking, a handful of sporting facilities—have been limited (Cashman, 2007: 139-166).

In contrast, Barcelona's municipal government directed public works spending to four locations—the seaside Olympic Village, Montjuïc (a large muncipal park and site of the Olympic Stadium), Val d'Hebrun, and Diagonal—with the aim of achieving the substantial physical upgrading of each (Esteban, 2004: 123-124). However, the downside of this concerted campaign of physical improvements was residential dislocation: "Many of the inhabitants of these neighborhoods or their children have de facto been expelled from their historic communities, unable to afford the escalating prices of new residences in their now improved areas, or forced out of buildings expropriated for demolition" (Balibrea, 2004: 213; see also "Fair Play for Housing Rights," 2007: 103-113).

The Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games envisioned an ambitious program of neighborhood improvements within the "Olympic Ring," the central portion of Atlanta where the majority of Olympic facilities and events were sited. In fact, there was very limited follow-through to this vision. As reported by Olympic researchers Matthew Burbank, Gregory Andranovich, and Charles Heying (2001: 116):

> For the neighborhoods of Atlanta expecting the Olympics to produce a windfall of redevelopment, the legacy has been limited. Most of CODA's [the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta] $76 million budget was used for urban landscaping in the downtown area and along Olympic corridors. Less than 10% found its way into the poorest Olympic neighborhoods.

The very basis for the 1984 Los Angeles' Games' reputational success—limited new facilities development as well as very limited government participation, vigorous private sector sponsorship and marketing—insured that neighborhood improvements would not be a priority for the Games' managers. We do, however, score the 1984 Games' neighborhood impact in the intermediate range due to various "soft benefits" brought to Los Angeles' neighborhoods: enhanced support for community sports, university scholarships set aside for neighborhood youth (Burbank, Andranovic, and Heying, 2001: 76; also see LA84 Foundation). Los Angeles' Olympic Committee built very little in the city's neighborhoods but did use the Games to underwrite various community-enhancing youth initiatives.

The neighborhood and community consultation record of the four Olympic cities is quite weak. We have awarded Sydney an intermediate ranking because of its commitment to formal processes of consultation, though the most detailed available account of its Olympic decision-making characterizes its consultation record as "tokenistic" (Owen, 2001: 21). The striking feature of the Sydney Olympic planning process was the scaling back of protocols that had previously been enacted to govern local land use development: "[New South Wales] suspended rights of appeal concerning due planning process, as well as normal environmental impact assessment provisions incorporating further public appeal rights, for all Olympic developments under a special Olympic Coordination Authority Act and an amendment to the planning act" (Searle and Bounds, 1999: 171).

The remaining three study cities score poorly on consultation. Irrespective of the improvements in Barcelona's built environment as a result of its Olympic development initiatives, its planning process was quite centralized, dominated by Mayor Pasquall Maragall "relying on a handful of technocrats" (Calavita and Ferrer, 2004: 60). Atlanta Olympic officials promised much to the residents of Olympic Ring communities of Summerhill, Peoplestown, the Old Fourth Ward, and Mechanicsville, but in so doing, "CODA representatives had to persuade angry and suspicious residents that designating their neighborhoods as slums—in order to use urban renewal powers—would not result in the wholesale involuntary clearance of their homes" (Von Hoffman, 2003: 175). Yet the subsequent redevelopment of Summerhill, the site of the Olympic Stadium, followed a course that was quite consistent with the suspicions that had been expressed by local residents (Von Hoffman, 2003: 177-183; see also Keating, 2001: 142-193). Los Angeles' private sector Olympic planners viewed neighborhood consultation as a

means to build public support for the 1984 Games. Summarizing the quality of citizen participation in Atlanta and Los Angeles (as well as Salt Lake City, host of the 2002 Winter Olympic Games), Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying note: "Although the nature of the public-private arrangements differed in each city, a common element was that citizens were largely left out of the decision-making process" (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2001: 164).

In reference to sustained economic development, reputational impact, neighborhood impacts, and quality of consultation, the records of the four recent Summer Olympics host cities that we have examined are quite uneven. As a rule, the short-term tourism boost and media attention focused on Olympic cities burnish their international standing, though—as the Atlanta experience demonstrates—there are exceptions even to this generalization. The long-term economic impacts of Olympic Games are highly situational, but if there is a general point to infer from the evidence, it is that the biggest gainers will be smaller, less well-known metropolises which manage to "pull off" a near-flawless sequence of Olympic events. At the very local level—that is, for the neighborhoods hosting or adjoining Olympic facilities—the direct impact and consultation records of our study cities are weak. Though Olympic planners invariably claim that their events will be "good for communities," their priority just as invariably is to successfully stage the Games. The consequence is a very thin stream of unequivocally positive neighborhood impacts. As for consultation, there is simply no model of effective, sustained dialogue between Olympic planners and local community residents.

## Chicago 2016: The Planning Record So Far

The Chicago 2016 Committee's physical plan highlights the amenities of central Chicago, in particular, the Lake Michigan shoreline:

> The Games will be staged in four centrally located venue clusters, all within a 15 km radius of the Olympic Village—putting 91 percent of the athletes just 15 minutes or less from their events. The Central Cluster, which includes the Olympic Village, is located on the city's downtown lakefront. It offers athletes close proximity to 19 sport venues, exclusive lakefront green space and the city's vibrant cultural attractions (Chicago Applicant City 2016, 2008: 11)

The principal sports venue, the Olympic Stadium, will be built in South Side Washington Park. Both the Olympic Stadium and the other South Side Olympic sports facility, the field hockey stadium to be constructed in Jackson Park, will be temporary structures, and as such, disassembled following the Games. The Central Cluster will include McCormick Place, in which a variety of indoor events will be staged, as well as Soldier Field, Grant Park, Northerly Island, and Monroe Harbor, at which various outdoor events will be presented. The West Cluster includes existing facilities, the UIC Pavilion (site of boxing matches) and United Center (basketball finals), and a new Aquatics Center to be constructed in Douglas Park. Apart from the Olympic Stadium, this swimming facility is the largest new sports venue to be constructed, and it

will be a permanent structure. The Northern Cluster of events (tennis, canoe/kayaking) will be held on the lakefront in Lincoln Park.[2]

The other main component of the 2016 physical plan is the Olympic Village, which since early 2007 had been planned for the Near South Side lakefront on the southern flank of McCormick Place (Bergen, 2007a). The 2016 Committee's original concept was to construct a row of high-rise structures just west of Lake Shore Drive on a "deck" to be built atop the truck parking area at that location. Though surprisingly little attention has been devoted to the engineering challenges and possible cost implications of such a project—especially given the substantial cost overruns that marred the construction of Millennium Park (also a "deck," in this case built over rail facilities)—within the last year the City of Chicago and the 2016 Committee have been reworking the Olympic Village proposal. Adjoining the initially proposed site, the Michael Reese Hospital property has been for sale, and by this past summer, the Daley administration had initiated action to acquire the latter parcel (Bergen and Dardick, 2008). In late September, however, the Michael Reese deal unraveled, and at this time the status of the Olympic Village is uncertain (Spielman, 2008).

Maps 1, 2, and 3 which are reproduced from Chicago's "Response to the Applicant City Questionnaire..." (Chicago Applicant City 2016, 2008: 61, 64, 65) present the main prospective Chicago sites for 2016 Olympic events, the South Cluster, and West Cluster, respectively (see also Appendix 2).

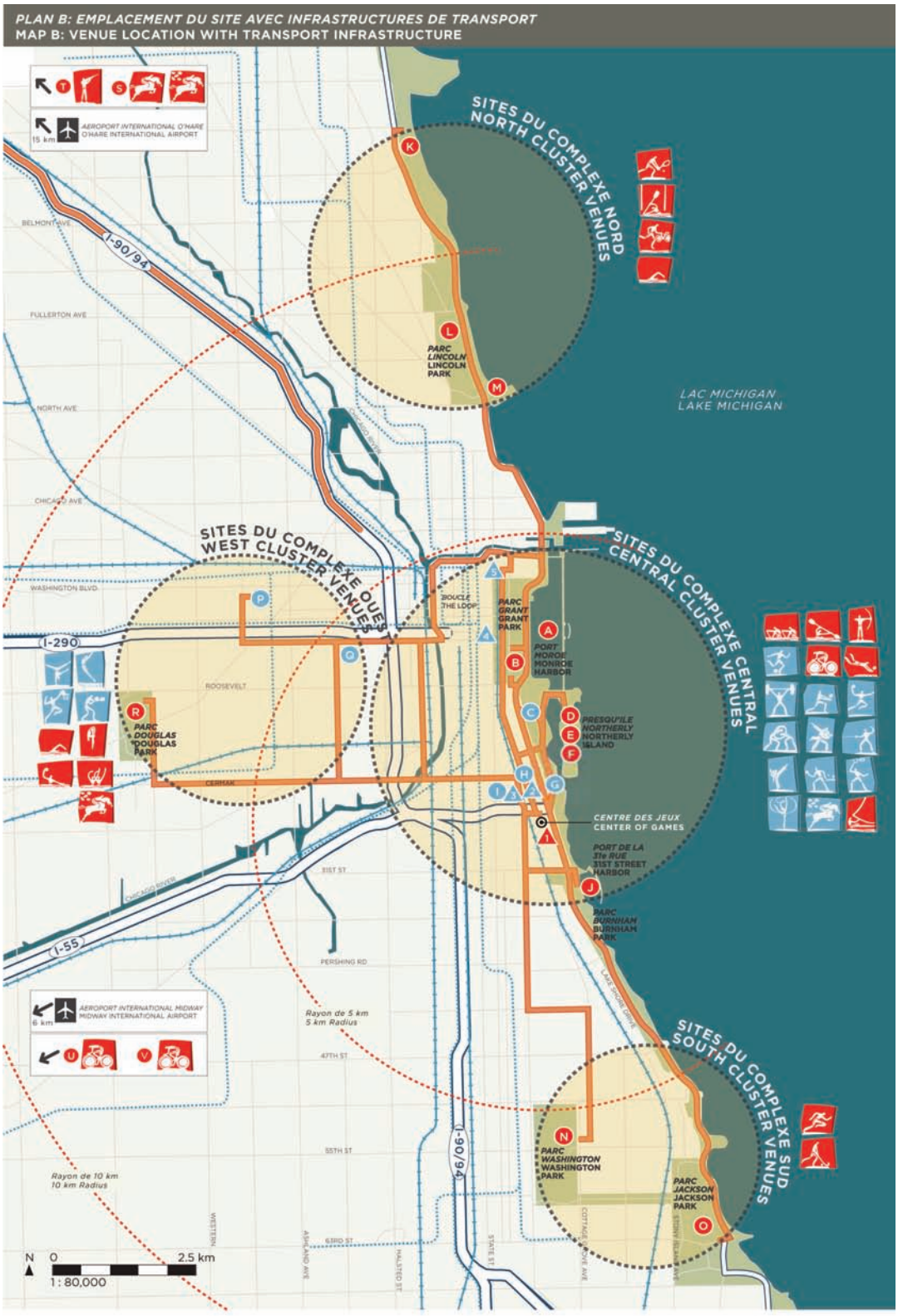
As the chain of events associated with the land acquisition of the Olympic Village attest, the planning *process* for the 2016 Olympic Games has been, so far, both opaque and ad hoc. Our research team has monitored the public meetings held to discuss plans for the Olympic Stadium in Washington Park. Although spokespersons for the Chicago 2016 Committee have attended some of these sessions, as have representatives of the city government—notably various aldermen—there has been limited "give and take" between Games spokespersons and local residents. For the most part, Washington Park area residents have heard what the City and 2016 Committee intend to do. If anything, the consequence of this one-sided communication has been to magnify the apprehensions held by many local people that the Olympic Stadium will limit their access to the park for several years, produce a multitude of additional inconveniences, and deliver little of lasting value to their neighborhoods.

Across the city, press accounts further suggest some of the "planning" for the Games partakes more of "divide and conquer"/local "buy-off" techniques than rational site selection and venue development. We note, for example, the interactions of the 2016 Committee with the Jackson Park Advisory Council. Having informed the advisory council—which had previously adopted a motion opposing the Chicago bid for the 2016 Games—of its intention to build a temporary hockey arena in Jackson Park, the 2016 Committee further committed to the construction of two synthetic turf playing fields for permanent use by local soccer leagues (Joravsky, 2007). Our point is not to debate the need for the soccer fields in Jackson Park. It is, however, to observe that distributing local benefits in such a piecemeal fashion is not likely to produce the best overall allocation of Olympic resources.

2. This is not an exhaustive identification of the Olympic events. For example, equestrian competitions will be conducted outside the central city. Various preliminary competitions including basketball and soccer also will be staged at sites beyond the main Olympic Clusters.

## Map 1

## CHICAGO 2016 OLYMPICS: NORTH, WEST, SOUTH, AND CENTRAL VENUE CLUSTERS




Source: Chicago 2016 Applicant City, "Response to the Applicant City Questionnaire by the Chicago Bid for the Olympic and Paralympic Games of the XXXI Olympiad in 2016," 15 January, 2008.

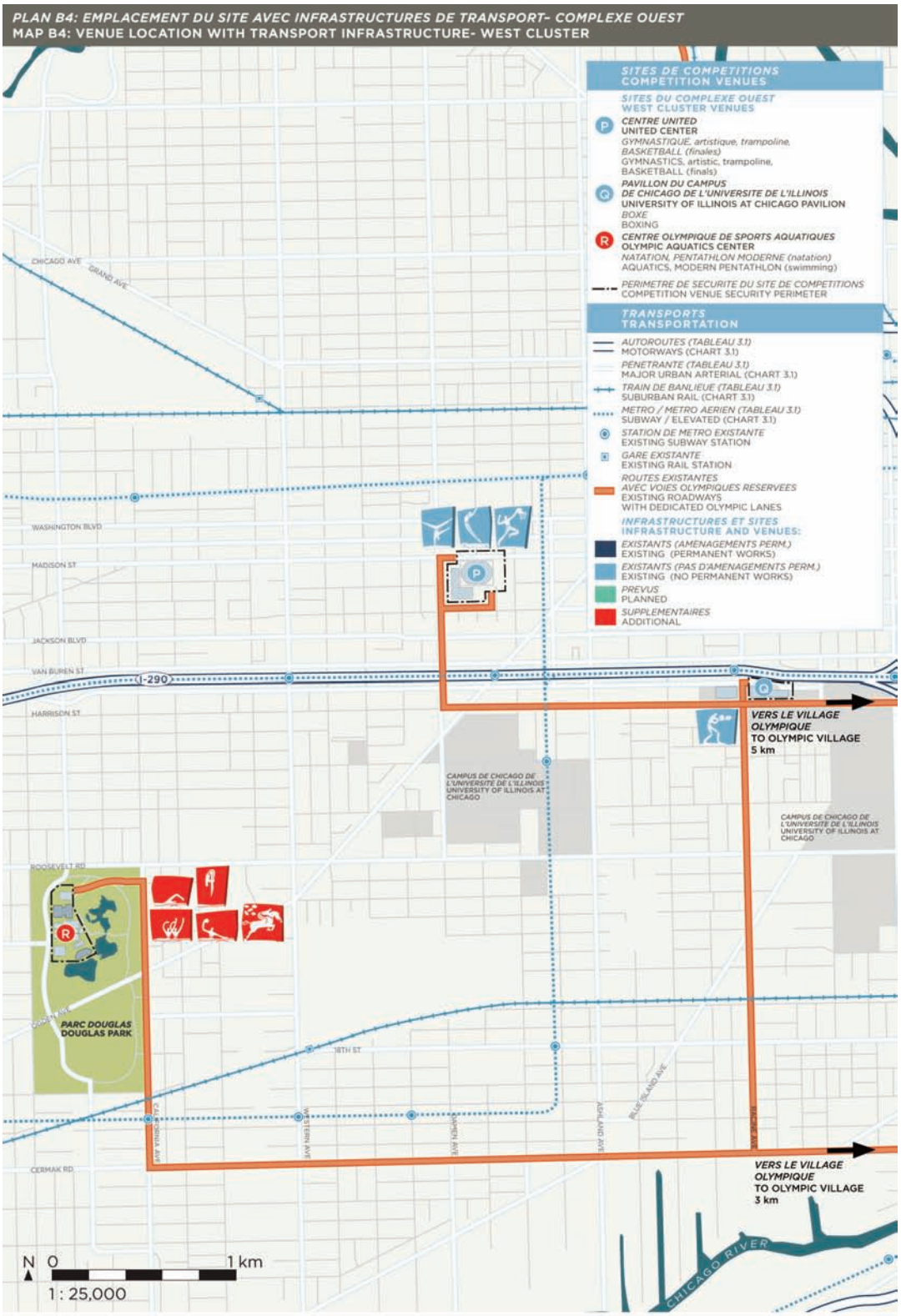
## Map 2

## CHICAGO 2016 OLYMPICS: SOUTH CLUSTER OF VENUES


Source: Chicago 2016 Applicant City, "Response to the Applicant City Questionnaire by the Chicago Bid for the Olympic and Paralympic Games of the XXXI Olympiad in 2016," 15 January, 2008.

## Map 3

## CHICAGO 2016 OLYMPICS: WEST CLUSTER OF VENUES




Source: Chicago 2016 Applicant City, "Response to the Applicant City Questionnaire by the Chicago Bid for the Olympic and Paralympic Games of the XXXI Olympiad in 2016," 15 January, 2008.

On a more positive note, early in 2008 a group of Chicago-based philanthropic organizations—the MacArthur Foundation, the Chicago Community Trust, the McCormick Tribune Foundation, and the Polk Brothers Foundation—contributed $3.5 million to support Olympic-related planning initiatives in several South and West Side neighborhoods: "...to canvass residents and fund research on jobs, business development and tourism opportunities" (Storch, 2008). A research exercise funded by these foundations has begun (Chicago Community Trust, 2008). As to actual planning efforts, this could represent a good first step for local residents to rationally itemize how their community needs might be addressed via the huge investments that will be made if Chicago is selected to host the 2016 Olympics. However, we also think that the development of neighborhood-by-neighborhood "wish lists" is not a strategy that, of itself, will guarantee a sensible city-wide approach to using the Olympics to stimulate neighborhood development.

In terms of demonstrating a commitment to neighborhood development, the Chicago 2016 Committee's composition and actions have not been impressive. Of the 308 members identified at the Committee's website (http://www.chicago2016.org/why-chicago/our-plan/bid-leadership/chicago-2016-committee.aspx) on October 25, 2008, four were affiliated with community-based organizations.[3] As such, neighborhood organizations in the areas that will host the Olympics have slightly more representation than the Pritzker family (three members) and out-of-town professional sports franchises (the Phoenix Suns and Green Bay Packers). Nor do any of the 2016 Committee's advisory councils appear to directly address "community development" or "neighborhood development" matters. Finally, when the 2016 Committee rolls out initiatives such as its commitment to deliver a "green" Olympics benefiting the city's neighborhoods—"[i]n these zones, which will include some of the city's poorer neighborhoods, building owners and residents will have greater access to a range of environmental programs, likely to include grants for green roofs and assistance for obtaining energy-efficient lighting..." (Bergen, 2008b)— there appears to be little doubt that an essentially "top-down" approach to neighborhood development is at work. As with the soccer fields promised to Jackson Park's advisory council, bringing green roofs to Englewood, Woodlawn, and Grand Boulevard may indeed be a good idea, but it is not an idea that has percolated up from the grassroots to the Chicago 2016 Olympic Committee leadership.

Although the Chicago 2016 Committee's approach to neighborhood development, up to this point, has not been especially consultative, we do think that Mayor Richard M. Daley's involvement with Chicago Olympic initiative—notably, as Honorary Chairman of the 2016 Committee, as regular spokesperson for the Olympic planners, and quite evidently as the hinge between the Committee and city government—offers an important point of leverage for community interests. Among the ways by which Chicago can enhance its bid to the IOC is through developing a consultative process that surpasses the practices of preceding Olympic hosts, and substantively, by defining a comprehensive strategy to link Olympic investments to meaningful community development goals (see Appendix 1, esp. the discussion of current IOC priorities). This point will not be a surprise to Mayor Daley, and we view the improvement of Olympic community development planning as directly related to enhancing the quality of Chicago's Olympic bid. Representatives of neighborhood organizations on the South and West Sides need to make this connection between the Olympic advocates' interests and their neighborhood interests absolutely clear in their communications with local governmental representatives, the Chicago 2016 Committee, and ultimately, Mayor Daley.

3. The Chicago 2016 Committee's fundraising efforts have also tilted toward wealthy individuals and corporations (see Kapos, 2008).

# OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We conclude our report by offering five observations and recommendations based on our examination of Olympic hosting by other cities, as well as our review of how Chicago has formulated its 2016 Olympic bid up to this point:

(1) Chicago's bid for the 2016 Olympic Games asserts that "[t]he Games provide an extraordinary opportunity to accelerate the sustainable redevelopment of Chicago's South and West sides—two of the city's key long-term urban-renewal priorities—leaving a lasting Olympic legacy" (Chicago 2016 Applicant City, 2008: 9). However, the scope of the Chicago 2016 Committee's approach to sustainability is quite limited, focusing on "green roofs," "Green Urban Centers" in the vicinity of Olympic venues, and the like. In fact, IOC documents including the Olympic Charter and Agenda 21 define sustainability in a more expansive way, linking conventionally defined environmental enhancement to economic development and quality of life improvements for marginalized populations (see Appendix 1). In order for the Chicago 2016 Committee to make the "best case" bid for the 2016 Games, its final plan to be submitted to the IOC should broaden the commitment to sustainability. As such, sustainable redevelopment on the South and West Sides should include environmental and cultural enhancements, economic development initiatives with real staying power, and improvements in human and social services.

(2) Undoubtedly resulting from a variety of factors—certainly including the very long time frame encompassed by Olympic planning, but also due to the limited community consultation to this point—among neighborhood residents on the city's South Side there is considerable concern regarding the local impacts of Chicago's hosting the 2016 Games. At the community meetings we have attended, predictions of gentrification and residential dislocation pursuant to Chicago's hosting the 2016 Games have been quite frequent. As demonstrated by our research on the impacts of four preceding Summer Olympics, these concerns are not without a basis in fact. Both the Chicago 2016 Committee and Mayor Daley's administration should recognize the breadth of these concerns and move to address them. Our following three recommendations represent practical approaches to these matters.

(3) In advance of the Chicago 2016 Committee submitting its final Olympic proposal to the IOC in February, 2009—an Olympic Neighborhood Development Advisory Council should be formed. Representation on this advisory council should include grassroots representatives from the several Chicago neighborhoods that will be most impacted by the Games, local governmental representatives, Chicago 2016 Committee staff, city government administrators, and the foundations that have sponsored the neighborhood planning process discussed in the previous section of this report. The mandate of this advisory council will be to develop a comprehensive Olympic neighborhood

development plan, and, if Chicago is selected to host the 2016 Games, to oversee the implementation of this plan.

Among the particular areas of consideration by this advisory council should be whether or not the drafting of Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs)—a strategy that is currently being explored by several neighborhood leaders and local organizations—is a desirable course of action (Joravsky, 2008b; Gross, Leroy, and Janis-Aprico, 2005; Gerber, 2007). On the one hand, CBAs can offer individual communities material commitments enabling the pursuit of one or another local development strategy. On the other hand (and bearing in mind the current venue plan), given the number of neighborhoods that would be impacted by the Chicago 2016 Olympics, the mandate to define an encompassing development model—subject, of course, to neighborhood by neighborhood variations in emphasis—could offer community representatives more leverage in accessing Olympic-derived resources to address local needs.

(4) The Chicago 2016 Committee—in consultation with neighborhood representatives—should reconsider the thinking that has so far driven its Olympic Village planning. While a "principal" Olympic Village may well be warranted in the vicinity of the Near South Side sites that have been the focus of the 2016 Committee's planning, a series of "Neighborhood Olympic Villages" on the South and West Sides would contribute both to athletes' access to venues and a variety of community development objectives. The latter would include the production of Olympic housing to be converted to permanent affordable housing, the chance to innovatively rehabilitate existing structures, and the opportunity to target construction employment to local residents (see Chicago Urban League, 2007: 20-21). And once more, by directly addressing current IOC commitments to sustainability and service to marginalized populations, such a housing plan could substantially improve the competitiveness of Chicago's 2016 Olympic bid (see Appendix 1).

(5) The Chicago 2016 Committee should commit to the formation of a permanent Youth Sports Foundation along the lines of the LA84 Foundation (http://www.la84foundation.org/index.html). The Chicago 2016 Youth Sports Foundation would be funded by corporate donors and manage a permanent fiscal endowment. Among the uses of this pool of funds, which would be maintained in perpetuity, would be academic scholarship support for individual athletes, fiscal assistance to community-based athletic organizations, and capital support for the Chicago Public Schools to upgrade their currently neglected sports facilities (Joravsky, 2008a). The creation of such a Foundation would signal to Chicago's neighborhood populations that the 2016 Committee's vision transcends the hosting of a single, two and one-half week mega-event, but rather, seriously engages with the idea that youth sports can be a powerful tool in educating and socializing young Chicagoans.

# APPENDIX 1

## IOC AUTHORITY, INSTITUTIONS, AND CURRENT PRIORITIES

### IOC Authority

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is the ultimate authority controlling presentation of the Olympic Games. The IOC Charter states that it has supreme authority and jurisdiction over every person or organization playing any role in the Olympic movement. All contracts and agreements affecting the Games must be approved by the IOC (IOC, 2007).

IOC decision-making authority includes:

- The power to select host cities.
- The power to delegate planning authority to cities in order that they may develop strategies to obtain long-term, economically sustainable benefits.
- The power to shape the overall Olympic product.
- Oversight of how the Games are staged, as well as the "look of the Games."
- Control of Olympic revenues.

### National Olympic Committees (NOCs)

The mission of National Olympic Committees (NOCs) is to develop, promote, and protect the Olympic movement in their respective countries.

In accordance with the Olympic Charter, some of the functions of the NOCs are:

- To promote the fundamental values of Olympism in their countries: in the fields of sport and education, by promoting educational programs in all levels of schools, sports, physical educational institutions, and universities; as well as encouraging the creation of institutions dedicated to Olympic education (such as Olympic Museums or cultural programs related to the Olympic Movement).
- To assist in the training of sports administrators by organizing courses and ensuring that the courses conform to the fundamental principles of Olympism.
- To take action against any form of discrimination or violence in sport.

NOCs have the exclusive authority to represent their respective countries at Olympic Games and at regional, continental, or world multi-sports competitions patronized by the IOC. They are also obligated

to participate in each Olympiad by training and sponsoring athletes in Games competitions. NOCs have the exclusive authority to designate the cities from within their national borders that will apply to host particular Olympic Games. Finally, NOCs must preserve their authority and resist all pressures of any kind—including political, legal, religious, or economic pressures—that might prevent them from complying with the Olympic Charter (IOC, 2007).

## Organizing Committee of Olympic Games (OCOGs)

The Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games (OCOG), which is established by each host city, seeks to deliver Games that will enhance the host city's reputation and maximize short-term revenues. The OCOG's work, in effect, concludes when the Games it has managed have ended.

The IOC retains substantial influence over the private financing sources the OCOG may wish to tap:

- The IOC carries out all negotiations with television networks.
- The IOC requires that all television agreements will be based on free-to-air broadcasting with viewing for all.
- The IOC handles all negotiations with The Olympic Programme (TOP) sponsors.
- The IOC decides on product categories in order to secure exclusivity for all sponsors.
- The IOC monitors all television networks both for advertising that could be detrimental to the Games' image, or that constitutes unauthorized "ambush marketing."
- The IOC and NOC/OCOG punish infringements via ambush marketing.
- The IOC monitors the "Olympic content" of sponsors' television spots.
- The IOC screens sponsors' advertisements to prevent the promotion of products, such as tobacco or alcohol, that could harm the Games' image.
- The IOC regulates street vending in consultation with host city officials.
- The IOC does not allow a staging of the Games without involvement of the local municipal administration.
- The IOC checks the appearance of the host city during the bid phase and books all possible advertising areas adjoining venue sites in advance of the Games.

## Cultural and Ceremonial Events

In addition to sports, culture forms the second component of the Olympic idea. Baron Pierre de Coubertin's original conceptualization of the modern Games included forming a close link between sport and culture. The Olympic Charter states that the OCOG will organize a program of "cultural events which must cover at least the entire period during which the Olympic Village is open. Such programs must be submitted to the IOC Executive Board for its prior approval" (IOC, 2007: Rule 40).

There is a distinction between the opening, closing, and victory celebrations of the Olympic Games and the cultural exhibitions and performances associated with the Olympic Arts Festival and the Cultural Olympiads. The purpose of the ceremonies is to integrate the various competitions and give the Games a festive atmosphere. The formally cultural events, in reality, function quite apart from the sports events.

The opening and closing ceremonies are easily the most visible components of the Olympic Games. Over the years, a degree of inter-municipal spectacle competition has emerged as host cities strive to stage ever more grandiose Olympic ceremonies. De Coubertin felt that the chief purpose of the Olympic ceremonies was to differentiate the Games from a series of World Championships. One way to accomplish this was to incorporate rituals such as the athlete's oath as offered at the ancient Games as a means to dignify the modern Olympic competitions. In practice, OCOGs typically seize upon the Olympic opening ceremony to present a spectacular image of their host country's cultural riches in an effort to delight the world press and the global television audience (Preuss, 2004).

## Current IOC Priorities

There are a number of priority areas that the IOC is currently promoting that may influence how IOC members will evaluate bids from Candidate Cities. Stronger Candidate City plans are likely to be those that emphasize the following priorities.

### *Culture and Sports*

In the ancient Olympic Games, sport and culture were closely linked. Cultural events were held at the same time as sporting events. This is a principle that the modern Games have adopted, and which offers the opportunity for exchange between cultures and Olympic education. In fact, education and culture were the main catalysts that encouraged Pierre de Coubertin to revive the Olympic Games and create the IOC (Oxlade and Ballheimer, 2005). This continues to be an Olympic priority. The IOC has acknowledged its particular responsibility in terms of promoting culture and Olympic education and regards culture as the second dimension of Olympism alongside sports (IOC, 1999).

In 2000, the IOC established the Commission for Culture and Education. This commission's role is to advise the IOC Executive Board on what policies the IOC and Olympic Movement should adopt to promote culture and Olympic education, and to support the IOC programs and activities in this field. Since 2007 the Commission for Culture and Education has been aggressively promoting Olympic education for young

people. Also, the link between sport, culture, and education is high on the Olympic agenda for 2008.

The Commission's policy has two main objectives:

- First, it strives to develop the link between sport and culture in all of its forms, encourages cultural exchanges, and promotes the diversity of cultures.
- Second, it also aims to promote Olympic education and supports other institutions that promote the values of the Olympics.

These objectives are based on principles enshrined in the Olympic Charter: "Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles" (IOC, 2007). Furthermore, the Charter states that the goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sports practiced without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which further requires mutual understanding in the spirit of friendship, solidarity, and fair play.

***Promotion of Sustainable Development***

In addition to linking sport and culture, the IOC advocates the development of sport and progressive environmental policy. To demonstrate this commitment, the IOC has established a policy that seeks to provide greater resources to sustainable development in and through sport at national, regional, and international levels, especially during the Olympic Games. The policy is based on principles enshrined in the Olympic Charter (Chapter 1, "The Olympic Movement and its Actions: Mission and Role of the IOC") "…to encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport and require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly; and to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the Host cities and the Host countries" (IOC, 2007).

This policy has two main objectives:

- First, it strives to promote Olympic Games that respect the environment and meet the standards of sustainable development.[4]
- Second, it aims to promote awareness among and educate the members of the Olympic family and sports practitioners in general of the importance of a healthy environment and sustainable development.

4. The IOC's definition of sustainability follows the wording of the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, "Our Common Future," which was released in 1987: "satisfying the needs of the present generation without compromising the chance for future generations to satisfy theirs." This document is widely known as the Brundtland Report.

### *Agenda 21*

The IOC's sustainable development policy is also derived from the Olympic Movement's "Agenda 21," a document defining the linkage between sport and sustainable development. Agenda 21 was adopted by the IOC at its June 1999 meeting in Seoul, South Korea and subsequently endorsed by the entire Olympic Movement at the Third World Conference on Sport and the Environment in Rio de Janeiro in October 1999 (IOC, 1999). Agenda 21 aims to encourage members of the Movement to take an active role in promoting sustainable development throughout the world. It suggests to governing bodies areas in which sustainable development can be integrated into their policies.

Agenda 21 proposes that action plans should take into account the fight against poverty and encourage the integration/inclusion of disadvantaged social groups. The Olympic Movement and all individuals and enterprises associated with sport should support such action plans. In conformity with the Olympic Charter, the IOC will ensure that individuals and groups are not excluded. Also, Agenda 21 calls for international sports federations to encourage sports activities in underprivileged social circles. In particular, the sports organizations should assist and encourage public institutions concerned with sports to promote sports activities by groups that are marginalized due to limited economic resources, sex, race, or social class. Health education is also an integral part of Agenda 21's sports education aims. It covers nutrition, hygiene, and the combating of contagious and infectious diseases. Finally, Agenda 21 calls for the recognition and strengthening of the role of indigenous populations. It recommends encouraging their sporting traditions, as well as encouraging access to sports participation by these populations.

# APPENDIX 2

**A STATISTICAL SNAPSHOT OF SOME OF CHICAGO'S COMMUNITY AREAS LIKELY TO HOST OR ADJOIN OLYMPIC SITES**

| | 2006 Population | 2000 % of Population Below Poverty Line | 2006 Median Home Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Loop (Grant Pk., Monroe Harbor) | 19,399 | 9.0 | $300,783 |
| Near S. Side (McCormick Pl., Soldier Fld., Northerly Island) | 13,871 | 22.0 | $361,651 |
| Douglas (Olympic Village) | 26,516 | 36.6 | $275,962 |
| Near W. Side (United Center, UIC Pavilion) | 56,327 | 28.7 | $340,742 |
| N. Lawndale (Aquatics Center) | 40,933 | 45.2 | $146,891 |
| Washington Park (Olympic Stadium)* | 13,653 | 53.3 | $162,500 |
| Gr. Boulevard+ | 28,228 | 45.2 | $270,152 |
| Hyde Park+ | 29,374 | 15.1 | $241,171 |
| Woodlawn+ (Hockey Fields) | 26,438 | 39.0 | $136,276 |

*+ adjoins Washington Park*

** Washington Park is also adjoined by Fuller Park, Kenwood, Greater Grand Crossing, and Englewood.*

*The North Cluster of Olympic venues are all temporary, and located on the lakefront bordering the Near North Side, Lincoln Park, Lake View, and Uptown community areas. The least prosperous of these community areas is Uptown, whose 2000 poverty rate was 24.5% and median home value was $274,879.*

**Sources: Applied Geographic Systems, Claritas, U.S. Census**

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