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Public participation, action, and failure: a case study of the 2016 Olympic bid

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Hosting mega-events offers cities within the United States an opportunity to gain benefits that are tangible and intangible. The primary objective of this two-year case study was to examine the impact of Chicago's 2016 Olympic bid on the surrounding communities of the proposed Olympic sites. The research design of this community-based case study was comprised of interviews, review of reports, document analysis, and field observations of community-based meetings, city council forums, and community-led political actions. The results revealed inconsistencies in the incorporation of participants from the communities most affected by the bid and planning. The primary findings developed a picture of the complexities of issues and abuses of power that prompted gentrification, displacement, and discrimination. The study calls for future research that focuses on issues connected to socio-economic conflict as it relates to the distribution of wealth, power, and access that leisure-related opportunities seemingly create.

Keywords: Olympic Games; Chicago; community-based participatory research; critical instance case study; social justice

L'accueil de méga-événements offre aux villes des États-Unis une occasion d'obtenir des retombées tangibles et intangibles. L'objectif premier de cette étude menée sur deux ans était d'examiner l'impact de l'offre Olympique sur les communautés environnantes des sites olympiques proposés. L'étude de cas a été effectuée à partir d'entretiens, d'un examen de rapports, de l'analyse de documents et d'observations terrains de réunions qui se sont déroulées dans les communautés, des forums du conseil municipal et des actions politiques menées par les communautés. Les résultats ont révélé des incohérences dans la participation des citoyens des communautés les plus affectées par l'offre et la planification. Les premiers résultats dévoilent une image de la complexité des enjeux soulevés et les abus de pouvoir qui ont mené à un embourgeoisement.

Mots clés : Les Jeux olympiques ; Chicago ; la recherche participative à base communautaire ; instance critique étude de cas ; justice sociale

Introduction

There is growing evidence in many cities that tourism and major event development is linked to the phenomenon of gentrification that has systematically destroyed old vestiges of neighborhoods in order to erect new communities and new histories. With the desire to bid for the Olympics and other large-scale, profit-bearing events, key arteries and areas in cities are identified for 'urban revitalization' at an increased level for potential

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re-development as sites for the mega-event and its ancillary activities. These forms of tourism increase rent and property values ever further away from the economic abilities of residents as well as distort the original character of the neighborhoods, and this results in large-scale displacement of residents (Healy, 1992). Hosting mega-events offers cities within the United States an opportunity to gain benefits that are tangible (revenue generation, tourists, and city infrastructure improvements) and intangible (international media attention and enhanced image of the city). The process of bidding requires that there exists a range of entities to provide fiscal and public support.

Conducted as a community-based, critical instance case study, the primary objective of this two-year study (2007–2009) was to examine the impact of the 2016 Chicago Olympic bid on the surrounding communities of the proposed Olympic sites. The article focuses on the effects of the bidding process, local government decision-making, and issues of urban injustice in housing and employment that arose. The combination of private dollars, public funds, and public spaces requires public participation. The Olympics would occupy the entire city yet working-class and low-income communities see little in return and little participation from the perceived hosting opportunity. The case study identified community activist and social service advocates as the best repositories of insight regarding communities that were most negatively affected by the bid.

Research that focuses on issues connecting to socio-economic status as it relates to the distribution of wealth, power, access, and status are needed in leisure research, especially in event planning. A study of gentrification is relevant in today's political, social, and economic landscape. But specifically, the lack of public participation alongside the increased public action or protest by disenfranchised communities merits closer attention. The changing tide in government has done little to halt the displacement that has occurred in cities and has yet to place discriminatory practices regarding housing as a priority to address. The recent economic downward spiral of the US recession during the bidding process only increased the degree in which communities and neighborhoods went through changes that would uproot the healthy cultural development that is an important component in the fabric of cities. For the sake of an event, a community would suffer.

A literature review: gentrification and Olympics

With the bidding for Olympics, Super Bowls, and other large-scale, profit-bearing events, certain neighborhoods in cities are targeted at an increased level. These forms of tourism distort the original character of the neighborhood (Healy, 1992). On another hand, there are cases where heritage may be used by residents and groups to stem the tide of gentrification or at least lessen its blow. Gentrification is, on one hand, the 'gentrifying' of an area, the attracting and housing of the urban gentry or professional class, while on the other hand it is the process both prior to and during this 'gentrifying' effort. Gentrification is an extension of governmentality and is an intentional act initiated and supported by several entities as opposed to a natural occurrence of urban revitalization and redevelopment (Hae, 2012). Landlords and property owners, developers and contractors, and loan officers and other lending institutions all represent the entities that play key roles in investing in gentrification. Buildings, stores, job opportunities, and homes are those investments while people of varying income classes are simply variables in the aim of securing or expanding capital (Bourne, 1993).

The urban gentry can/will pay higher mortgages and rent. As a result, developers and property owners wish to attract more of this income class in order to get a greater return on investment. Banks and other lending institutions will allot more loans (with greater amounts) based on the value of those investments that have increased owing to the new

income class dwelling within the property. Visibly, what we see are cafés, clothing stores, and other shops catering to those in condominiums and other higher market-value residential properties (Bridge, 1994). Areas in close proximity to downtown areas or on direct transit routes are prime areas where gentrification is seen. Also, there is a tendency that areas rich with history or unique historical architecture are gentrified. The fact that a neighborhood, even in squalor, may hold such 'cultural jewels' is enticing to developers and city officials. Mega-event and heritage-based tourism may be a financial boom for those invested in gentrification while also being a savior to many neighborhoods, residents, and community organizers. This research initiative sought to examine the impact the sport and tourism industry may have on the redevelopment of residential areas in a city.

With the Olympic Games, there is a financial boon that applicant cities seek to tap into (Kasimati, 2003). Benefits during the Games and post-Games could lead to the construction of mixed-income housing units and better forms of public transportation for low-income residents (Poynter & MacRury, 2009). While the revenues may be enticing to city officials, neighborhoods have been found to be on the short end of receiving the benefits reaped from such mega-events. These disparities have led to Olympic bidding and planning being placed under increased scrutiny for its marginalization of local communities (Atkinson, Mourato, Szymanski, & Ozdemiroglu, 2008; Kasimati & Dawson, 2009). The Games have been predicted to positively impact unemployment but little evidence has been shown to back up those claims, specifically in the case of the 1984 Los Angeles Games and the 1996 Atlanta Games (Baade & Matheson, 2002; Humphreys & Plummer, 1995). Mega-event planners utilize soft data as well as hard data (visitor numbers, revenues, market values, etc.) to propose the positive benefits of hosting such an event. Rojek (2013) placed 'urban renewal' among other 'halo-effect' markers of soft data as intangible derivatives that are reaped from hosting an Olympic Games that include: 'cultural and social benefits in national and international prestige, the cultural and economic maturity of the metropolis or nation, quality of life, cosmopolitanism, expanding multicultural/multiethnic tolerance, civic duty and humanitarian investment' (pp. 51–52).

However, Leonardsen (2007) stated that 'mega projects such as the Olympic Games will often involve public money ... consequently, the ordinary citizen/taxpayer is a legitimate voice in the planning process and should therefore be included when decisions are made' (p. 23). Public perception of hosting the Olympic Games, as was the case with the 2000 Sydney Games, is always high and should galvanize planners to interact with the larger public in ways to increase their 'buy-in' (Waite, 2003). A lack of public participation in the planning process for most mega-events can be detrimental, especially in the planning process the public has been replaced by 'elites' serving as the representational public that are not elected or accountable to the greater public. The euphoria for the event is replaced with questions of the costs and impacts (Bramwell, 1997). But little effort is put forth in developing tangible benefits for residents outside of a chance at being a spectator in such close proximity to the Games. Hiller and Wanner (2011) and Kennelly and Watt (2011) have further posited that these events disturb social cohesion rather than bridge social divide as events become privilege spaces that require the removal of the unsightly.

Wellings, Datta, Wilkinson, and Petticrew (2011) commented on the lost opportunity to engage London's population with public health promotion and opportunities in order to stimulate physical activity during the 2012 London Games. Sadly, most studies have pointed to the realities that the public is often left disempowered and it is the power holders that typically gain increased power during the bidding, planning, and, if granted,

execution of the Games (Golf & Gold, 2007; Silk, 2011; Toohey & Veal, 2000). Waitt (2003) posited that:

Public participation in the planning process is often advocated as a mechanism for implementing social justice through reconciling host residents and tourism development objectives. Local activism, spurred by negative perceptions, is likely when the resource exchange value is perceived to bias the event over residents. (p. 196)

Past research on the Games has highlighted a number of deceptive practices undertaken to marginalize dissent, decrease public participation, and impact communities that are disproportionately represented by lower socio-economic residents (Horne, 2007). These communities have been framed under the auspices of urban revitalization/renewal/regeneration yet leave little benefits to residents living in those areas, thus they become victims of ‘slum clearance programs’ (Greene, 2003; Hiller & Wanner, 2011).

Methods: community partnerships in developing the case

This case study was based on the use of community-based participatory research (Macaulay & Nutting, 2006) and was couched in a study that served as a means to develop not only further scholarly insight into the phenomenon of gentrification instigated by tourism/mega-events but also to develop an ideal collaboration between academic institutions and the communities, for the support of those communities and community activists struggling to address the issue. When engaging in a project on assessing community infrastructure and capacity in relationship to the overall quality of health of residents, it is important to establish an ethical and socially conscious approach to the research endeavor (Macaulay & Nutting, 2006). The basis for this approach is an effort to make community–academic partnerships equitable, effective, and impactful especially when working with underrepresented populations or around health disparities (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2006; Israel *et al.*, 2006).

Community-based participatory research (CBPR)

CBPR presented itself for research that was seeking community partnerships, less as a methodology but more as an orientation and set of principles regarding how the entire process of research design, data collection, data assessment, and data presentation is framed (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Israel, Schulz, Parker, & Becker, 1998). Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) suggested three attributes of participatory research: ‘shared ownership of research projects, community-based analysis of social problems, and an orientation toward community action’ (p. 560). Alongside these attributes, CBPR also has nine key guiding principles: (1) community as a unit of identity (Israel *et al.*, 1998); (2) building on strengths and affordances within a community; (3) equitable collaboration between researchers and community representatives (Israel *et al.*, 2006); (4) capacity building for all participants; (5) striking a balance between research and action (Israel *et al.*, 1998); (6) emphasizes public health issues and indicators; (7) a cyclical systems development process (Stringer, 2007); (8) the right to, and involvement in, the dissemination of findings by all (Schulz *et al.*, 2002); and, (9) an engaged and long-term commitment (Israel *et al.*, 2006).

Moving beyond simple informed consent, community partners assist the research process by accurately defining a community and neighborhood boundaries, identifying

appropriate and key indicators, and directing the final outcomes and dissemination of findings (Israel *et al.*, 1998; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008). CBPR allows for the use of various methods in both quantitative and qualitative approaches to inquiry (Wallerstein, 1999). This joint research endeavor is aimed at the social transformation of lived societies into communities with the capacity to offset the prevalence of major health risk factors (Minkler, 2005).

Critical instance case study

Critical instance case studies are intended to be descriptive via the use of in-depth research approaches such as direct field observations, participant observations, journals, and face-to-face interviews that can present realism to a policy or practice in the examination of one situation of unique interest (Plog, 1980; Yin, 1989), in this case the Olympic bidding process and lack of public participation. The research design of the case study was comprised of interviews, review of reports (on the construction of facilities, and intended revenue generation), document analysis (of municipal and state minutes, legislative statutes, city ordinances, and agency reports), and field observations of community-based meetings, city council forums, and community-led political actions. Data was then analyzed using the OTTR method (a constant cycle of shaping hypothesis and testing through observe, think, test, and revise) (Jauch, Osborn, & Martin, 1980; Yin, 1989).

Community organizers are rarely interviewed in studies on gentrification, 'urban renewal', or 'urban revitalization' impact (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2006; Israel *et al.*, 2006). The resources that reside in foundations and universities position researchers to both study the problem and develop new approaches. This study was needed to better understand the complexity of gentrification and public outcry from it that was instigated by the lack of public participation in the 2016 Chicago Olympic bidding process. Through the exploration of new technologies and usage of alternative or atypical methodologies to leisure research (the use of CBPR), this study intended to gather and share audiovisual data from underrepresented participants. Exploration of technologies, usage of atypical methodologies, and ability to devote a degree of time (two years) towards pursuing a research endeavor by faculty at a university are clear examples of the need for this study.

Data collection

For the overall study, community organizers and social service advocates were identified as the best repositories of insight regarding communities that have undergone gentrification owing to their accessibility to displaced residents, documenting the changes in landscapes, and archiving ordinances, policies, and other government documents. Working closely with representatives of the Communities for Equitable Olympics 2016 (CEO), specifically the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) in Chicago, IL, the study utilized a combination of methods to gather data in line with the purpose of the study. Interviews, report and archival analysis, and observation of community meetings and demonstrations were the selected methods for the Chicago case study.

The most organized assembly of residents or resident advocates were via the CEO 2016 committee that was comprised of organizations from the most affected neighborhoods (Figure 1: (1) Washington Park; (2) Kenwood; (3) Grand Boulevard; (4) Oakland; and (5) Bronzeville/Douglas: Action Now, Centers for New Horizons, Illinois Hunger Coalition, the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization, Metropolitan Alliance of Congregations, Metropolitan Area Group for Igniting Civilization, and the SEIU

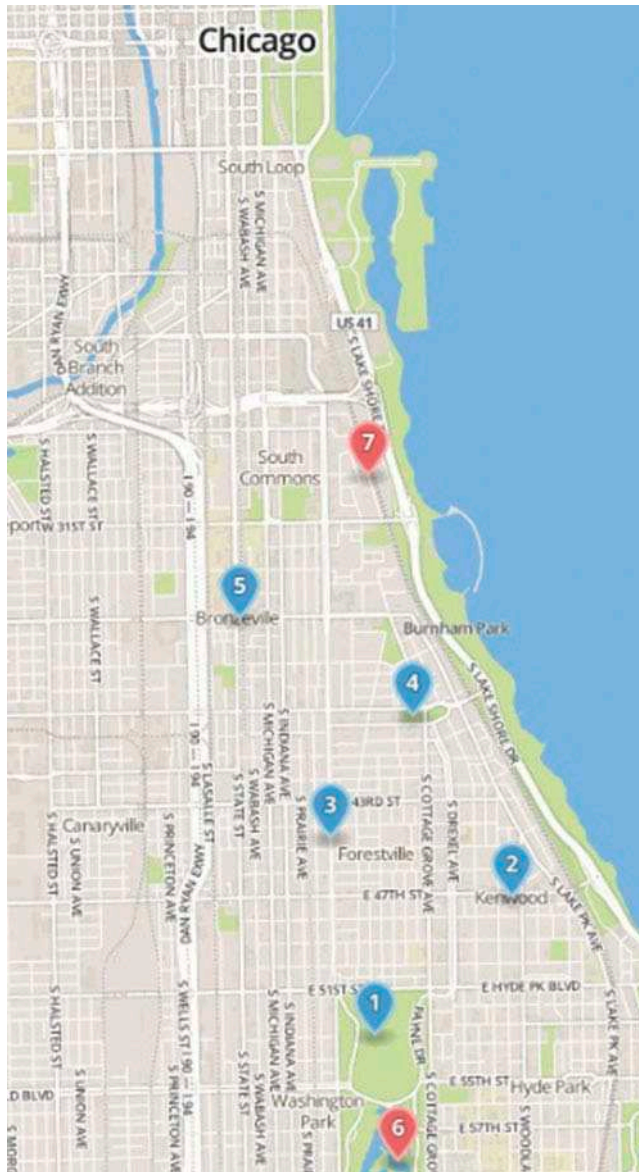


Figure 1. Chicago communities most affected by the Chicago 2016 bid.

(Service Employees International Union) Healthcare of Illinois/Indiana/Missouri/Kansas. This assembly of organizations along with the Chicago Urban League were at the front line of political action challenging the Chicago Olympic bid and worked insistently with community residents to halt further disenfranchisement, demolition, and isolation as well as attempting to leverage for preservation of important community landmarks and facilities and employment opportunities for residents prior, during, and post the Games.

Up to the point of the actual bid decision for Chicago to host the Games, residents operated within the above organizations or groups in three key areas: (1) active opposition to the bid; (2)

demand for greater public participation in further decision-making; or, (3) lobbying for employment opportunities in construction, concessions, or event logistics and public use of facilities. Data was collected from April 2007 until November 2009 on these areas from various sources that included: (1) in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with former board members ($n = 4$) and current board members ($n = 5$); (2) in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with administrative staff ($n = 6$); (3) in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with community residents ($n = 31$); (4) attendance and field observations at 22 meetings; (5) analysis of community organization meeting and public forum meeting; and, (6) analysis of local media coverage (print, web, and televised) of local Olympic bidding activities and public protest.

Through the documented notes taken by the interviewer and community organization staff assistant, there was a 100% response rate from the interviews over the two-year period from former/current board and administrative staff, while a 75% response rate was achieved with community residents. Two sets of written notes were reconciled, transcribed, and then analyzed using a codebook that was developed to cull specific themes from the notes over the two-year period using qualitative data analysis procedures to allow the interviewer to 'enter into the other person's perspective' despite having the limitations of personal bias and other ways that responses could be distorted owing to the volatility of the bid (Patton, 1990, p. 341). Analysis of documents was conducted using content analysis procedures; however, a limitation of their use was the degree to which they were incomplete, inaccurate, or complete at the time of review (Patton, 1990). While field observations were conducted and analyzed with the intention of 'getting close to the people and situations being studied to personally understand the realities and minutiae of daily life' (Patton, 1990, p. 48). This was done in such a fashion to make it possible for 'description and understanding of both externally observable behaviors and internal states (worldview, opinions, values, attitudes, and symbolic constructs)' although understanding will be limited and owing to the manner in which the observer could impact the meeting that is being observed (Patton, 1990, p. 48). To offset the impact of limitations, once every four months the summary of results was reviewed by a committee of community organization members and then presented for review to the board of KOCO.

Results: observing public participation and action

Through a series of interviews, analysis of city council reports, and community led-forums it was deduced by various community-based organizations that tourism and sport venue development had caused the rerouting of public transportation, demolition of historically important buildings, construction of properties that have restricted access, and displacement of thousands of residents. However, the following provides an outline of the main activities from observations that presented the extent to which the public desired and voiced their desire for transparency very early in the process and the subsequent failure and action. Further, based on the three areas in which residents organized themselves within organizations or groups stated in the methods section, the following also thematically outlines the results of this study.

Actively opposing the bid

Although opposition to the bid was not the initial response of residents, it ultimately became a feature of activities as the lack of public participation became more evident. A follow-up article in the *Chicago Reader* featured another article on 24 July 2008 that KOCO called the city's development plans gentrification. A *Community Media Workshop/WNUA City Voices* podcast restated the key points from the *Chicago Reader* article on 24

July 2008. From June to July 2008, the assembly of community-based organizations via the Communities for Equitable Olympics 2016 (CEO 2016) surveyed 2000 community residents who would be impacted by the areas of the city that would undergo ‘revitalization’, to give their feelings about Chicago’s bid for the 2016 Olympics and hopes for the future. Many residents and representatives from community organizations (board members and staff) felt that their neighborhoods were targeted based on racial and economic reasons as they were ‘black and poor, and pretty much unimportant’, and, even worse, ‘we are simply worthless’.

As a follow-up, a community-initiated press conference was held at Michael Reese Hospital Campus (in the Douglas neighborhood and the potential location for the Olympic Village) to support soon-to-be-displaced workers, and publically announced the formation of CEO 2016 on 7 August 2008. Another community-initiated community forum was held at Olivet Church (in the Douglas neighborhood and the potential location for the Olympic Village) (Figure 1) with 600 leaders to call for a community benefits agreement (CBA) on 14 August 2008. In the *Chicago Defender* from 13–19 August 2008, the CEO 2016’s community forum was covered and acknowledged, while in the *Chicago Sun-Times* on 15 August 2008, CEO 2016 explained that it was not an anti-Olympics coalition but the community voice for a CBA. Many interview respondents raised the issue with who were the ‘designated’ stakeholders for the Chicago 2016 Olympics: ‘Who are they? Why are we [the community] not considered stakeholders?’

CEO 2016 participated on the Chicago 2016 Outreach Committee sub-committees from February to March 2009 to produce a document reflecting the community’s demands. A fourth community-initiated community forum was held at Sixth Grace Presbyterian Church with 250 leaders to announce a poll to determine the community’s sentiment regarding the Olympics on 7 March 2009. CEO 2016 led a political action that disrupted the City of Chicago Finance Committee Meeting on 17 March 2009. Protest signage presented statements such as: ‘The Olympics are for all’, ‘Our lives are not a Game’, and, from one youth protester, ‘One day I could be an Olympian... Maybe.’ While some anti-Games signage identified alternatives that the residents wished the city would place importance on: ‘Better School... No Olympic Games’, ‘Better Housing... No Olympic Games’, ‘Better Clinics... No Olympic Games’, and, ‘Better Trains... No Olympic Games’.

A community-initiated press conference was held at City Hall to express CEO 2016’s displeasure with the city’s failure to pass an ordinance that called for community benefits before the arrival of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on 18 March 2009.

A sixth and final community-initiated press conference was held. A community led a march/protest was organized by KOCO to bring attention to the lack of transparency, lack of community participation and solicitation, and pattern of perceived half-truths expressed by the elected officials throughout CEO 2016’s engagement with them for a CBA was held on 4 April 2009.

Demands for greater public participation in decision-making

One of the simplest explanations for the demand for true public participation was stated as a question: ‘Shouldn’t the Olympics be for all?’. However, the response to this question was not apparent in the *In These Times* feature article in July 2007 that first publically presented that Chicago was pursuing the development of a bid for the 2016 Olympics. The community-based organization KOCO called for more transparency in the bidding process while then-Alderman Toni Preckwinkle (responsible for the 4th City Ward that

encompasses Kenwood-Oakland) stated she wanted a CBA. This was followed by a meeting between KOCO and Gyata Kimmons, Chicago 2016 Director of Community Relations, to invite him to a community forum for Kenwood, Oakland, and Grand Boulevard neighborhoods to hear community concerns.

A community-initiated forum was held at Kennicott Park (within Kenwood neighborhood) in January 2008 with 100 leaders to discuss concerns and the possibility of a CBA; Department of Planning and Development Commissioner Arnold Randle, 4th Ward Alderman Toni Preckwinkle, Washington Park Advisory Council Representative Leroy Bowers, and Chicago 2016 Director of Community Relations Gyata Kimmons were on the panel. The four key areas of the CBA were: (1) Affordable Housing (covering such points as compensated displacement and the prevention of hiding those facing homelessness); (2) Economic Development and Jobs (articulating the need for job referral centers within communities where construction was taking place); (3) Transportation (lengthening times for mass transit and centralizing taxi dispatching); and, (4) Legacy Initiatives (that called for the development of state-of-the-art community centers in low-income communities and building of full-service grocery stores that provide fresh produce).

However, residents universally expressed concerns about discussions on post-Games housing as mixed-income housing had a bad history of exclusion and stagnant mobility. This countered research by Sullivan (2007) that noted that among the respondents, homeowners were 'more likely than renters to approve of neighborhood changes' (p. 588). As Sullivan noted, 'homeowners benefit financially from gentrification' because rising values of their principal investment would create opportunities to re-finance their mortgage or sell their property at a greater profit (p. 588). Additionally as race and years of residency in the gentrified area are analyzed further, it is found that younger 'Black residents who have lived in their neighborhood for at least 10 years ... are less likely to approve of neighborhood changes' (p. 589).

Briggs (1997) stated eloquently, 'geographic proximity does not a neighbor make at least not in the social sense' as he observed neighboring and community participation (p. 197). Shared space does not automatically mean shared needs. Mixed income according to policy makers has been used as a strategy in addressing poverty and crime in neighborhoods by bringing in other income levels to live alongside low-income residents. While Department of Housing and Urban Development reports included in their definition of displacement, evictions or mortgage defaults which are not a part of the private market's acquiring and renovating actions (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1981). The underlying intention of mixed income is that by lower-income households 'rubbing shoulders' with higher income levels, then improved social conditions and environments will occur. Residents felt they were targeted because of the predominantly Black (90%) and poor make-up of the Bronzeville community. Bronzeville median income was \$16,430 in comparison with the Chicago-wide median income of \$46,195 (US Bureau of the Census, 2012). Nearly 54.8% lived below the poverty line. Mixed income increases the likelihood for revitalization in urban areas as well as property values, and a broader change of political constituencies (financial campaign supporters). Chicago is the home of some of the largest mixed-income development initiatives through the demolition of several public housing sites.

Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber (2007) defined mixed income through the development that occurred in Chicago of housing units that are one-third public housing, one-third affordable, and one-third market rate. The intention is to reduce the concentration of low-income residents in one geographic neighborhood area. Thus, displacement is still

intended to occur. Alongside these mixed-income offerings are programs, such as the Housing Choice Voucher program, that assist those who are displaced in seeking new residencies. Overall, the \$5 billion federally headed HOPE IV (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) program was designed to initiate development of mixed-income housing throughout the country by way of public housing transformation efforts (demolishment and redevelopment). However, many saw the Olympic Games as precipitating a faster and larger 'urban redevelopment' program.

Yet another community-initiated community forum was held at Sixth Grace Presbyterian Church on 6 November 2008 with 250 leaders to secure community support for the CBA; 3rd Ward Alderman Pat Dowell, 4th Ward Alderman Toni Preckwinkle, Illinois State Senator Kwame Raoul, and Illinois State Representative-Elect Will Burns were featured speakers. CEO 2016 met with Alderman Preckwinkle and Illinois State Representative-Elect Burns from September to November 2008 to develop the CBA into an ordinance. On 19 November 2008, the local periodical *Lakefront Outlook* published a summary of statements from the elected officials who attended the community forum organized by CEO 2016 in support of a CBA. Alderman Preckwinkle announced she would sponsor and introduce the CBA as an ordinance in Chicago's City Council on 13 December 2008.

Alderman Dowell signed onto the ordinance as a co-sponsor on 16 December 2008. A joint press conference between CEO 2016 and Alderman Preckwinkle's office was held at City Hall to announce the formal creation of a CBA on 17 December 2008. In the *Chicago Tribune* on 9 January 2009, the then-Executive Director of KOCO Jhatayn Travis recognized the ordinance as a step in an ongoing process. The city ordinance was introduced into the City Council with City Council members Pat Dowell, Bob Fioretti, Leslie Hairston, and Willie Cochran as co-sponsors on 14 January 2009. In the *Chicago Tribune* on 19 March 2009, CEO 2016's press conference was acknowledged, and Travis expressed her belief that improvements at Washington Park (the designated location of the Olympic Stadium and other competition facilities) (Figure 1) were connected to the IOC's visit.

Lobbying for opportunities

Interview respondents commented that the impact on the communities throughout the city, not just neighborhoods where construction would have taken place, were never articulated to residents. But, most importantly, it was often raised (especially when successful opposition seemed futile) what 'should be left for the community to benefit after the Olympics leaves the city'. Community-based organizations (KOCO and Action Now) discussed building a coalition to call for a CBA in March 2008. Community-based organizations (KOCO and Action Now) met with Alderman Preckwinkle, Gyata Kimmons, Shirley Newsome (North Kenwood Oakland Conservation Community Council), and James Wilson (Chicago Department of Planning and Development) and discussed and developed the core tenets of a CBA. As a result, Alderman Preckwinkle presented the first draft of an ordinance in April 2008. KOCO convened the first meeting of CEO 2016 in June 2008.

The *Chicago Reader*, a local periodical, had a feature article on 10 July 2008 in which KOCO called for affordable housing in the Olympic Village development (Douglas neighborhood). *Chicago Crain*, the local business magazine, had a feature article on 18 August 2008 where CEO 2016 was recognized as the community voice for a CBA. CEO 2016 wrote a CBA with provisions for affordable housing, economic development and

jobs, transportation, and broader legacy initiatives (narrowed from a list of 10). This became CEO 2106's policy document from September to October 2008. CEO 2016 met with the chairman of the Chicago 2016 host committee, Patrick Ryan, and presented him with the CBA from September to October 2008. In a letter to Gyata Kimmons of the Chicago 2016 committee on the latter's document to the community, CEO 2016 clearly stated from their initial observations that:

- the document does not include target numbers for the procurement, employment, affordable housing or transportation initiatives proposed in the document;
- the document mentions the creation of a 2016 Opportunity Council, but does not clearly state the criteria that will be used to select advisors;
- the document does not reveal a financial commitment, or a plan to secure the financial resources needed to ensure the implementation of the Legacy initiatives outlined; and
- the community process described on page 2 reads like a rapid attempt to address community concerns about the lack of community process, without establishing ongoing processes for community input.

CEO 2016 felt that Chicago had the opportunity to present a bid that demonstrated a clear and measurable commitment to improving the quality of life of all families currently residing in neighborhoods that would be impacted by the Olympics.

The Chicago 2016 committee produced a more community-sensitive Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on 26 March 2009 as its commitment statement around providing community benefits from the Olympic planning process, the first official document indicating such benefits. A community-initiated press conference was held at City Hall on 26 March 2009 to call for the City Council to sign the MOU. A fifth community-initiated press conference was held at City Hall on 1 April 2009 to reveal the findings of the poll commissioned by CEO 2016. The findings focused on the community's desire for a CBA. Lastly, the city ordinance supporting the Chicago 2016 MOU was passed in the City Council on 22 April 2009.

Interviews garnered a number of commentaries on gentrification effects and background. Analysis of municipal minutes, agency reports, and other documents provided additional information on the decision-making process. The analysis also identified which areas in the city were targeted for re-development, and the funds associated with the preparation and eventual construction of the Olympic facilities. Additionally, reports also highlighted the intended revenue-generating possibilities for the city. Lastly, observing community-level meetings, city council forums, and community actions in response to unfair treatment yielded a clear picture of the Olympic Games and the complexities of the issues and abuses of power that motivated gentrification, displacement, and discrimination. As Fox (2000) stated, within leisure settings, 'the definitions, parameters, and actions related to leisure are constructed and molded by invisible forces related to cultural dynamics, power relations, collective processes, and societal frameworks' (p. 32).

Discussion: public participation, action, and failure

Although the United States Olympic Committee selected Chicago to be the US applicant city in April 2007, the first (and limited) public announcement was presented in July 2007. Naturally, not only would the hosting of the Games present the city with an extraordinary opportunity for international attention, but the planning process would offer the city the possibility to work on 'urban revitalization' projects in the near south

side by investing in public works through the synergy of public and business sector entities. This synergy was represented by the formation of Chicago 2016 (the Olympic organizing committee). This committee influences public and private sector-financed funding of urban transformation projects and the revenues from tickets, broadcasting, and sponsorships (in line with the policies of the IOC). It was thought by CEO 2016 and the Urban League that service-sector employment would fit the Black business and labor patterns in the city since 73% of the Black owned-firms were in the retail, construction, and service sectors.

Race and culture cannot be excluded as role players in gentrification along with the factor of income class. Property of any type depreciates over time. One could infer that continued depreciation is intentional to allow the market value of an area to diminish, thereby discouraging capital investments. In these areas, the many different factors of displacement of residents are also developing features of gentrification. Besides the working poor, even Black middle-class professionals are finding it increasingly difficult to remain in areas where the process of gentrification is taking shape (Pattillo, 2007; Wilson & Sternberg, 2012).

Public concerns about the bid

However, it is the post-Games' effects on the character of the community that generated the most concerns from the public. Much of the appeal that city officials, investors, and developers are banking on in gentrification is that people desire elements of the 'old'. The 'old' represents a clear indication of value in workmanship and appearance, and validity in age and construction, while also personally linking the current to the antiquated (Lowenthal, 1985). The new resident would be a consumer of the cultural heritage of an area that has been exploited (Newby, 1994). The consumer may define heritage but the parameters of that definition are set by local politicians, banks, and real estate developers (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990). The old buildings of the current neighborhoods alongside the new facilities offer the city and developers a chance at creating a new neighborhood. An important aspect of development and, in turn, heritage development, is the dependence on planned public action. Government can only develop properties for public use on these lands; private investment must step in for the gentrification process to be completed. Thus, 'urban renewal' is politically and financially underwritten by local government authorities but is sparked by the interest of developers, and in this case lit by the Olympic opportunity (Greer & Minar, 1964). It has been noted that over 25,000 residents lost their housing at the Atlanta Olympic Games in 1996 (Thigpen *et al.*, 2007, p. 18).

These events increase rent and property values further in selected communities as well as distort the original character of the neighborhood, thereby instigating displacement of residents (Healy, 1992; Smith, 2002). The displacement of current residents allows for the inclusion of a new desired class of residents as well as the construction of revenue-generating, leisure-related ventures on the properties that were once inhabited. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) stated that as heritage becomes a new phase in conservation, it is defined as 'the link between the preservation of the past for its intrinsic value, and as a resource for the modern community as a commercial activity' (p. 24). Local government politically and financially underwrites 'urban renewal' as public lands are handed over to private development (Greer & Minar, 1964). The communities that were targeted are rich in history and desirable for the future of cities, however without the residents who currently live in them. The remaining local

(original) community may be placed in a situation to produce and highlight features that are not relevant for local use or may be excluded from potential profit-bearing and employment opportunities. For example, a clothing boutique or coffee shop that does not reflect the shopping or social patterns of that community and also does not provide enough employment to fulfill any need.

Improved public participation for democratic decision-making

According to Beierle (1999), a participatory process should have a clear set of social goals: (1) the education and awareness of the public; (2) the incorporation of values that are in support of the public's assumptions and preferences; (3) the constant increase in substantive quality of decisions and decision-making; (4) the fostering of truth in official institutions and bodies of authority; (5) the reduction of conflict and the quick resolution of those conflicts; and lastly, (6) the practice of cost-effective decision-making. The basic questions to raise in public participation observation and evaluation are: Are the public represented among participants of any committee or is there an over-representation of private or elected officials? Was there a balance of membership in a committee or were there disparities in the representation of the public? Did participation begin early in the process or once issues arose? Was communication with the public face to face or remote? Lastly, is there a commitment to engaging the public or is there evidence that alluded to a reluctance to involve the public? Sadly, on each of these questions the Chicago 2016 Olympic committee failed, based on the timeline of public activities around the bid up to 2009. CEO 2016 initiated all community forums, directly with the communities most affected, and also initiated all press conferences but one (which was co-initiated by representatives of Chicago's City Council) but never initiated by the Chicago 2016 committee.

But who is the 'public' when in reality everyone comprises some aspect of the public? Barnes, Newman, Knops, and Sullivan (2003) indicated that the public is involved in participation based on volunteering, invitation, exhortation, and coercion, and each of these forms of involvement reflects the reason to maintain engaged. However, involvement ought to be determined by benefits and impacts (who is most to gain or be impacted?) (Lewis, 2000; Lister, 1998; Sayce, 2000; Young, 1990). Despite the business and construction know-how of some members on Chicago 2016, the absence of any constituencies from the neighborhoods that were designated for Olympic development would not only marginalize those communities but also inhibit those members of Chicago 2016 from making informed decisions. Despite the actual and discursive power of Chicago 2016, a complete lack of representation of the communities meant that there was a lack of faith in the knowledge and abilities of those communities to provide adequate information in the process. Even City Council members who sponsored a favorable city-community MOU were excluded from the deliberations of Chicago 2016.

Accepting public action for opportunities

A key component of public participation failure is a lack or absence of deliberative methods in engaging and creating public participation. The underlying ideological themes in deliberative methods are legitimacy, transparency, and accountability (Abelson *et al.*, 2002). As shown in the timeline of activities, the provision of information was never proactive, forthcoming, or democratic from Chicago 2016 or the Mayor's Office, which highlights a lack of desire to have an active and engaged citizenry (Abelson *et al.*, 2003;

Dryzek, 2000). The troubling aspect of this failure is that public spaces were the principle location for Olympic construction throughout Bronzeville (Washington Park as the venue for stadia, and Martin Luther King Dr. as the main thoroughfare between the Village and stadia).

Deliberation required the presenting of information in advance of discussion or feedback, the use of a forum to persuade the public of the benefits and the minimal impacts, and the achievement of consensus (or some measure of it). Further, deliberation allows for the generation of a wider range of options or final decisions while also establishing a final legitimate decision and bid to the IOC. The achievement of full participation was difficult but seeking a representative participation by using social research methods could have been useful (statistically representative, purposeful sampling using zip codes of neighborhoods, using a baseline number of participants at community forums, and, lastly, setting or conducting a considerable number of public meetings (Abelson *et al.*, 2003; Beierle, 1999).

The activities and actions of the public via community organizations clearly showed a desire to be involved in the planning of the potential 2016 Chicago Games. The energy in coordinating meetings, facilitating larger forums, seeking dialogues with city and Chicago 2016 officials, and taking political actions are all hallmarks of a civil and engaged citizenry that was simply marginalized from decision-making. This level of activities is the ideal in collective action and collaborative planning between officials and the wider public, as the public required little motivation for involvement or interest (de Souza Briggs, 1998; Ostrom, 1990). Strategies to improve public participation, especially in the midst of failure, have been based on past examples of public participation failure. Each recommendation brings us closer to understanding how we ought to co-exist in a democratic society:

Planning cells

The sheer size of Chicago would make full participation difficult, but holding a larger numbers of smaller cells of the public that funnel information and input to decision-makers could have been an ideal approach owing to the various neighborhoods that would be impacted, the large numbers of stakeholders, and the variety of those stakeholders (business owners, banks, religious institutions, etc.) (Abelson *et al.*, 2003).

Outside evaluation

Hiring a team of researchers or a consulting firm as an outside evaluator of any process to engage the public, especially public participation, is necessary (Chess, 2000). Problems can be addressed as the planning process is occurring, while at the conclusion of the process a set of specific problems-solutions related to the local issues will be a part of the public archives.

Managing disputes

Traditional public participation ought to be the standard form of engagement with the public, but when conflicts arise other equitable and democratic approaches to participation should be taken. Multiparty collaboration could be used when it is clear that appointed or elected officials may not effectively represent the public, thus employing organized community groups would be an ideal and immediate solution (Walker & Daniels, 1996).

Community benefits agreement

Walker and Daniels (1996) recognized that arbitration may be necessary in conflicts or failures of public participation. Besides hiring an independent arbitrator for conflict resolution, developing a CBA may also be a legal and official format to ensure public participation and negotiating benefits between government, the public, and the private sector (Parks & Warren, 2009).

Conclusion

Rethinking public action and solutions

Rojek (2013) cautioned us in studying global mega-events to raise questions beyond event management, logistics, or revenues. He insisted that there are wider questions of power, privilege, and control that are occurring alongside resistance to the flexing of power that events represent by governmental bodies. Questions such as, How did the stakeholders get into the position of having power? What is their agenda? What principles of social inclusion and exclusion do they apply? How are they connected to wider power interests both within society and at the global level? What are the meanings that audiences bring to the event and how do they compare with the goals of stakeholders (Rojek, 2013, p. 18)?

The exclusion of the general public represented by communities as a stakeholder from information-sharing, discussion forums, and decision-making casts a shadow over democratic government processes. This is especially troubling as oftentimes public spaces and residential dwellings are selected as the Olympic build site. The public sphere of Habermas (1989) was conceived as a location where civic problems could be recognized, argued about, and addressed. Public participation is typically a fundamental part of city council meetings yet when external committees are developed, such as Chicago 2016, this practice is not adopted or is intentionally ignored. Engaging the public is deemed as a distraction from achieving the goal of hosting the Games. But if the public may represent 'undesirable' elements of the populace, then it becomes easier to dismiss them as 'ignorant', 'insufferable', and 'small-minded' as they do not see the benefits, share the enthusiasm, nor are they willing to sacrifice for the greater good of the city. Although some (Newman, 2007) have noted that the benefits of the Games are substantial, the consistent critique that this article joins in calling for is greater, wider public participation in bidding, planning, and even hosting (Nichols & Ralston, 2011; Scherer, 2011) that embraces sustainable development (Hayes & Horne, 2011).

The Olympics has a long history of the displacement of communities that indicts host committees (Greene, 2003; Shin, 2009). Prior to the bid for the Games, from this study it had been found that considerable changes in transit routes, demolition of perceived blighted areas, and displacement had already occurred. This has been based on a gradual professionalization of the planning process of both the IOC and the host-planning committee (Leonardsen, 2007). The over-emphasis on this professional process, the formation of civic leaders, and the use of statistical tools have excluded the importance of local perceptions of the bidding and planning process (Leonardsen, 2007). Leonardsen (2007) specifically stated that 'local, social construction of reality will not be fully understood unless qualitative data are made available ... but care should be taken not to omit interpretative data, i.e. information about how different social groups subjectively "experience" rapid social changes' (p. 12). Public actions against hosting the Games do not truly represent an absolute 'anti-Games' mentality but a public that wishes to be at the table of deliberation, a public that is seeking more visible, shared benefits of hosting the

Games. These public actions and opposition represent a more ‘anti-autocratic/corporate Games’ (Shaw, 2008). Rojek (2013) called into question Habermas’ ‘sub-institutional politics’ when people organize themselves to ‘call these institutions to account for being unable to optimally manage public issues’ (p. 146).

A more contemporary indictment on the economic benefits of the Games can be found with Greece’s fiscal situation, having hosted the Games 10 years ago for the 2004 Olympic Games held in Athens. The boon of acquiring world-class facilities and making necessary infrastructure enhancements has eased Greece’s or Athens’ financial downward spiral (Galpin, 2005; Preuss, 2004). Although Kasimati and Dawson (2009) praised the overall economic benefits of the 2004 Games and found that unemployment was positively impacted by the planning and execution of the Games, 2005 saw a sharp return to negative employment figures. The budget of the overall Games stems from the Olympic organizing committee, the host city, and private sector sources. Although there are typically stipulations on the use of funds and revenues, it is clear that there are considerable financial costs that are associated with the Games. It has been estimated that the 2016 Chicago Olympic stadium would cost \$316 million, while the Village was roughly estimated at \$1.1 billion. Over the span of 16 days, the Olympic Games would occupy the city completely yet the neighborhoods and communities of the city would see very little return.

The main outcomes of the findings developed a picture of the complexities of issues and abuses of power from failure in public participation that prompted gentrification, displacement, and discrimination. Considerable changes in transit routes, demolition of perceived blighted areas, and residential displacement had already occurred. In conclusion, the bid for the Olympics failed in adequately involving the public. However, from its failure there are alternative models of public participation to be considered. This two-year study calls for the need for future research that focuses on issues connected to socio-economic conflict as it relates to the distribution of wealth, power, and access to tourism, sport, and mega-event opportunities, especially as we await the outcomes of Brazil 2016 and Tokyo 2020 (Zirin, 2014).

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