

The 2010 Commonwealth Games:

Whose Wealth? Whose Commons?



Housing and Land Rights Network -
South Asia Regional Programme
Habitat International Coalition

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South Asia Regional Programme
Habitat International Coalition**

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Executive Summary

The 2010 Commonwealth Games (CWG) will be held in New Delhi, India, from 3-14 October 2010.

Given the many unanswered questions that have marked the CWG process, the *Housing and Land Rights Network – South Asia Regional Programme* (HLRN) decided to undertake a study on various dimensions of the CWG. The HLRN study is based on an extensive review of reports of civil society, government bodies, academic institutions, and the media, as well as interviews with experts and information obtained from a Right to Information (RTI) application filed specifically for the study. The resulting report is presented in the form of four thematic fact sheets detailing the social and economic aspects of the CWG. The report also makes recommendations aimed at bringing transparency into the process and mitigating the negative impacts of the Games.

The HLRN report concludes that the entire process related to the CWG has been essentially underscored by secrecy, unavailability of information, and unconstitutional activities, with evidence of long-term economic, social and environmental costs for the nation, and specifically for the city of Delhi. The CWG process, from the time of the bid to the continuous colossal escalation in the total budget, has been characterised by a lack of public participation, transparency, and government accountability. Preparations for the Games, in all their different manifestations, have already resulted in an irreversible alteration in the social, spatial, economic, and environmental dimensions of the city of Delhi. Much of this has taken place in contravention of democratic governance and planning processes, including the Master Plan for Delhi 2021. The sheer magnitude of funds involved and the unconditional sanctioning of state and central government resources to meet the rapid acceleration of costs, raises critical questions of financial accountability, Constitutional obligations, and national responsibility.

The goal of portraying Delhi as a “world class” city and an international sports destination, has led the Indian government — both at the state and central level — to lose sight of its priorities and legal and moral commitments to its people.

It is hoped that this report will help planners, government

officials, residents of India, civil society, national and state human rights organizations, judicial institutions as well as the international community to gauge the reality of the 2010 Commonwealth Games. All actors need to question not only the justification of holding the Games in light of India’s dismal socio-economic reality and its national and international human rights and environmental legal commitments, but also the actions of those responsible for the decisions related to the Games.

Presented below are the main findings from the report, arranged according to the themes of the four fact sheets, and a summary of key recommendations.

Main Findings

1. India’s Bid for the 2010 Games: Bidding for Glory? Bidding for Shame?

- India’s decision to bid for the Commonwealth Games 2010 was neither transparent nor democratic. It was not discussed in Parliament; neither was there any public debate, consultation or opinion poll among the residents of Delhi.
- The Comptroller and Auditor General of India in a 2009 report observed that India’s decision to bid was approved by the Cabinet *ex-post facto* in September 2003.
- Indian officials made a last-minute offer of US \$7.2 million (Rs. 32.4 crore) during the bidding process, which allegedly clinched the deal in India’s favour. This was an offer to train athletes of all member countries of the Commonwealth (US \$100,000 to each of the 72 members). The Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) reportedly agreed to review its rules following this monetary buy out.
- India’s bid also included an offer of a travel grant of US \$10.5 million (Rs. 48 crore) for an estimated number of 5,200 athletes and 1,800 officials. According to the Evaluation Commission of the Commonwealth Games, this was more than the minimum CGF requirement for travel.
- Other gratis offers made by India include: luxury

accommodation for the “CGF family” in Delhi; chauffeur driven luxury cars for the duration of the Games; and a free trip to the Taj Mahal.

- The entire bidding process cost India around Rs. 89 crore. With the travel grant, the total amounts to Rs. 137 crore. This does not include the cost of free sightseeing trips, luxury transport, and other offers.
- The Games Village, being built by Emaar MGF, is expected to cost US \$230.7 million (Rs. 1,038 crore). The Delhi Development Authority (DDA) offered a Rs. 700 crore bailout in May 2009 to the company to meet the costs of construction. This is probably the first ever government bailout for a private realty company in India.
- A decision to underwrite costs and budget shortfall of the Games was taken, despite the fact that the Ministry of Finance, Department of Expenditure, Government of India, cautioned against it in 2003.

2. The Promise of the 2010 Games: True Claims? False Hopes?

- The organisers of the 2010 Commonwealth Games have claimed several benefits for Delhi, all of which are questionable.
- The entire proposed expenditure for sports infrastructure, as initially submitted by the Indian Olympic Association in its Bid Document, was Rs. 150 crore. Already, an expenditure of at least Rs. 3,390 crore has been incurred on stadiums, most of which are likely to remain unused after the Games, as experience from the 1982 Asian Games has shown. The increase in expenditure on stadiums is already **2,160%** of the initial projected budget.
- The total expenditure on infrastructure for the CWG is still unknown. In March 2006, Delhi Finance Minister declared that the amount spent on infrastructure development by different agencies in the run-up to the CWG, was Rs. 26,808 crore. In March 2010, Chief Secretary, Government of Delhi, stated that the total amount spent on infrastructure in Delhi in the last three years was Rs. 13,350 crore.
- The much publicised infrastructure development in Delhi has, however, been hurried, expensive, poorly planned, environmentally unsound, exploitative of workers, slum dwellers and “beggars,” and in violation of norms and planning processes, including the Master Plan for Delhi 2021.

■ While the total budget for “beautification” projects in Delhi is undisclosed, the amount already spent by the government is hundreds of crores. The streetscaping of just one street, Lodi Road, is estimated to cost Rs. 18.55 crore.

■ Authoritative international research studies have proven that hosting mega sports events is not an effective way of achieving a sustained increase in participation in sports, as claimed by the government. If India is truly committed to building an improved sports culture, it should follow the recommendations of the report on “Promotion of Sports in India,” presented by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development to the Rajya Sabha in November 2006.

■ The claim that the CWG will help create a “clean, beautiful, vibrant, world class” Delhi has already been proven wrong with grave human costs in the form of slum demolitions, arrests of homeless citizens and beggars, destruction of livelihoods of the urban poor, and environmental degradation.

3. The Economics of the Games: Necessary Expenditure? Wasteful Extravagance?

■ The budget for the CWG has undergone several revisions since India won the bid for the Games in 2003. From an initial projection of Rs. 1,899 crore, estimates of the total cost of the Games now range from an official figure of Rs. 10,000 crore to estimates, by independent experts, of at least Rs. 30,000 crore.

■ The budgetary commitment to the Games was apparently made without any detailed cost-benefit analysis and social and environmental impact assessment.

■ The allocation for the Commonwealth Games in the Union Budget (Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports) grew from Rs. 45.5 crore in 2005-06 to Rs. 2,883 crore in 2009-10, a whopping 6,235% increase. For the same period, the Union Budget for education rose by just 60% while the increase in health expenditure was 160%.

■ The allocation for CWG projects in 2010-11 is Rs. 2,069.52 crore in the Union Budget and Rs. 2,105 crore in the Delhi Budget, of which, Rs. 1,000 crore is from the Centre as additional assistance.

■ India’s targeted goal for net revenue from the Games

is Rs. 1,780 crore, which is ambitious, as affirmed by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India in July 2009.

- India's expenses for the CWG are likely to create a negative financial legacy for the nation, the effects of which are already visible in the form of higher cost of living and taxes for Delhi residents. In March 2010, the Government of Delhi declared it has no funds for new projects for the next fiscal year.
- In order to meet the budgetary shortfall for the Games, funds marked for essential social sector spending have also been used. For instance, funds from the *Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (Special Component Plan)* have been reallocated to cover CWG related expenditures in Delhi in 2009-10. This reflects not just a violation of the government's commitments but also the existence of unethical decision making processes.

4. The Social Legacy of the Games: Who Gains? Who Loses?

- Delhi has witnessed evictions and demolitions of informal settlements and slums in the run-up to the CWG. Most evictions are generally carried out to construct roads, bridges, stadiums, and parking lots, or under the guise of city "beautification," ostensibly to create a "world class" city.
- Authorities are clearing street vendors, rickshaw pullers, and other informal sector workers off the roads, and destroying livelihoods of the urban poor.
- "Beggars" and homeless citizens are being rounded up, arrested and arbitrarily detained under the *Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act 1959*. The Department of Social Welfare has announced "no-tolerance zones" in Delhi and a harsh crackdown against "beggars," including plans to send them back to their states of origin.
- There is rampant exploitation of workers at CWG construction sites. This includes low pay, unsafe working conditions, lack of housing, use of child labour, non-registration of workers, and denial of social security benefits. More than a hundred deaths have been reported from the CWG sites. No compensation has been offered to family members of the workers who lost their lives.
- Civil liberties in Delhi are being curtailed, and as the Games draw near, the city is likely to witness increased surveillance and restrictions against residents.

Recommendations

While detailed recommendations related to the CWG process in India have been made in a separate section, a summary of the key general recommendations include:

- A full and detailed inquiry should be conducted into the decision-making and bidding process that led to India hosting the Games as well as on the total expenditure of the CWG.
- There must be full public disclosure of all finances related to the CWG.
- Immediate measures need to be taken to prevent further violations of human rights in the run-up to the Games. The government must comply with India's national and international human rights and legal commitments.
- The Indian government should have a legacy plan for the Games based on principles of human rights and environmental sustainability.
- The Delhi government should ensure that:
 - Forced evictions and slum demolitions are halted.
 - "Beggars" and homeless citizens are not discriminated against, relocated, or arbitrarily arrested and detained.
 - Workers' rights are upheld and protected.
 - Livelihoods of the urban poor are not destroyed.
- The National Human Rights Commission should conduct an investigation into the human rights violations related to the CWG.
- The Government of India should commission an independent study on the social, environmental and economic impacts of the Games on the country.
- The Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) should conduct a post-games audit to assess the legacy of the CWG.
- Officials who have consistently overstated benefits from the Games, withheld critical information, and misappropriated funds should be investigated, and if proven guilty, prosecuted.
- A comprehensive environmental and social impact assessment with a detailed cost-benefit analysis must be conducted prior to the decision to host any mega event.
- Given India's stark socio-economic reality and the negative social and economic costs already evident in the lead up to the CWG, India should under no circumstances, bid for the Olympic Games or any other mega events.

Conclusion

It is essential to question the government on its rationale for spending thousands of crores of rupees on a one-time sporting event, which instead of delivering any benefits to the masses is resulting in multiple violations of human rights, especially of the most marginalised sections of society.

The range and extent of human rights violations by the government and private players involved in the Games are alarming and strongly contradict the purported mission of the Games. They also violate the three core values of *humanity, equality and destiny*, adopted by the Games movement in 2001, as well as the stated values of the Organizing Committee of the CWG, which are: *sportsmanship, integrity, excellence, solidarity, diversity, competence, transparency, and discipline*.

Given the escalating costs and unrealistic possibility of meeting revenue targets, it is unlikely that the Games will generate a profit for India, especially if the enormous costs of providing security are also factored in. This is substantiated by numerous authoritative international studies, which have established that most mega sporting events result in losses for the host nation. With such incredibly high stakes involved, the key question is, why did India decide to host the CWG and who is really benefiting from them?

The scale of the CWG and the excessive costs involved are hard to justify in a country that has glaringly high levels of poverty, hunger, inequality, homelessness, and malnutrition.

When one in three Indians lives below the poverty line and 40% of the world's hungry live in India, when 46% of India's children and 55% of its women are malnourished, does spending thousands of crores of rupees on a 12-day sports event build "national pride" or is it a matter of "national shame"?

Does India, as a nation, seek national and global credibility based on the values of social justice, dignity and equality, as enshrined in its Constitution, or is it more important to aspire for a false national honour and fleeting international prestige based on an extravagant sporting event that the country can ill afford?

If India is really looking for genuine and long-lasting national prestige, would this not come if it spent available resources on providing food, housing, education, sanitation, water, and healthcare for its population instead of on a mega sports event? In light of the country's harsh social reality, is the exercise of hosting the 2010 Commonwealth Games a justified necessity or an unwarranted extravagance?

India's Bid for the 2010 Games: Bidding for Glory? Bidding for Shame?

1

Fact Sheet



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Introduction

The process of bidding for the Commonwealth Games (CWG) is neither well known nor publicised. Yet, the story of how India won the bid is one that needs to be told.

After losing two bids (1990 and 1994) to host the CWG, India presented its bid offer at Marlborough House, London, in May 2003. The General Assembly¹ voted on the matter in November 2003. India won the bid, defeating Hamilton (Canada), by 46 votes to 22, and was declared the host city for the 2010 Commonwealth Games.

The Bidding Procedure

- Candidate cities first notify the *Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF)* of their intention to bid through their respective *Commonwealth Games Associations (CGAs)*.
- The *Candidature File* (the bid document lodged by a candidate city in accordance with the *Candidate City Manual* in support of its application to host a Commonwealth Games) is then formally lodged six months before the General Assembly is scheduled to meet.
- The *Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission* (the Commission established by the Executive Board) then visits the candidate city and produces a report (*The Evaluation Report*) which is made available to all CGAs.
- The CGAs thereafter get the opportunity to visit each candidate city to conduct an assessment.
- Delegations of each candidate city (not exceeding six members) get thirty minutes to present their case before the General Assembly. This is followed by a question-answer session. Each CGA is entitled to one vote. The General Assembly then votes. The Host City and the Host CGA are chosen 8 years before the Games are to be held.

Indian Olympic Association

- For the 2010 Delhi Commonwealth Games, the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) is the Affiliate Commonwealth Games Association (CGA) in India. Affiliated CGAs are those sports bodies of Commonwealth countries (including Commonwealth Games Associations, National Olympic Committees or other multi-sports bodies formed by a Commonwealth country), which are affiliated to the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) in accordance with Article 10 of the CGF Constitution.

- The IOA is the apex sports body of India, registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. It is also the National Olympic Committee (NOC) in India. The stated mission of NOCs is to develop, promote and protect the Olympic Movement in their respective countries.
- One of the objectives of the IOA is to enforce all rules and regulations of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and not to indulge in or associate with any activity, which contradicts the Olympic Charter.²
- India's bid to host the 2010 Commonwealth Games (CWG) was prepared by the IOA with the support of the Government of India (GoI) and the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi (GNCTD). After India won the bid, the CGF General Assembly entrusted the organising and hosting of the CWG to the IOA, and a Host City Contract was signed among CGF, IOA, and Organizing Committee, GoI and GNCTD. Under this contract, the Indian parties are jointly responsible for all commitments, including financial liabilities without limitation, relating to the organization and staging of the Games.

1.1 India's Decision to Bid

The Requirement

One of the questions which a candidate city is expected to answer in its bid document is the level of support provided towards the bid and hosting of the CWG through various levels of government – national, regional and local.³

The Candidate City Manual⁴ which was designed after India's 2003 bid and has undergone various revisions since, has a series of questions (which the candidate city is expected to answer) on the level of support in the country for hosting the Games. These require

consultation with various levels of government, a public debate or opinion poll.⁵

The Reality

India's Bid Document⁶ prepared by the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) vouched that the country was "fully committed" to the cause of the Commonwealth Games spirit. These general statements (for instance, "*the entire nation supports the cause of the Games*") were not the result of any democratic procedures.

The Hamilton Bid Document specified that eighty-seven per cent of the Hamilton community supported hosting the 2010 Games.⁷ No such opinion poll was conducted among the people of India; neither was there any mention of the exact level of public support for the Games in the Bid Document. There was also no public dissemination of information related to India's intention to bid for the Games or on details related to the bidding process and what the social and economic implications would be for the country.

All that the Bid Document provided as evidence of support of the government was guarantees, in the form of letters, from the Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, leader of the Opposition, IOA President, Lieutenant Governor of Delhi, President of the All India Council of Sports, Chief Minister of Delhi, and the Mayor of Delhi. The Government of India did not engage in any participatory or democratic process before making the bid or providing the guarantees; neither was there apparently any discussion on the issue in Parliament.⁸ Replying to a question raised in the Lok Sabha on May 7, 2003, the Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Vikram Verma said that the government had issued its "no objection" to the IOA request to bid for the Commonwealth Games.⁹ A 2009 report by the Comptroller and Auditor General observed that India's decision to bid was approved by the Prime Minister in May 2003 and by the Cabinet **ex-post facto** in September 2003.¹⁰

The non-transparent and non-participatory bidding process followed by India raises critical questions regarding the functioning of a democracy.

1.2 Offers in India's Bid Document

India's Bid Document for the 2010 Commonwealth Games promised the following:

1. *Air travel grant for accredited athletes and accompanying officials*

- India's Bid Document has offered as travel grant, "the average figure on the basis of participation in the Manchester and Melbourne Commonwealth Games."¹¹
- The travel grant that India offered — **US \$10.5 million (Rs. 48 crore;** based on an estimated number of 5,200 athletes and 1,800 officials at US \$1,500 each) — "exceeds the requirements" of Protocol Nine,¹² which means that India offered more than the basic minimum requirement specified by the CGF.
- Reportedly, then *Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, had given a blank cheque to the IOA when it went to London for the bidding process,*¹³ saying no matter what the cost, India should win the bid for the Commonwealth Games. This, apparently, turned out to be "decisive."¹⁴

2. *Free accommodation for accredited athletes and accompanying officials*

- The Indian Olympic Association has also offered free boarding and lodging facilities, as per the Commonwealth Games Foundation (CGF) norms. Apart from the Games Village, *all senior members of the CGF family will be "housed in deluxe five star hotels in Delhi and provided*

*chaffeur driven luxury cars individually, along with escort translators, liaison officers and ushers/escorts.*¹⁵

- The Games Village, being built by Emaar MGF is expected to cost US \$230.7 million (Rs. 1,038 crore).¹⁶ In May 2009, the **government announced a Rs. 700 crore bailout package for construction of the Village.**¹⁷ Despite the fact that, during its bid, India had proposed that after the Commonwealth Games, the Village would be used to provide hostel facilities to Delhi University to meet the current shortage, Congress Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) have demanded that they be allotted these luxury flats on a priority basis; that too at a special price.¹⁸
- India seems to have offered “fairly luxurious accommodation” considering that officials of the CGF have often in the past stayed in university hostels.¹⁹

3. A free trip to Taj Mahal for participants and officials

Information on the amount of money that would be allocated for such sightseeing trips is not available; neither is it known from which budget these funds will be drawn. The offer of such free trips is unheard of in the history of the Games.

4. Luxury cars for participants and organizers

The Organizing Committee has pledged the following vehicles for officials and participants during the Games.

Vehicle Type		Number
Luxury Cars	Through Sponsorship	200
Ford AC Cars		100
Esteem Maruti AC		150
Bolero AC	Pick-up Vans	75
Qualis AC		100

Sumo		100
Scorpio Luxury Cars		200
Corsa Luxury Cars	For <i>Chef de Mission</i> and General Manager of CGA teams	150
Sonata Luxury Cars		150
Accent Luxury Cars		100
Luxury AC mini buses	Through sponsorship to provide Commonwealth Games family bus services	300
Luxury AC buses		200
RTVs		400
Total Fleet		2225

[Source: Report of the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission for the 2010 Commonwealth Games]

5. Special health facilities and services for all participants and officials

These include a polyclinic at the Games Village, specially appointed environmental health officers to cover the Games Village and sporting venues round the clock, emergency services at All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) and Indraprastha Apollo Hospital to cater to the health needs of the heads of state and Games family, first aid services to encompass all foreseeable situations, a comprehensive sports medicine cover, and other health benefits.²⁰

The Report of the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission reveals that US \$3.3 million (Rs. 14.85 crore) has been allocated for “additional medical facilities.” The allocation for Delhi’s entire health sector is only Rs. 1,243 crore for the year 2010-2011.²¹ Important priorities like the Health Minister Kiran Walia’s plan to facilitate best-deal health insurance schemes through private agencies and upgradation of existing Centralised Accident and Trauma Services (CATS) ambulance fleet have been abandoned in Delhi’s 2010-11 Budget.

6. *Reservation of special traffic lanes for participants and visitors*

“To save participants from inconvenience, the Delhi Government has decided to reserve a lane for them on all major roads...”²² According to the Evaluation Commission, the provision of dedicated lanes and escorts will be necessary to achieve the projected travel times from the Games Village to the competition venues. This is quite different from the London 2012 Summer Olympic Games where international Olympic officials are likely to use public transportation — buses and underground trains — for all ‘non-essential trips.’²³

7. *Underwriting costs and budget shortfall*

The Report of the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission declares that, “The governments of India and Delhi will meet the costs of the Games and...will underwrite any operating or capital budget shortfall.”²⁴

The Ministry of Finance, Department of Expenditure was of the view that the Draft Host City Contract, “should be vetted by Ministry of Law and Justice before it is signed. All the financial obligations implicit in the draft agreement, particularly in Part VII (Financial and Commercial Obligations), should be specified upfront so that there is no ambiguity regarding financial commitments.” The Ministry, in 2003, also said that “... *it does not appear necessary or appropriate for GoI to provide a blanket commitment to underwrite any shortfall between revenue and expenditure of the Organizing Committee. Department of Expenditure therefore does not support the proposal to give such a blanket commitment...*”²⁵

The free ride and hospitality that Delhi is offering should, however, turn out to be a tempting bait since it is unheard of.

[Commonwealth Games Bid: Delhi Woos with Freebies, The Hindu, October 21, 2003]

What is the justification in pledging taxpayers’ money on freebies, including free trips, sightseeing excursions, and free luxury transport and accommodation? Is there any logic or justification in offering more than what was required as a travel grant?

1.3 Why did India Want to Host the Games?

The Candidate City Manual requires the bidding nation to explain its principal motivation in seeking to host the Commonwealth Games as well as its impact and legacy on the city/country.

India’s answer to the twin questions was vague and full of platitudes, including statements such as:

- “India is today not only the world’s second largest and a stable democracy. It is also the second-most populous nation in the world, home to nearly 16% of the world’s population.
- In the region, right from its independence, India has been at the forefront of sports and also education, science, technology and human rights for all, especially its youth.
- Nearly 50% of India’s massive population is in the age group of 14 to 35 years, which will form a major portion of the country’s citizens tomorrow. To build up a strong nation, their mental and physical fitness is of paramount importance. Sports and Games propagated at the highest levels have a miraculous capacity to percolate even to the grassroots and also achieve the widest coverage.”²⁶
- The Games will strengthen bonds of friendship and herald the coming together of diverse cultures.

The above statements do not provide satisfactory answers as to why India considered itself eligible and wanted to host the Games.

Apart from such statements, there are several claims in the Bid Document, which are not substantiated.

Bid Claim One:

*Hosting the Commonwealth Games will inculcate a sports culture in the Indian youth. "... the Commonwealth Games would definitely transform the sports scenario not only in India, but in fact in the entire region."*²⁷

Reality:

India's past experience does not support the conclusion that such Games events have the "miraculous capacity to percolate to the grassroots and achieve widest coverage," as claimed in the Bid Document.²⁸ Building a few new stadiums in Delhi in the past, for instance for the 1982 Asian Games, did not directly promote or help develop a sports culture among the Indian youth. Neither did it result in any dramatic improvement in the performance of Indian sportspersons. Upgradation of existing stadiums in India for the CWG, unless completed at least a year in advance, poses a problem for the training of Indian sportspersons, and is therefore likely to affect their performance.²⁹ *Studies have pointed out that hosting events is not an effective way of achieving a sustained increase in participation in sports.*³⁰ The extent to which sport events can promote and increase participation in sports is debatable and the correlation, if any, is not based on sound empirical evidence.³¹

"The CWG will provide us with world-class sports facilities. It helps build India as a brand, but I'm not sure if it can change the face of Indian sports," Abhinav Bindra (Outlook, April 2010)

According to a report prepared by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development, to build a sporting culture in the country and promote sports amongst the youth, measures need to first be

taken to address persisting problems in the sports field in India, including:³²

- lack of sports culture and consciousness in the country;
- non-integration of sports with education;
- multiplicity of agencies involved in sports promotion with no coordination and accountability, and a lack of proper cooperation amongst the Centre, States, Federations/Associations and various private and public sector undertakings;
- lack of infrastructure in the rural areas and concentration of sporting facilities in urban areas;
- under-utilisation of available infrastructure and its poor maintenance and upkeep;
- lack of good quality and affordable sports equipment;
- absence of adequate incentives for the youth to take up sports as a career;
- absence of effective schemes for identification of talent;
- unfair selection procedure and last minute finalisation of teams;
- lack of adequate exposure and specialised training/coaching that meets international standards;
- non-availability of nutritious diet for sportspersons;
- inadequate participation of women in sports;
- lack of committed administrators with love and knowledge about sports;
- modern facilities for sports medicines, psychology; and,
- inadequate budgetary allocation for sports.

If India is really serious about developing sporting culture would it not have been better to instead allocate the huge sums spent on one event to address the range of problems outlined above by the Parliamentary Standing Committee?

Bid Claim Two:

The 1982 Asian Games were “the crowning jewel” in Delhi’s history. “The skyline of the city underwent a major metamorphosis”³³ with the creation of gargantuan structures and improved tourism facilities. The 1982 Asian Games “triggered a spate of growth and development that benefited the common man on the street.”³⁴

Reality:

Projecting the 1982 Asian Games as “the crowning jewel” in Delhi’s history ignores a considerable body of research which paints a rather grim picture of what happened during the preparations for the 1982 Asian Games and thereafter. *Lakhs of workers who were brought into Delhi for Games-related construction activities were not paid minimum wages, not provided with adequate housing facilities, and subjected to exploitation.*³⁵ In the absence of housing options, slums reportedly increased across the city and the slum dwellers have since been living under the constant threat of eviction. The *Bombay Prevention of Begging Act (1959)* was used to harass the poor and round up the homeless population of the city before the Games.³⁶ The human cost of the 1982 “metamorphosis” of Delhi’s skyline is a matter India’s Bid Document chooses to be completely silent about.

Hypocrisy and cynicism are even more evident than usual in New Delhi. The crores being spent on the Asian Games of 1982, stand out in sharp relief against the real requirements of the people... The twisted values involved in advertising the luxuries and choice of expensive dishes available in five star hotels when millions are in search of food... descriptions of spacious air-conditioned suites each fitted with colour television sets... and other luxuries, appear side by side in the newspapers with grim reports of near famine conditions in large parts of the country.

[Indian Express, 30 October, 1982]

The claim that the Asian Games triggered a spate of growth and development which “benefited the common man on the streets” is a fallacy. The construction frenzy that gripped the capital was in direct violation of the Master Plan of 1962.³⁷

“When we planned for the Asian Games, we did not think of the rest of the people living in the city,” Union Minister Kapil Sibal, quoted in Indian Express, January 20, 2007.

Bid Claim Three:

*The Indian Delegation to Montego Bay, Jamaica, argued that wealthy countries host the Games too often and “developing countries” deserve a chance to host them if the Games are meant to be all-encompassing.*³⁸

Reality:

Research has shown that the *impact of such events is more adverse if the host is a “developing country.”*

- “Developing countries” incur far higher costs on infrastructure development required to host mega events, as they generally have to construct new stadiums and facilities (USA during the 1994 Football World Cup and France in 1998, mostly just refurbished their existing stadiums, added a few more, and thus managed to keep their expenses to a minimum);
- The opportunity cost of capital is particularly high for “developing countries,” especially since there are pressing problems facing these nations which need financial resources (while Nigeria’s expenditure of US \$330 million on a new national soccer stadium was widely condemned, Japan’s US \$6 billion spending spree for the 2002 Football World Cup hardly raised an eyebrow);

- Facilities created for mega sports events remain underutilised after the event (stadiums in South Korea have remained underutilised; the same is true for stadiums built in India for the Asian Games of 1982);
- “Developing countries” are also apparently unable to attract large numbers of sports fans to mega events.³⁹
- South Africa will be hosting the 2010 Football World Cup in June-July 2010. World Cup related capital expenditure is impacting fiscal reserves and putting pressure on the economy in a context where the masses need jobs and service delivery. Public funds earmarked for basic services for the poorest South Africans are siphoned off into mega projects. This is a classic example of public funds being used for private profit.⁴⁰

Given India's poor performance on socio-economic indicators, the fact that thousands of crores are being spent on the Games instead of on social welfare and protection of human rights, is an issue of serious concern.

IN PERSPECTIVE: INDIA'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC REALITY (2009-2010)	
Human Development Index countries	Rank 134 out of 182 countries
Gender Development Index countries	Rank 114 out of 155 countries
Poverty Ratio (Tendulkar Committee Report)	37.2 %
Infant Mortality Rate (UNICEF, 2009)	57 deaths per 1000 live births
Child Malnutrition Rate	46%

1.4 India's Monetary Offer: Buying the Games?

When Michael Fennell, President CGF, announced in November 2003, in Montego Bay, Jamaica, that India had won 46 votes while Hamilton got only 22 and that New Delhi would host the 2010 Commonwealth Games, India's euphoria over winning the bid was tempered by allegations that it had bought votes.

Indian officials allegedly made a *last-minute offer of US \$7.2 million (US \$100,000 to each Commonwealth Games Association of the 72 Commonwealth members)*. This monetary offer, which allegedly clinched the deal in India's favour, has set new precedents for the future bidding processes and has generated a lot of skepticism.⁴¹

All that the Indian Olympic Association President, Suresh Kalmadi, apparently said to deny the allegation is, “No way. They (Canada) already offered \$5 million (Canadian). We have only bettered the \$5 million.”⁴²

While Hamilton's bid group said it had offered the amount as a scholarship training fund for athletes and coaches in needy countries, the Indian bid group said the money it was offering would be allocated for athlete training and it would be evenly distributed between all member countries of the Commonwealth.⁴³

Clearly it was not just the fact that India is a nation of one billion people or that it has the capability as demonstrated in the fact that it organised the first Afro-Asian Games in 2001, or that it is a leading member of the Commonwealth, or that the Games ought to move and break the Australia-England-Canada axis, that won the bid for Delhi.

Is what India did justified merely because it followed in Hamilton's footsteps? Does the Constitution of the Commonwealth Games Federation permit monetary offers? Can last minute additions be made to the

bid? The CGF reportedly agreed to review its rules on bidding after the event.⁴⁴

BIDDING FOR THE GAMES: AN EXPENSIVE DEAL	
License fee payable to the CGF	US \$ 12 million (Rs. 55 crore) ⁴⁵
Amount pledged for athlete training to each CGA	US \$ 7.2 million (Rs. 32.4 crore) ⁴⁶
Estimated budget of bidding submitted by IOA	Rs. 1,61,53,600 (Rs.1.61 crore)

(This included costs incurred on the eight-member team to London to present the Bid Document; preparation of the Bid Document and other publicity material; hospitality; campaign between April and May 2003; and costs incurred on the twelve-member delegation that went to Jamaica for a presentation in November 2003.)⁴⁷

Conclusion

1. As evidenced above, India's decision to bid for the Commonwealth Games ***was neither transparent nor democratic***. It was not discussed in the Parliament; neither was there any public debate or opinion poll among the residents of Delhi.
2. Free accommodation, travel, free trips and other additional economic benefits to participants and organizers are a ***huge burden on the Indian taxpayer***.
3. The stated objectives (to host the games) and the legacy/impact as explained in the Bid Document are ***not based on factual evidence***.
4. There is neither any precedent nor justification in the last minute monetary offer of US \$7.2 million. ***India, as a developing country with serious economic problems should not be spending this kind of money on training athletes of other countries of the Commonwealth***, especially when several members of the Commonwealth are highly industrialised and wealthy nations. This is all the more ironic since the training facilities that India offers to its own sportspersons is woefully inadequate

and the funds set aside for this are insufficient.

5. The bidding process while being ***very expensive*** has not been transparent and is clearly ***unethical***.

The non-transparent and non-participatory bidding process followed by India raises critical questions regarding the functioning of a democracy. It also undermines India's constitutional obligations. How could the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) unilaterally commit to host the Commonwealth Games, especially when such a large amount of public and taxpayers' money (at least Rs. 10,000 crore to 30,000 crore), is involved? Was the IOA really bidding on behalf of India? Why was there no discussion in Parliament prior to the decision? On what basis did the Government of India give its approval for the bid? Why was there no detailed study of the costs and benefits involved in hosting the Games, and an environmental and social impact assessment done before India decided to bid? In a democratic state, it is imperative that participatory processes are followed, public opinion is respected, and transparency and government accountability are ensured. The people of India require more than just a "no objection" statement from the government when such a huge amount of money and public inconvenience is involved.

The fact that India made a monetary offer to win the bid raises serious questions about the process of bidding and ethics of the Commonwealth Games Federation but also about the Government of India's credibility and ethical position as well as its priorities and commitments to its people.

The most important question that the government needs to answer and prove to the people of India is: does India need such an event? Why was India so desperate to win the bid? How can a country like India with a poverty rate of 37.2%, with 1 in 3 Indians living below the poverty line, justify pledging this kind of money (US \$7.2 million or Rs. 32.4 crore), which is largely taxpayers' money, just to win the bid? Which budget did this money come from? How was it sanctioned and by who? Given the acute level of poverty in the country, couldn't the money have been put to better use?

Notes:

- ¹ *General Assembly* refers to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF), constituted in accordance with Article 12 of the CGF Constitution.
- ² See section on *Recommendations* of this report for more information on the Olympic Charter.
- ³ Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document, Indian Olympic Association, 2003, page 36.
- ⁴ *Candidate City Manual* is the manual prepared by the Executive Board (of the CGF), which sets out the bid procedures applying to the Affiliated Commonwealth Games Associations (CGAs) seeking to become a Host CGA for a Commonwealth Games. It is a manual developed by the CGF to guide candidate cities in the development of their candidate city file.
- ⁵ Theme 2, Candidate City Manual, 2009, page 36.
- ⁶ Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document, Indian Olympic Association, 2003, Official website of the Commonwealth Games Federation: <http://www.thecgf.com/games/future/delhi2010.asp?yr=2010>.
- ⁷ Hamilton Bid Document, available online at: <http://www.thecgf.com/games/future/delhi2010.asp?yr=2010>.
- ⁸ An RTI has been filed to find out if any discussion was held in Parliament on the decision to bid for the Games.
- ⁹ Lok Sabha website, Government of India: <http://164.100.47.132/LssNew/psearch/QResult13.aspx?qref=59027>.
- ¹⁰ A Report on Preparedness for the XIX Commonwealth Games 2010, Comptroller and Auditor General of India, New Delhi, July 2009, page 3.
- ¹¹ Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document, Indian Olympic Association, 2003, page 6.
- ¹² The Report of the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission for the 2010 Commonwealth Games, 2003, page 8; *Common Wealth Bid: It's India vs. Canada*, The Hindu, October 20, 2003, available online at: <http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2003/10/20/stories/2003102001601900.htm>;
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- ¹³ *Randhir to Spearhead Olympic Bid Panel*, The Tribune, November 19, 2003, available online: <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2003/20031120/sports.htm>; Suresh Kalmadi in an interview with Rediff, January 27, 2004, available online at: <http://imsports.rediff.com/sports/2004/jan/27inter.htm>.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document, Indian Olympic Association, 2003, page 7.
- ¹⁶ Official website of the Commonwealth Games 2010: <http://www.cwgdelhi2010.org/contentpage.aspx?pageid=P:1009>.
- ¹⁷ *Emaar-MGF Gets Rs. 700 crore Games Bailout*, Business Standard, May 12, 2009, available online at: <http://www.business-standard.com/india/news/emaar-mgf-gets-rs-700-cr-games-bailout/357815/>.
- ¹⁸ *Cong MLAs Demand Luxury Flats in Commonwealth Games Village*, The Times of India, April 2, 2010, available online at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/Cong-MLAs-demand-luxury-flats-in-Commonwealth-Games-Village/articleshow/5753027.cms>.
- ¹⁹ *Commonwealth Shame*, India Today, October 15, 2009, available online at: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/site/Story/66478/Commonwealth+shame.html?page=1>.
- ²⁰ Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document, Indian Olympic Association, 2003, pages 143-145.
- ²¹ *Delhi Budget: No New Projects in Health Sector*, The Economic Times, March 23, 2010, available online at: <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics/nation/Delhi-Budget-No-new-projects-in-health-sector-/articleshow/5714930.cms>.
- ²² Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document, Indian Olympic Association, 2003, page 7.
- ²³ *IOC Officials May Use Public Transit at London 2012*, available online at: http://www.gamesbids.com/eng/other_news/1216134946.html.
- ²⁴ The Report of the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission for the 2010 Commonwealth Games, 2003, page 9.
- ²⁵ Response to an RTI filed on March 25, 2010 by Ms. Shalini Mishra; letter dated April 15, 2010, from Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of India.
- ²⁶ Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document,

- Indian Olympic Association, 2003, page 22.
- ²⁷ Ibid, page 33.
- ²⁸ Ibid, page 22.
- ²⁹ “Promotion of Sports in India,” Report presented to the Rajya Sabha, November 30, 2006, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development, page 28.
- ³⁰ *Everywhere They Go, the Olympic Games Become an Excuse for Eviction and Displacement*, George Monbiot, Z Communications, July 02, 2007, available online at: <http://www.zcommunications.org/everywhere-they-go-the-olympic-games-become-an-excuse-for-eviction-and-displacement-by-george-monbiot>.
- ³¹ ASEF/Alliance Workshop Report, Kathy Van den Bergh, University of Edinburgh, March 2005.
- ³² “Promotion of Sports in India,” Report presented to the Rajya Sabha, November 30, 2006, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development, page 6.
- ³³ Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, Bid Document, Indian Olympic Association, 2003, page 30.
- ³⁴ Ibid, page 31.
- ³⁵ *2010 Commonwealth Games Delhi: How Much Does National Prestige Cost?* Hazards Centre, New Delhi, September 2007, page 34.
- ³⁶ *2010 Commonwealth Games Delhi: How Much Does National Prestige Cost?* Hazards Centre, New Delhi, September 2007, page 34; *The Impact of the Commonwealth Games 2010 on Urban Development of Delhi: An Analysis with a Historical Perspective from Worldwide Experiences and the 1982 Asian Games*, Vinayak Uppal and Dr. Debjani Ghosh, National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, December 2006, page 10.
- ³⁷ *2010 Commonwealth Games Delhi: How Much Does National Prestige Cost?* Hazards Centre, New Delhi, September 2007, page 34.
- ³⁸ *New Delhi Tops Hamilton for 2010 Commonwealth Games*, CBC Sports, November 14, 2003, available online at: <http://www.cbc.ca/sports/story/2003/11/13/commonwealthgames031113.html#ixzz0dwQMg4X6>.
- ³⁹ *Mega-Sporting Events in Developing Nations: Playing the Way to Prosperity?* V.A. Matheson and R. A. Baade, South African Journal of Economics 72, No. 5 (Dec. 2004): 1084-1095.
- ⁴⁰ *World Cup 2010: Africa's Turn or the Turn on Africa?* Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, Soccer & Society, 11:1, 2010, page 157.
- ⁴¹ *India to Host 2010 Commonwealth Games*, The Hindu, November 15, 2003, available online at: <http://www.hindu.com/2003/11/15/stories/2003111507551800.htm>;
- New Delhi To Host 2010 Commonwealth Games*, The Financial Express, November 15, 2003, <http://www.financialexpress.com/news/new-delhi-to-host-2010-commonwealth-games/95519/>.
- ⁴² *New Delhi Tops Hamilton for 2010 Commonwealth Games*, CBC Sports, November 14, 2003, available online at: <http://www.cbc.ca/sports/story/2003/11/13/commonwealthgames031113.html#ixzz0dwQMg4X6>.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ *Games: No Foul, but Bid Process to be Reviewed*, Indian Express, November 16, 2003, available online at: <http://www.indianexpress.com/oldStory/35432/>.
- ⁴⁵ The Report of the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission for the 2010 Commonwealth Games, 2003, page 84.
- ⁴⁶ *India to Host 2010 Commonwealth Games*, The Hindu, November 15, 2003, available online at: <http://www.hindu.com/2003/11/15/stories/2003111507551800.htm>.
- ⁴⁷ Response to RTI filed on March 25, 2010 by Ms. Shalini Mishra, letter dated April 15, 2010, from Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of India (No. F.70-19/2002-SP-II).



Housing and Land Rights Network
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The Promise of the 2010 Games: True Claims? False Hopes?



Mehar Jyrrwa

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- | 2.1 The Promise of Improved Infrastructure for the City | 2.2 The Promise of Jobs
- | 2.3 The Promise of Tourism Development | 2.4 The Promise of Beautifying Delhi |



Mehar Jyrrwa

Introduction

There has been much publicity to justify India's hosting the Commonwealth Games 2010 (CWG), including propaganda to promote the benefits.

The four most talked about tangible benefits for the city of Delhi from hosting the CWG are:

- development of infrastructure;
- employment generation;
- boost to tourism; and
- the creation of a clean, beautiful, vibrant, “world class” Delhi.

2.1 The Promise of Improved Infrastructure for the City

Sports Infrastructure

Stadiums and Training Centres

- New venues, according to the Bid Document, include two indoor and one outdoor stadiums. Land for these was to be provided by the state government free of cost.¹
- India's Bid Document budgeted an additional US\$ 16.7 million (**Rs. 75.2 crore**) for purchase of technical equipment.

Budget Item	US \$ million	Rupees
Construction of new stadiums	20.94	94.23 crore
Upgradation of existing stadiums	8.69	39.1 crore
Major repairs and maintenance	23.23	105 crore
TOTAL ESTIMATE	52.86	238 crore

[source: India's Bid Document for the Commonwealth Games]

- The entire proposed expenditure for sports infrastructure (including upgradation of existing infrastructure and construction of new stadiums) as submitted by the Indian Olympic Association was **Rs. 150 crore**.²
- 26 new training venues are being constructed and 16 training venues are being upgraded.³

STADIUM COSTS	
Stadiums/ Training Centres	Actual Cost
Thyagaraj Sports Complex (athletics, netball)	Rs. 300 crore ⁴
Talkatora Stadium (boxing)	Rs. 150 crore ⁵
Archery Venue at the Yamuna Sports Complex	Rs. 25 crore ⁶
Chhatrasal Stadium	Rs. 55.1 crore ⁷

Ludlow Castle Wrestling Training Centre	Rs.13 crore ⁸
Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium (Opening and Closing Ceremonies, athletics, lawn Bowls and weightlifting)	Rs. 961 crore ⁹
Karni Singh Shooting Range	Rs. 149 crore ¹⁰
Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Swimming Pool Complex (aquatics)	Rs. 377 crore ¹¹
Indira Gandhi Stadium (gymnastics, cycling and wrestling)	Rs. 669 crore ¹²
Indira Gandhi Indoor Stadium	Rs. 240 crore ¹³
Major Dhyanchand National Stadium	Rs. 262 crore ¹⁴
Training Venue at Jamia Milia Islamia University (rugby and table tennis)	Rs. 43 crore ¹⁵
Delhi University (rugby, netball and training for boxing)	Rs. 50 crore ¹⁶
Siri Fort Sports Complex (badminton and squash)	-
Saket Sports Complex	-
R. K. Khanna Tennis Complex (tennis)	Rs. 65.35 crore ¹⁷
Yamuna Sports Complex (table tennis and archery preliminaries)	-
Delhi Public School, R.K. Puram (training venue for lawn bowls)	1.73 crore ¹⁸
Kadarpur Shooting Range, Gurgaon	28.26 crore ¹⁹
Total	Rs. 3389.44 crore

- The total expenditure on stadiums and training centres so far is estimated at **Rs. 3,389.4 crore** along with **Rs. 42 crore** consultancy fees that had not been budgeted for earlier,²⁰ bringing the total estimate to **Rs. 3,431.4 crore**. This is more than a **2,160%** increase from the original estimate. With costs rapidly escalating in the final stages of construction, this figure is likely to be an underestimation.
- The cost of construction and renovation of five stadiums (Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium, Indira Gandhi Stadium, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Swimming Pool Complex, Major Dhyanchand National Stadium, and Dr. Karni Singh Shooting Range) is

reported to have shot up by almost 250 per cent of the original estimate.²¹

Non-competition Venues for the Games

- Headquarters of CWG-2010 Organizing Committee (OC) spread over nine floors with a capacity to accommodate a workforce of over 1200; multi-level parking space; and a 24-hour power backup. The OC pays a rent of **Rs. 5.6 crore** every month to the New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC).²² The budget for rent for the OC Headquarters, which was not accounted for initially, is reported to be **Rs. 175 crore**.²³
- Main Media Centre and an International Broadcasting Centre.²⁴ Information from the Press Information Bureau revealed that expenditure incurred on the Main Press Centre and Venue Media Centres is **Rs. 9.8 crore**.²⁵ Latest press reports indicate that the media facilities at Pragati Maidan will cost **Rs. 32 crore**.
- Games Family Hotel (Hotel Ashok).
- A Commonwealth Games Village spread over 63.5 hectares is being constructed by Emaar MGF at an expected cost of US \$230.7 million (**Rs. 1038 crore**).²⁶ In May 2009, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) announced a **Rs. 700 crore** bailout package for Emaar MGF, the first such government bailout for a realty company.²⁷

Delhi Government to the Rescue of the Private Sector

The Commonwealth Games Village project, with 1,168 apartments, was to be built on a public-private-partnership model between DDA and Emaar MGF, which won the right to develop the 118-acre residential project in competitive bidding from DDA at Rs. 321 crore against a reserve price of Rs. 300 crore.

As per the arrangement, DDA got ownership over one-third of the apartments over and above the Rs. 321 crore from the developer. Emaar MGF was to retain ownership of the remaining 790 apartments which it expected to sell in the open market and raise money. The 2009 financial crisis and realty slump meant the company couldn't find buyers and raise money. It asked DDA for a bail out which it got.²⁸

The Legacy of Sports Infrastructure

- India's experience with the Asian Games in 1982 has shown that the *infrastructure created remained unutilised/underutilised* for a very long time.²⁹ Stadiums built for the Asian Games were never used to their optimum capacity.³⁰ These are more often used for Bollywood events or political rallies than sporting events.³¹

"Optimum utilisation of our existing sports infrastructure has also been one of the areas of concern before the Committee. We have erected huge stadia and other sports infrastructure in the metros and cities, which are used only when national or international tournaments take place. For the rest of the period, stadia remain unutilised or are rented out for cultural programmes and other non-sporting events".³²

- India's Bid Document states, "These existing facilities (ten world class stadiums, thirteen new venues and others created during the 1982 Asian Games) have since then been maintained very well and upgraded on a continuous basis."³³ Evidence, however, shows that *maintenance has been far from satisfactory*.³⁴
- According to K.T. Ravindran, Chairperson, Delhi Urban Arts Commission "... many of the new stadiums will be junked just as the (Indira Gandhi) indoor stadium was junked for 20 years after the 1982 Asian Games."³⁵ The handball and archery venues that were set up in Delhi University during the 1982 Asian Games were demolished after the event.³⁶
- Three crucial issues concern sports infrastructure in India: *(i) need for new and modern infrastructure; (ii) maintenance/upkeep of existing infrastructure and facilities; and (iii) optimum utilisation of the infrastructure*.³⁷ Despite claims that the CWG would induce the development of sporting infrastructure in the country, only the first of these three issues is likely to be addressed by Games related developments. *The mere creation of new physical infrastructure, however, cannot be portrayed as a solution for the multiple problems with sports infrastructure in India.*

- While it is true that sporting infrastructure of international standards is not available to sportspersons in India, ***any effort to fill the gap has to be nationwide in its outreach*** and not confined merely to Delhi. The lack of sports infrastructure in rural areas is a matter of serious concern. The absence of a sports culture and sports consciousness in the country cannot be remedied by hosting a Commonwealth Games in Delhi.³⁸

“Infrastructure is being raised in only one city while people in other cities barely have such facilities; so how can you revive sports culture by ignoring the real India?” Balbir Singh Bhatia, former secretary, Indian Weightlifting Federation³⁹

The kind of money being spent on building/upgrading sports infrastructure in Delhi for the Commonwealth Games:

- Is several times more than what was budgeted for;
- Involves a huge opportunity cost;
- Would have been better spent on developing sports facilities, for instance, ensuring that each school in rural and urban India has a playground with games facilities, at least. Only half of the primary schools in India have playing fields.⁴⁰
- Is an excessive burden on the taxpayer;
- Is questionable considering the low levels of utilisation of stadiums, as experience with the 1982 Asian Games has shown.

Stadium Legacy of the 2004 Athens Olympics

The city of Athens built several new sports facilities for the 2004 Olympic Games but has done little to find alternative uses for Olympic infrastructure after the Games. Those facilities are now costing the state €55 million per year in maintenance bills, and many of them are going unused. Stadiums in Patras and Volos, for example, are too expensive for local, second-league soccer clubs to afford. Should such unused venues not be torn down, the government says, they will merely fall apart on their own.⁴¹

Until November 2009, India did not have a legacy plan for the Commonwealth Games.⁴² A Parliamentary

Standing Committee Report prepared in November 2006 emphasised the need for preparing a prospective plan to ensure optimum utilisation of sports infrastructure after the 2010 Games, and also to avoid a repetition of the post-1982 Asian Games situation.⁴³ According to a Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG), “the OC [Organizing Committee] has not developed a comprehensive legacy plan for the overall legacy and long-term impact of the Games. By contrast, the legacy plan for CWG-2014 at Glasgow is already ready, and the plan for CWG-2006 at Melbourne was finalised three years before the games, in 2003. Further, SAI [Sports Authority of India] had not taken effective steps for legacy planning for utilisation, operation and maintenance of its five stadiums (to be renovated at a cost of Rs. 2,475 crore).”⁴⁴

“If we don’t come up with a proper legacy programme, we might have to give the infrastructure out for weddings.” (Shailendra Singh, Joint Managing Director of sports marketing firm – Percept)⁴⁵

An important question to ask is how many young aspiring athletes of the country will have access to these stadiums, and at what cost? Did the Commonwealth Games secretariat need to be housed in such luxurious premises with such lavish facilities? Did the athlete’s village need to consist of such high-income apartments? Couldn’t these apartments, or at least some of them, have been constructed for lower income groups? That would have ensured at least some “social legacy” of the Games.

Examples of Post-event Use of Games Venues for Local Housing:

- a) In Moscow, the 1980 Olympic Games marked the culmination of a policy of construction of social housing with the transformation of the Olympic Village into 18 apartment blocks of 16 floors;
- b) In Athens, the Olympic Village constructed for the 2004 Olympic Games resulted in 3,000 new units of subsidized housing that benefited 10,000 residents;
- c) In London, half of the 2,800 units in the Olympic Village are to become affordable housing after the Games, while current plans for the Olympic Park site are for around 10,000 new homes, around 35% to be affordable housing.⁴⁶

Civic Infrastructure

The following section summarises transport and infrastructure development in Delhi in the run up to the CWG.

1. Transport Infrastructure

- The Indira Gandhi International Airport is being modernised.
- A “green helipad,” the country’s first ever, is to be built at the Commonwealth Games Village at a cost of **Rs. 1.92 crore**.⁴⁷
- The Metro Rail will have a dedicated corridor from the airport to the Games Village for easy transfer of athletes and officials.⁴⁸ Delhi Metro will expand its operations from 75 kilometres to 200 kilometres for the Games. Six new lines are expected to open by October 2010 as part of Phase II of the Delhi Metro services.⁴⁹ The Delhi Metro will provide connectivity to 10 out of 11 venues of the Commonwealth Games 2010.⁵⁰
- The renovation of Old Delhi Railway Station has cost **Rs. 7 crore**.⁵¹
- Several flyovers, bridges and under bridges have been built.

In response to a Right to Information (RTI) application, the Office of the Executive Engineer, Flyover Project Division F-121, Public Works Department (PWD) revealed (on April 6, 2010) that the consolidated expenditure incurred on transport infrastructure from April 2007 – March 2010 for just four projects (Flyover Project Circle F-12) is **Rs. 57,892 lakh**. Another response to the RTI from the PWD, Office of the Project Manager, mentioned that the estimated cost of the Ring Road bypass from Salimgarh Fort to Velodrome Road is **Rs. 456 crore** while the Park and Ride facilities near Rajghat are expected to cost **Rs. 18.68 crore**.⁵²

- A fleet of 1,100 new low-floor, high-capacity air-conditioned buses is to be introduced in Delhi.⁵³
- New improved bus shelters and multi-level

parking lots are being built. The parking facility for 800 vehicles being developed near the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium (which involved covering of the Sunheri Nullah and Kushak Nullah), is being built at a cost of **Rs. 304 crore**.⁵⁴ Three multi-level parking lots are being constructed in the New Delhi Municipal Council area on a public-private partnership basis at K.B.S. Marg, K.G. Marg, and Sarojini Nagar.⁵⁵

The Delhi Budget 2010-11 allocated Rs. 4,224 crore (38% of the total budget) to transport while social welfare received only Rs. 87 crore (7%).⁵⁶

2. Medical Infrastructure

- *Twenty new hospitals* will be functional by 2010 to enhance Delhi’s healthcare and medical infrastructure. Special trauma ambulances will be on call during the Games to provide immediate relief in cases of emergencies.⁵⁷
- A state-of-the-art *sports specialty hospital* is being built near the Games Village.
- Additional equipment to deal with sports and related injuries is being provided in existing hospitals.
- *Motorcycle-borne paramedics* will be deputed across the Games venues to shift injured sportspersons and patients to hospitals.⁵⁸

The Tenth Perfect Health Parade to “promote a clean, green and hygienic city for Commonwealth Games” was held in Delhi on April 8, 2010. The parade concentrated on sensitizing doctors about traveler-related sicknesses and their prevention and cure. “At least one lakh people will come for Commonwealth Games and their health must be looked after so I am very happy that doctors have taken the lead,” Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Organizing Committee, Suresh Kalmadi said.⁵⁹

3. Water and Sewage Treatment

- The Delhi Jal Board’s (DJB) budget for upgrading water supply and sewerage facilities at the Games Village was **Rs. 40 crore**.⁶⁰
- Two new initiatives have been undertaken by

the Delhi Jal Board to boost water supply from the current 670 million gallons per day (MGD) to 941 MGD.⁶¹

- WABAG India has been commissioned to build a 5.3 million euros (**Rs. 33 crore**) water treatment plant for the Games Village in Delhi.⁶²

Delhi may not have drinking water, but come October, athletes coming to the Commonwealth Games will be getting water of "first world" standards at the Commonwealth Games Village.⁶⁴

- Plans are also underway to streamline Delhi's solid waste management system.⁶³

4. Power

- Delhi plans to be "*power surplus*" by the time the Games are held. To ensure additional power to Delhi, the government is undertaking a large power production initiative to increase production to over 5,880 Mega Watts (MW) from the current 4,500 MW. The power distribution system will be streamlined, more power will be directed to Delhi, and new power plants constructed.⁶⁵
- The first "green" power grid at the Games Village has been built at a cost of **Rs. 40 crore**.⁶⁶

5. Hospitality

- India Tourism Development Corporation Limited's (ITDC) plan to renovate three state-run hotels (Ashoka, Janpath and Samrat) is expected to cost **Rs. 100 crore**.⁶⁷ Private hotels are also being upgraded.
- The Ministry of Tourism estimated that there will be a requirement of **30,000 additional hotel rooms** in Delhi during the Games.⁶⁸
- An **additional 25,000 rooms are being built** to meet the requirements of the Games; this will be supplemented by the Bed and Breakfast Scheme launched by the Delhi government.⁶⁹
- The government announced **a five year tax holiday for hotels** coming up in the National

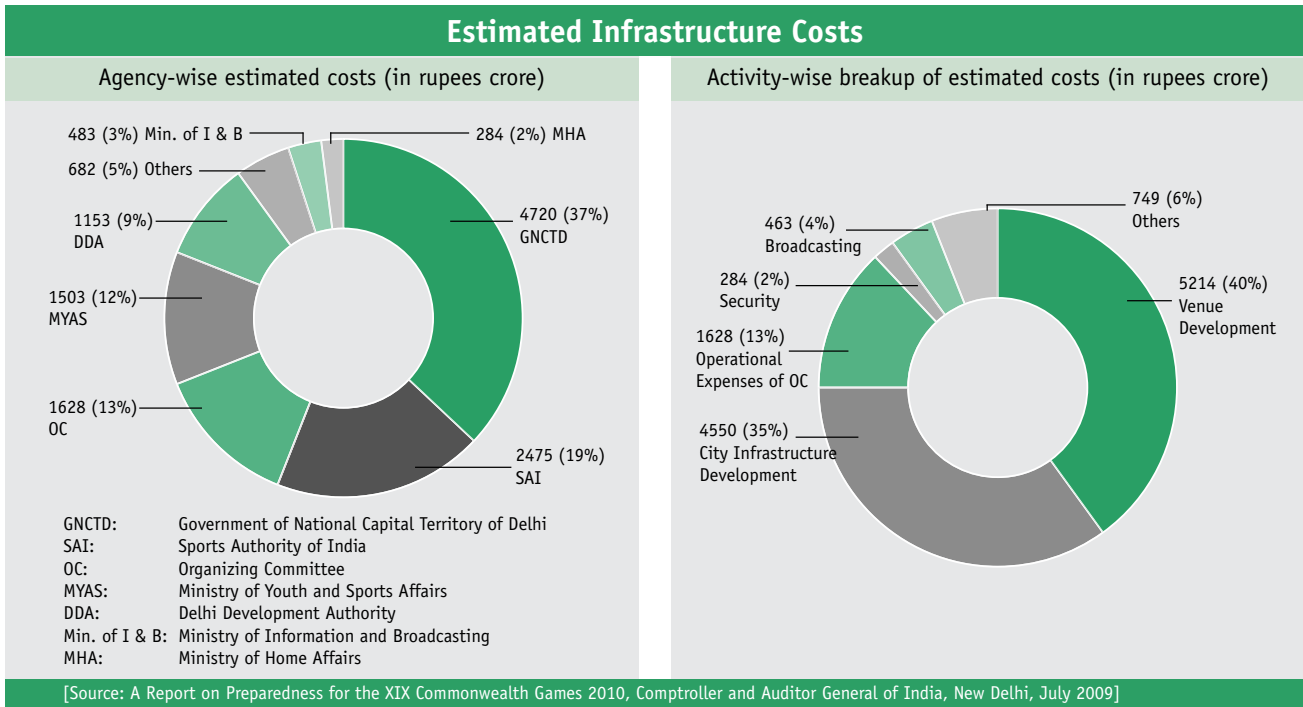
Capital Region (NCR) before the Games.⁷⁰ The tax holiday was subsequently extended.⁷¹

- Incentives for hotel projects to meet the projected requirement for the Games were part of the Union Budget 2007-2008. To facilitate additional capacity in existing hotels, Delhi Development Authority (DDA) increased the floor-area ratio (FAR) for hotels from 2.25 to 2.50.⁷²
- Furnishing of the 2,709 DDA flats at Vasant Kunj has cost ITDC approximately **Rs. 100 crore**.⁷³
- The Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) has proposed to give **temporary licences to illegal hotels, restaurants and guest houses in the national capital** in the run up to the CWG. At an MCD standing committee meeting, members said temporary licences should be granted to the hotels operating illegally so that foreign visitors during the Commonwealth Games don't stay in unlicensed accommodations.⁷⁴

The New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) has earmarked a budget of Rs. 40 crore for creating signage of international standards in terms of size and design. According to an NDMC official, "the idea is to help tourists during the Commonwealth Games in locating a particular building in the NDMC area."⁷⁵



Gyan Kothari



The government [in South Africa] has pledged Rand (R) 400 billion (US \$ 53.6 billion) between 2006 and 2010 for infrastructure development, including upgrading road, air and rail transport. This will not necessarily have long-term economic benefits because much of this infrastructure is geared specifically for the Football World Cup, and may differ from infrastructure needs related to historic patterns of development and industrialization.⁷⁶

The Infrastructural Overhaul of Delhi

The Claim

The government, on several occasions, has made the following claims regarding Commonwealth Games induced infrastructure development:

- According to Suresh Kalmadi, President Indian Olympic Association (IOA), “As far as infrastructure and development is concerned, **Delhi will move ahead by five years because of the Commonwealth Games... It will be a lasting legacy.**”⁷⁷
- He also stressed that, “The Games will be on for 15

days but it will help the city for the next 15 years. It will take Delhi years ahead.”⁷⁸

The Reality

■ *Expensive*

The infrastructural makeover of Delhi is a **multi-thousand crore rupees project**. Critics have argued that the kind of money spent on the Commonwealth Games could have been used to develop infrastructure throughout the country.

■ *Hurried or Delayed*

Some of the basic planning documents of the Commonwealth Games were **finalised for approval much later than scheduled**. The Master Plan for the Games was delayed by 54 months and the General Organization Plan was delayed by 39 months. As per the Host City Contract, the Organizing Committee was to be constituted by May 2004, but this was formed only in February 2005.⁷⁹

Delays in the planning phase result in reduction of the time available for execution of projects.

According to K.T. Ravindran, Chairperson of the Delhi Urban Arts Commission (DUAC), the *rush to meet deadlines may increase the cost of infrastructure projects.*⁸⁰ The hurry often also results in *compromised quality of projects, bypassing of clearances, and exploitation of workers at construction sites.* For instance, the Bhisma Pitamah Flyover, repaired at a cost of Rs. 2.48 crore has started developing potholes within two months.⁸¹

India's 1982 Asian Games experience was similar. The entire infrastructure for the Asian Games was hurriedly built in the last two years. The result was shoddy and poor quality stadiums.⁸²

■ *Poor Planning*

Several infrastructure projects have evidently been badly planned. Sudhir Vohra, an architect and government adviser says that plans like the 24 new flyovers being built are “more like band-aids, than a remedy for Delhi's problems.”⁸³ The plan for renovation of Indira Gandhi Stadium was poorly designed in terms of landscape and drainage.⁸⁴ Five elevated metro stations in South Delhi, which were to be completed before the Commonwealth Games, were denied clearance by the DUAC on grounds of poor planning and designing.

“The problem with most of these infrastructure projects is planning. Suddenly government bodies like PWD seem to have woken up to a Commonwealth Games deadline and there is time pressure. So, they want DUAC clearance at the earliest. These projects should have been planned many years in advance. There is simply no planning strategy...” K.T. Ravindran, Chairperson, Delhi Urban Arts Commission.⁸⁵

■ *Environmentally Unsound*

The Delhi Development Authority felled 800 trees in Siri Fort to make way for two Commonwealth Games stadiums.⁸⁶ Rain water drains have been covered for various Games projects.⁸⁷ The site of the Games Village (on the flood plains of river Yamuna) has enraged activists, as it violates environmental norms, including the Delhi High Court order against all encroachments on the Yamuna Flood Plain,⁸⁸ and

is apparently an “invitation to disaster.”⁸⁹ Apart from causing a reduction in the ground water table in Delhi, the river bed is also a seismically active area.⁹⁰ There has also been a significant increase in Delhi of asthma and allergy cases directly as a result of the dust from the construction for the Games. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) the hectic construction activity was affecting the general health of the capital. “Infrastructure building means dust in the air, which is not healthy,” a senior official of the WHO said.⁹¹

Environmental impact assessment norms have been violated. Trees have been cut, rain water drains have been covered, the Games Village has been built on an ecologically sensitive river bed, the construction work for the Games has increased the dust levels in Delhi, and yet government officials have launched an “ecological code” and claim that the CWG will be “Green Games.”

■ *Clearances Bypassed*

Several projects related to the Commonwealth Games, such as the eight subways at Connaught Place did not obtain permission/ clearance from the DUAC. Other such projects include the bypass at Ferozeshah Kotla, the parking lot off Lodhi Road, and the landscaping around Rashtrapati Bhavan.⁹² “In the name of the Games, a lot of projects have pushed for quick clearances and sometimes even bypassed clearances,” according to K.T. Ravindran, Chairperson, DUAC.⁹³ In February 2008, the entire DUAC team resigned in protest against the government's pressure to clear Commonwealth related projects.⁹⁴ The Commission, headed by renowned architect Charles Correa, had apparently become a “nightmare” for the Delhi government for standing up against the “harebrained” projects supposedly associated with the Games.⁹⁵

The capital's last defence against unplanned development collapsed with all members of the DUAC resigning over alleged differences with the government on plans for the 2010 Commonwealth Games.⁹⁶

The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) issued a notice to the Delhi Integrated Multi-modal Transit

Service (DIMTS), a special body created by the Delhi government to implement its transport schemes for the Games, to stop work on the hanging foot overbridge coming up on Mathura Road-Bhairon Road near Purana Qila for the Games, as the site falls within the regulated area of Purana Qila, a Centrally protected monument. ASI officials maintained that a notice was sent earlier to the DIMTS to stop construction but the body refused. The ASI then pasted a copy of the notice at the site. Construction, however, did not stop.⁹⁷

■ *Violation of Delhi Master Plan 2021*

The *Candidate City Manual* of the Commonwealth Games Federation has a clear question asking for an explanation of how the city's/region's vision for the Games fits into its long-term planning strategy. While this Manual only came into existence after India won its bid, the issue is one that the Indian government still needs to answer.

Union Minister, Kapil Sibal, while addressing a seminar on “Delhi Master Plan: Critique and Alternatives,” raised the point that, *“The Master Plan should not be prepared only keeping in view the Commonwealth Games 2010. It should be prepared keeping in view the development of the city for the years to come.”* He further added that there was no Master Plan in 1982 because of the Asian Games, leading to a 40-year gap in city planning since the 1962 plan was finalised.⁹⁸

■ *Exploitation of Workers*

In the rush to meet the Games deadline, and in the absence of labour standards and a code of ethics for workers, many workers have been subjected to exploitation.⁹⁹

Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) filed a public interest litigation (PIL) on the condition of the 415,000 contract daily wage workers at Commonwealth Games projects. A four member committee was appointed by the Delhi High Court on February 3, 2010, to ensure that the workers' rights are not violated. The Committee reported that PUDR charges were “well founded” and recommended “exemplary fine” on errant authorities.

■ *Unnecessary Projects*

The relevance of several Commonwealth Games related projects has been questioned. According to K.T. Ravindran, Chairperson of the Delhi Urban Arts Commission (DUAC), “There will be many of these pachyderms roaming Delhi after the Commonwealth Games.” He cites one Rs. 800 crore flyover running “from nowhere to nowhere” along Barapullah Nullah. “That route could have just been managed with proper planning, by re-profiling the streets.”¹⁰⁰ Ashish Chowdhary, a Delhi based urban designer, questions the premise of this exclusive infrastructure, “What will its use be, post the Games, to both city and citizen? The expressway connects areas of minimal density and then remains aloof to the networks of the city below. How can we justify such costs and ad-hoc design?”¹⁰¹

White Elephants?

Darren McHugh, a Queen's University scholar, conducted a cost-benefit analysis of the 2010 Winter Olympics to be held in Vancouver, Canada. He observed that the infrastructure projects related to the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics with the heftiest costs were those “that would not have been built without the Olympic bid attempt, and were not otherwise worth building — white elephants, to use the popular euphemism.”¹⁰²

The Escalating Budget for Infrastructure

Exact figures on actual infrastructure costs for the Commonwealth Games are hard to find. Different sources reveal different data. Even a Right to Information (RTI) application on the total infrastructure cost incurred, has not received a definitive answer. The following information relates to infrastructural estimates, and demonstrates how the costs continue to accelerate in the run up to the Games.

- In a plan given by the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi (GNCTD) to the Planning Commission, a total budget of **Rs. 770 crore** was originally earmarked for the development of infrastructure.
- Government of Delhi (GNCTD), however, allocated a sum of **Rs. 1,189 crore** to enhance, expand and upgrade city infrastructure.¹⁰³
- Amount spent on infrastructure development in

Delhi by different agencies in the run-up to the CWG, as disclosed by Delhi Finance and Public Works Department Minister, A.K. Walia on August 3, 2006, was **Rs. 26,808 crore**.¹⁰⁴

- A 2009 report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) estimated the cost of creating venues and city infrastructure as well as the operational expenses for hosting the Games at **Rs. 12,888 crore**. This, however, excludes investments on infrastructure and other activities by several other agencies like Delhi Metro Rail Corporation and Airports Authority of India.¹⁰⁵
- On March 10, 2010, the total amount spent on infrastructure in Delhi over the last three years was stated to be **Rs. 13,350 crore** by Rakesh Mehta, Chief Secretary, Government of Delhi.¹⁰⁶

The money required for infrastructure development for the Commonwealth Games is more than three times the amount India had stated in its bid document.¹⁰⁷

What are the Real Costs?

- The cost of the infrastructural overhaul of Delhi will be borne by the common person who gains very little from flyovers, streetscaping, stadiums and other superfluous amenities.
- The Finance Minister of Delhi while announcing the 2010 Budget for Delhi declared that *there will be no new health projects for Delhi this financial year*¹⁰⁹ and no new projects for the next fiscal year. He also stated that the fiscal deficit of Delhi is expected to increase from Rs. 2,824 crore in 2008-09 to Rs. 3,561 crore during 2009-10 (Revised Estimate compared to Budget Estimate of Rs. 2,890 crore).¹¹⁰
The increase is related to excessive Games related expenditure. This has already resulted in higher taxes for city residents,¹¹¹ and has made Delhi a more expensive city to live in.
- Funds earmarked for essential projects have also been diverted to the CWG. For instance, funds from the Delhi Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (2009-10) have been diverted to meet CWG related expenditures.¹¹²

- The government has no money left for Phase III of Delhi Metro.¹¹³

Reeling under financial difficulties due to increased spending on projects related to the Commonwealth Games, Delhi government had sought a special assistance of Rs. 2,000 crore from the Centre for the sporting event in the Union Budget. Finance minister Pranab Mukherjee increased the normal assistance to Delhi from Rs. 208.85 crore in 2009-10 to Rs. 229.72 crore in 2010-11.

A separate allocation of Rs. 176.90 crore was made to National Capital Region (NCR) for projects related to the Commonwealth Games.

Central assistance to the city government of Delhi, however, fell from a plan outlay of Rs. 1,228 crore in the Union budget as against last year's Rs. 2,435 crore.¹¹⁴

2.2 The Promise of Jobs

The Claim

Suresh Kalmadi, President of the Indian Olympic Association, is reported to have said about the Commonwealth Games, "It's a big business opportunity, many jobs for many young people."¹¹⁵ During the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Port of Spain in November 2009, he said that the Commonwealth Games in Delhi would create **2.5 million jobs** in its wake.¹¹⁶

The Reality

Research has shown that the *promise of jobs and predictions of a growth in the job market as a result of sports mega events is mostly exaggerated* by the organizers.

The Barcelona Olympics of 1992 (jobs created both in the construction as well as in the hotel and catering sectors were much less than anticipated) and the Salt Lake City Olympics of 2002 (the average job growth for the Olympic impact period was 37% less than the pre-Olympic period), are two well known examples.¹¹⁷

A study by Samy Ahmar, an Edinburgh economist

specialising in sporting projects, has warned that the Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2014 will not provide any lasting boost to the job market and the employment benefits will be very “transitory” in nature.¹¹⁸ Ahmar’s finding that both the Commonwealth and Olympic Games rarely leave a legacy of long-term, sustainable employment is based on a study of employment rates in host cities of nine previous Commonwealth and Olympic Games. The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce has also raised similar concerns about the claim that the Commonwealth Games will boost the job market in Glasgow. A paper published by the London Assembly found that, “long-term unemployed and workless communities were largely unaffected [by better job prospects] by the staging of the Olympic Games in each of the four previous host cities.”¹¹⁹

Eddie Cottle, coordinator of the Campaign for Decent Work and Beyond 2010, made light of claims that the infrastructure development [for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa] would create around 100,000 sustainable jobs. On the contrary he stressed that the state would spend the same amount in preparation for the World Cup as it would have spent on the more pressing need of housing over a ten-year period (2000–10).¹²⁰

It has been argued that the number of jobs created by such events is “ridiculously low” when compared to the amount that is invested. Volunteers are brought in for most of the tasks. Moreover, livelihoods have been lost due to evictions and displacement related to the Games and the banning of certain occupations. Vendors and other informal sector workers, including rickshaw pullers and petty shop owners in Delhi have lost their jobs due to the Commonwealth Games and around 20,000 eateries (*dhabas*) are to be shut down. Municipal Corporation of Delhi’s (MCD) press and information director, Deep Mathur affirmed that, “illegal dhabas are liable to be removed without serving any notice to them as they are considered encroachments. MCD can only issue licences to eating houses which have a covered roof. We have been told to remove all encroachments before the Commonwealth Games.”¹²¹

Most jobs created for the Games are temporary, and the majority of them are in the unorganised sector, especially in the construction business, where there is blatant exploitation of workers.¹²²

44 foreign consultants have been reportedly employed to help organise the Delhi Commonwealth Games; they would cost the Indian taxpayer about Rs. 100 crore.¹²³

How many jobs have actually been created by the Commonwealth Games? How many people have lost their livelihoods in Delhi as a result of the Games? What happens to the workers after the Games? Are there any plans to provide them alternative employment options and housing?

2.3 The Promise of Tourism Development

The Claim

The claim that the Commonwealth Games will boost tourism in the country by attracting large numbers of foreign visitors and tourists has been made repeatedly, right from the time India won the bid.

The Ministry of Tourism has estimated that **100,000 tourists are expected to visit Delhi** for the CWG.¹²⁴ This figure was reiterated by Suresh Kalmadi in November 2009.¹²⁵ “Commonwealth Games have given an opportunity for showcasing India as a unique and hospitable tourism destination. It is expected that a large number of tourists would visit the country bringing back the buoyancy in the sector,” Tourism Minister Kumari Selja said while addressing a summit on “Tourism: Tackling the Global Crisis” in London in November 2009.¹²⁶ In March 2010, the number of foreign tourists expected in Delhi was stated to be between 50,000 to 60,000.¹²⁷ Director General of the Commonwealth Games 2010, V. K. Verma, speaking at the Indian International Sports Summit (IISS) in March 2010, said that over 100,000 tourists are expected to come to Delhi for the Games.¹²⁸

In February 2010, however, the government for the first time came close to admitting that the **Games would not witness many spectators**. Special Secretary to the Chief Minister, P. K. Tripathi, speaking at an interaction, “Face to Face with Government” with the Federation of Indian

Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) Ladies' Organization, drew a parallel with the Beijing Olympics and said, "International tourists do not generally come in huge numbers during October, as it is not the holiday season for them."¹²⁹

The Reality: Impact of Mega Events on Tourism

The growing body of literature on the impact of mega events suggests that the tourism development potential of sports events as an area of research has serious definitional problems and methodological pitfalls.¹³⁰ The assumption that the Commonwealth Games in Delhi will generate enormous revenue through tourism is therefore overly simplistic. The boom in tourism, if any, is only in the short term.¹³¹ The trend all over the world has been of a surge before the Games, a sort of plateau during the Games and a sharp decline thereafter.¹³² The "crowding out" effect¹³³ has also to be considered in any economic analysis of mega sports event induced tourism.

There are lessons to be learnt from several well known cases where the projected boom in the tourism sector did not occur. The forecast of large numbers of tourists for the 1982 Asian Games in Delhi proved to be completely wrong.¹³⁴ Contrary to the big rush forecasted by organisers of the Asian Games, only 200 foreigners arrived.¹³⁵ The prediction of enormous gains in tourism again proved wrong in the case of the Lillehammer Winter Olympics, Norway, in 1994.¹³⁶ A study of the Lillehammer Winter Olympics showed that 40% of the hotels went bankrupt. In the case of the Beijing Olympics too, the number of visitors fell short of speculation and hotel occupancy was only 25% of projections. The Seoul Olympics of 1988, Barcelona Olympics of 1992, and many other sports mega events had significantly fewer tourists than expected.¹³⁷

Concern has been expressed by people in the tourism sector over the fact that unlike Beijing, India started marketing the Games rather late and has thus already lost the chance to maximise gains.¹³⁸ A report by a Parliamentary Standing Committee said that there had been no proposals for development of infrastructure and capacity-building, including creation and renovation of hospitality facilities, and modernisation of tourism sites

by the Ministry of Tourism till November 2008.¹³⁹ Most importantly, academics have debated whether tourism development can be the rationale for staging hallmark events.

This trend of first inflating the number of foreign tourist arrivals and exaggerating the impact of the event on the tourism sector and then admitting that fewer tourists (compared to the initial forecast) are expected, is part of a strategy by organisers and the host government to "sell" the Games.

2.4 The Promise of "Beautifying" Delhi

The Ambition

The historic city of Delhi will, supposedly, look its best for visitors during the XIX Commonwealth Games. One of the stated legacies of the event is that it will leave behind a city much more beautiful and charming than it currently is.¹⁴⁰

Delhi Chief Minister, Sheila Dixit, is reported to have said that, "*Delhi will become a world-class city, a beautiful, vibrant, and organized place, which makes all of its citizens—poor and rich—happy and comfortable living here, and which caters to all their basic requirements of health, education, water, power, and good roads.*"¹⁴¹ She also assured that, "The government would ensure world-class streetscaping and beautification around various stadiums during the Commonwealth Games."¹⁴²

The Plan

The plans for beautification include streetscaping; new attractive, weather resistant, uniform signage; one million potted plants around venues (Forest Research Institute, Dehradun, is apparently developing new species of over 300,000 flowering plants for the Games); re-surfacing of bituminous roads by using plastic waste; beautifying footpaths alongside venues as per global standards; and construction of bicycle tracks, among other measures.

The Cost

- India's Bid Document for the Games budgeted US \$ 1.66 million (**Rs. 7.5 crore**) for city beautification expenses.¹⁴³
- In August 2009, the New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) announced plans to plant 10 lakh plants at a cost of **Rs. 23.2 crore** to add "colour" to the Games venue.¹⁴⁴
- In December 2008, Vijender Gupta, Chairman of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi's (MCD) Standing Committee, stated that, "MCD will upgrade and strengthen Commonwealth Games related roads in the vicinity of the Games venues and improve their streetscape at a cost of **Rs. 100 crore**."¹⁴⁵
- In July 2009, the Expenditure Finance Committee (EFC) of the Delhi Government headed by Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit, cleared 15 proposals worth **Rs. 398 crore**, including **Rs. 272 crore** for beautification work related to the 2010 Games.¹⁴⁶
- In February 2010, the EFC cleared a **Rs. 21.95 crore** proposal for beautification of roads around the Games venues.¹⁴⁷
- In March 2010, it was reported that MCD was carrying out streetscaping/ road improvement on 14 roads at a total cost of **Rs. 74 crore**; NDMC was streetscaping major roads at a cost of **Rs. 60 crore**; and the Public Works Department (PWD) was carrying out major road projects at a cost of **Rs. 250 crore**.¹⁴⁸
- Streetscaping on Jagannath Marg alone is estimated to cost **Rs. 3.40 crore** whereas the budget for beautifying Lodhi Road is **Rs. 18.55 crore**.¹⁴⁹
- The cost of re-surfacing roads for the Games is estimated to be around **Rs. 17 lakh per kilometre**.¹⁵⁰
- An amount of **Rs. 344 crore** is being spent by the Delhi Government to improve and beautify roads and footpaths in and around venues of the Commonwealth Games.¹⁵¹

Municipal Corporation of Delhi's Standing Committee Chairman, Ram Kishan Singhal, has raised concerns that streetscaping, especially the concretization of footpaths may lead to huge waterlogging problems during the monsoons. According to Romi Roy, senior consultant, Unified Traffic and Transportation Infrastructure Planning and Engineering Centre (UTTIPEC), "only half the guidelines laid down by us are followed in some cases. Storm water management is an integral part of the pedestrian design guidelines but in some instances, due to wrong design, waterlogging is being seen even at this stage."¹⁵²

The Human Cost of "Beautification"¹⁵³

Attempts at cosmetic surgery of the city do not necessarily result in long-term benefits or improved aesthetic appeal. Delhi's recent ostensible beautification drive, has furthermore, been characterised by an element of inhumanness, with the costs being paid by the city's most marginalised and deprived populations. Some of these measures in the guise of beautification include:

- Slum demolitions without rehabilitation;
- Destruction of a temporary night shelter for the homeless;
- Eviction of homeless residents, several of who are construction workers for the Commonwealth Games.
- Arbitrary arrests and detention of "beggars" and homeless people;
- Destruction of livelihoods of hawkers, vendors and others who work on the streets;
- Inconvenience to the public and accidents because of digging up of streets and redoing pavements;
- Plan to "hide" slums behind bamboo screens so as to save visitors and athletes the "not-so-pretty" sight. Delhi Chief Secretary, Rakesh Mehta, said, "We have spoken to the agriculture department of Mizoram to help us in planting bamboo trees, which can be used to screen the shanties and slums on the roadside of all those routes through which the Commonwealth convoy is expected to go. We want to present a good face of Delhi during the Games next year, but it is not possible to remove all the slums. Therefore, we have decided to use bamboo screens instead to simply conceal the sights."¹⁵⁴

“You are doing it in the name of the Commonwealth Games. Is it beautification? You have made them sleep under the open sky in winter. You can’t run away from your responsibility towards the public at large,” a Division Bench of the Delhi High Court comprising Justice A. P. Shah and Justice Rajiv Sahai Endlaw reprimanded the MCD, for destroying a night shelter at Pusa Road on December 22, 2009.¹⁵⁵

“We do not expect a modern civilised society to allow its people to die, whether it is the Commonwealth Games or any other reason. This trend cannot be allowed,” observed the same bench of the Delhi High Court.¹⁵⁶

Destroying homes and livelihoods of the city’s working poor, and taking punitive measures against “beggars” and homeless citizens in the name of “beautification,” is a sheer mockery of the Commonwealth Games mission of “hosting the games to spread prosperity and peace, using the games as a medium of love and peace.”

Conclusion

1. The organisers of CWG-2010 have publicised the realisation of several benefits for Delhi, all of which are questionable, and so far, contrary to the claims.
2. The much proclaimed infrastructure development has been hurried, expensive, poorly planned, environmentally unsound, in violation of norms and planning processes, including the Delhi Master Plan 2021, and exploitative of workers.
3. The money required for infrastructure development for the CWG is more than three times the amount India had stated in its Bid Document. A total of at least Rs. 3,389.4 crore has already been spent just on stadiums, most of which are likely to remain unused after the Games, as experience from the 1982 Asian Games has shown.
4. The claim that the Games will create 2.5 million jobs is exaggerated. Research has shown that the number of jobs created by such mega sports event is “ridiculously low” when compared to the amount that is invested. Moreover, livelihoods are being lost due to evictions and displacement related to the

Games and banning of certain occupations.

5. The figure of over 100,000 expected tourists in Delhi, is likely to be an overestimation.
6. The claim that the CWG will help create a clean, beautiful, vibrant, “world class” Delhi has already been proven wrong with the grave human costs in the form of slum demolitions, arrests of homeless citizens and “beggars”, criminalisation of poverty, and destruction of livelihoods of the urban poor.
7. The infrastructure development and city “beautification” process violates the stated mission of the CWG, which is to promote humanity and equality.

Why did Delhi need the CWG to improve its infrastructure? Couldn’t the large amounts of money have been invested on facilities that the city’s residents really need like low-cost housing, shelters for the homeless, public hospitals, water, schools, and other essential services?

Why should a major metropolis like Delhi have had to compromise its Master Plan for the Commonwealth Games? Shouldn’t the Games have only taken place if they did not violate the current Master Plan?

How can a city—in an attempt to appear “world class” for foreign tourists—discriminate against its poor, hard-working citizens in the name of “beautification”?

With no clear and demonstrated benefits to the city of Delhi or the country, and with grave violations of the human rights of city residents, especially the poor, the foremost question to the Organizing Committee is who really benefits from the Games and how?



Mehar Jyrrwa

Notes:

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- ¹² Ibid.
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- ¹⁶ *Grounds for Change*, Mint, April 14, 2010, available online at: <http://www.livemint.com/2010/04/14233457/Grounds-for-change.html>.
- ¹⁷ Response to RTI filed on March 25, 2010 by Ms. Shalini Mishra, from Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of India, letter dated 15 April 2010.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ *100% Rise in CWG Project Cost, RTI Reply Says Expenditure Up from Rs. 1000 crore to Rs. 2460 crore*, The Times of India, April 8, 2010.
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Mehar Jyawa

Introduction

The budget for the Commonwealth Games 2010 (CWG) has undergone several revisions since India won the bid for the Games in 2003. The exact amount of money that will be spent on the CWG is still unknown. The estimate of the total cost of the Games now ranges from **Rs. 10,000** (officially) to **Rs. 30,000 crore**.¹ While this figure will probably only be confirmed after the Games, questions can be raised on the sources of funding to meet the rapidly escalating costs of hosting the Games in India.

3.1 Original Budget for the Games

India's Bid Document for the CWG estimated the cost of hosting the Games in Delhi at US \$422 million (**Rs. 1,899 crore**).

The Evaluation Commission² of the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) declared in 2003 that, "The US \$422 million Delhi expenditure budget lacks detail in many key areas, however, the overriding undertaking is that the *Governments of India and Delhi will meet the costs of the Games* to be conducted in accordance with the requirements of the CGF, *and will underwrite any operating or capital budget shortfall*. Total revenue of US \$422 million comprises US \$235 million in public sector funding and Games revenues of US \$186 million, which the Evaluation Commission considers are *potentially overstated*."³

3.2 Increase in Budgetary Cost

According to a 2009 report by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG),⁴ the budget for the Commonwealth Games 2010 underwent several revisions.

- Originally in May 2003, when the Government of India allowed the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) to bid for the CWG, an expenditure of **Rs. 296 crore** was indicated towards upgradation of sports infrastructure and conduct of the Games, with expenditure on security and the Games Village to be incurred by the government and Delhi Development Authority (DDA).
- The updated Bid Document of December 2003, however, estimated:
 - Operating expenditure alone at **Rs. 635 crore**.
 - Total expenditure (other than Games operating expenses) at **Rs. 1,200 crore**.
 - Government grants at **Rs. 518 crore**.
- The first budget for the Games approved by the Cabinet in April 2007 estimated the total expenditure of the Games at **Rs. 3,566 crore** ± Rs. 300 crore.
- The Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (MYAS)

budget estimate for the CWG was **Rs. 9,599 crore**, of which an amount of **Rs. 5,645 crore** had already been approved. In addition, **Rs. 3,289 crore** from other sources – **Rs. 2,950 crore** from Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (GNCTD), **Rs. 221 crore** from New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC), and **Rs. 118 crore** from DDA had also been allocated for projects related to the CWG.

The Comptroller and Auditor General of India in a July 2009 report stated that: "While we recognise the challenge in accurately estimating the cost of hosting the Games, the substantial jump, even during the past two years, in the estimates **indicates that the scope and spread of the Games was not fully grasped** while framing the estimates."⁵

The budgetary commitment to the Games was apparently made without a detailed analysis. In response to a question raised in the Lok Sabha on 7 May 2003, the Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Vikram Verma said, "*The details of requirement of funds and its sources can only be worked out once the Games are allotted to India.*"

Differing Budget Estimates:

- In December 2003, replying to a question raised in the Lok Sabha, Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Vikram Verma, stated that as per estimates of the Indian Olympic Association (IOA), the likely expenditure on the conduct of the Commonwealth Games was **Rs. 399.05 crore** as against an expected revenue generation of **Rs. 490 crore**. The projected expenditure according to the Minister did not include the cost of construction of a Games Village (estimated at **Rs. 186 crore**)⁶ and an estimated expenditure of **Rs. 32.5 crore** for the construction of an outdoor and indoor stadium at the Yamuna Sports Complex and upgradation of existing infrastructure under the Delhi Development Authority (DDA).⁷
- In May-June 2006, it was reported that the cost of the Games had escalated to **Rs. 5,000 crore**.⁸ Suresh Kalmadi, President, IOA, commented that, "The Organizing Committee needs **Rs. 900 crore** for organization and **Rs. 300 crore** for training of sportspersons. Rest is to be spent by the Delhi Government, the Sports Authority of India, and DDA to build infrastructure for the Games."⁹
- In July 2006, Union Minister for Youth Affairs and

Sports, Mani Shankar Aiyar, estimated the total cost of the Games to be **Rs. 7,000 crore** though he also stated that not more than Rs. 2,000 crore should be spent on the Games.¹⁰

- CWG Director General, V. K. Verma, said on March 24, 2010, that the entire estimated cost of the Games was **Rs. 10,000 crore**.¹¹

“Even if one were to add up all the expenses that have been made public so far by the different departments on the various projects recounted earlier, the total amount comes in the neighbourhood of almost Rs. 23,000 crore. This figure does not account for several items for which details have not yet been made available.”¹²

3.3 Budgetary Allocation for the Games

Resources for the Commonwealth Games 2010 have been pledged from both the Union Government and the Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi.

Funds from the Central Government

Union Budget Allocation for the 2010 Commonwealth Games		
Year	Budget Estimate (BE) (in crore rupees)	Revised Estimate (RE) (in crore rupees)
2005-06	45.50	45.50
2006-07	150	150
2007-08	150	307.72
2008-09	356.74	967.74
2009-10	2264.42	2883
2010-11	2069.52	

[Source: Allocations made by Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Union Government, Expenditure Budget Volume II, various years]

From the above table, it is evident that from **Rs. 45.5 crore** in 2005-06 to **Rs. 2,883 crore** in 2009-10 (RE), allocations for the Commonwealth Games in the Union Budget, Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, have witnessed an astounding **6,235% increase**. Social sector spending in India has never witnessed such a rise, even when the need for increased budgetary allocations for essential services has been critical. ***For the same period, the Union Budget for education rose by just 60% while the increase in health expenditure was 160%.***

From 2006-07 to 2010-11, the budgetary allocation from the Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India, to Delhi for the CWG, is **Rs. 3,150 crore**. The increase from 2006-07 to 2009-10 in this budget was **471 %**.

While most Central Sector Schemes or Centrally Sponsored Schemes face significant implementation constraints, i.e., resources do not get spent resulting in Revised Estimates (RE) being lower than Budget Estimates (BE) and actuals being lower than the REs, budgetary allocations for Commonwealth Games show a reverse trend. In the first two years, 2005-06 and 2006-07, RE was equal to BE but from 2007-08 onwards, REs are higher than BEs and in some years more than twice as high as the BE.

In the 2010-11 Union Budget, the Commonwealth Games have been allocated **Rs. 2,069.52 crore**.

Other budgetary allocations from the Centre for Games-related expenditures include:

- **Rs. 378 crore** for preparing the teams.
- **Rs. 176.9 crore** for the Union Urban Development Ministry.
- **Rs. 50 crore** for the Delhi government.
- **Rs. 1 lakh** for Delhi Police for paying bandwidth charges for integrated security solutions for the sporting event.¹³
- **Rs. 82 crore** for “high definition coverage” of the Games.
- **Rs. 11.50 crore** for the National Dope Test Laboratory, **Rs. 3 crore** for the National Anti-Doping Agency, and **Rs. 50 lakh** for the World Anti-Doping Agency.
- **Rs. 15 crore** for the National Sports Development Fund.¹⁴

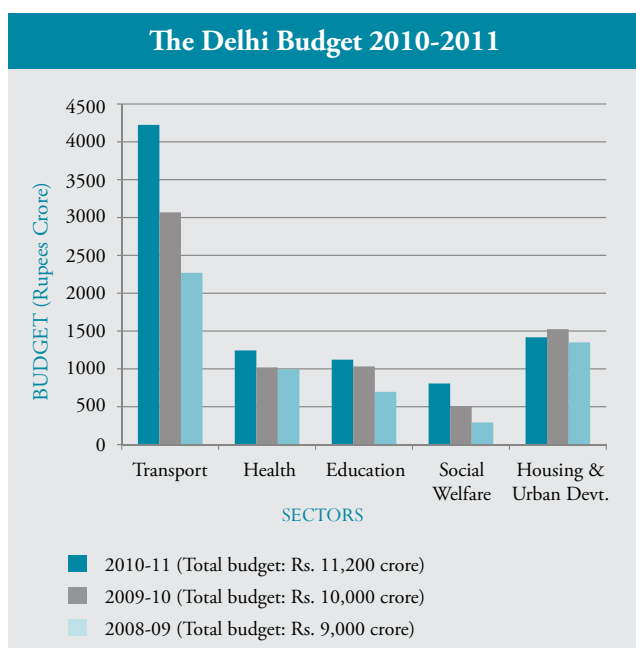
In November 2004, the Planning Commission assured the Delhi government of financial assistance for building “world class” infrastructure required to host the Commonwealth Games in 2010. “We will try to extend as much help as possible,” the Commission’s deputy chairman, Montek Singh Ahluwalia, told reporters.¹⁵

In November 2009, the Union Cabinet approved a proposal from the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (MYAS) for a budget of **Rs. 1,620 crore** for the CWG, which was more than double the earlier allocation of **Rs. 767 crore**. This was given as a loan to the Organizing Committee.¹⁶

In March 2010, the Union Cabinet approved another proposal from MYAS for providing a budget of **Rs. 687.06 crore** for overlays (furnishings) for the Games.¹⁷ Within five months of the budget being more than doubled from **Rs. 767 crore** to **Rs. 1,620 crore**, another Rs. 687.06 crore were granted just for furnishings.

According to data on the website of MYAS, the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) received Rs. 28.53 lakh as a grant in 2005-06, Rs. 538.10 lakh in 2006-07, Rs. 244.28 lakh in 2007-08 and Rs. 238.96 lakh in 2008-09.¹⁸

Funds from the Delhi Government



In October 2009, the Delhi government sought additional funds from the Centre to expedite work related to the Commonwealth Games. *“We are hopeful of getting additional funds as we were told that there will be no shortage of money for any project related to the event,”* said Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit.¹⁹

The allocation for CWG projects in Delhi’s 2010-11 Budget got a steep hike of Rs. 1,016 crore to reach **Rs. 2,105 crore**. Of this, **Rs. 1,000 crore** will come from the Centre as additional assistance.

The highest allocation in Delhi’s 2010-11 budget was for the transport sector, which was given **Rs. 4,244 crore** (38% of the total budget) while social welfare received just **Rs. 87 crore** (a mere 7%).

Delhi Finance Minister, A.K. Walia, announced that the money would be spent for targeted implementation of all projects related to the 2010 Commonwealth Games. These projects include construction of Thyagaraja Sports Complex, renovation and expansion of Chhatrasal, Talkatora and Shivaji Stadiums, and construction of a Training Indoor Stadium at Ludlow Castle. The government will also construct eight flyovers and 23 road over-bridges or road under-bridges before the Commonwealth Games. New parking sites will be constructed while street lighting will “get a makeover,” he said.

Highlights of Delhi’s 2010-11 Budget:

- **Rs. 2,019 crore** to be spent to add 3,775 low-floor buses to Delhi Transport Corporation fleet.
- New parking facilities to be constructed at a cost of **Rs. 473 crore**.²⁰

In order to overcome financial difficulties due to increased spending on projects related to the Commonwealth Games, *the Delhi government sought a special assistance of Rs. 2,000 crore from the Centre* for the sporting event in the Union Budget. Finance minister Pranab Mukherjee increased the normal assistance to Delhi from Rs. 208.85 crore in 2009-10 to **Rs. 229.72 crore** in 2010-11, while a separate allocation of **Rs. 176.9 crore** was made to the National Capital Region (NCR) for projects related to the Commonwealth Games.²¹

3.4 Reasons for Cost Escalation

*Some of the official reasons attributed to rising costs of organising the Commonwealth Games in Delhi, include:*²²

- Inclusion of new items that are essential for the successful delivery of the Games but were not provided in the initial budget of the Organizing Committee, namely Accreditation; City Operations; Sponsorship and Television Rights; Security; Sustainability and Environment; and Ticketing.
- Change in the scope of the work and cost escalation in respect of Accommodation; Catering; Opening and Closing Ceremonies; Protocol and CGF Relations; Queen’s Baton Relay; Rent for OC Office; Communications, Image and Look; Technology; Risk Management-Insurance; and Technical Conduct of Sports.

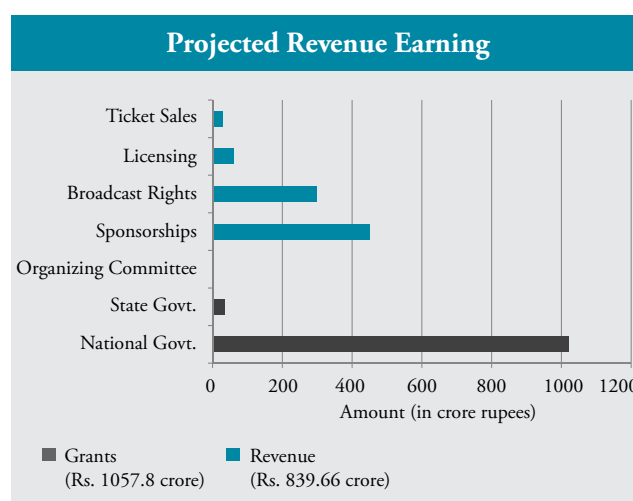
- Increase in the number of days of Queen's Baton Relay, international leg from 136 to 240 days; domestic leg from 60 to 100 days. The revised route now covers all CGA nations and territories in the international leg and all States of India in the national leg.
- The number of volunteers for the Games has gone up to nearly 30,000, and hence the cost of accreditation, catering, uniforms, etc., on this account, has increased.
- The components of rent for OC Headquarters and technology, which were not mentioned in the initial budget in 2003, are now around **Rs. 175 crore** and **Rs. 200 crore** respectively.
- The spiralling expenses on CWG projects led the Delhi government to constitute an expert committee to evaluate cost estimates and check uncontrolled spending. There were reports of ministers and bureaucrats approving inept estimates for projects.²³

Four years ago (for the 2006 Commonwealth Games) in Melbourne, costs climbed from the bid price of Rs. 670 crore to an estimated Rs. 3,800 crore. Before that Manchester went from Rs. 4,000 crore to Rs. 5,000 crore. And in 1982, the Asiad Games in Delhi led the way by shooting up from an estimated cost of Rs. 550 crore to Rs. 10,000 crore.²⁴

3.5 Financing the Commonwealth Games

According to the 2003 Report of the CWG Evaluation Commission, the projected revenue for the Games was as follows:²⁵

	US \$ million	Rupees crore
Grants - National Government	227	1021.5
Grants - State Government	7.82	35.19
Grants - Organizing Committee	0.25	1.13
Total Grants	235.07	1057.8
Revenue from sponsorships	100	450
Revenue from broadcast rights	66.6	299.7
Revenue from licensing	13.33	59.99
Revenue from ticket sales	6.66	29.97
Total Revenue	186.59	839.66



Underwriting the Costs

The Report of the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission declared that, *“The governments of India and Delhi will meet the costs of the Games and...will underwrite any operating or capital budget shortfall.”*²⁶ The Ministry of Finance, Department of Expenditure, in 2003, had however stated that, *“... it does not appear necessary or appropriate for Government of India (GoI) to provide a blanket commitment to underwrite any shortfall between revenue and expenditure of the Organizing Committee. Department of Expenditure therefore does not support the proposal to give such a blanket commitment...”*²⁷

Even though the Ministry of Finance cautioned against a “blanket commitment” from the GoI, in practice this is exactly what has happened. All cost escalations have been met by various departments of the government.²⁸

Evaluation Commission Report on Sponsorship Revenue Target²⁹

The CWG Evaluation Commission, in its 2003 report, also mentioned that the target of US \$100 million net revenue from sponsorships is significantly higher than previous Games and is based primarily on anticipated growth within the Indian market, as evidenced by recent commercial sponsorship activities. While the projection is supported by qualified independent analysis (subject to a number of provisions and general market conditions), the Commission is of the view that the target is aggressive, particularly when compared to the targets for Manchester 2002 (US \$42 million) and Melbourne 2006 (US \$65.7 million), cities in which infrastructure and other costs are much higher than in Delhi.

Analysis of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) on Sponsorships

The increase in projection of sponsorship fees from **Rs. 450 crore** to **Rs. 960 crore** was stated to be based on estimated numbers and gross target prices for different categories of sponsors. Calculations based on these numbers, however, give figures of targeted revenue ranging from **Rs. 1,330 to Rs. 1,366 crore**. During discussions at the exit conference, the Organizing Committee (OC) of the Games indicated that a majority of the sponsorship revenue would be in the form of “value in kind,” which would be used to offset expenses.

A.K. Mattoo, treasurer of the OC, and Vineet Dixit, the OC’s deputy director general of communications, insisted that the CAG Report was unreliable and based on outdated information.³⁰ Mattoo saw, “no deterrent to reaching that figure (of Rs. 1,780 crore). This isn’t a mathematical model, where we can get so much in the first year, so much in the second year, and so on.” But he acknowledged, *“As far as the realisation (of Rs. 1,780 crore) is concerned, that is anybody’s guess. This is an estimate for our revenues, and hopefully we’ll come to that figure. That is what one hopes for.”*³¹

Broadcasting Rights

The sales of international broadcast rights for the CWG began in 2006. Maximising net broadcast rights revenue is claimed to be critical to the event’s success.³²

The government sanctioned **Rs. 415 crore** to Prasar Bharati for covering the 2010 Commonwealth Games. According to Union Finance Minister, P. Chidambaram, “Fifty percent of this will be a grant and the remaining will be a loan. The broadcast rights will be auctioned and there will be a revenue stream, but we can’t say with certainty whether it will be possible to recover the loan. We’ll see how to deal with that as we go along.”³³

The CWG Evaluation Commission stated that television revenues (US \$67 million) appeared to be “overstated” compared with past achievements.³⁴

Proposed Lottery to Raise Revenue for the Games

There have been reports of an online lottery series to

raise revenue to the tune of around **Rs. 500 crore** to fund the Games.³⁵ Though lotteries are banned in some Indian states, the CWG Panel has written to these states requesting them to make a one-time exception.³⁶

3.6 Will the Games Make a Profit, Loss or be Revenue Neutral?

Given the escalating expenditure and unrealistic possibility of meeting revenue targets, there is much uncertainty on whether the CWG will generate a surplus for India.

2003: According to India’s Bid Document, “It is expected that on completion, the Games are going to generate surplus.”³⁷ The Indian Olympic Association (IOA), vide its letter No. IOA/CWG/-2010/Bid, dated March 17, 2003, stated that it expects a revenue generation of **Rs. 490 crore** against the projected expenditure of **Rs. 295.5 crore** on staging of the Games and another Rs. 1.61 crore on the bidding process.³⁸

July 2009: A report prepared by the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) noted that, “The Games project is envisaged as a revenue neutral project. The Governmental funding for the OC [Organizing Committee] is in the form of loans, to be repaid through suitable revenue generation. The OC is confident of the Games being revenue neutral. However, given the state of documentation supporting revenue generation estimates and the fact that a majority of the sponsorship revenue is expected in the form of “value-in-kind” there is no assurance that the Games would be revenue neutral.”

The CAG Report also observed that, “As per the latest estimates, the estimated revenue generation of Rs. 1,780 crore would fully defray the total operational expenditure of like amount. The estimated revenue generation, which was pegged at Rs. 900 crore in August 2007, has nearly doubled in the space of about a year. The available documentation, however, could not satisfy us of the soundness of the increased estimate of revenue.”³⁹

November 2009: Information and Broadcasting Minister, Ambika Soni, stated that it was expected that the Games would generate a revenue of **Rs. 1708 crore**.⁴⁰

Suresh Kalmadi, speaking at the sports breakfast during the Commonwealth heads of government meeting (CHOGM) in Port of Spain, said the economic impact would be approximately US \$4.5 billion (**Rs. 20.25 crore**) for India over a period from 2008 to 2012.⁴¹

March 2010: Kalmadi said in an interview, “We had estimated to get US \$30 million but will be making US \$50 million from the Games. Additionally, we will raise around **Rs. 900 crore** through sponsors, merchandising and ticketing.”⁴²

Independent Analyses of the Economic Impact of Mega Sport Events:

- Many independent researchers have found that ex-ante predictions of economic impact made by event organisers far exceed the ex-post estimates.⁴³ Claims that sports mega events provide a substantial boost to the economy of the host city, region, and country have been strongly challenged by some scholars.⁴⁴
- “Developing” nations are more adversely impacted by such events.⁴⁵
- “Cities and countries would be well advised to more thoroughly evaluate booster promises of a financial windfall from hosting a sports mega-event such as the World Cup and Olympics before committing substantial public resources to such an event. Indeed, hosting these premier events may be more of a burden than an honour.”⁴⁶

No modern Games have made money when all costs, including public money and land transfers, infrastructure costs, and security are factored in. Far from making profits, the host countries incur severe debts.⁴⁷

3.7 The World’s Experience with Mega Sports Events

- **Munich 1972 Olympic Games:** The city lost more than US \$1 billion on hosting the Games.
- **Montreal 1976 Olympic Games:** The city incurred a US \$1 billion deficit.⁴⁸ The debt was finally paid off in November 2006, i.e. 30 years later. Much of the debt was serviced through a special tax on tobacco.⁴⁹ The financial woes of the Montreal

Games left many nations wary of hosting the Olympics – so much so that Los Angeles’ bid for the 1984 Summer Olympics went uncontested. In fact throughout the 1980s, Montreal’s experience discouraged other cities from bidding for the Olympics.⁵⁰

- **Salt Lake City 2000 Winter Olympic Games:** American taxpayers subsidised the Salt Lake Winter Olympics with billions of dollars, but it left them with a US \$155 million deficit. The total cost came to US \$3 billion. After the Games, the tax revenues of Utah State fell so far short of predictions that the state faced a US \$155 million shortfall, slashed spending, and had to dip into emergency funding.⁵¹ The 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Games cost Americans at least US \$342 million.⁵² The bidding process for the Games was also mired in a scandal, with as many as 20 of the International Olympic Committee’s 110 members accepting bribes and gifts in a campaign to sway votes in awarding the 2002 Winter Games.⁵³
- **Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games:** Twelve months before the Commonwealth Games in Manchester, the government needed to provide an emergency cash injection of £105 million, which included a £25 million contingency fund. The cash injection came amid reports that the organisers had massively underestimated the cost of running the Games.⁵⁴ The actual cost, however, came to £786 million. The plan for raising revenues through advertising and tickets was not met.⁵⁵ In the years since 2002, Manchester dug into reserve savings, sold land to raise money, and diverted profits from its investments in the Manchester Airport.
- **Melbourne 2006 Commonwealth Games:** The initial bid for the Games was placed in 1998 at US \$195 million but by the end of 1999, it had escalated to almost US \$400 million. In April 2003, the state government admitted that the Games budget had exploded to over US \$1.1 billion. The cost of staging the event had more than doubled. More than US \$200 million of taxpayers’ money was spent on upgrading a variety of sport facilities.⁵⁶

No Real Profits Even for the Claimed “Winners”

Even those mega sports events that claim to have made profits, incurred different types of financial problems, questioning the “win-win” assertion of such games.

- **Los Angeles Olympic Games, 1984:** The costs of the Games were covered by federal taxes to the tune of US \$75 million; more than 30 companies contributed US \$126 million. The city did not build much new infrastructure, and corporate sponsors covered necessary construction. A U.S. Government Accountability Office report estimated that Americans paid US \$75 million to support the 1984 Los Angeles Games.⁵⁷
- **Barcelona Olympic Games, 1992:** Though the Games are recorded as a success, they did not fulfil the expectations they claimed. The Olympic investments (including some roads, coastal area renewal, cultural outlets, etc.), reached nearly 6 million euros; 53% of that budget came from public funds.⁵⁸
- **Atlanta Olympic Games, 1996:** Officially, Atlanta made US \$10 million on the Olympics, but that excludes the US \$1 billion in hidden costs that Atlanta taxpayers have spent on infrastructure.⁵⁹

Withdrawing Bids for the Commonwealth Games

Despite hosting the Commonwealth Games three times already, the New Zealand government has withdrawn its support for Auckland's bid to host the 2018 Commonwealth Games, saying a projected 600 million New Zealand dollars loss (US \$420 million) on the event was too great. Prime Minister John Key said that economic analysis had shown the loss to taxpayers on the Games, even after tourism revenues had been counted. "The issue is what it costs to run the event. It's very, very expensive and we can't see the economic payback," Key was quoted as saying. "The economic loss was so great that we couldn't justify it."⁶⁰

Trinidad and Tobago Olympic Committee (T&T OC) and the Government of Trinidad and Tobago conducted a full review as well as an open, constructive, and candid discussion and concluded that progressing a 2018 bid for the Commonwealth Games was not a prudent or responsible course of action.⁶¹

3.8 Financial Legacy of the 2010 Games

The long-term financial effects of the CWG on the city of Delhi and the country are difficult to predict. The financial legacy of the Games will depend on the extent of losses or debt that the government incurs. The excessive expenditure on the CWG, however, has already begun to impact the economy with implications on

resource allocation, especially for the city of Delhi.

- The bidding process for the CWG has cost India more than **Rs. 89 crore**.⁶² With travel costs, this amounts to **Rs. 137 crore**.
- In 2009, the Union government declared *an increase in public expenditure by Rs. 25,727 crore*, a part of which was attributed to additional funds for the Commonwealth Games.⁶³
- In January 2010, Delhi Finance Minister, A.K. Walia, admitted, *"The government has no extra funds to spend next fiscal."* The local administration has sought around **Rs. 5,000 crore** from the federal government to finish various Games-related work taken up by public bodies. A.K. Walia also stated that, "of the total money required, the state has sought **Rs. 500 crore** this year for the Games and about **Rs. 2,000 crore** each for the next two fiscals."⁶⁴
- On March 5, 2010, Minister Walia declared that, "All other projects and plans will have to wait. We will try to accommodate whatever is a must in the budget. *Projects that are not directly related to the Commonwealth Games will have to wait.* We will only consider need-based projects. And whatever is required, we will try to accommodate."⁶⁵
- The Delhi Government is already facing a financial crunch due to the CWG projects, and has no money to pay for the third phase of the Delhi Metro. *"We are broke,"* said Delhi Finance Minister, A. K. Walia in April 2010. The Government has written to the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) to shoulder the burden of Delhi Metro. "We already have to pay Delhi Metro **Rs. 758.87 crore**, which is due on account of the construction of Phase II. The government cannot spend anything this year on Metro after this."⁶⁶
- According to a senior government official, "the Organizing Committee is asking for waivers in a piece-meal approach. *If this continues, we will go into serious debt.*"⁶⁷
- Citing financial crunch due to heavy spending on Commonwealth Games projects, the Delhi government, in the last six months, has hiked bus fares and water tariff, withdrawn subsidy on LPG cylinders, and increased VAT on a number of items.⁶⁸

Money allocated for the welfare of Scheduled Castes in the Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (Special Component Plan) for Delhi, in the amount of **Rs. 265 crore**, has apparently been diverted to the CWG for the year 2009-2010.

Reallocation of Funds from Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (Special Component Plan) to Commonwealth Games: 2009-10

Sector	Amount in Rupees crore	Page No.
Transport – PWD	210.294	4
NDMC	1.194	4
MCD	22.14	4
Sports	29.611	11
NDMC	1.713	13
Total	264.95	

[Source: Scheduled Caste Sub Plan, Draft Annual Plan 2009-10, Prepared by Nodal Authority, Department for the Welfare of SC/ST/OBC/Minorities, Government of Delhi]

- For the lower and middle classes, the most immediate and problematic legacy of the Games is the increase in the cost of living. The Delhi Budget 2010-11 increased several direct and indirect taxes in Delhi; this has allegedly been attributed due to the government shortfall in meeting escalating costs of the Games. Delhi has become a more expensive city due to the Commonwealth Games.⁶⁹
- Land prices have escalated in the Trans-Yamuna area of Delhi, particularly in Mayur Vihar, Patparganj and Noida because of the CWG and the Metro project.⁷⁰

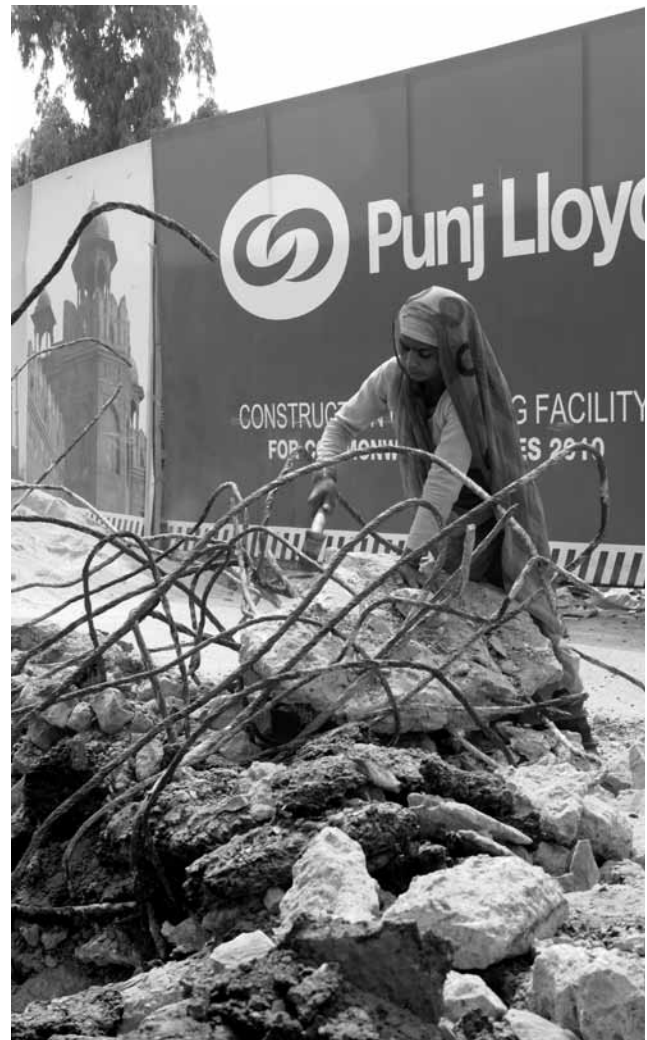
Real estate prices in Beijing had soared before the 2008 Olympic Games.⁷¹ In Barcelona, the cost of housing increased 139% (sales) and 145% (rentals) between 1986 and 1993.⁷² In the case of the Barcelona Games, “the market price of old and new housing rose between 1986 and 1992 by **240 percent** and **287 percent** respectively.” A further 59,000 residents left Barcelona to live elsewhere between the years of 1984 and 1992.⁷³ In Sydney, house prices doubled between 1996 and 2003.⁷⁴ Research by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) has shown that the cost of housing escalates due to mega events and the host city’s stock of social and low cost housing diminishes.⁷⁵

India Bidding for the Olympics?

Despite the colossal costs of hosting the CWG, the inability of the government to meet targets and raise revenue, and the growing uncertainty of whether the Games will generate an economic surplus for India,

officials have considered bidding for the 2020 Olympic Games. Hours after India was declared winner in the Commonwealth Games bid in Kingston (Jamaica), then Union Minister of State for Sports, Vijay Goel, said that it would help India position itself to stage the Olympic Games in future.⁷⁶ Twenty-one years after India withdrew from the race to host the 1992 Olympic Games, the Indian Olympic Association (IOA), announced it will bid for the 2020 Olympics. “We will officially launch New Delhi’s bid for 2020 Olympics in 2011, soon after the conduct of the 2010 Commonwealth Games,” said Suresh Kalmadi.⁷⁷

India’s hope of hosting an Olympics in the near future was dealt a blow by the Sports Minister Manohar Singh Gill, who said the country was far too poor to even consider the idea. “I am not sure if India should be thinking of the Olympics. Look at the poverty here,” Gill told the Parliament. “Some of our colleagues (in Parliament) and people outside casually say we should be bidding for the Olympics... I don’t think so.”⁷⁸



Mehar Jyrrwa

In Comparison: India's Socio-economic Reality and Expenditure on the Games

Expenditure on CWG	Union Budget Allocation/ Expenditure on Social Sector	Socio-economic Indicators	How India Ranks
<p>Current total estimate cost of CWG: Rs. 10,000 – 30,000 crore</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Cost of bidding for the CWG: Rs. 137 crore ■ Union budget allocation for CWG (2010-11): Rs. 2,069.52 crore ■ Amount spent by MCD and NDMC on CWG: Rs. 4,000 crore ■ Estimated cost of closing and opening ceremonies of the CWG: Rs. 400 crore ■ Cost of constructing and renovating stadiums: around Rs. 3,390 crore ■ Rent for OC headquarters: Rs. 175 crore ■ Cost of new parking facilities: Rs. 473 crore ■ Estimated cost of "beautification" for streets/ footpaths: Rs. 344 crore 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Public health expenditure (2009-10): Rs. 89,314 crore (4.8% of total budget) ■ Education expenditure (2009-10): Rs. 1,98,842 crore (10.6% of total budget)ⁱⁱⁱ ■ Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) (2010-11): Rs. 8,700 crore^{vi} ■ Indira Awas Yojna (2010-11): Rs. 10,000 crore.^{vii} ■ Annual budget of Department of Revenue, Government of Delhi, for shelters for the homeless: Rs. 60 lakhs ■ Amount needed to set up "6000 model schools": Rs. 3,385 crore per annum; budgeted amount in 2009-10: Rs. 382 crore.^{xi} ■ Amount needed to meet India's housing shortage: Rs. 3.61 lakh crore.^{xiv} ■ Expenditure on all social services in 2009-10: 13.35% of total expenditure.^{xvi} ■ Percentage of total aid allocated to social sectors (gross disbursements) (2007): 46.6%^{xviii} 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ National poverty rate: 37.2%ⁱ (around 450 million people live below the poverty line) <li style="padding-left: 20px;">Rural poverty rate: 41.8%ⁱⁱ ■ Combined gross enrolment ratio: 61^{iv} <li style="padding-left: 20px;">Adult literacy rate: 66^v ■ More than 5,000 children die every day from malnourishment ■ 1.5 million children die every year from diarrhoea ■ 46% of children under three years of age are underweight^{viii} ■ More than 320 million people in India are unable to manage three square meals a day^x ■ About 77 percent (850 million) people have to subsist on Rs. 20 per day^{xii} ■ 76% families (840 million) people do not get their daily required calories^{xv} ■ 5.6 crore children either don't go to school or drop out due to poverty^{xvii} ■ 55% women in the country are malnourished 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Human Development Index (2007): 134 of 182 countries ■ Gender Development Index (2007): 114 of 155 countries ■ Child malnourishment rate: 46%; highest in the world; this rate is double that of Sub-Saharan Africa ■ Infant mortality rate: highest in the world - 57 deaths per 1000 live births ■ India has the highest number of stunted and underweight children in the world.^x ■ Hunger: 40 percent of the world's starvation-affected people live in India ■ Maternal mortality rate: among the highest in the world – 450 per 100,000 live births.^{xiii} ■ Percentage employed in informal sector: 93%

Expenditure on CWG	Union Budget Allocation/ Expenditure on Social Sector	Socio-economic Indicators	How India Ranks
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Cost of CWG Village: Rs. 1038 crore ■ Cost of “high definition coverage” of CWG: Rs. 82 crore ■ Total official amount spent on infrastructure in Delhi in the last 3 years: Rs. 13,350 crore 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Population having no facility of toilet: Rural - 74%, Urban - 16.8%^{xix} ■ Physician to population ratio: 50-60 to 100,000 ■ Number of farmer suicides between 1997-2009: almost 2 lakh 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ India stands second among the worst places in the world for sanitation after China ■ India has largest number of people in the world who defecate in the open – 665 million^{xx}

ⁱ Suresh Tendulkar Committee Report, 2009.

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Economic Survey 2009-2010*, Government of India, Ministry of Finance.

^{iv} Human Development Report 2009.

^v Human Development Report 2009.

^{vi} Expenditure Budget Vol. II, Budget Estimates for 2010-11.

^{vii} Expenditure Budget Vol. II, Budget Estimates for 2010-11.

^{viii} National Family Health Survey, III, 2005-06.

^{ix} UNICEF estimate quoted in ‘Stunted India,’ *Frontline* Vol. 27, Issue 8, April 2010.

^x *India’s Shameful Paradox of Plenty*, Deccan Herald, April 22, 2010.

^{xi} Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA), People’s Charter of Demands, 2009.

^{xiii} Arjun Sengupta Committee Report on Unorganised Sector Workers (May 2006).

^{xiii} State of the World’s Children Report, UNICEF, 2009.

^{xiv} *Country Needs Rs 3.61 lakh Crore Investment for Housing Sector: Government*, *The Economic Times*, February 10, 2010.

^{xv} According to economist Prof. Utsa Patnaik; cited in *NFSA: Entitlement of Hunger?* by Sachin Kumar Jain, April 2010.

^{xvi} *Economic Survey 2009-2010*, Government of India, Ministry of Finance.

^{xvii} Amod Kanth, Chairperson of National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights.

^{xviii} Human Development Report 2009.

^{xix} National Family Health Survey III, 2005-06.

^{xx} “Diarrhoea: Why Children Are Still Dying and What Can Be Done,” World Health Organization and UNICEF, 2009.

3.9 Can India Afford Such an Extravaganza?

Given the excessive costs involved in hosting the Games and the persisting socio-economic problems that India is plagued with, how does the Government of India justify such expenditure?

Given India’s poor performance on socio-economic indicators and the glaring inequalities in the country, the money being spent on the CWG needs to be viewed in perspective.

The above table highlights the glaring socio-economic inequalities in India, amongst the worst in the world. Faced with this dismal social reality, there is no justification for hosting events that incur such colossal costs and deplete limited public funds.

“Let us not have extravagance,” former Union Minister for Sports, Mani Shanker Aiyar, said, as far back in 2006.⁷⁹

Wasteful Expenditure: What’s the Justification?

- Streetscaping of one street, Lodhi Road: Rs. 18.55 crore.
- “Snacks and other items” on 57 meetings of the OC: Rs. 29.29 lakh.
- Snacks and refreshments on a one-day meeting of the Executive Board: Rs 1.75 lakh.
- A “green helipad” at the Commonwealth Games Village: Rs. 1.92 crore.
- Creating signage of international standards in Delhi’s NDMC area: Rs. 40 crore.
- 10 lakh plants to add “colour” to the Games venue: Rs. 23.2 crore.
- Overlays (furnishings): Rs. 687.06 crore.
- Bollywood show at the Melbourne Closing Ceremony: Rs. 29 crore.
- Cost of the Commonwealth Games tableau at the January 2010 Republic Day parade: Rs. 1 crore.

Conclusion

1. The budget for the CWG has undergone several revisions since India won the bid for the Games in 2003. From an initial projection of Rs. 1,899 crore, estimates of the total cost of the Games now range from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 30,000 crore. The budgetary commitment to the Games was apparently made without a detailed analysis.
2. From Rs. 45.5 crore in 2005-06 to Rs. 2,883 crore in 2009-10 (RE), allocations for the Commonwealth Games have witnessed an astounding 6,235% increase in the Union Budget. In the 2010-11 Union Budget, the Commonwealth Games have been allocated Rs. 2,069.52.
3. The allocation for CWG projects in Delhi's 2010-11 Budget is Rs. 2,105 crore.
4. The budget has seen a manifold increase due to escalating costs on several items including, infrastructure; accommodation; catering; opening and closing ceremonies; Queen's Baton Relay; rent for the office of the Organizing Committee; communications; technology; risk management-insurance; volunteers; and technical conduct of sports.
5. The targeted goal for net revenue (Rs. 1,780 crore according to the Organizing Committee) is ambitious, as affirmed by the Comptroller and Auditor General. Given the escalating costs and unrealistic possibility of meeting revenue targets, it is uncertain whether the CWG will generate a profit for India. The country is likely to incur a debt.
6. Claims that sports mega events provide a substantial boost to the economy of the host city, region, and country have been criticised by scholars. Historically, almost all large games have lost money. Where gains are claimed, they often do not account for security costs and other long lasting negative economic impacts, most of which have to be paid by city residents.
7. India's expenses for the CWG are likely to result in a severe financial legacy, the effects of which are already visible in the form of higher cost of living and taxes for residents in Delhi.
8. Most serious is the diversion of funds for essential social sector spending to the Games, for instance diversion of money from the Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (Special Component Plan) in 2009-10.
9. The critical question that the governments of Delhi and India need to answer is whether India can really afford such a wasteful extravaganza.

Those in power who took the decision to host the CWG in Delhi and those who advocate hosting such extravagant events, need to answer some fundamental questions relating to the amount of money being spent.

The colossal expenditure on the Games brings to light the priorities of the Indian government. Is it ethically justifiable for a nation like India, with 450 million people living below the poverty line and some of the worst social indicators in the world, to host such an expensive event?

How can a government justify spending more on a 12-day sports event than on basic services for an entire year for infants belonging to low income families (ICDS), and on housing for the rural poor (Indira Awas Yojana)?

It is criminal that money reserved for the most marginalised sectors of society under the Scheduled Caste Sub Plan 2009-10 (Special Component Plan), which is already an exceedingly low percentage of the budget, is diverted for Commonwealth Games related expenditures. This information is neither made public, nor are the decision-making processes that sanction such misuse of public money. Who authorises such reallocation of funds? Is it legal, constitutional, and ethical?

Global evidence, of there being years (in some cases decades) of financial debt and restructuring after mega-events, has been ignored in going ahead with the Commonwealth Games in India. And when there is such a high incidence of poverty in the country, how could India even contemplate a bid for the Olympics Games?

Modest investment, it has been argued, could ensure decent housing to all residents of Delhi.⁸⁰ The nation could have been better served by investing the Rs. 10,000 – 30,000 crore in pro-poor social welfare policies instead of on the CWG. In light of such a harsh social reality, isn't the entire exercise of the Games a wasteful extravaganza?

Notes:

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Mehar Jyrrwa

Introduction

From the bidding process for the Commonwealth Games (CWG) to the manifold increase in expenditure, and from the non-transparent manner of functioning of the Organizing Committee to the proclaimed “benefits” for the country, the CWG story for India has not been a positive one. Delhi’s attempt to gain international fame and national prestige by hosting the Games is instead likely to result in a long-lasting negative social legacy; the many dimensions of which are outlined below.

4.1 Evictions, Displacement, Housing and Homelessness

“Popular international mega events act as powerful symbols for cities vying for the global tag. Via the media, they focus the attention of hundreds of millions around the world on lavish displays of infrastructure that epitomize the dynamism and prosperity of the host city, but are generally built at the cost of homes and livelihoods of the urban poor. Since most of these amenities require extensive stretches of land in prime locations, they cause significant displacement of local, generally low-income communities, especially those living in informal settlements.”¹

Increase in Evictions in the Run-Up to the Commonwealth Games in Delhi

While some of Delhi’s evictions and slum demolitions are directly related to Commonwealth Games projects, others are more difficult to attribute to the Games. Over the last five years, however, the scale and frequency of evictions in Delhi have gained momentum in the run-up to the Games. Most evictions are generally carried out under the guise of city “beautification” and urban renewal measures, ostensibly to create a “world class” city.

A Snapshot of Evictions in Delhi:

- According to Delhi Shramik Sangathan, in the five years from 2003 to 2008, close to 350 slum clusters housing nearly 3 lakh people were demolished in Delhi and only about one-third of these families have been resettled.²
- In his statement on World Habitat Day 2004, the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing warned that: “Forced evictions have recently assumed alarming proportions. In Delhi, India, for example, 350,000 – 400,000 of the urban poor have been evicted from their homes in the last three years.”³
- According to data compiled by Hazards Centre, a Delhi-based organization, between the years 2000 and 2006, over 100,000 families were forcibly evicted from their homes in Delhi, the majority without any resettlement provisions.
- Between 1990 and 2003, 51,461 houses were demolished in Delhi under “slum clearance” schemes. Between 2004 and 2007 alone, however, at least 45,000 homes were demolished, and since

the beginning of 2007, eviction notices have been served on at least three other large settlements.⁴

As outlined above, evictions are a routine phenomenon in Delhi and could result from a range of factors. The following slum demolitions, however, have directly been attributed to CWG-related projects.

- In 2004, Delhi authorities evicted more than 35,000 families living along the banks of the river Yamuna to make way for the development of a city beautification and tourism project on land that is adjacent to the Commonwealth Games Village.⁵
- The settlements at Banuwal Nagar, Vikaspuri were allegedly demolished for the Commonwealth Games in 2006.⁶
- Without any prior notice, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) officials demolished Gadia Lohar Basti consisting of around 15 *jhuggies* and part of a larger settlement of 1000 *jhuggies* on January 12, 2009, in order to construct a road under bridge connecting Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium to Thyagraj Stadium. This displaced more than 200 people. A writ petition was filed in 2009 seeking the court’s intervention to rehabilitate the petitioners. The MCD insisted that the demolition was carried out after receiving prior “no-objection certificate” from the Slum Department. The settlement was neither notified nor covered under any rehabilitation programme of the Delhi Government.⁷
- In June 2009, MCD demolished a slum cluster alongside a drain behind Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium, which included over 50 people suffering from a high degree of disability. People had been living in the slum since 1998-99. According to MCD spokesperson, Deep Mathur, the drain will be covered and the area beautified to make way for a parking lot in view of the Commonwealth Games in the Capital in 2010.⁸
- The Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) demolished 348 slum houses in Kirti Nagar on November 25, 2009 without serving proper notices, or providing alternative allotment.⁹
- In 2009, MCD demolished a settlement of 1,000 residents in J. Prabhu Market and Prabhu Market Extension near Lodi Colony for a parking lot that is to come up along Kushak Nullah near the Seva Nagar Railway Crossing for the opening and closing ceremony of the Commonwealth Games.¹⁰
- With complete disregard for the dignity and rights of the people, MCD officials demolished a night shelter for the homeless at Pusa Poad Roundabout (Rachna Golchakkar) on December 24, 2009, which left

over 250 homeless people without any shelter in the bitter cold.¹¹ Officials also confiscated their blankets. The stated reason for the demolition of the shelter was to grow grass as part of the “beautification” drive in the run-up to the Commonwealth Games. Two homeless persons died due to exposure of the cold at the roundabout.¹²

- A slum cluster of 368 families of Dalit Tamils at Jangpura’s Barapullah Nullah was bulldozed on April 15, 2010, in order to construct a parking lot for the Games. The Tamils had been living there for the past 35 years. They have not received any compensation or rehabilitation and currently sleep under the open sky. The heat is taking a toll on the homeless. One person reportedly fainted and had to be admitted to hospital.¹³
- 400 *jhuggies* located near Barapullah Nullah are likely to be demolished for construction of an elevated road over Barapullah Nullah. The road will connect the Commonwealth Games Village to Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium. Construction work is likely to be completed by June 2010. Despite the fact that authorities plan to demolish this settlement, the modalities of rehabilitation have still not been worked out. An MCD survey revealed that most families living in these *jhuggies* are eligible for rehabilitation.¹⁴
- The Delhi government has prepared a list of 44 JJ (*jhuggi jhonpdi*) clusters which would be relocated prior to the Commonwealth Games 2010 under its ambitious Rajiv Ratan Awas Yojna.¹⁵ The Delhi Shramik Sangathan puts the figure to be displaced at 30,000-40,000 families.

According to Ameque Jamei, leader of the All India Youth Federation, “the government is ashamed of the slums. Therefore, it has displaced hundreds of people and not even given them an alternate place to live. The Dalit Tamils’ slum cluster was visible from the flyover which will connect the Jawaharlal Nehru stadium to Lodi Road.”¹⁶

Failure of Resettlement in Delhi

The historical failure of resettlement in Delhi is well documented. The conditions in all resettlement sites, including Bawana, Holambi Kalan, Sawda Ghevra, are extremely inadequate. Most of these sites are on the outskirts of the city, residents do not have access to basic services, and many have lost education opportunities and livelihoods due to relocation. Women and children face the worst brunt of evictions, displacement and failed resettlement.¹⁷

The majority of those evicted for the “cleanup/beautification” drive for the CWG in Delhi have

not been rehabilitated while the few who have been resettled are living in deplorable conditions. At least 3,000 families, out of the 16,500 families living in the Bawana Resettlement Colony have not received land as promised, and are being forced to live under plastic sheet-covered houses in inhuman conditions. The 1,000 evicted residents of J. Prabhu Market and Prabhu Market Extension near Lodi Colony have been waiting for a site for almost a year.¹⁸

Commonwealth Games likely to lead to more slums and homelessness in Delhi

The Commonwealth Games will increase the number of slums and illegal colonies in Delhi, according to the World Health Organization (WHO). The WHO, warned that, “Construction related to the Commonwealth Games is bringing in migrants from outside Delhi and adding good amount of slums in the city.” Tens of thousands of migrant labourers working at the Commonwealth Games construction sites are staying in illegal colonies, in places adjacent to construction sites and on pavements. “New slums are coming up,” stated A.K. Sengupta from the WHO.²¹ The number of slums in Delhi had similarly increased after the Asian Games in 1982.²²

While the government is demolishing homes of the urban poor in the name of beautification, the Union Minister for Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, and Tourism, Kumari Selja claimed that, “The Commonwealth Games will act as a boon for poor people. Both the Delhi government and the ministry will do whatever we can in planning and providing funds to ensure that they have better houses.” When asked whether slum dwellers would be hidden during the Games like China did during the Olympics, Selja told reporters, “We are with them (slum dwellers).”²³

Five months before the Games, however, there is not much evidence that the government has constructed

SITUATION OF HOMELESSNESS IN DELHI: 2010	
Homeless people in Delhi	150,000
Permanent shelters for the homeless	19
Temporary night shelters (community centres) – before judicial intervention	8
Temporary night shelters (community centres) – after orders of the Supreme Court and High Court	45
Homeless cover (estimated)	6000-8,000 (4 - 5%)
Percentage of homeless people not covered	95%

housing or acted in the positive interests of slum dwellers. On the contrary, as documented above, the government has intensified demolitions, which in the failure of adequate resettlement are likely to increase homelessness in the city. The Delhi Chief Minister, Sheila Dixit, has acknowledged that, *“We will have about 30 lakh homeless in the city after the Games. This is a serious concern. Housing for them will be a priority after the Games.”*²⁴

Forced Evictions: Violation of Human Rights

The manner in which evictions have been carried out in direct violation of the law, with no prior notice, no consultation with communities, use of force and intimidation, and without any compensation and adequate rehabilitation, amounts to a gross violation of a range of human rights, including the right to adequate housing, security of the person and home, work/livelihood, and right to life. These acts of the State authorities amount to violations of Constitutional provisions and international human rights law, especially the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They also violate specific international guidelines, such as the *UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement*,²⁵ which stress that evictions can only take place in “exceptional circumstances” and must follow due process, including public consultations and the carrying out of eviction-impact assessments, in accordance with international human rights standards.

Response from the United Nations

The UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, Raquel Rolnik, noted that preparations for the 2010 Commonwealth Games seem to be “one of the factors behind the closing down of a number of shelters” in Delhi. Ms. Rolnik welcomed the Delhi High Court’s ruling (on prohibition of evictions and rehabilitation of evicted homeless families) and urged authorities to

“halt the demolition of homeless shelters, to provide immediate assistance and adequate shelter to the affected persons, and not to evict homeless persons in the winter, on humanitarian grounds.”²⁶

The World’s Experience with Housing and Mega Sports Events

Mass evictions, often involving violence, demolition of slums and informal settlements, gentrification of localities, and relocation of the urban poor take place all over the world, as cities ready themselves to host mega sporting events.

- 720,000 people lost housing in Seoul for the 1988 Olympic Games. During the five years preceding the Olympic Games, authorities destroyed 48,000 buildings housing 720,000 people for redevelopment. Ninety percent of the evictees did not receive replacement housing within the redevelopment site. Seoul’s city beautification campaign, specifically carried out to prepare for hosting the 1988 Olympics, was condemned internationally for being one of the world’s most physically violent and brutal housing relocation policies.²⁹
- For the 1992 Olympic Games, over 600 families in Barcelona were evicted from areas designated as Olympic sites or because of associated Olympic redevelopment.³⁰
- 30,000 poor residents were displaced by gentrification and 2,000 public housing units were demolished in Atlanta for the 1996 Olympic Games.³¹
- In 1995, the state government of Selangor in Malaysia, forcibly acquired 38 acres of land from 23 families belonging to the indigenous Temuan tribe for the construction of the Nilai-Banting highway linking the Kuala Lumpur International Airport. The eviction was done in haste so as to complete the highway project in time for the 1998 Commonwealth Games held in Kuala Lumpur.³²
- 2,700 Roma were affected by evictions and

Recent Statements from the High Court of Delhi Related to Housing and the Games

January 6, 2010: Bench headed by Chief Justice A. P. Shah: “How can you demolish the night shelter without having regard for people living there? Under the law (MCD Act), it is your obligation to provide night shelters to homeless people in the capital. Have you thought of the sufferings of people due to the demolition? Winter is severe in the city... *You give an explanation for the demolition on grounds of beautification and the Commonwealth Games. Show us the order under which it was demolished...* You can’t shun your responsibility. It’s your responsibility to protect these people.”²⁷

January 27, 2010: Division Bench of Chief Justice A. P. Shah and Justice Rajiv Sahai Endlaw, “What do you (MCD) want to do? We think you want to show the foreigners coming for the Commonwealth Games that there are no poor people in India... *You cannot just take bulldozers anywhere and demolish anyone’s house in the name of the Commonwealth Games. You will have to explain your actions.*”²⁸

displacement, and cancellation of planned relocation programmes in Athens for the 2004 Olympic Games.³³

- 1.5 million people were displaced in Beijing for the 2008 Olympic Games. The Beijing Municipality and the Beijing Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG) were responsible for destroying affordable rental housing stock, and authorities used tactics of harassment, repression, imprisonment, and even violence against residents and activists.³⁴
- So-called clean-up programmes associated with the Football World Cup led to the displacement of homeless people in Osaka in 2002.³⁵
- 1,400 units of low-income housing were lost in the Vancouver downtown eastside after the 2003 bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games by the city of Vancouver.³⁶
- Vancouver's original commitments in the field of housing went beyond any previously made by a city hosting a mega-event. These commitments have, however, been jeopardised by proposals to cut funding for the affordable housing programme. According to Linda Mix, Chair, Impact on Communities Coalition (IOCC), "An affordable housing legacy was a key part of Vancouver's successful bid for the 2010 Winter Olympics." Originally, the Athletes Village was intended to have one-third low, moderate, and high income households. The City Council, however, later rejected this proposal.³⁷ The city now believes it can still meet the target of providing half the units for the neediest of people and half as market-rate rentals. Housing activists, however, said the plan is a betrayal of a promise to the International Olympic Committee that all of the units would be used for non-market housing.³⁸
- Intense land speculation associated with the upcoming 2012 Olympics is uprooting low-income working class and migrant communities in north London.³⁹
- The build-up to the Football World Cup 2010 in South Africa has led to direct or indirect evictions, including through the use of state-sponsored mercenaries called the "Red Ants,"⁴⁰ increased land and property speculation, and reduction in the number of low-cost housing built as a result of diversion of funds and shortage of cement for other building needs.⁴¹

Positive Legacy of Housing

The experience of mega events does not necessarily have to leave a city worse off than before. Equitable and inclusive planning processes could result in the creation of a positive housing legacy. While this is unlikely in

the case of Delhi's experience with the Commonwealth Games, examples from other countries could have been emulated by the city government.

- In Moscow, the 1980 Olympic Games marked the culmination of a policy of construction of social housing with the transformation of the Olympic Village into 18 apartment blocks of 16 floors.⁴²
- In Athens, the Olympic Village constructed for the 2004 Olympic Games resulted in 3,000 new units of subsidised housing that benefited 10,000 residents as a housing project for the Workers' Housing Organization.⁴³
- In Sydney, civil society pressured the government into instituting a protocol to ensure that homeless people would not be targeted for removal during the 2000 Olympic Games.⁴⁴
- London made commitments (in its bids for both the 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games) regarding the use of Olympics accommodation facilities for social and low cost housing after the Olympic Games. While current practices underway in the city question the social legacy of the Games, plans are still on for half of the 2,800 units in the Olympic Village to become affordable housing after the Games, while current plans for the Olympic Park site are for around 10,000 new homes, around 35% to be affordable housing.⁴⁵ This could result in some positive social outcomes.

While India mentioned that the Commonwealth Games Village built for athletes would be used as a hostel after the Games, it is instead being marketed as luxury apartments for the elite of Delhi with Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) demanding flats at concessional rates.⁴⁶ The Lt. Governor of Delhi also admitted that the 1982 Asian Games Village was a "mistake" and said that the 2010 Village should be used as a hostel.⁴⁷

How does the Government of Delhi justify demolishing homes and rendering thousands of people homeless just to host the CWG? Are parking lots, roads and bridges for visitors to the Games more important than the lives and livelihoods of the city's residents? Is housing for the elite more important than housing for the working poor who are being evicted and displaced for the CWG?

4.2 Exploitation of Workers

A study by Building and Woodworkers International estimated that 300,000 workers will be needed in Delhi for the Commonwealth Games related level of activity, over three years, for 300 days a year. Among them will be

100,000 unskilled construction workers, at least 10,000 of whom will be women, and their 20,000 migrant children.⁴⁸ According to another source, the Games would require 415,000 contract daily wage workers.⁴⁹

Studies by Peoples' Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and Commonwealth Games-Citizens for Women, Workers and Children (CWG-CWC) have documented the widespread violation of rights of workers at CWG sites.⁵⁰

■ Low Wages

At the CWG Village none of the workers employed by the contractors are paid the legally stipulated minimum wages or overtime. Unskilled workers are paid Rs. 85 to 100 per day as against the stipulated minimum wages of Rs. 142 for eight hours of work. They are paid Rs. 134 to Rs. 150 for 12 hours of work (8 hours plus 4 hours of overtime) for which they should be paid Rs. 284. Skilled workers are being paid Rs. 120 to Rs. 130 per day for 8 hours of work even though the stipulated wage is Rs. 158 per day.⁵¹

■ No Travel Allowance

Workers are not given any travel allowance.

■ Long Hours of Work

According to Subhash Bhatanagar, who heads Nirman Mazdoor Panchayat Sangam (NMPS), "Workers on CWG projects are being made to work 12 hours at a stretch to meet the deadlines, which is a complete violation of the Construction Workers' Act of 1996, which recommends a 48-hour working cycle per week. Workers work all seven days a week on normal wages and are not given any leave."⁵²

■ Discrimination in Payment

Women workers are paid less than their male counterparts. More than five percent of the workers are women.⁵³

■ Exploitative Mode of Payment

The mode of payment is exploitative. There are no pay slips and the wages remain deposited with contractors instead of being handed over to the workers.⁵⁴

■ Late Payment of Wages

More than a third of the workers are not paid their wages on time. Contractors mostly give the excuse that they are not given payment on time by the principal employers and often do not release the wages even when the workers have to go home after a period of work.

■ Housing and Living Conditions

Adequate housing has not been provided for the workers, especially migrant workers who have been brought to Delhi to work for the Commonwealth Games. Many are living in makeshift tents at the construction sites. For those who have been provided temporary housing, it is extremely inadequate. Six to eight labourers share 10 feet by 10 feet brick huts. The huts have roofs of tin and asbestos. There is no electricity, ventilation or space to cook. In one of these camps, around 100 workers sleep on bunk beds in a dormitory and the workers call it "*murga khana*." There are no toilets; an open tank with partition for men and women serves as the bathroom.⁵⁵ The number of toilets, especially at large sites, is highly inadequate. At the Indira Gandhi Stadium, for instance, there is only one toilet for 107 workers.⁵⁶ The committee appointed by the High Court of Delhi to investigate workers' conditions, found on average, one toilet for every 50 workers.⁵⁷

■ No Safety Equipment

Workers are not given basic safety equipment - shoes, helmets, safety belts etc. Even when helmets and shoes are given, money is deducted from their wages, which is illegal.⁵⁸

■ Interstate Migrant Workers Act Violated

The workers who come from Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Punjab are not given the benefits of the Interstate Migrant Workers Act and are totally at the mercy of the contractors.⁵⁹

■ Child Labour at Games Sites

Approximately 2,000 boys, aged 14-16 years are estimated to be working at several Games sites.⁶⁰ There have been reports of children working on the drainage project outside Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium.⁶¹

■ Unregistered Workers

Although nearly Rs. 300 crore has been collected under the Building and Other Construction Workers Act of 1996, the number of workers registered so far with the Delhi Construction Workers Welfare Board (DCWWB) is under 20,000, and hardly any workers have received cash benefits from the Fund. The number of registered workers is only 2,600.⁶²

■ Death at Construction Sites

Several deaths have been reported at CWG construction sites. A public interest litigation (PIL) filed by PUDR states that 49 workers have died at various Games sites. A 23 year old worker is reported

to have died on January 28, 2010, at the DDA mega housing project in Vasant Kunj. He fell from the seventh floor while picking up bags from a trolley. He did not have a safety belt, nor were there lights at the construction site when the accident happened at around 8 PM.

In March 2008, more than 100 construction workers at the CWG Village died of meningitis due to unhygienic living conditions.⁶³ According to another estimate, over 70 deaths have taken place during construction work and due to diseases caused by the unhealthy conditions prevailing at the living quarters of the labourers.⁶⁴ The figures, disturbing as they are, do not convey the full magnitude of the loss, as a large number of deaths go unreported.

■ No Compensation for Death

No death compensation has been received by the family of any construction worker, as none of the workers are registered with the Delhi Construction Workers Welfare Board. The claim of Ahluwalia Contracts that 3,300 workers are registered with the Board, is doubtful, since none of the workers have passbooks or any proof of being registered.⁶⁵

In response to a public interest litigation filed by PUDR,⁶⁶ the Delhi High Court on February 3, 2010 appointed a four-member committee to ensure that workers' rights at the Games sites are not violated.

Expressing concern over the plight of workers at Commonwealth Games' construction sites, the Delhi High Court ordered the government to ensure payment of minimum wages and supply of safety gear to them. A division bench of acting Chief Justice Madan B. Lokur and Justice Mukta Gupta said the workers should be registered under the labour law and more attention should be given to their security and to avoiding accidents. The Delhi government agreed to register all the workers at construction sites and issue them identity cards. With this, the workers will start getting basic facilities like a minimum wage and medical care at the construction sites.⁶⁷

During the Asian Games too, PUDR had sent a report on the conditions of workers to the Supreme Court. The Court treated this as a PIL⁶⁸ and gave a historic judgement, which stated:

- Payment of wages less than the minimum wage is equivalent to "traffic in human beings and *begar*" as described in Article 23 of the Indian Constitution.
- Violation of the *Equal Remuneration Act and Contract Labour (Abolition and Regulation) Act* amounts to the violation of Article 14 (right to equality) and Article 21 (right to life and liberty) of the Indian Constitution, respectively.

- The Central Government, Delhi administration and DDA are to be held responsible for these violations because, as principal employers, they are responsible for ensuring that these rights are not violated.

This judgement is also applicable to the CWG. It makes it clear that workers are being exploited at the Commonwealth Games sites and their fundamental rights (Articles 14 and 21 of the Indian Constitution) are being violated.⁶⁹

When Rs. 10,000 – 30,000 crore are being spent on the Games, how can the government explain the fact that no money has been spent on labour welfare and the protection of the human rights of workers?⁷¹ How can the government justify the use of child labour at CWG sites, in violation of national law?

What Would it Cost to Not be "Another Asiad 1982"?

The answer is one-third of one percent (0.35%) of construction costs. Let's take the Commonwealth Games Village as an example. The Village will require the services of approximately 5,000 workers, of whom only approximately 10% stay on site. The annual cost of adequate shelter, clean water, sanitation, and a crèche for children on site amounts to Rs. 35 lakhs – 0.035% of the annual construction cost. If the same facilities are extended to all workers, including those living in off-site settlements, the cost will be 0.35%, or one-third of a percent – of the annual construction cost.⁷⁰

4.3 "Beggars"

There are an estimated 60,000 "beggars" on Delhi's streets – many estimates put the figure much higher – and a third among them are children.⁷² 4,913 "beggars" have been apprehended between 2007 and 2009.⁷³ According to one source, around 50,000 adult "beggars" and 60,000 child "beggars" will be removed from Delhi for the duration of the Commonwealth Games. They will be housed in camps on the outskirts of the city.⁷⁴

- New Delhi's Social Welfare Minister Mangat Ram Singhal, is reported to have said, "We Indians are used to beggars but Westerners are not and so we need to clean up. We'll catch them all."⁷⁵ "Before the 2010 Commonwealth Games, we want to finish the problem of beggary from Delhi."⁷⁶
- Beggary was first made a crime in Mumbai in 1959 through the *Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act*. The Act was subsequently adopted by several other states of India including Delhi. Anyone "having no visible means of subsistence" can be convicted.

- “Beggars” are being summarily tried by mobile courts and locked up, some possibly for 10 years.⁷⁷ The trial procedure is a quick affair.⁷⁸

Delhi Social Welfare Minister Mangat Ram Singhal apparently declared that Delhiites who spot beggars can reach the mobile courts through a control room. The courts would reach the spot and take away the beggars.⁷⁹

- There have been reports of poor labourers, elderly persons and the sick, being hounded by the police and arrested on charges of beggary. Ratnabai Kale, her daughter and her sister were taken to Nirmal Chhaya, where she attempted to commit suicide.⁸⁰
- A special mobile court confined three women “beggars” to a “certified institution” and offered them no legal assistance. Additional Sessions Judge Santosh Snehi Mann ordered their release, saying the women have families and there was nothing to suggest that they were likely to beg again.⁸¹
- An affidavit filed by the Delhi Government before a Supreme Court bench of Justice Dalveer Bhandari and Justice K.S. Radhakrishnan stated that 7,450 “beggars” have been rounded up in the three years since 2007, and steps had been taken to intensify the rounding up of “beggars.” There are 13 anti-begging squads in Delhi.⁸²
- A study conducted in 2006 by lawyers providing legal aid to people arrested for beggary in Delhi says that a majority of the people arrested were predominantly working as labourers and hawkers.⁸³
- An official with the Department of Social Welfare claimed that 95 percent of people found begging in Delhi are “outsiders.”⁸⁴

“Since the end of last year, we’ve been told to increase the numbers we arrest,” said Anand Pandey, a civil servant known as a ‘raid officer’. Generally we observe them from a distance and then try to catch them red-handed.”⁸⁵

- “Beggars” and homeless citizens in Delhi witnessed similar treatment during the 1982 Asian Games.⁸⁶
- Recently the Delhi government wrote letters to ten states “to cooperate and coordinate in repatriation and rehabilitation of beggars to their native states.”⁸⁷
- In a communication of April 23, 2010, the Department of Social Welfare of the Delhi government asked the authorities of temples and gurudwaras in central and south Delhi not to allow beggary, especially during the Games. The Department has also identified 12 locations and streets as “zero tolerance” zones and plans to increase the number of mobile squads to catch and prosecute “beggars.”⁸⁸

- The arrest of “beggars” amounts to a criminalisation of poverty and the poor, without addressing its root causes, the moral dimensions of the issue, or the failure of our welfare system. The official contention of a ‘begging mafia’ does not really hold for Delhi as most “beggars” in Delhi seem to be poor migrant labourers. A 2006 study on “beggars” by the Department of Social Work, Delhi University pointed out that many of the “beggars” would quit begging if they got jobs.⁸⁹

They are persons who are driven to beg for alms and food as they are starving or their families are in hunger. They beg to survive; to remain alive. For any civilized society to have persons belonging to this category is a disgrace and a failure of the State. To subject them to further ignominy and deprivation by ordering their detention in a Certified Institution is nothing short of dehumanising them. It is here that courts must step in and recognise the defence of necessity.... Prevention of begging is the object of the said Act. But, one must realise that embedded in this object are the twin goals - nobody should beg and nobody should have to beg.

Judgement by Justice Badar Durrez Ahmed, High Court of Delhi, Crl Revp No. 784/2006, December 15, 2006.

The rounding up of “beggars” from the streets of Delhi in the guise of “cleaning” the city for the Games is a blatant violation of their human rights. The campaign of the Delhi government against “beggars” has also seen the most unabashed and insensitive pronouncements by those in authority. Why should “beggars” be removed for the Games? Should not the causes of beggary be addressed instead? Should not urgent steps be taken to uphold their human rights?

4.4 Loss of Livelihoods

- Street vendors have had to bear the brunt of clearance and “beautification” drives in the name of the Commonwealth Games. They have been evicted and not paid any compensation or provided alternative space. The “refuge employment sector” (which includes street vendors) has paid a huge price for the Commonwealth Games.⁹⁰
- There are an estimated three lakh street vendors in Delhi and their sales turnover is approximately Rs. 3,500 crore.⁹¹
- The New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) ordered the eviction of “encroachers” in and around its market areas keeping in mind the 2010 Commonwealth Games.⁹²
- On January 19, 2010, from a total of more than 1

lakh applications received for licenses, the MCD Licensing Committee decided to issue licenses to only 14,000 street vendors.⁹³

- The right to livelihood of street vendors has been violated despite the fact that various Supreme Court judgements have declared street vending as a legitimate occupation.
- There are an estimated 20,000 *dhabas* in the city, of which 70-80% — around 14,000 to 16,000 — are deemed illegal.⁹⁴
- According to Deep Mathur, press and information director, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), “The illegal dhabas are liable to be removed without serving any notice to them as they are considered encroachments. MCD can only issue licenses to eating houses which have a covered roof. We have been told to remove all encroachments before the Commonwealth Games.”⁹⁵
- Rickshaw pullers, small petty shopkeepers, and other informal sector workers have also lost livelihoods through new planning norms and zoning laws.

Despite Constitutional guarantees, Supreme Court judgements, and the Delhi Master Plan 2021, and despite the contribution of street vendors and hawkers to the city's economy, they have been harassed, targeted and deprived of their human right to work and livelihood in the run-up to the Commonwealth Games.

4.5 Civil Liberties Curtailed

Jantar Mantar, one of the only spaces in Delhi where democratic protests are legally permitted, has also come under the CWG hammer. On March 18, 2010, NDMC and the police dismantled shacks of several protesters, confiscated their property and chased them away, without serving them any notice.⁹⁶ The police claimed that no one would be allowed to stay overnight. “No temporary structures will be allowed to come up in the vicinity till the Commonwealth Games get over” a senior Delhi police officer reportedly said. NDMC clearly stated that Jantar Mantar needs to be a clear sidewalk for the people and for tourists. Suddenly NDMC’s ideal viewer of the city is the figure of the tourist who should have an uninterrupted passage through the city’s streets and sidewalks, malls and monuments.⁹⁷ This trend is likely to increase as the Games approach. Security measures are also likely to get more stringent in Delhi, with a burgeoning budget for security.

According to the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, the following measures have already been taken towards increasing security in Delhi for the Games:

- 8,213 new posts of police personnel sanctioned.
- Rs. 172 crore sanctioned to strengthen security arrangements.
- Two new police districts have been created in Delhi.
- Training arranged for police personnel, taxi, bus and auto drivers.
- Extensive plan to install integrated CCTV systems, access control etc. at all competition and non-competition venues.

The total expenditure that will be incurred on security for the Games, is unknown.

Increased police surveillance, restrictions in the name of security, and restraint on civil liberties, generally accompany such large sports events.

For the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver, for example, the security operation cost more than \$1 billion and Vancouver was turned into a quasi-police state for the duration of the Games. According to Am Johal, Chair of the Impact on Communities Coalition, a watchdog group around the Vancouver Olympics founded in 2001, “Social activists who have been critical of the Olympic Games have been visited at their homes by the Integrated Security Unit, which is the unit responsible for security around the Games...”⁹⁸ The provincial government of British Columbia and the Vancouver City Council also passed a series of bylaws that sought to stifle dissent and free speech. For example, under the *Assistance to Shelter Act*, police are empowered to use “reasonable force” to compel homeless people into shelters if the provincial Minister of Housing and Social Development or designated community representatives declare an “extreme weather alert.” Under the *Clean Venue Agreement*, swat teams were authorised to seize offensive literature on public property. Only Olympic sponsors were allowed to display advertisements during the Games, and private security guards were to prevent people from holding signs or wearing clothes with political messages in Olympic venues.⁹⁹

4.6 Disruption of City Life

Apart from the intensified spate of construction across the city and the high levels of dust, traffic jams, and rise in the cost of living, the residents of Delhi are likely to face several inconveniences during the CWG. Delhi schools have had to shorten their summer vacation, as they have been ordered to remain closed during the two weeks (October 3 – 14) of the CWG. Markets have also been ordered to close on the Opening and Closing Days of the Games (3 and 14 October). The Delhi

government has declared the allocation of special lanes on the roads for CWG participants. The Delhi police had even approached the High Court of Delhi and the Supreme Court with a proposal to bring forward their vacation for the CWG. The Courts, however, rejected this idea.

Mani Shankar Aiyar, former Union sports minister, had stated that: *“Whether you organise the Commonwealth Games in Delhi or in Melbourne, the state of people living in the colonies right opposite the Games site [on the banks of Yamuna in Delhi] will remain the same.”*¹⁰⁰

The truth, however is much more disturbing, as large sections of the population across Delhi have been rendered much worse off due to the Games, including those who were evicted from the Yamuna bank opposite the Commonwealth Games Village.

4.7 CWG-2010: “Win-Win” Situation for Whom?

Suresh Kalmadi, President, Indian Olympic Association, and Chairperson of the Organizing Committee for the CWG declared that, *“We will make double the money that we will spend. It is a win-win situation for the host country.”*¹⁰¹

Who really benefits from the Games is, however, a question that common Indian citizens, especially the residents of Delhi, are asking.

While the claims of benefits from tourism and infrastructure are still doubtful, the possible sectoral beneficiaries of the Games could include:

- **Tourism sector:** At a media event hosted at London’s Bombay Brasserie on March 1, 2010, three of India’s leading tourism organisations - the Indian tourism board, Incredible India, India’s premier airline, Jet Airways, and luxury Indian hotel operator, Leela Palaces, Hotels and Resorts, provided insights into how they were set to capitalise on the Commonwealth Games.¹⁰²
- **Hospitality sector.**
- **Transport sector.**
- **Construction companies and contractors** involved in construction work, including cement companies.
- **Sports infrastructure companies.**
- **Marketing and advertising firms:** Substantial revenue will be generated through sponsorship and advertising. According to Douglas Turco, associate professor in Drexel University’s sports management programme, and part of a team studying the Commonwealth Games, “The Commonwealth

Games, though smaller than the Olympics, provides an attractive platform for sponsors eager to emerge from the global recession.”¹⁰³ Big brands such as LG, Adidas, Coca-Cola, Hyundai, Hero Honda, Airtel, Vodafone and Castrol are reportedly readying themselves for a “sports marketing spending spree.”¹⁰⁴

- **Real estate players:** This group is claimed to be “the biggest winners.”¹⁰⁵ The trend was noticed in Salt Lake City before the Winter Olympic Games.¹⁰⁶ A similar forecast was made for Vancouver.¹⁰⁷
- **Commonwealth Games Federation:** According to Douglas Turco, “most of the immediate revenue will accrue to the Commonwealth Games Federation; the host economy benefits primarily from visitor spend.”¹⁰⁸
- **Media:** Through broadcasting rights and advertising revenues during the event, the media stands to gain significantly from the Games.

The sponsorship and licensing contract for the Games has been given to SMAM, an Australian company with strong links to the Australian Olympic Committee. The primary work of the company is to generate **Rs. 1,000 crore from advertisements**. For this the company will be paid a commission of **20 percent**.¹⁰⁹



Mehar Jyrrwa

Conclusion

Clearly, it is not a “win-win” situation for the majority, who are far removed from the Games and any of its proclaimed benefits. It is not surprising that the official discourse has systematically overstated the gains, most of which are speculative in nature, and has maintained a silence over the losses and the costs which come in the wake of the Commonwealth Games. It is not surprising because this has been the trend all over the world. Apart from this trend of “over-estimated benefits and under-estimated costs of hosting,”¹¹⁰ another fact that is often ignored is that most studies of sport as a generator of development have been “conducted in advance of the events on behalf of interested parties without adequate measurement of final and intermediate outputs as well as inputs.”¹¹¹

The socio-economic profile and the physical fabric of the city are undergoing a drastic and irreversible transformation due to India’s decision to host the CWG. The urban poor, especially women, children, persons with disabilities, dalits, older persons, and other marginalised groups, bear the worst brunt of this rampant Games-led infrastructure development with thousands of crores of rupees being squandered on inessential and wasteful projects.

1. Slum dwellers have been evicted, their homes demolished, and most have not received any compensation.
2. Street vendors and other informal sector workers have been cleared off the roads, and their livelihoods are being destroyed.
3. Delhi officials demolished a temporary night shelter for the homeless at Pusa Roundabout during the peak of Delhi’s winter for the sake of growing grass for city “beautification.” Two homeless persons lost their lives as a result.
4. “Beggars” and homeless citizens are being rounded up, arrested and arbitrarily detained under the *Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act 1959*. Some have been sent to beggars’ homes and talks are on with States to ensure they go back to where they originate.
5. There is rampant exploitation of workers at CWG construction sites. This includes low pay, unsafe working conditions, lack of housing, use of child labour, non-registration of workers, and denial of social security benefits. Deaths have also been reported at some of the CWG sites.
6. Civil liberties in Delhi are being curtailed, and as the Games draw near, the city is likely to witness increased surveillance and restrictions in the guise of

security measures.

7. Article 7 of the CWG Constitution mentions that: “For the Commonwealth Games and generally in respect of all activities of the Federation and events under its control, there shall be no discrimination against any country or person on any grounds whatsoever, including race, colour, gender, religion or politics. The clampdown against the urban poor and homeless in Delhi is a glaring violation of this article.



Why is the government so desperate to present a false “world class” face to foreign visitors? Why is the government removing the poor and homeless? Is it because they do not fit in with the planners’ conception of a “world class city” of flyovers, broad roads, and sanitised streets? Why such desperation to emulate the urban landscape of the industrialised world? Why such unethical practices that create a divisive and “apartheid” city? How does the government derive the mandate to destroy livelihoods and homes of the working poor for the sake of city “beautification” and the Games?

Does such action contribute to national prestige or national shame?

A city administration that stigmatises, criminalises, and hides its poor citizens in an attempt to appear “world class” needs to be severely challenged, rebuked and held accountable.

Who really benefits from the Games and how much money is actually involved? With the rights of the majority being sacrificed for the benefit of a few, how does the ‘win-win’ situation that Kalmadi forecasted translate into reality?

The corrupt, unethical, and discriminatory practices in the wake of the CWG in Delhi violate not just the stated mission of the Games but also constitutional and international law that India is bound by.

Whose wealth is paying for the Commonwealth Games? And on whose “commons” is the apparently wasteful infrastructure being built?

What is the real legacy of the Games for Delhi, and for India? Who is going to provide the answers to Indian citizens whose taxes are paying for this colossal waste in the name of the Commonwealth Games?



Mehar Jyrrwa

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Conclusions and Recommendations

The 2010 Commonwealth Games (CWG), while being portrayed as a global event that would contribute to India's "national prestige" and international repute, have on the contrary already resulted in negative consequences that serve to challenge this presumption.

According to the Government of India, "the logo of the Delhi Commonwealth Games symbolizes freedom, unity and power and is inspired by the Chakra. Spiralling upwards, this rainbow Chakra in the shape of a human figure portrays the coming together of the diverse people of India to fuel the growth of a proud and vibrant nation."¹ The mission statement says that, "India is hosting the games to spread prosperity and peace using the games as a *medium of love and peace*."²

The declared mission of the 2010 Commonwealth Games is to, "deliver the 'Best Commonwealth Games Ever,' build state-of-the-art sporting and city infrastructure for the facilitation of the Games; create a suitable environment and opportunities for the involvement of the citizens in the Games; to showcase the culture and heritage of India; to project Delhi as a global destination; to project India as an economic power; *to leave behind a lasting legacy*."³

Experience from the CWG process, however, does not support the stated mission. The lead up to the Games has, instead, brought about several adverse impacts in the form of slum demolitions and evictions, loss of livelihoods, and exploitation of workers. This report highlights the questionable government practices, non-transparency and lack of accountability, undemocratic operating procedures, depletion of public funds, and abrogation of national and international law, including violation of human rights and environmental norms.

While it is too late to prevent the Games from taking place in Delhi in October 2010, this report makes a series of recommendations for the Government of India, Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, non-state actors involved in the Games, national human rights and judicial institutions as well as civil society. These recommendations aim to bring about transparency and disclosure in the process and also seek to mitigate the negative social, economic and environmental impacts of the 2010 Games.

The recommendations from this study have been divided into two categories: general recommendations, and immediate measures that need to be taken for the protection of human rights.

General Recommendations:

1. **A full and detailed inquiry should be conducted into the finances and expenditure of the CWG**, including the sources of funding and revenue, the operating costs of the Organizing Committee, salaries of all officials, and use of public money. **There must be full public disclosure of all finances related to the Games.** A detailed breakdown of all expenditures for the Games needs to be made available. This should include information on all direct and indirect costs related to the CWG, including infrastructure, security, transport, accommodation, sightseeing, food, hospitality, entertainment, ceremonies, training of foreign athletes, and other related expenses on Commonwealth Games officials, participants and organisers.
2. As mandated by the Candidate City Manual of the Commonwealth Games Federation, and reiterated by the November 2006 Parliamentary Standing Committee Report, and the July 2009 Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India, **the Government of India must have a detailed legacy plan for the Games.** This legacy plan should be based on principles of human rights and environmental sustainability, and should include a long-term detailed course of action that ensures protection of the human rights to adequate housing, work and livelihood, food, water, health, and security. The plan should pay particular attention to vulnerable and marginalised groups, and incorporate the principles of non-discrimination and gender equality. The legacy plan should also include details of equitable use of infrastructure after the Games, including buildings, stadiums, and housing. **A special independent body should be entrusted with the task of monitoring compliance with the legacy plan.**
3. **An independent probe should be conducted to review all transactions involved in the Games**, including the sale of tenders, the processes for awarding contracts, allocation of finances, and sanctioning of funds. All contracts should be made public information. **Any charges of corruption need to be independently investigated.** An investigation also needs to be conducted on India's bidding process and the monetary offer made by the government to win the bid.
4. **The National Human Rights Commission should conduct an immediate and comprehensive**

- investigation into human rights violations related to the CWG.**
5. An **independent Parliamentary probe should be conducted into the secrecy that has been the hallmark of decision making related to the CWG**, including bypassing of the Parliament and democratic procedures.
 6. An immediate **independent inquiry needs to be conducted into the use of funds from social sector budgets for the CWG**. This includes funds diverted from the 2009-10 *Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (Special Component Plan)* of the Department for the Welfare of Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes/ Other Backward Classes/Minorities, Government of Delhi.
 7. The **Comptroller and Auditor General of India should conduct a post-Games audit and report** on the total revenue and expenditure of the Games. The study should analyse funds spent on the Games from the public exchequer, and should also investigate the financial dealings of the Organizing Committee.
 8. **Officials**, including members of the CWG Organizing Committee (OC), who have consistently overstated benefits of the Games, withheld critical information from the Parliament and the public, and misappropriated funds **should be investigated, and if found guilty, prosecuted**. Salaries of senior officials of the OC and members of the Indian Olympic Association should be made public. Where there are allegations of corruption, investigations should be carried out, as in the case of the Indian Premier League (IPL).
 9. The **Government of India should commission an independent study after the Games** to assess their social, environmental and economic impacts on the country. The differential impacts on vulnerable and marginalised individuals and groups should be documented, including women, children, Dalits, persons with disabilities, homeless citizens, and other urban poor groups.
 10. Any decision to host a mega event of such a great magnitude, and which involves such large amounts of public funding **must be discussed in Parliament**, and must follow a participatory and consultative democratic process.
 11. A comprehensive **environmental and social impact assessment, along with a detailed cost-benefit analysis, must be conducted before** any approval for such a large event is obtained. A detailed and thorough investigation should be undertaken into the Environmental Impact Assessment process for the Commonwealth Games, including for the CWG Village as well as for all other Games projects, and the manner in which the clearances were obtained.
 12. Ministers, Members of Parliament and anyone holding a political office should not be permitted to hold positions in sports bodies. A **regulatory authority should be created to look into the functioning of sports bodies**.
 13. There should be a stipulated limit on the number of terms that officials of sports bodies can hold. The Constitution of the International Olympic Committee should mandate a limit of two terms for all officials. The current President of the IOA and Chairperson of the Commonwealth Games Organizing Committee, Suresh Kalmadi is a Member of Parliament from the Congress (Lok Sabha) since 2004 and has been President of the IOA since 1996 (14 consecutive years).
 14. Given India's stark socio-economic reality and the negative social and economic costs already evident in the lead up to the CWG, **India should under no circumstances, bid for the Olympic Games or any other mega sporting event**. Any decision related to bidding for the Olympics must be discussed in Parliament and must win the approval of the Indian people.

Immediate Measures for Protection of Human Rights:

1. Steps need to urgently be taken to **prevent any further violations of human rights** in the run-up to the Games, and to bring the perpetrators to justice. The Constitution of India as well as national laws, especially those relating to labour, health, housing, disability, women, children, marginalised sections, and the environment, must be upheld. Relevant judgements of the Supreme Court of India and the High Court of Delhi should be complied with. The state and central governments must ensure compliance with India's international human rights and environmental legal commitments.
2. The **government must not carry out slum demolitions or evictions** for city beautification, urban renewal, or for any other Games related projects. Prior to, during and after the Games, international human rights standards as emphasised in General Comment 7 (on forced evictions) of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the *UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement*⁴ should be complied with.
3. **Adequate compensation must be paid** to all those who have lost homes and livelihoods, and

UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement

The *Guidelines* aim to minimise displacement and call for alternatives, where possible. In particular, they:

- Lay down stringent criteria under which eviction can occur, only in “exceptional circumstances,” with “full justification” and procedural guarantees;
- Enumerate steps to be taken by states to protect human rights prior to, during, and after evictions;
- Call for comprehensive “eviction-impact assessments” to be carried out prior to eviction;
- Call for provision of compensation, restitution and adequate rehabilitation consistent with human rights standards; and,
- Call on states to guarantee security of tenure.

to those who have been arbitrarily arrested and detained. Evicted and displaced **families must be adequately resettled** with provision of basic services, infrastructure, livelihood, healthcare, and adequate housing.

Excerpts from a Delhi High Court Judgement

This Court would like to emphasise that in the context of the MPD [Master Plan for Delhi], jhuggi dwellers are not to be treated as “secondary” citizens. They are entitled to no less an access to basic survival needs as any other citizen. **It is the State’s constitutional and statutory obligation to ensure that if the jhuggi dweller is forcibly evicted and relocated, such jhuggi dweller is not worse off.** The relocation has to be a meaningful exercise consistent with the rights to life, livelihood and dignity of such jhuggi dweller.

It is not uncommon that in the garb of evicting slums and “beautifying” the city, the State agencies in fact end up creating more slums...

[Judgement by Justice A.P. Shah and Justice S. Murlidhar, High Court of Delhi, in the Case *Sudama Singh and Others v. Government of Delhi*, 11 February 2010]

4. The Indian government should abide by the resolution on adequate housing and mega-events,⁵ adopted by the UN Human Rights Council, which in paragraph 3 calls upon States:
 - (a) To integrate housing concerns into the bidding and planning process at an early stage and, in this regard, **to assess the impact on the affected population throughout the process**, as appropriate;
 - (b) To ensure **full transparency of the planning and implementation process** and the meaningful participation of the affected local communities therein;

- (c) To pay **particular attention to persons belonging to vulnerable and marginalized groups**, including by respecting the principles of non-discrimination and gender equality;
- (d) To plan and **develop the event venues with the post-event period in view**, while taking into account the needs of socially disadvantaged persons for **affordable housing**.

These recommendations should also be incorporated into India’s legacy plan for the Games.

5. The Government of India should consider seriously the recommendations made by the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing in her 2009 annual report (on the impact of mega-sporting events on the realisation of the right to adequate housing).⁶
6. Labour laws must be followed and **human rights of workers must be upheld and promoted**. The Commonwealth Games Federation should develop a code of ethics for workers and abide by international labour laws and standards. Working conditions in all CWG sites must be immediately improved.
7. The Government of Delhi must **immediately stop discriminating against and criminalising the poor**. *The Bombay Prevention of Begging Act, 1959*, should be repealed and must not be used to arbitrarily arrest and detain homeless citizens and those working on the streets or begging. All those arrested must be given access to legal remedy and fair trial. The undemocratic system of “mobile beggars’ courts” in Delhi should immediately be suspended.
8. Street vendors, rickshaw pullers, petty shop owners and other **workers in the informal sector must not be discriminated against**. The state must ensure that their livelihoods are protected and not destroyed in the run-up to the Games or after. The contribution of the informal sector to the economy must be recognised and workers should be provided with social security benefits.
9. The **Indian Olympic Association** is bound by the International Olympic Charter and principles of the Olympic Movement, and must uphold them.⁷ The **Organizing Committee of the CWG** must abide by the Commonwealth Games Federation Constitution.
10. All concerned actors should adopt the practice of the International Olympic Committee, which according to the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, “in its 2016 Candidature Procedure and Questionnaire requests information from cities on the requirements for land acquisition and displacements and their conformity with international standards. Similarly, the Basic

Principles from the Olympic Charter and the Olympic Movement's Agenda 21 (Sport for Sustainable Development)

1. To condemn and combat the violations of human rights of which young people are particularly likely to be victims.
2. 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 of effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.
3. To place sport everywhere at the service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to encouraging the establishment of a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.
4. To encourage and support the promotion of ethics in sport as well as education of youth through sport and to dedicate its efforts to ensuring that, in sport, the spirit of fair play prevails and violence is banned.
5. Any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on grounds of race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic Movement.
6. To promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries.
7. Action plans should take account of the fight against poverty and encourages the integration of disadvantaged social groups.
8. At these events, the creation of living accommodation for athletes and other members of the sports movement must be designed to provide a boost to local housing strategies, not forgetting the poorest members of society. The infrastructure created must be safe in terms of the quality and durability of materials and resistance to attack or natural disaster. The accommodation must be suitable for healthy living and allow economical use of natural resources.

Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement will be made available to future host cities.”⁸

As clearly evidenced in this report, the range and extent of **human rights violations by the government and private players involved in the Games are alarming and strongly contradict the purported mission of the Games.** They also violate the three core values of *humanity, equality and destiny*, adopted by the Games movement in 2001, as well as the stated values of the Organizing Committee of the CWG, which are: *sportsmanship, integrity; excellence, solidarity, diversity, competence, transparency, and discipline.*⁹ Integrity and transparency, in particular, seem to have been compromised in the CWG process.

While it is impossible to justify the hosting of such an extravagant event in a country with such high poverty or to condone the irresponsible actions of concerned officials, it is hoped that the above recommendations will help the government and other involved actors to redress grievances and mitigate the adverse impacts of the Games. It is also hoped that the negative experience of the 2010 Commonwealth Games for India will serve to act as a lesson for the Indian government and prevent such undemocratic decisions and unethical actions from being repeated.

Notes:

- ¹ 2010 Commonwealth Games, Government of India: http://india.gov.in/spotlight/spotlight_archive.php?id=51.
- ² <http://www.commonwealthgamesnewdelhi.net/mission-statement.htm>.
- ³ Official website of the 2010 Commonwealth Games: <http://www.cwgdelhi2010.org/dcwg/index.php?q=node/695>.
- ⁴ Presented in the report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, Miloon Kothari, A/HRC/4/18, February 2007 at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/housing/annual.htm>.
- ⁵ “Adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, in the context of mega-events,” Resolution A/HRC/RES/13/10, Human Rights Council, April 13, 2010. India voted in favour of this resolution.
- ⁶ See in particular, the recommendations in paragraphs 69 to 81 of the Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, Raquel Rolnik, A/HRC/13/20, December 18, 2009 at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/housing/annual.htm>.
- ⁷ *Olympic Movement's Agenda 21, Sport for Sustainable Development*, International Olympic Committee, Sport and Environment Commission; and *Olympic Charter*, in force from February 11, 2010, International Olympic Committee.
- ⁸ See Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, Raquel Rolnik, A/HRC/13/20, December 18, 2009.
- ⁹ Official website of the 2010 Commonwealth Games: <http://www.cwgdelhi2010.org/dcwg/index.php?q=node/695>.

The Housing and Land Rights Network (HLRN) is an integral part of the Habitat International Coalition (HIC) - an independent, international, non-profit movement of over 450 members specialised in various aspects of human settlements. Members include NGOs, social movements, academic and research institutions, professional associations and like-minded individuals from 80 countries in both the North and South, all dedicated to the realisation of the human right to adequate housing for all.

HLRN's Objectives:

HLRN seeks to advocate the recognition, defence and full implementation of everyone's human right to a secure place to live in peace and dignity, by:

- Promoting public awareness about human settlement problems and needs globally;
- Cooperating with UN human rights bodies to develop and monitor standards of the human right to adequate housing, as well as clarify states' obligations to respect, protect promote and fulfil the right;
- Defending the human rights of the homeless and inadequately housed;
- Upholding legal protection of the human right to adequate housing;
- Providing a common platform to formulate strategies through social movements and progressive NGOs; and,
- Advocating on their behalf in international forums.

To attain these objectives, HLRN member services include:

- Building local, regional and international member cooperation to form effective housing rights campaigns;
- Human resource development, human rights education and training;
- Action research, fact-finding, and publication;
- Exchanging and disseminating member experiences, best practices and strategies;
- Advocacy and lobbying;
- Developing tools and techniques for professional monitoring of housing and land rights;
- Urgent actions against forced evictions and other housing and land rights violations.

To become a member of HIC-HLRN, see: www.hic-sarp.org



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