

# HERITAGE GAMES

cleaning up the debris

Hazards Centre Publication  
2010



# Heritage Games

Cleaning up the Debris

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Hazards Centre 2010

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Interns from Delhi University, *Kapesa*, and Ambedkar University, *Sandhaya Negi and Vasundhara Nayyar*, contributed in doing some of the interviews. The outcomes of their reports were of great help in drawing some of the conclusion on the impact of the Games.

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## Contents

What are the Games?	I
Is Delhi Set for the Games?	5
The Financial Cost to the City	13
Social and Environmental Costs	23
Gainers and Losers	42
Cleaning up After the Games	48
References	50

## What are the Games ?

Beginning from July 2010 there has been a glare of floodlights on the Commonwealth Games in Delhi. In the early weeks media hounds began enquiring into the state of preparedness with photographs of inchoate ditches and rubble, loose masonry and cement, incomplete roofs and walls. Then the first rains came and, as everything began leaking and the water gathered, the focus changed to the impediments to traffic and the inconvenience to the public. Soon, however, with the first exposés of contracts and sweetheart deals, the emphasis changed to corruption. By the first week of August all the Opposition Parties slammed into the Government in Parliament with charges of “loot of public money” and demands that heads should roll. While, at the same time, notable sports personalities like tennis great Vijay Amritraj and patriotic first citizens like entrepreneur Subrata Roy Sahara were issuing emotional appeals to “rise as one united nation” for the “pride of the nation” and postpone the witch-hunt until after the Games. The curious citizen might be forgiven for wondering what exactly are the Games and why have they aroused so much passion on both sides?

### The History of the Commonwealth Games

It may be interesting to discover how such conflicting emotions are rooted in history itself. The Empire Games, as it was then called, was first held in 1930 in Hamilton (Canada), just after the Great Depression of 1929 was sending economies world-wide into a tailspin. It was also the period when empires were in tumult. Earlier the Russian empire had broken up in 1917; the Italian Fascists came to power in 1922 with a dream of the revival of the Roman empire; Japan was about to invade China to enlarge its own empire; and Hitler was rising to power as the future Chancellor to preside over German expansionism. Thus, the Games were organised on the eve of the Second World War to “hold together” the colonies, with the parade of nations being led by a single flag bearer carrying the Union Flag, symbolising Britain's leading role. This was followed four years later by the 1934 Games in the heart of empire at London. But then Hitler returned the compliment with the 1936 Olympics in Berlin to promote the Third Reich and its racial supremacy. It should be noted that organising this Olympics required \$4.4mn, the city of Berlin invested \$11.2mn, the German national government is estimated to have spent \$30 million, while total ticket revenues was just \$5 million.

Eventually, the clash of contending empires led to World War II, and when it ended in 1945 it signalled the dissolution of empires and the emergence of many independent nations. In keeping with the changing times, the name changed to Commonwealth Games in 1954, and since 1958 there has been a relay of athletes, instead of the lone flag-bearer of empire, carrying the Queen's Baton from Buckingham Palace to the Opening Ceremony. But the costs have continued to escalate. Thus, in 1998, Kuala Lumpur reportedly spent about \$180mn; and this was at the time of the great Asian financial crisis. Manchester began its bid in 2002 with \$14.63mn, officially escalating to \$300mn, with unofficial estimates going even higher, and this was fuelled by the need to restore a city devastated by ethnic violence. Melbourne in 2006 began with a \$195mn budget but finally spent \$1,200mn to try and emulate Sydney's financial revival at the time of the 2000 Olympics. And Delhi's initial bid, it should be remembered, was a mere \$422mn (Rs1772cr) at the time that India is striving to be an economic power of global eminence and a super-power in its own South Asian backyard. Hence, the Games appear to be linked to the behaviour of nations and economies – or is that just a coincidence?

In an exploration of Big Games, published in 2007 and titled “How Much Does National Prestige, Cost?”, the Hazards Centre had examined the performance of the Olympics and found that, beginning from Mexico in 1968, virtually every city that had hosted such an event had plunged into debt for the next 25 to 30 years. Both Munich and Montreal reported a deficit of \$1,000mn in the years 1972 and 1976 respectively. Seoul was already suffering from a \$45,000mn national debt in 1988; Barcelona incurred a loss of \$1,400mn in 1992; even Sydney ran headlong into a debt of \$2,600mn in 2002. The \$16,600mn adventure of Athens in 2006 is often linked by analysts to the current economic crisis of Greece; while Beijing may have spent as much as \$37,000mn in 2008 with no one revealing how the money is going to be recovered. In fact our analysis of the impact of big sporting events like the Olympics, the World Cups, and even the Commonwealth Games, on the host cities showed that such Games have little to do with 'sports' or with 'pride'. They are part of an economic strategy that is promoted to serve big financial interests through a programme of urban renewal along with advertising and marketing revenues. The Games never pay for themselves; it is public money that falls into the hands of private businessmen.

Developers, real estate agents, construction companies, and people at the high end of the tourism, advertising, marketing, and hospitality industries rake in profits, while the rest of the citizens bear the debts and the social and environmental impacts – repression, displacement, workers' deaths, corruption, and degeneration – for years to come.

We circulated our report to a hundred selected Members of Parliament, belonging to all political parties, in late 2007, and their aides were reminded telephonically about the report; but not one responded or even acknowledged the receipt of the document. For three long years the people's representatives have not cared to enquire into the nature of this sporting extravaganza or to examine what has been its impact on the city's citizens, where is the money coming from, and who is spending it: which is why it is somewhat ironical to see some of them protesting so agitatedly in Parliament now. It is this spirit of uncritical acceptance of the “nation” and its needs that has provided the space for the laser-ballooning of the Games into a monster of dismaying proportions. The Organising Committee, of course, continues to maintain its stock-in-trade remark that it is responsible only for its Rs1,620cr, and that it will generate an estimated revenue of around Rs1,708cr from international/domestic broadcasting, sponsorship, ticketing, licensed merchandise, donations etc – although even that is now open to serious doubt. There is also the Games Federation-sponsored Commonwealth Business Club of India that seeks to fulfil its objective “to market the Commonwealth Games in Delhi and promote and facilitate business networking as well as showcase the country as a preferred business destination for the global business community”. And there is the Memorandum of Understanding that the Indian Olympic Association has signed with the Confederation of Indian Industry in relation to the business prospects of Delhi's bid and the staging of the Games. All these point to the true commercial under-pinning of the Games.

In this context the statement of the Chief Minister of Delhi bears special mention: she is reported to have said that the government has done in one year what it would ordinarily have taken five years to do. This speed is of the essence to drive the engines of “growth” in the capital. Otherwise the Games will be over and there will be nothing left to legitimise the spending of astronomical amounts in the name of “national pride”, with no one to account for it either: unless one wants to face all those pesky busybodies who are enquiring too closely into the nation and the state of its citizens.

Who might want to know why the flats of the Commonwealth Games Village are being auctioned off at Rs 2 crores each when the Commonwealth Games Evaluation Commission was assured in 2006 that post the Games they would become “university accommodation”; or that the Village was supposed to feature only low to medium rise buildings; or that the Government had confirmed its intention to develop the venues in an “environmental friendly” manner. Because, eventually, the expenditure for this remarkable enterprise will have to be paid for by this “nation” – whether it participates in *watching* the Games or not (the question of *playing* obviously does not arise). This report, therefore, sets out to document what is being, or has been, spent on the Games in Delhi; who is paying for it now; and what is going to be the future impact on the city and the nation. It is based on what is available in the public domain, in the media and in announcements by the official spokespersons, and how ordinary citizens see and relate the changes in their own lives.

Individual, personal changes are intrinsically linked to larger systemic changes. The ecology of the city is changing rapidly in complex ways and it is sometimes impossible to capture the moment completely. In society, as in nature, altering any part of an interdependent networked relationship impacts every other part in the system. In this process, many precious elements can 'disappear,' and become 'absent'. This appears obvious from the history of planned urban change and its underlying concepts. During the 1940s, the notion of 'efficiency' was made operable in Paris by Baron Haussmann through 'regularising', that is, by demolishing congested properties in the inner city and creating long, regular streets lined with imposing apartment buildings, with stores and offices located on the first floor. Called Haussmannisation, the process became the cornerstone of the urban renewal programme in the United States of America, where it was implemented during the 1950s and the 1960s to decongest inner cities, involving the demolition of existing structures and moving the residents out. Backed by several billions of federal dollars, the programme cleared and redeveloped about 1,000 square miles of urban land and, during the process, demolished 600,000 housing units that housed nearly two million people. Combined with Euclidean zoning, such a process of 'renewal' contributed to developing urban sprawl and huge public costs. The Commonwealth Games 2010 conforms to the same notions of urban transformation, with an ad-hoc violation of planning processes and without public disclosure of and debate on all decisions related to the Games. Who then are the real players?

## Is Delhi Set for the Games?

The Organising Committee and the Delhi Government claim that the Commonwealth Games will showcase the economic clout of the city but, with less than 2 months to go, what has actually been achieved?

Substandard construction is one of the challenges Asia's third-biggest economy faces as it gears up to take on the big-ticket projects needed to propel growth to near China's double-digit rates. Analysts say one of the main problems is the procedure of signing contracts for all projects – regardless of their size – to the lowest bidders. Contractors also sometimes take short-cuts when they're running over budget or running out of time. This often translates into sub-standard structures, and this is a problem that would remain even if the oft-cited difficulties of getting land and necessary bureaucratic clearances are solved. This is evident from Table I which gives the status as on August 10, 2010 of several projects related to the Games that we have been able to track through media reports. Only two stadia (of the 11) are complete, one electricity centre has been established, a bridge has been widened, parking has been completed at Nehru stadium, and the streetscaping of Ring Road is reported to be finished. But the remaining projects are still under construction and the latest deadlines are verging to just two weeks before the Games. Whether, therefore, Delhi will be ready for the Games is a wide open question.

Table I: Details of the present status of projects

<i>Project</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Old deadline</i>	<i>New deadline</i>
Yamuna Sports Complex ceiling collapse <sup>1</sup>	Repaired		
Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium <sup>2</sup>	40% left	Nov 15,2009	
S P Mukherjee Swimming Complex <sup>3</sup>	Loose tiles	Oct 31,2009	Inaugurated
Karni Singh Shooting Range <sup>4</sup>	Rain damage	Mar 31,2009	Inaugurated
Shivaji Stadium <sup>5</sup>	35% left		
Other Venue Stadiums <sup>6</sup>	Ongoing	Dec 2009	Sep 2010
Cycling Tracks <sup>7</sup>	Ongoing	Jul 31, 2010	
R.K.Khanna Tennis Complex <sup>8</sup>	Ready	Dec 31,2009	

Indira Gandhi Stadium ceiling repair <sup>9</sup>	Ongoing	Oct 10,2009	
Games Village flats and Vasant Kunj flats <sup>10</sup>	Not ready	Dec 31,2009	Jul 31, 2010
Guest houses <sup>11</sup>	916 ready		
Tourist booking <sup>12</sup>	Only 4%		
Sound proof walls at Games Village <sup>13</sup>	Ongoing	Sep 15,2010	
Electricity Skada Centre at Games Village <sup>14</sup>	Established		
Water treatment plant at Games Village <sup>15</sup>	Ongoing		
Ring Road Bypass <sup>16</sup>	Ongoing	Mar 2010	
Ring Road Bypass widening <sup>17</sup>	Ongoing	Jun 2010	Jul 31,2010
Improvement of Road 56 <sup>18</sup>	Ongoing	Jun 2010	July 2010
Widening of bridge over Road 57 <sup>19</sup>	Completed		
Widening of Anand Vihar road & RUB <sup>20</sup>	Ongoing		
Double carriageway flyover at Patparganj <sup>21</sup>	Ongoing	Aug 2010	
UP Link Road <sup>22</sup>	Ongoing	Mar 2010	Sep 15,2010
Barapula Nala elevated road <sup>23</sup>	Ongoing	Jun 2010	Aug 2010
Badarpur flyover <sup>24</sup>	Ongoing	Sep 30,2010	
Elevated road Sarai Kale Khan to Stadium <sup>25</sup>	Ongoing	Jul 2010	
FOB at Bhishma Pitamah Marg <sup>26</sup>	20% left		
All Municipal Corporation projects <sup>27</sup>	Ongoing	Jul 31,2010	
Dividers: Kamla Mkt, Civic Centre, Paharganj <sup>28</sup>	Ongoing		
Parking at Nehru Stadium <sup>29</sup>	Ready		
500 new Bus shelters <sup>30</sup>	Began in July		
Cycle feeder service centres <sup>31</sup>	100 planned		
Gole Mkt <sup>32</sup>	92.5% left		
Safdurjung, Hindu Rao, Rajiv Gandhi, & Max <sup>33</sup>	Not ready		
Polyclinic at Games Village <sup>34</sup>	Not ready		
Hygiene norms for hotels & restaurants <sup>35</sup>	Not decided		
Catering contracts <sup>36</sup>	Not awarded		
Qutub Minar, Red Fort, Humayun's tomb	Not ready		
Conservation work of 46 monuments <sup>37</sup>	Ongoing		
13 sites for illumination <sup>38</sup>	Ongoing		
Beautification on Roads 56 & 57 <sup>39</sup>	Ongoing		
Beautification on Ring Road <sup>40</sup>	Ongoing	Jun 2010	Aug 15,2010
Beautification at Games site <sup>41</sup>	Ongoing	Jul 2010	

Streetscaping on Ring Road <sup>42</sup>	Completed	Jun 2010	Aug 15,2010
Streetscaping at Tyagaraj stadium <sup>43</sup>	Ongoing	Aug 31,2010	
Street lighting by NDMC <sup>44</sup>	35% left		
Removal of garbage & debris <sup>45</sup>	Ongoing	Aug 10,2010	
Wires for Telecasting <sup>46</sup>	65% left		

While the above table sheds some light on the efforts to prepare the city for the Games, other information contrasts the priorities of the administration with the needs of the citizens, as shown below:

### Transport

- 38% of the Delhi Budget (2010-II) is allocated for the transport sector<sup>47</sup>
- The completed T-3 terminal of the Indira Gandhi International Airport has incurred the biggest expenditure
- Expenditures on the Metro Airport Express line and the Central Secretariat-Badarpur line will be completed before the Games
- The second highest amount is for the still-proposed 373km expansion of the BRT corridor which has been put on hold since 2008 because of opposition by the media
- *This is in a context where only 12% of commuters use private motorised transport in the city; the remainder are either on the bus, cycling, or walking.*

### Accommodation

- 10,000 rooms are available in existing hotels which are being renovated<sup>48</sup>
- 20,000 rooms have been proposed under the bread and breakfast scheme<sup>49</sup>
- 5,000 rooms are to be constructed by Delhi Development Authority (DDA)<sup>50</sup>
- 1,100 flats in the Games Village were to be handed over to the Organising Committee on August 1, 2010, but DDA has itself received the flats in the first week of August and they have to be now furnished by Indian Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC)<sup>51</sup>
- Only 12 of the 34 towers in the Village have been completed by ITDC

○ 2709 flats were to be handed over in the Vasant Kunj area to ITDC by March 2010. But the Lieutenant-Governor has now written to the Ministry of Urban Development saying that the flats will not be ready in time, while the DDA engineers have said that it is not possible to complete the flats until August 31.<sup>52</sup> Ministry officials were expecting 417 completed flats to be handed over by the month end.<sup>53</sup> Recent updates say that the project began as late as March 2008, building plans were given to the project in-charge in late 2009, and last-minute changes were made even in July 2010.<sup>54</sup>

- 6,000 rooms are supposed to be supplied by the Haryana Government<sup>55</sup>
- 2,000 rooms are to be provided by the Uttar Pradesh Government<sup>56</sup>
- Extra tented accommodation will be made available as required<sup>57</sup>
- Jamia Millia University will host 700 guests in its hostels<sup>58</sup>
- *The total amount sanctioned by DDA for relocating slums into flats, on the plea that land is not available in the city, is only 6% more than the amount spent by DDA in bailing out the builders of the Games Village flats*
- *All this in a city where there are an estimated 4 lakh families residing in slums, 7 lakh in unauthorised colonies, and 2 lakh have been evicted from their homes in the last 5 years in the name of the Games*

### Health

- Helicopters will be hired to function as ambulances during the Games<sup>59</sup>
- Puspanjali Kosi in Vaishali will provide the land and heli-ambulances<sup>60</sup>
- 500 doctors and 200 paramedics will be available only for the Games<sup>61</sup>
- All India Institute of Medical Sciences and Indraprastha Apollo Hospital will cater to the health needs of the Games on a priority basis<sup>62</sup>
- 150 junior Ayurveda doctors from Kerala have been selected as masseurs for the Games<sup>63</sup>
- A recent article in a British medical journal reviewed 54 studies of multi-sports events since 1978 found that the health and the socio-economic impacts were assessed to be poor<sup>64</sup>
- *The allocation for additional medical facilities during the ten-day Games is 12% of Delhi's entire health budget for the year 2010-2011*

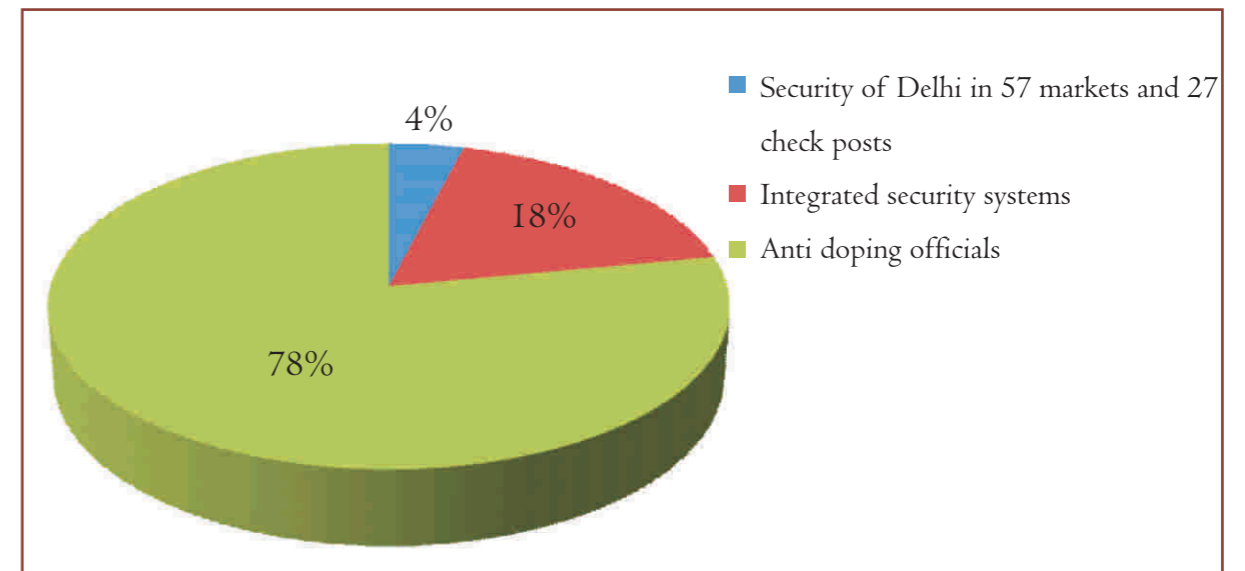
## Water

- For providing water to the Games Village the Delhi Jal Board (DJB) has constructed a 1 mgd (million gallon per day) capacity water treatment plant inside the Village<sup>65</sup>
- This plant will also provide water to all the 39 new hotels
- Permission for digging borewells will be granted to the hotels so that guests do not face a water crisis
- DJB has said that in order to provide world standard water for drinking, groundwater and Ranney well water will be used
- However there is a standby connection for drinking water with the Sonia Vihar plant
- Dual pipeline has been used in the Games Village so that the treated sewerage water can be used for air-conditioning and horticulture
- The Sewage Treatment Plant in the Village will serve the Akshardham Mandir.<sup>66</sup>
- *The city, in the meanwhile, is unable to provide decent drinking water to 70% of its citizens and over 50% of its sewage goes untreated into the river*

## Waste management

- A bench of Chief Justice S H Kapadia and Justices K S Radhakrishnan and Swatanter Kumar gave a nod to dispose daily garbage at the abandoned Bhatti mines in the Ridge area on the plea of the MCD, viewing the urgency of the Commonwealth Games.<sup>67</sup>
- The Supreme Court forwarded the case to the Delhi High Court to decide the matter without being influenced by the apex court and give an order within two months.
- *If permission is allowed then the Bhatti mines would turn into a mound of garbage losing the greenery of the Ridge and evicting hundreds of families in the Bhatti mines village.*
- The Delhi Government has tied up with Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services (IL&FS) for removal of the construction waste from the capital because civic agencies were dumping the waste in each others' jurisdiction.<sup>68</sup>
- *The privatisation of solid waste management is already beginning to dispossess the estimated 1 lakh waste-pickers in the city*

## Security



- 22 new police stations will be created and helicopters used for the Games<sup>69</sup>
- 20 watch towers are to be made on the Expressway<sup>70</sup>
- Wireless sets will be given to inspectors<sup>71</sup>
- Special sniffer dogs will be used for security purposes
- Bomb-proof dustbins costing Rs 50,000 per piece will be installed<sup>72</sup>
- 90 cameras will be placed to check cars for the Games<sup>73</sup>
- Uttar Pradesh Government will supply 2,500 policeman and 750 highly educated officials for the Games<sup>74</sup>
- 10 Bouncers would be provided per mall (at all the 35 malls), 12 per pub and bar, and 50 per 3-star and 5-star hotels, at a salary of Rs 15,000 to Rs 30,000<sup>75</sup>
- 31% of the total labour mandays at the Delhi University stadium and 24% at the Yamuna Sports complex have been earmarked by contractors for security in 12-hour shifts
- *This is at a time when 1 policeman is currently available for every 1105 vehicles and 5.3km of road*<sup>76</sup>

## Power

- A 1500MW power plant is being constructed at Bawana in the north of the city<sup>77</sup>
- A new gas-based power plant is also coming up at Tigri in Uttar Pradesh<sup>78</sup>
- Electricity will be imported from Uttar Pradesh through cables from Kanpur to Delhi<sup>79</sup>
- A Grid Station is being constructed at Khelgaon<sup>80</sup>
- Lighting at the main JN stadium is going to be one of the main consumers of energy<sup>81</sup>
- Part of the lighting at Talkatora Stadium will be powered by solar energy
- The electricity at Thyagraj Stadium will be generated by a CNG turbine
- A Skada centre has been established at the Games Village for operating and controlling energy.<sup>82</sup>
- *At the same time Delhi consumers are burdened with high electricity bills, while it is disclosed that the private distribution companies have made a profit ₹ 300cr,<sup>83</sup> although the companies allege that they are incurring great losses, but the regulator has so far refused to sign in a new tariff.*

## Beautification

- Streetscaping and beautification has been planned near the Indira Gandhi Stadium, the Siri Fort Complex and the RK Khanna Tennis Stadium, but also at locations that have nothing to do with the Games such as Ashram, Rajghat to ITO, Bhairon Marg, National Highway 2, and Mathura Road
- The renovation of selected markets, including Palika Bazaar and Connaught Place is proceeding in fits and starts<sup>84</sup>
- 10 to 12 lakh trees and 60 lakh potted plants will be planted for greening the city, of which 20,000 have already been planted in far-away Bawana.<sup>85</sup>
- Expenditure has been incurred on the colouring of flats and the greening of Shera (the Games' mascot), as well as on street lights of international standards<sup>86</sup>
- Renovation has been undertaken of 250 monuments in Delhi.<sup>87</sup>
- The cleaning of the Yamuna (Phase 2) has also been incorporated into the action plan<sup>88</sup>
- It has been proposed to fence the slums in front of stadia and along main roads with bamboos<sup>89</sup>

- *But, at the same time, lakhs of trees have been felled for the stadia and the construction of roads while the provision of parks and playgrounds for children remains a completely neglected area*

## The Financial Cost to the City

### Bidding

A Candidate city for the Games is expected to assess the level of support for the bid and hosting of the Games through the various stages of the government – national, regional and local. India's Bid Document<sup>1</sup> for the Games, prepared by the Indian Olympic Association in 2002, was non-transparent and non-participatory.<sup>2</sup> A 2009 report by the Comptroller and Auditor General observed that the bidding process was approved late at night by the Prime Minister in May 2003, but the cabinet was taken into confidence only in September 2003, while Parliament has not yet been consulted.<sup>3</sup> This raises critical questions regarding the functioning of a democracy.

Consequently, the total cost of the Games to the city remains shrouded in mystery. The Bid Document laid out a total budget of Rs1,772cr (*\$422mn*). The then Central Sports Minister, Mani Shankar Aiyer, had criticised the Government's plan to lavish Rs4,830cr (*\$1,500mn*). As late as 24th March the Games Director General V K Verma said that the estimated cost for the Games was Rs 10,000cr<sup>4</sup> although an earlier statement by the Finance Minister of the Delhi Government, A K Walia<sup>5</sup> disclosed that the cost of infrastructure development related to the Games could reach Rs26,808cr. The Union Minister for Urban Development, Jaipal Reddy, recently stated in Parliament that the total cost was Rs28,054cr<sup>6</sup> in which he included the Metro extension (Rs3000cr), DTC buses (Rs18,000cr), flyovers and bridges (Rs3700cr), sports infrastructure (Rs2934cr), and the loan to the Organising Committee (Rs2394cr). On another occasion in Parliament,<sup>6a</sup> the Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports Dr MS Gill, has stated that the total estimated expenditure to be incurred on the Games by the Government of India is Rs11,494.00cr while funds have been approved to the tune of Rs2,394cr to the Organising Committee, an amount of Rs4,460cr has been approved for sports infrastructure, and the Ministry of Home Affairs/Planning Commission has provided Delhi Government another amount of Rs 2,800cr for upgradation of sports and city infrastructure, making a total of Rs21,148cr. At the same time, a report prepared for the Ministry of Tourism has revealed that the total budget for hosting the Games is Rs87,500cr (*\$17,500mn*).<sup>7</sup> This makes the 2010 Games the most expensive ever. However, these figures do not account for several other expenses that the Government is spending in the name of “national prestige” and the making of a “world class city”.

### Expenditures

Table 2 summarises the spending on the Games and allied projects, compiled from data that has been

disclosed publicly by the media and by some Government departments.

Table 2: The Cost of the Games and Urban Projects

ITEM	COST Rs crores
<i>Stadia</i>	
Shivaji Stadium <sup>8</sup>	100
Karni Singh Shooting Range <sup>9</sup>	150
Chhatrasal Stadium	24
Yamuna Sports Complex	41
Yamuna Complex – table tennis and archery <sup>10</sup>	25
Greater Noida Stadium <sup>11</sup>	31
Dhyan Chand (National) Stadium	30
Indira Gandhi Indoor Stadium	512
Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium	900
Siri Fort Sports Complex	329
Talkatora Stadium	295
Thyagaraj Stadium	100
Saket Sports Complex	40
Jawaharlal Nehru Weightlifting Stadium	80
Additional renovations	458
Jamia Rugby Ground	18
SP Mukherjee Swimming Pool Complex <sup>12</sup>	377
R K Khanna Tennis Complex <sup>13</sup>	65
Link Road Cycling Track <sup>14</sup>	334
<i>Accommodation</i>	
Games Village <sup>15</sup>	700
Guest houses in Delhi	3
Hotel renovation <sup>16</sup>	300
Colouring flats <sup>17</sup>	300
333 Village flats bought by Delhi Development Authority <sup>18</sup>	700
Ashoka hotel renovation <sup>19</sup>	146
<i>Markets</i>	
Market renovation including lifts and sewerage <sup>20</sup>	22
Palika Bazar renovation	22
Connaught Place renovation	671
Chandni Chowk	2

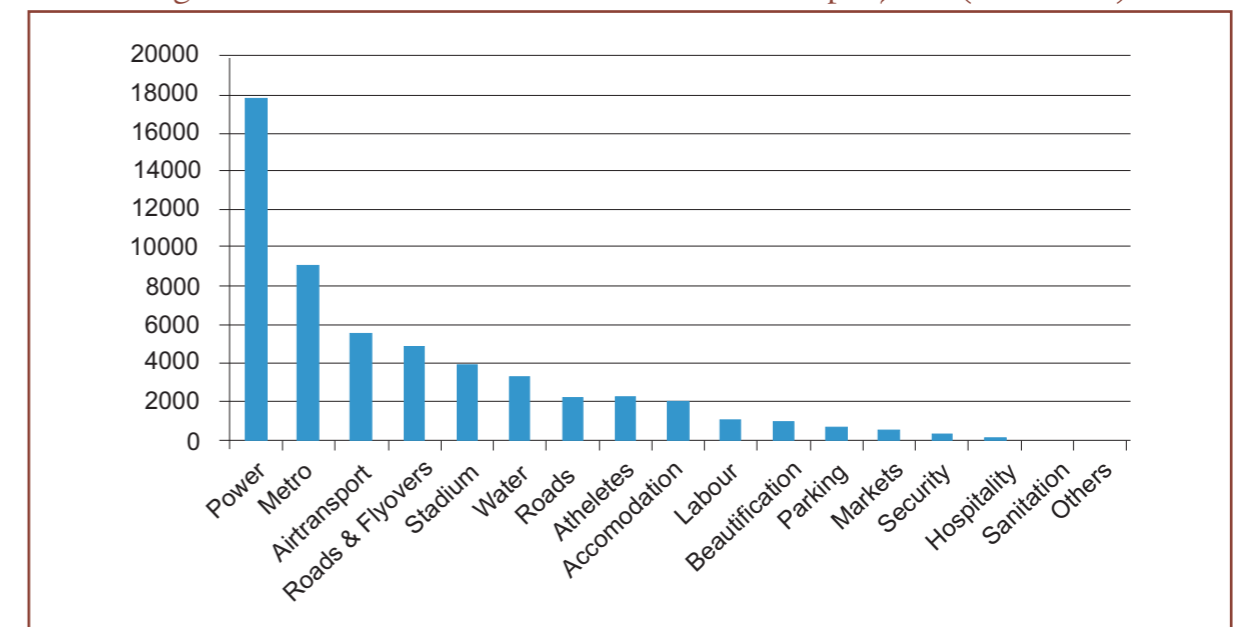
<i>Roads &amp; Flyovers</i>	
Elevated Barapulla road	550
Uttar Pradesh link road	335
Gazipur three level grade separator	210
Slip road <sup>21</sup>	90
Public Works Department road	70
Central road renovation fund for tourism	24
Road widening	6
Ring road bypass widening	654
Azad Market road widening	56
Municipal Corporation road renovation allocation for tourism	65
NOIDA no-signal link road <sup>22</sup>	225
Income Tax Office chungli underpass	74
Shastri Park underpass	15
Bitumen to plastic resurfacing	28
Road reflective signage	72
Road resurfacing	200
Signature bridge	2.5
I4 flyovers	1,540
Naraina flyover	120
Nangloi flyover	78
Khelgaon flyover	90
Carriageway flyover	200
Yamuna Expressway	900
Geeta Colony bridge	100
Foot Overbridge at Siri Fort	0.80
<i>Road Transport</i>	
Radio taxis	825
Bus Rapid Transport - total of 373km	7,200
Bus Rapid Transport renovation	145
Delhi Transport Corporation bus renovation	1,500

<i>Air Transport</i>	
T3 Airport terminal <sup>23</sup>	12,700
Safdarjung airport renovation <sup>24</sup>	50
Airport modernisation	5,400
<i>Metro Transport</i>	
Airport Express line Metro	4,500
Metro Phase 2	19,000
Metro Rail Corporation <sup>25</sup>	466
Metro Central Secretariat to Badarpur line	4,000
<i>Rail Transport</i>	
Bijwasan railway station	225
Anand Vihar railway station	230
<i>Parking &amp; Road Infrastructure</i>	
Municipal Corporation parking	385
Hauz Khas parking	34
Munirka parking	26
Nehru Stadium parking	322
<i>Power</i>	
Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium lighting	14
Electricity cables from Uttar Pradesh	1,400
Khelgaon grid station	40
Tigri gas power plant	5,600
Bawana power plant	3,560
Solar energy at Talkatora Stadium <sup>26</sup>	7,054
<i>Water</i>	
Water supply to Games Village flats	38
Water system at Games Village	3,200
<i>Sanitation</i>	
Yamuna Phase 2	1,408
Games Village sewer treatment plant	32
Municipal Corporation garbage scheme	25
Storm water drain cleaning	50
<i>Hospitality &amp; Health</i>	
Food at Games site <sup>27</sup>	133
Crockery at Games site <sup>28</sup>	33
Doctors	25

Tourist information centres <sup>29</sup>	68
Community screens	50
Volunteers	12
<i>Beautification &amp; Streetscaping</i>	
60 lakh potted plants and pots	165
Rashtramandal Udyan	1
Street lights	200
Greening Indira Gandhi Stadium, Ashram, ITO	63
Greening Rajghat to ITO	20
Greening Siri Fort, R K Khanna Stadium	33
12 monuments beautification	25
Gol Gumbaz monument beautification	0.70
Streetscaping at Bhairon road, Ring road, IP marg	35
Streetscaping Thyagraj Stadium	44
Total streetscaping	400
Redevelopment of residential/commercial land	1,183
<i>Security</i>	
Integrated security	370
Market security	77
<i>Athletes</i>	
Athlete training	678
Anti doping measures	1,620
<i>Labour</i>	
Labour Ministry allocation for workers	300
Relocation of slums to flats	740
DDA land acquisition for Economically Weaker Section	100
DDA for Economically Weaker Section housing	935
Development work in unauthorized colonies	2,800
<i>Other</i>	
Steel wall for reducing noise pollution in Games Village	2
Weather stations	7
Media Centre	50
<i>Total</i>	<i>102,079</i>

If we take a look at the break-up of the costs of all the projects directly related to the Games we find that the maximum amount is being spent on power availability to the city, followed by the investments in the Metro, and air transport, roads and flyovers, and stadia renewal comes fifth in the order of priorities (Figure I). Thus, it is transparent that the Games “enterprise” has little to do with sports and is essentially for building infrastructure of a particular kind in the city.

Figure I: Cost of Games and related Urban projects (Rs crores)

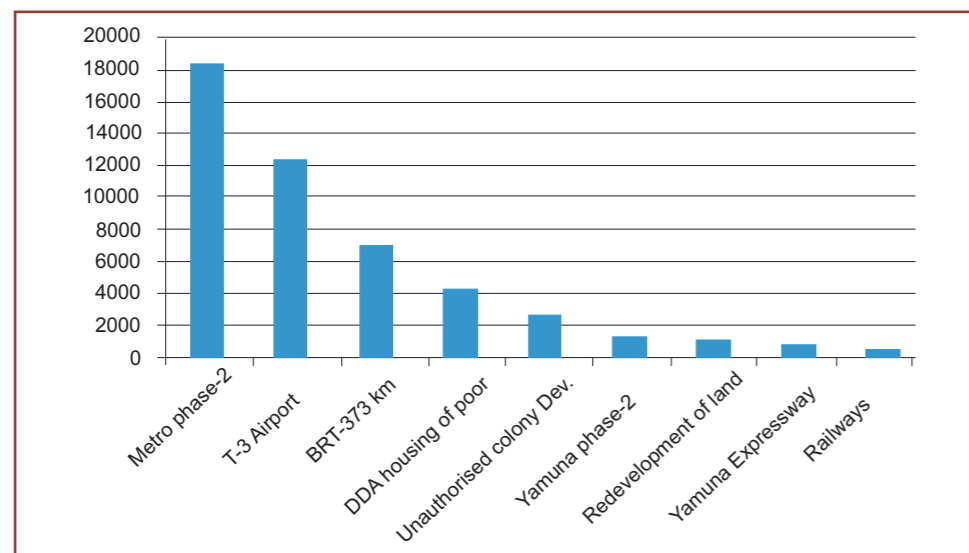


The staggering investment in the city in the name of the Games is, therefore, over Rs 100,000cr! For those who will nitpick that all this is not directly Games related, we have separated the non-Games expenditure in Table 3, and this comes to a little over Rs 46,000cr. This still leaves a huge sum of Rs 55,398cr that is being directly invested as part of the Games related infrastructure and compares favourably with the non-games expenses (Figure 2). Even with respect to the remaining infrastructure we have the Union Urban Development Minister's word that it is something that will form part of the 'heritage' that the Games will leave behind. We also have the Delhi Chief Minister's assurance that what would otherwise have been done in five years has been accomplished in one, all thanks to the momentum of the Games. The basic point is that whatever be the extent of investment – from a minimum of Rs 55,000cr to a maximum of Rs 100,000cr – *the city will eventually have to pay for it in one way or another.*

Table 3: Non-Games expenditure

ITEM	COST Rs crores
Yamuna Expressway	900
Bus Rapid Transport - total of 373km	7,200
T3 Airport terminal	12,700
Metro Phase 2	19,000
Bijwasan railway station	225
Anand Vihar railway station	230
Yamuna Phase 2	1,408
Redevelopment of residential/commercial land	1,183
DDA land acquisition for Economically Weaker Section	100
DDA for Economically Weaker Section housing	935
Development work in unauthorized colonies	2,800
<i>Total</i>	<i>46,681</i>

Figure 2: Non-Games expenditure



The momentum that the Games has given to all this 'development' is visible in the manner in which most costs have tripled, even gone up by 40 times in certain cases, in the four years between 2006 to 2010, and no questions have been asked by those sanctioning the expenses.

- The cost of Stadia has gone up from Rs1,700cr to 5214cr
- The expenditure on the Games Village has increased from Rs186cr to 700cr

- Hotel renovation has tripled from Rs100cr to 300cr
- The expenses on flyovers has jumped from Rs579cr to 1,540cr
- Bridge expenditure has gone from Rs464cr to 1,400cr
- The Barapulla tunnel was converted into an elevated road and the cost went up from Rs135cr to 550cr
- DTC buses originally estimated at Rs260cr increased to 1,500cr
- Similarly the budget of the BRT increased from Rs145cr to 7,200cr
- Airport modernisation expanded from Rs5,400cr to 12,700cr
- The Metro Phase 2 sent costs soaring from Rs466cr to 19,000cr with an additional Rs4,500cr for the Airport Express line
- Power budget went up from Rs3,560cr to 7,040cr
- Water supply budgets also zoomed from Rs38cr to 3,200cr
- Sanitation estimates increased hugely from Rs50cr to 1,408cr
- Beautification costs also jumped from Rs398cr to 2,643cr
- Security showed a significant increase from Rs284cr to 2,067cr
- Only athlete training decreased from Rs750cr to 678cr
- While labour welfare costs remained at Rs300cr

### Income

Table 4: Total Investment by different Bodies

ITEM	Total investment Rs crores
MCD expenditure on projects of beautification, upgrading of Paharganj, Karol Bagh, Daryaganj, parking lots over Sunehari and Kushak nullahs. streetscaping of roads, putting up signages, constructing urinals, maintaining street furniture <sup>30</sup>	800
MCD total cost of Games related projects, Rs414cr for roads and footpath renovation only <sup>31</sup>	940
Power grid donation for Games Village <sup>32</sup>	10
NTPC donation: Rs20cr has been given already <sup>33</sup>	50
BSES donation <sup>34</sup>	74
Railway donation	304
Infrastructure development	1,000

For greening and beautification from Delhi Finance Commission	272
15 projects sanctioned by Finance Commission <sup>35</sup>	398
Money sanctioned by Planning Commission <sup>36</sup>	10,000
Money from Urban Development Ministry for unauthorised colonies	2,800
Money sanctioned for Games infrastructure by Parliament	1,000
Money sanctioned for Delhi infrastructure under JnNURM	253
<i>Total sanctioned</i>	<i>17,901</i>

As Table 4 makes clear, very little of this money has come through the officially sanctioned and, therefore, regulated channels of the Municipal Corporation, the Finance Commission, the Planning Commission, the Ministries, or the 'donations' from various public sector organisations. In other words, most of the finances have come from borrowings from public funds, markets, and financial institutions – and a large chunk would be beyond the pale of public scrutiny and regulation that is a necessary requisite of democratic governance. This is reflected in the unreal claims made and the real unfolding of events:

### Revenue

The Organising Committee has estimated that it would generate revenue of around Rs1,780cr from international and domestic broadcasting, sponsorship, ticketing, licensed merchandise, donations etc as announced by the Minister of State for Youth Affairs and Sports, Pratik Prakashbapu Patil.<sup>37</sup>

○ A K Matoi, Treasurer of the Organising Committee has said, "As far as realisation of Rs1,708cr 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 can hope for."<sup>38</sup>

○ The targeted goal for net revenue of Rs1,708cr by the Organising Committee is ambitious, as affirmed by the Comptroller and Auditor General<sup>39</sup>

### Games Village

○ The Planning Commission had suggested that DDA should hand over the construction of the Village to private builders, so that when the Games end the Village could be transformed into a tourist attraction or sold to recover the cost

○ The Games Village project with 1,168 apartments was to be built on a PPP model between DDA and Emar MGF

○ Emar was to construct at an expected cost of US \$230.7 million (Rs1038cr)

- In May 2009, DDA announced a Rs700cr bailout package for Emar, the first such government bailout for a realty<sup>40</sup>
- To raise funds for the Village DDA plans to auction eight hotel plots

### Transfers

○ Government of Delhi has disclosed in an RTI reply that Rs744.354cr from the Special Component Plan fund, meant for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, has been utilised for the purpose of the Commonwealth Games<sup>41</sup>

○ Half of the funds have been transferred from the farmers' tax saving fund of Rs35,000cr<sup>42</sup>

○ Privatisation of property development has resulted in a hike in prices such as the MGF rate for a two bedded room flat that is now between Rs2.5cr to 3cr

### Corruption

○ For the Queens Batons relay, Suresh Kalmadi said that the contract was given to Ashish Patel's Company for a deal of Rs3.8cr on the basis of a letter issued by a staff of the High Commission in UK which has appears to be a fake claim.<sup>43</sup>

○ Former Chief Minister Madan Lal Khurana stated that the Games are the biggest corruption event till date. He said that the estimated budget for the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium was Rs455cr but 961cr has been spent on it. Further, he said that the budget for the Indira Gandhi Stadium was Rs261cr while 669cr has already been spent.<sup>44</sup>

○ Former Delhi Sports Minister Vijay Goel alleged that there is full fledged corruption in the Games. He said that construction work was deliberately delayed so that at the last moment corruption can be involved in order to complete the work. He said that 40% work is left over in the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium.<sup>45</sup>

○ It has found that in between 2005 and 2009, there have been 87 foreign trips for the Games by Indian officials. All the trips were to the non-Commonwealth nations like China, Cuba, and South Korea, which has been recently disclosed through RTI.<sup>46</sup>

Regrettably, these allegations (and investigations) of corruption, no matter how critical for the transparency of governance, push into the background the *real* issue that faces the citizen: *The consequences of mega events are years of locked up investments, low returns, and long term debts – all of which have to be eventually paid by the citizens through increased taxes, prices and cesses.*

## Social and Environmental Costs

### South Africa

As related in our earlier 2007 report on the Games, the international experience has repeatedly illustrated that, for such sporting events, there is no problem of space for the infrastructure for the elite but the poor are consistently denied all entitlements. This was obvious, in spite of the drone of the infamous vuvuzela, even during the recent Soccer World Cup in South Africa. Academics have postulated that 'religious pilgrimages of the past have been replaced by modern ones to such spectacles as the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup and other such events'<sup>1</sup>. It is also less clear how to assess the impact of the month-long extravaganza on the common man, although it is reported that, "Since South Africa was named tournament host, the rate of evictions has increased, particularly in areas around stadiums, practice facilities and other sites designed to cater to tourists"<sup>2</sup>

Does this sound familiar?

- In preparing to host the World Cup the government spent close to R800bn (about £65bn) - in a country characterised by desperate poverty and close to 40% unemployment
- In a country where the large majority rely on unsafe private mini-bus taxis to travel long distances on a daily basis, the Gautrain offers high speed, luxury transport for tourists at a massive R100
- The Airports Company of South Africa spent over R16bn on upgrading the airports
- The commercialised South African National Road Agency Ltd spent over R23bn on a new network of toll roads
- Over 15,000 homeless people and street children were rounded up and dumped in shelters in Johannesburg alone
- The City of Cape Town (unsuccessfully) attempted to evict 10,000 Joe Slovo residents from their homes in order to hide them from the tourists travelling along the N2 highway
- In Soweto, roads were beautified along main tourist and FIFA routes, while adjacent schools sported broken windows and crumbling buildings.
- South Africans were encouraged to demonstrate their patriotism by sporting Bafana-Bafana T-shirts, kitting their cars in flags, learning the "Diski-dance", and buying Zakumi mascot dolls
- In a context where close to a million jobs have been lost over the course of the past year, government celebrations that the 'World Cup' has created over 400 000 jobs are empty and insulting.

- The few jobs that have been created have been mostly casual or contractual, taken by workers that are not unionised and paid well below the minimum wage
- The State has unofficially put a blanket ban on all protests for the duration of the event
- FIFA is expected to benefit from a windfall of nearly EUR1.2 billion, and have already gained over EUR1 billion from media rights alone
- All routes to and from the stadia have been forcibly cleared of anyone selling non-sanctioned FIFA products
- FIFA has also effectively gagged journalists with an accreditation clause that prevents media organisations from bringing FIFA into disrepute<sup>3</sup>

### Johannesburg

Two brand new stadia were constructed in Soweto and excited Sowetans waited in a long queue at the Dlamini Multipurpose Centre blowing their vuvuzelas and screaming, "Feel it, it is here"<sup>4</sup>. What they did not probably realise then was that the inner city was being gentrified by the World Cup and that houses at Kliptown were destroyed by the Municipal Council as informal settlements were serially evicted (see Figure 3). Informal traders like hawkers and street vendors in prime trading spots were forced into temporary stalls and faced the maximum harassment. Exclusion, illegality and State-sponsored violence and dispossession are still the hallmarks of urban poverty in South Africa.<sup>5</sup> Seven housing delivery projects were sanctioned on the periphery with only one related to relocation. A new "affordable" private housing project is expected to absorb the city's poorer residents as well as those who can no longer pay rent as inner city development drives property prices up<sup>6</sup>. Protests due to evictions and illegality spread across nine sites in the city but the news was carefully screened from public and international gaze.<sup>7</sup>

### Cape Town

Two new stadia were constructed, one at the suburb of Green Point and the other at Newlands, along with four other new constructions. As citizens of South Africa were in a state of collective euphoria for the World Cup, the urban poor across the city were facing evictions. Government actors took the initiative in gentrification of the city with informal trading markets in the centre being 'temporarily' relocated. FIFA also issued a ban on traders within a one kilometre of the stadia, citing protection of sponsors as justification.<sup>8</sup> Violence spiked in the Western Cape Province even as the World Cup ended in a blaze of fireworks.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 3

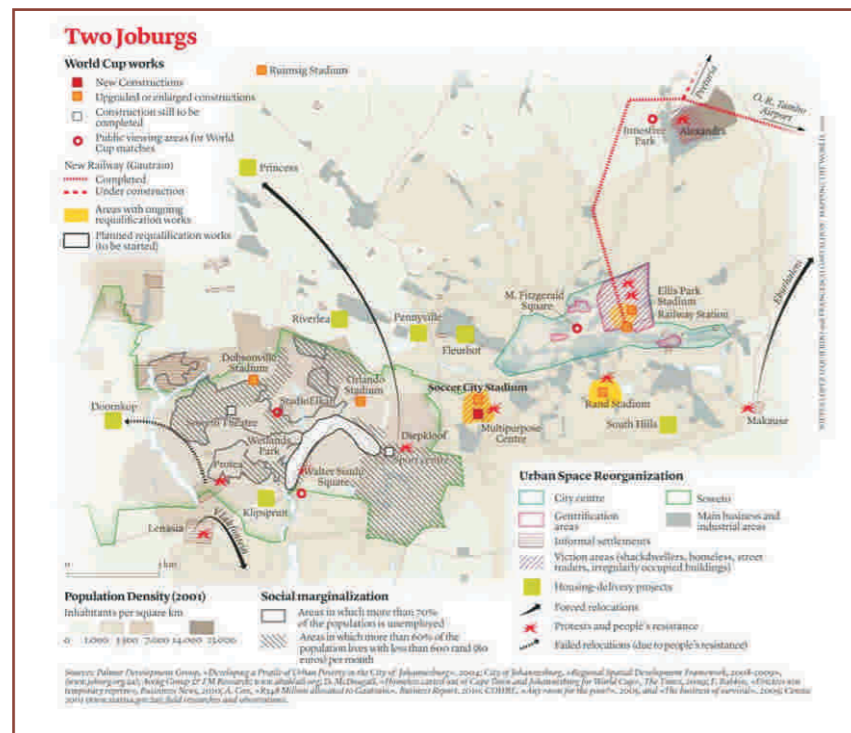
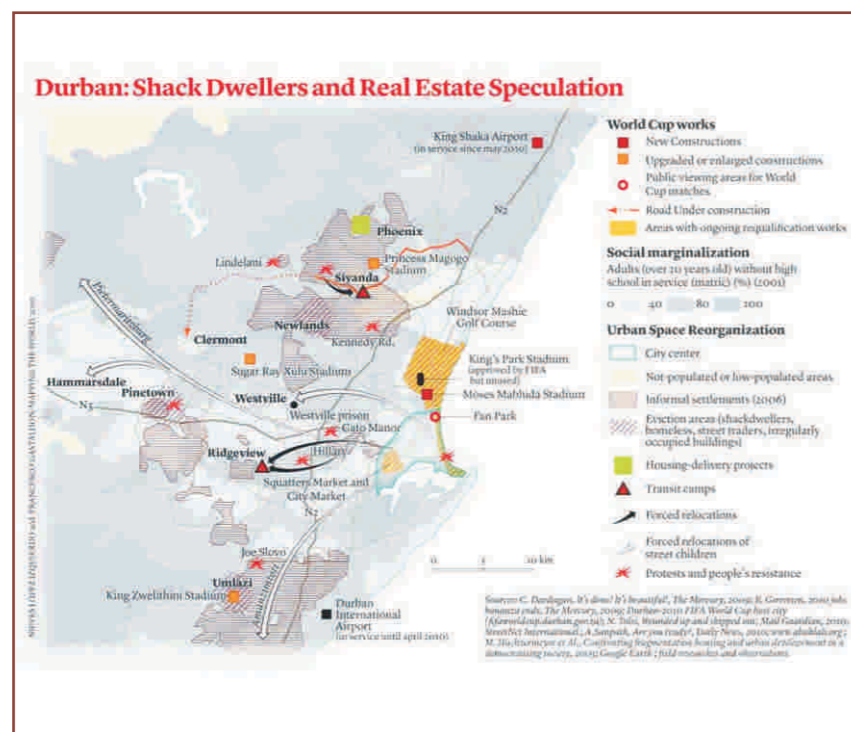


Figure 4



### Durban

Moses Mabhida Stadium hosted the semi final and was one among the four stadia that were built. The ground epitomizes the architectural innovation on display and is supposed to take its design inspiration from the South African flag, with its grand arch representing the unity of the nation. Before the World Cup fires swept across the informal settlements near Durban and made 3,000 homeless<sup>11</sup>(see Figure 4). As one eviction fighter remarked, “We don't want the World Cup because these people come with their own rules and in the end it's the locals that suffer”<sup>12</sup>. About 3,000 informal sector people marched through the City Centre on June 16th 2010 protesting against the World Cup<sup>13</sup>. Many slum dwellers in Cape Town and Durban are still living out their lives in "temporary" transit camps after they were relocated years ago, with hopes of promised better housing that has not yet come<sup>14</sup>.

### Social Costs of Cleaning

Our earlier 2007 report on the Games had traced the experience of mega sports events across the globe and found that such events universally displace homeless people, street vendors, informal workers, and slums from the city. In the name of building, cleaning, and beautifying the city for the big event, the working poor are evicted from their homes and work places. The massive cleaning up operations is all done in the name of “national honour” but are essentially urban renewal programmes that benefit the rich and powerful. However, big games also have an impact on the middle classes as prices for land, housing, and rents shoot up sharply during and after the events. Improved facilities and better transport actually hike up real estate prices as public and private lower cost housing developments are pushed out of the preferred areas. The average cost of living in the city increases due to the hike in prices of transportation, food, basic amenities etc (Table 5 gives an indication of the prices in Delhi compared to some other cities). We had also found that the proportion of new jobs created are much fewer compared to the massive capital investment for the mega event. The new jobs created are only a fraction of what are lost during eviction of the people. And the existing job scarcity is further aggravated due to the banning of certain occupations and the closure of small shops. Most of the jobs are short term or part time and that too in the unorganised sector. Because of the pressure to complete the work no labour laws and safety measures are followed. The same processes are clearly at work in Delhi during the Commonwealth Games too:

- 60,000 beggars are to be removed from the streets of Delhi<sup>15</sup>
- An estimated 3 lakh street vendors with a turnover of Rs3,500cr have been evicted<sup>16</sup>
- Inhuman slum demolition has affected 220,000 in the last 5 years<sup>17</sup>
- 14,000 to 16,000 dhabas have been declared illegal by the MCD<sup>18</sup>
- 1 lakh rickshawpullers have lost their livelihoods because of zoning laws<sup>19</sup>
- Large tracts of land are being legally handed over to the corporate sector for pittance
- Tens of thousands of trees are being remorselessly cut down
- Only 7% (Rs87cr) of the Delhi Budget is being spent on social welfare<sup>20</sup>
- Civil liberties have been curtailed with no space left for social protest

Table 5: Comparative prices of common items

Item	Delhi	Mumbai	Bhopal	Patna
Potato/kg	Rs10	Rs10	Rs8	
Onion/kg	Rs15	Rs10	Rs10	Rs5
Milk/litre (packet)	Rs32	Rs24	Rs24	
Petrol/litre (IOC rate)	Rs51.45	Rs55.88	Rs55.18	Rs53.19
LPG/cylinder (govt rate)	Rs345	Rs348.45	Rs385	Rs345
Electricity charge/unit	Rs5	Rs5	Rs5	Rs3
Bus fare(lowest)	Rs5	Rs3	Rs4	Rs3
Auto fare	Rs19	Rs11	Rs30	
Metro fare	Rs8	(local) Rs4		
Rent/month for 2bed flat	Rs8,500	Rs10,000	Rs4,000	Rs3,000
Registration fees class I	Rs60			Rs40
Doctor fees(private)	Rs300	Rs100	Rs200	Rs50
Admission govt hospital	Rs14	Rs10	Rs2	Re1

We have attempted to document the impacts through case studies of the affected people.

## Students

### Ritesh Singh, IIT, Delhi



Corruption lies not in the technical field but at the administrative level. All the IIT students are facing problems because of the Metro construction work at Hauz Khas. I have not been affected much since I stay in the hostel and get subsidised food and accommodation but the rise in the bus fare has affected my pocket money. All my friends who are staying outside the hostel are in a financial crisis due to the Games.

### Chen Kalikoty, Delhi University

The residents of Ramjas hostels were ordered to vacate by the end of July. Since my native place is Nagaland I was staying in the hostel for the past 2 years. But now I am in the hostel vacating list, and not being able to afford paying guest accommodation, have taken a room on sharing basis. My living costs have tripled as I am paying Rs5,000 just for accommodation, apart from travelling and food expenses. Earlier I could manage everything within Rs2,500-3,000. My parents are also very worried about my staying outside the hostel for security reasons.

30 students from St Stephen's College, Hindu College, School of Open Learning, Delhi School of Social Work, Jamia Millia Islamia University, Sarai Juliana, and Naraina were interviewed

- 18 have been staying in Delhi for more than 5 years
- All except 1 felt that Delhi has been changed in the run up to the Games
- Half said that the impact of the Games has been “positive” for the common people

- 7 saw the Games as a sporting event, while 11 felt it was linked to higher status
- Half stated that the removal of beggars, vendors, slums etc would clean up the city
- But 10 also agreed that it would rob the poor of their livelihoods
- 22 were clear that the rich and elite would profit from the Games.
- Yet half felt that the costs were acceptable because “investment was necessary”
- Only 10 argued that the government spend more on building houses for the poor
- Half preferred that more be spent on schools
- Half also thought that normal life will be affected but “nothing comes without sacrifice”
- 17 were not happy with the idea of schools being closed during the Games
- 11 agreed that funds could be transferred because it was “for a cause”
- But 26 stated that non-Games projects also deserved equal attention
- 20 were emphatic that closure of hostels would have an adverse impact
- 10 opposed the Village built on the riverbed, 12 did not know, 15 said it was legal
- Half preferred open spaces but more stadia also found support
- 17 said the gap between the rich and the poor would not be widened after the Games
- 15 also said that the Games did not violate labour rights
- 20 were decidedly of the opinion that the Games would enhance the status of the country

### Sports persons

#### Birju Gautam, Wrestler

I belong to Haryana and have been a State level player for the past 4 years. There are no basic facilities provided by the government. But thousands of money is being spent on private gyms in the city. I am sad that the government is spending so much on the Commonwealth Games but not a single amount is being spent on the training of the athletes. Since I have crossed the age bar of 24 years for getting scholarship from the government life has become miserable for me. I am not able to afford to go to school so I study through distance education.



#### Sonika Kaliraman, Wrestler/Coach, Civil Lines

I am the daughter of famous wrestler Chandgi Ram and help to run his akhara near Civil Lines. Many stadiums are being built for the Commonwealth Games but, in reality, there is no place for the new generation of athletes and for common games. If the amount spent on the infrastructure for the Games was alternatively spent on training of athletes then all the sportspersons would have won medals not only in the Commonwealth Games but also in the Olympics. There are so many loopholes in the government policy to encourage sporting talent. Thus the fellowship provided by the government is only till the age of 18 years. Players crossing the age bar are deprived of everything; even the dress facility is withdrawn. How then can sportspersons be motivated to play for the country?



### Commuters

#### Arun Kumar, Bus passenger

I earn Rs11,000 per month and travel daily to my NOIDA office from Nand Nagari. After the hike in bus ticket prices, my daily spending has increased by Rs25 (amounting to Rs750 per month). The number of buses for the route has declined and the rush in the buses has increased. I feel the decision for hosting the Games was taken entirely by the Government and the common people have no say, but are resigned only to face the consequences. Maybe the Games will have both positive and negative impacts, but it is the common people who are the most vulnerable.



## Commuters

## Bhisham Pal Singh, Metro passenger

I have been working as a Junior Assistant in the Human Resource Department of a showroom in Patel Nagar and travel daily from Faridabad, partly by the Metro.



Although I earn Rs10,000 per month, the hike in the price of the Metro fare has increased my daily expenditure on travel by Rs40 per day. This is a big burden for me because there is no increment in salaries offered by the private companies to offset the price increase. This represents the new policy of the Government to exploit employees like me with fixed incomes.

## Workers

## Ajay Sandhu, Property dealer

I am a property dealer working in Munirka for the past 2 years. As the circle rate increases the property rate of that area also increases, because there are all sorts of basic services available in that area. During the last 2 months the circle rate has increased tremendously and this increase is Rs10 to 15 lakh on an average. I was preparing for a government job as a hawaldar but when I realised that as the Games approached the property rate would increase, so I shifted to a career as a property dealer. However, I presume that after the Games all the circle rates would decrease as the rate is too high because the government wants the flats at any cost. Because of the Games on an average I have 10-15 dealings earning nearly Rs15,000 to 25,000 a month. The Games has increased my income so my family is happy with the development but my guess it is for a short term.



## Workers

## Vinod Kumar, Autorickshaw driver

The development of infrastructure because of the Commonwealth Games has not added anything to my income. Even though the roads have been widened and flyovers constructed, we still face the same traffic jams which we used to face earlier. The rise in auto fares has created problems for the commuters but I think that they get used to it within 15 to 20 days. The introduction of the Metro as a new public mode in the city has hampered my earnings to a minor extent, but the major impact has been caused by the increase of prices of all daily consumption items. It particularly affects me because I am the only earning member in my family.



## Shyam Prasad, Autorickshaw driver

I have been driving the autorickshaw for 15 years and am the only earning member of his family earning around Rs13,000 per month. All my children go to school. The frequent hike in gas prices has not been compensated by the increase in fares. When the fares were less I used to get more passengers and if two or three passengers needed to travel together they used to prefer the autorickshaw to the bus. I have not been given any training for the upcoming Games but if they call me for training then how will I earn my livelihood? There are so few autorickshaw stands that parking is a huge problem and we are constantly harassed by the police, although they don't touch the cars.



## Workers

## Jamaluddin, Rickshapuller, Jama Masjid



I am from UP but have been in Delhi for the past 25 years. Because of high costs I have not been able to keep my family in the city.. The police have been harassing us for the past one year ordering us to leave the place. (During the interview a policeman arrived and took the air out of the tyres) The Games is being hosted for the rich persons and entertaining foreigners. There are 2.5 lakh rickshapullers in Delhi whose daily income varies from Rs150 to Rs200. The loss during the 15 days of the Games would be borne by us. Because of the Games rickshawalas, reriwalas, beggars,vendors and many more from the unorganised sector are being treated as non-citizens of the country by the police.

## Ram Prasad, Rickshapuller, Chandni Chowk



I am from Bihar and my wife and children still live in the village. I own a piece of land but farming is not adequate to feed the whole family so I moved to Delhi 15 years ago. I earn around Rs450- 500 per day but have to pay Rs50 daily as fixed rent for the rickshaw. I am feeling very insecure because I am going to be evicted from this place. I do not know why these Games are happening but surely the rickshaws would be banned and I will then be jobless. Even now I am often removed from the place where I stand. I will go back to the village if I do not find another work but these projects are actually defeating my purpose of coming to Delhi to earn a living. The Games are not only affecting me but also my family which has no connection with the Games.

## Workers

## Shiv Raj, Street vendor, Munirka



I came around 25 years ago from Uttar Pradesh where I was unable to sustain my family and so moved here to sell refrigerated water. When I started this business I used to charge 10p per glass and that was enough. Now I charge Re1 but am still not that comfortable in sustaining all the expenses. I used to stand near the bus stop where business was good. But after the flyover was built as part of the Games the bus stop has been removed and the commuters stand scattered. This has adversely affected my earnings. Almost all the vendors have been evicted in the name of widening and beautification of the roads. Only two have been given the MCD license to stand here and I am one of them. During the Games, for around a month, even I will be evicted. Common people like us have to bear the costs of so-called “development”. Even crossing the road has become a huge problem. Only yesterday a motorcyclist lost his life when he was hit by a speeding car coming from the flyover.

## Mohd Banas Ali, Contractor



I am a thekedar and this has been my profession for the past 8 years. My native place is Cooch Behar, West Bengal and I now stay in the Masoodpur rag picker basti with other people of my village. Earlier I used to work as a driver, but since I was employed on a contractual basis I left it. Now I have nine labourers working under me as a thekedar. These labourers collect and bring the waste from different sites. My monthly income varies from Rs6,500 to Rs8,000. Because of the privatisation of waste for the Commonwealth Games in various zones of Delhi it has affected me positively as now my earning has increased a lot.

## Workers

## Tika Lal, Vegetable seller

I am from Uttar Pradesh. I do not have a proper shop but sell vegetables on a push cart for 18 years now. My family lives in the village and I do not own any land. I have a voter ID card and an MCD license and earn around Rs200 per day. Because of the Games the government has ordered that no hawkers are to be allowed on the roads, so I am restricted to one place. Earlier I could roam around in the residential areas to sell my wares. The Games seems to be the reason for the current inflation. But what will I do if I am completely evicted at the time of the Games and after that. People like me cannot go back to our native place as there is no livelihood there. We are being badly affected just because the city wants to become world class. We are bearing the costs of such a big event and are not even compensated for that. Now are we not sure about the future.



## Mohd Asadul, Ragpicker, Masoodpur

I stay in a ragpicker basti near Vasant Kunj. I originally belong to Cooch Bihar, West Bengal. My father came to Delhi in search of a job as there was no work in Bengal other than farming. Presently all my 4 family members are in this ragpicking profession but my area of work is Kishangarh. I collect waste from each house of a colony and get a monthly wage of Rs 4,000. I bring the collected waste through a fixed thelawala from Kishangarh to Masoodpur for segregation. After segregation I give the recyclables to the people who buy them. So I earn both the ways. Because of the Big Bazaar in front of our basti sometimes the policemen harass our thelas.



## Workers

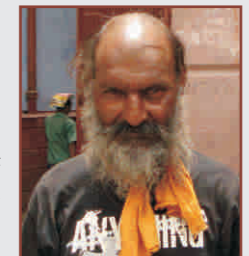
## Rizwan and Bablu, Skilled and unskilled labourers, Bhopal ground, Jamia

We are both from Uttar Pradesh and came to Delhi through a local contractor for the construction work of the Commonwealth Games. We have been under contractual job for the last six months and have work for coming two months only. We were provided accommodation by the contractor in the nearby school located in Sukhdev Vihar. The accommodation is free of cost. I am skilled so I earn Rs400 per day, but he is unskilled and earns Rs250 per day. We spend Rs90 to Rs100 daily on food. None of the labourers working here are aware of the labour laws and any benefits under social security schemes. The Games is an opportunity for employment as otherwise we would have still been in the village.



## Aslam, Homeless, Chandni Chowk

I am from Uttar Pradesh and stay at a night shelter while working near Sheesh Ganj Gurudwara for the past 35 years as a labourer. My friends say because of the Games the beatings and harassment by policemen has increased, and we are sometimes called thieves. We work as construction labourers but when sleeping at night we are tortured by the officials and policemen. We are making the city shining but are being kept in the darkness. The Court has ordered that the beggars and homeless of the city can stay at night shelters which are built by the MCD but they are very overcrowded. The condition of the night shelter is such that people are sleeping on the stairs. There is no security for our things which are kept in the night shelters as most of the time they are stolen.



## Workers

## Vikas Pradhan, Security guard, Munirka



I belong to Assam where I used to work in a mine. When the mine closed I moved to Delhi in search of job 5 to 6 years ago. I work as a security guard in a MCD booth. I earn Rs6,000 per month for a shift of 12 hours, which is very meagre for feeding a family of 5 members. I have had to send back my children to my native place while my wife works as a domestic maid earning Rs1,500 per month. In my opinion when the entire country is going through recession, then such huge money should not be spent on the Games. The government should first remove poverty from the country. None of us common people will be allowed to enter the stadium after the Games are over although it is the common man's money which is being used to construct the stadiums.

## Dinesh Kumar, Slum dweller, Kushak Nala



I have been staying in Kushak Nala since childhood. Originally belonging from Allahabad my father came to the city in search of a job. We got evicted due to the construction of the elevated road for the Commonwealth Games in January 2009. The slum had 600 families. All of us had gone to the court but in vain. Although we had all the necessary documents for getting plots the authorities did not have any pity on us. Since then all our ration cards have also been cancelled. I have now rented a room nearby for Rs1500 and try to earn my living by tailoring. I can send only two of my children to school as I earn very little. It is very difficult to sustain a family of 7 members on such little money.

## Workers

## Munni, Domestic maid, Kidwai Nagar



I have been living here for about 20 years. Earlier I was satisfied with my life but since the Games projects have started, I have been in the fear of being made homeless. My son is a contract labour, my husband doesn't do any work, and my daughter in law has a small boy to take care of. I earn only Rs800 per month. The rains have come but we can't spend money on the leaking roofs because we are not sure whether we will be able to live here or not. Around 4 years ago our home caught fire because of gas leakage. If the government had told us beforehand that we would be evicted then we would not have renovated the house. The other slums have not been provided compensatory land after demolition. They used to work in the homes nearby and are now living in areas where they have to pay rent of at least Rs3000 per month. Earlier there was a wide nala nearby but now it has been made narrow in the name of beautification so we do not even have basic toilet facilities.

## Environmental Costs of Cleaning

Our 2007 report had predicted that the Commonwealth Games would destroy the Yamuna riverbed and transform its banks for commercial development for tourists, along with construction on a 40 hectare site for the Games Village, particularly because, for reasons of profit, DDA would plan for river front development along with private bodies. The Delhi High Court has since given clearance to DDA for the acquisition and commercial development along the riverbank. Other environmentalists have warned about construction near the riverbed as it is a high seismic zone and Delhi's largest groundwater recharge zone.

Large global sporting events have major consequences because they entail a large consumption footprint, typically reflected in the large amounts of materials required driven by construction activities, energy requirements, food consumption, water requirements, waste generation, and travel requirements that leave a lasting impact on the environment, and such impacts are not necessarily restricted to the host city.

### Carbon Footprint

The environmental impact of the Games, and how it is to be mitigated, can well be defined from a study undertaken by the government. Currently, it is estimated that the total footprint of the Games will be between 130,000-155,402 tonnes CO<sub>2e</sub>.<sup>21</sup>

Table 6: Total tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of the Games

<i>Emission Source</i>	<i>Amount (t CO<sub>2e</sub>)</i>
Grid Emissions-Competition Venues	1015.23
Grid Emissions-Training Venues	465.35
Grid Emissions-Village	895.10
Grid Emissions-Media Centre	20.16
Grid Emissions-Family Hotels	9827.37
Captive Power Emission-Venues	1621.62
Games Family Fleet	1222.60
Inter-venue logistics	130.20
LPG Usage	187.50
QBR Domestic leg (Road)	459.46
QBR Domestic leg (Air)	77.53
International Tourist Travel	87,360.00
Domestic Air Travel	16,560.00
Local Spectator Travel	334,560.00
<i>Total</i>	<i>154,402.12</i>

The Organising Committee of the Commonwealth Games is seeking to mitigate the carbon footprint through the following actions:

- Energy efficiency at venues and related infrastructure such as family hotels
- Introduction of clean fuels and promoting use of public transport
- Plantation with 50,000 saplings, with a potential of 15,000t CO<sub>2e</sub>/year upon maturity

○ Another 50,000 saplings are being planted by DoE to neutralise the Games emissions. Tourists and spectators can offset their travel emissions by procuring carbon credits

○ Strategic MoU with UNEP to assist in the delivery of the Green Games Mandate<sup>22</sup>

The various initiatives will impact the competition, non-competition venues, and training venues, including various Games' related activities. The venues have been developed keeping in mind the Green Vision. However, the reality behind this propaganda is exposed by the manner in which the Environmental Clearance of the Games Village was pushed through.

### The EIA

The first Environment Impact Assessment of the Games Village was done in 2006, three years after the Indian Olympic Association won the bid to organise the Games in Delhi. The Ministry of Environment provided clearance in the same year. This order was amended a number of times, with further studies being conducted. Eventually, environmentalists approached the courts for relief. But a day after a two-judge bench of the Delhi High Court pulled up the DDA for going ahead with the construction of the Commonwealth Games Village on the Yamuna riverbed despite several studies underlining the danger, officials said they were confident that construction would not be stopped. They said that their concern was with the permissions, not how they were given. "If the agencies did a U-turn, they should be questioned. We have all the permissions required," said a source.<sup>23</sup> Many of the arguments were based on the fact that the Akshardham Mandir had previously been given clearance to construct on the same riverbed.

Table 7: Changes in the Court orders

<i>Nov 13, 2003</i>	Indian Olympic Association wins bid to organise Commonwealth Games in Delhi in 2010.
<i>Sep, 2006</i>	DDA gets report of environment impact assessment (EIA) on the site by EQMS Pvt Ltd
<i>Oct 5, 2006</i>	DDA approaches MoEF for environment clearance (EC), three years after the bid was won
<i>Nov 8, 2006</i>	MoEF's expert committee suggests looking for an alternate site.
<i>Dec 1, 2006</i>	Committee tells DDA that structures should not be of permanent nature
<i>Dec 14, 2006</i>	MoEF issues an EC for the project
<i>Jan 1, 2007</i>	MoEF amends order. Tells DDA it can go ahead with planning construction of "permanent or temporary structure" subject to identification of mitigation measures for upstream flooding.

<i>Mar 29, 2007</i>	Order amended again. MoEF says that DDA can go ahead with planning of construction of "permanent or temporary structure" subject to identification of mitigation measures for upstream flooding by Central Water and Power Research Station (CWPRS), Pune
<i>April 2, 2007</i>	Order amended again. DDA can go ahead with construction. The word "planning" removed from the order

## Gainers and Losers

Cities preparing for mega-events like the World Cup in Cape Town, the World Expo in Shanghai, and the Commonwealth Games in New Delhi describe their efforts as being developmental in nature, but a type of development which gives priority to downtown areas, affluent residents, and international tourists. The claim of this approach is that as wealth increases (through investment, for example) development for all will follow. The notion of Western policy-makers is that the developing countries have huge populations and the majority of the people live below the poverty line because of limited resources. Hence, the drive for seeking a powerful image in the world for ensuring investments makes the developing countries follow the development path of the rich countries. This is what made India bid for the 2010 Commonwealth Games. Existing research, however, shows that rarely, if ever, do these events generate genuine development and benefits for the majority sections of society.

### Who Gains?

We had shown in our 2007 report on the Games that it is business groups in real estate, hotels, tourism, hospitality, and transportation who gain from these Big Games. Much of the resources of the city are used by a few as the Games become a mode to commercialise. Corporate and multinational companies find a platform to sell their commodities in the name of branding the city. Because of international exposure media groups, advertising lobbies, and sponsorships get a huge share of the profits. The real estate market starts booming as funds start infiltrating into the construction sector. In the name of Urban Renewal much of the development and renovation takes place at selected zones and gets legitimised on the basis of the supposed economic benefits of sports. Most of the public money is exploited purely for private gain. This prediction has been borne out by succeeding events.

### Media

BBC Monitoring International Report, 2007 said that public broadcaster Prasar Bharati will need Rs9,431cr to telecast the Commonwealth Games, 2010, in high-definition TV (HDTV) format. It is under pressure to shift to the format for the Games. Prasar Bharati is the host broadcaster for the Games. According to the contract requirements, Prasar Bharati has to produce the entire television and radio content in the digital format. Otherwise it will lose the contract!

National broadcaster Prasar Bharati is expecting a 13 per cent growth in its gross revenue for the current fiscal to Rs1,400 crore in 2009. "Our revenue is on the upward curve," said a spokesperson.<sup>2</sup>

### Advertisement

Compact Disc India Ltd has announced that the company's group arm Premier Brands Pvt Ltd has been appointed by the Organising Committee as Master Licensee for the merchandising programme and Sole Concessionaire for competing and non-competing venues in India. Premier Brands is also at the advance stage of finalisation to act as Licensing Merchandising Partner for cricket in the World Cup. The company is expected to generate revenues over Rs300 crore within the financial year 2010-11.<sup>3</sup>

### Business groups

The Commonwealth Business Club of India (CBCI) is an initiative of the Organizing Committee, in partnership with Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and Confederation of Indian Industry (CII). CBCI was launched in London on October 29, 2009. The CBCI seeks to fulfil its objective to market the Commonwealth Games in Delhi and promote and facilitate business networking as well as showcase the country as a preferred business destination for the global business community. Through strategic partnership with CII and FICCI, the CBCI has found favour with and valuable exposure to top level business audiences in India and overseas, helping it promote its objectives, garner visibility, support and enhance networking bandwidth among the most important stakeholders. During the forthcoming Games, the Commonwealth Business Club Events planned include CWG Business Forum and Sports Trade Show.<sup>4</sup>

### Real Estate

After the Games, the private developer Emar MGF would hand over one-third of the total 1,268 flats to DDA and the remaining 779 flats (for which bookings have already started) would be handed over to the buyers. Experts say that the Games Village has also impacted the existing realty market in east Delhi and its adjoining areas. The kind of infrastructure like hotels, airport, flyovers, Metro, railway connectivity, etc that is coming up in the entire eastern part of the city to supplement the Games has impacted the property price in the area. Several builders and developers, including Emar MGF Land Limited, have launched new projects.<sup>5</sup>

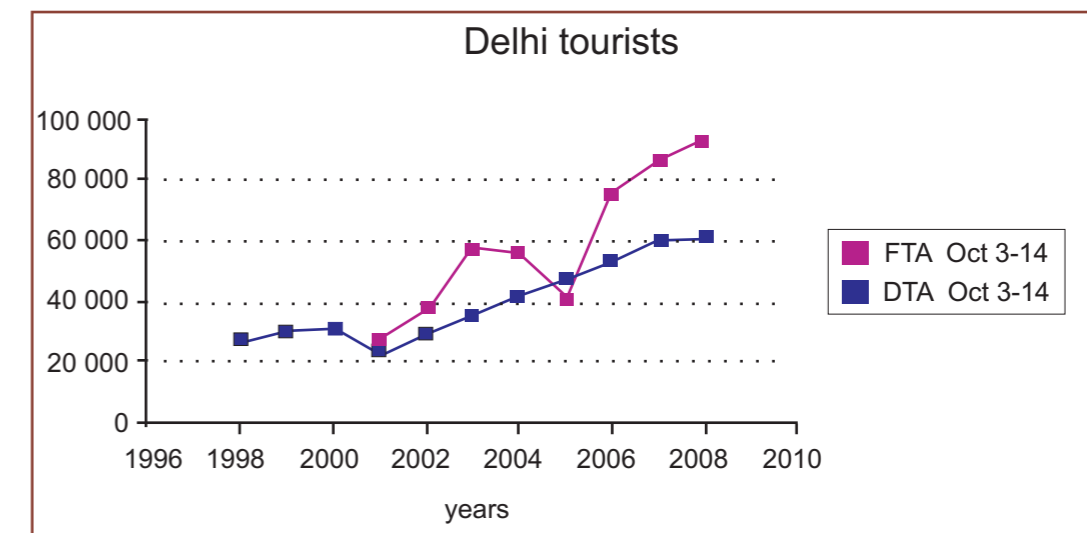
The industry says labour cost has gone up by 40-60% in the past 18-odd months in the National Capital Region. "Contractors are willing to offer more", says Vineet Relie, COO of SARE-India, a Delhi-based real estate company.<sup>6</sup>

### Tourism

State-owned India Tourism Development Corporation Ltd (ITDC) has embarked on a make over worth Rs170cr at more than half of its 15 properties ahead of the 2010 Games in New Delhi. A senior executive said, "The focus of the entire renovation and upgradation drive is the 2010 Commonwealth Games. Half of the amount of Rs170 crore will come in the form of a grant from the Ministry of Tourism and the remaining from ITDC's own profits. The projected revenues from the property are pegged at between Rs180 crore and Rs200 crore"<sup>7</sup>.

Figure 5 gives the trend in domestic and foreign tourist arrivals in Delhi from 1998 to 2008.

Figure 5: Tourist Arrivals in Delhi



From the Figure we can see that there is a discontinuous trend of domestic tourist arrival (DTA), sometimes increasing and sometimes decreasing. While foreign tourist arrival (FTA) is in an increasing trend since 2000, there is certain stagnation/change since 2006. About 31.4% of the FTA in India is through Delhi airport (India Tourism Statistics 2007).

Hence, while most of the FTA for the Games will also be through Delhi airport, but some tourists may enter India through other airports/entry points for seeing the Games. Therefore, about 35% of the FTA of India during October 2010 may be expected to visit Delhi during the Games. A study of the data of past Big Games reveals that some proportion of normal tourists generally avoids the venue of the host city. This proportion can be assumed to be 1/3rd of the tourists.<sup>8</sup> Hence, it is doubtful that there will be 1 lakh foreign tourist as expected by the authorities.

The declining trend in foreign tourists is borne out by the experience of previous Commonwealth Games held in Kuala Lumpur in 1998 (Figure 6), Manchester in 2002 (Figure 7), and Melbourne in 2006 (Figure 8). In each case, the number of visitors has dipped or remained about the same in the year of the Games. This indicates that the Games do not mark an upsurge of tourist interest with a consequent demand on the market and the possibility of garnering big revenues for the host city during the period of the Games. In fact, world-wide experience, as mentioned earlier, has been that the anticipated benefits are far lower than the actual costs and, in most cases in the last 40 years, the host cities remain saddled with debts for the next 20 to 25 years. Thus, the projections made about 1 lakh foreign tourists coming for the Delhi Games need to be treated with great caution.

Figure 6: Commonwealth Games 1998

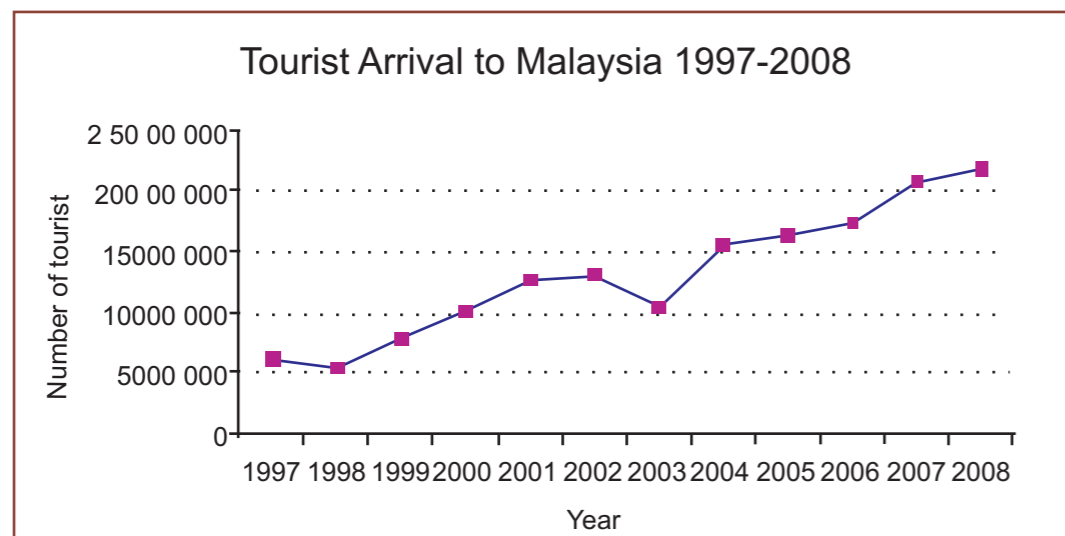


Figure 7: Commonwealth Games 2002

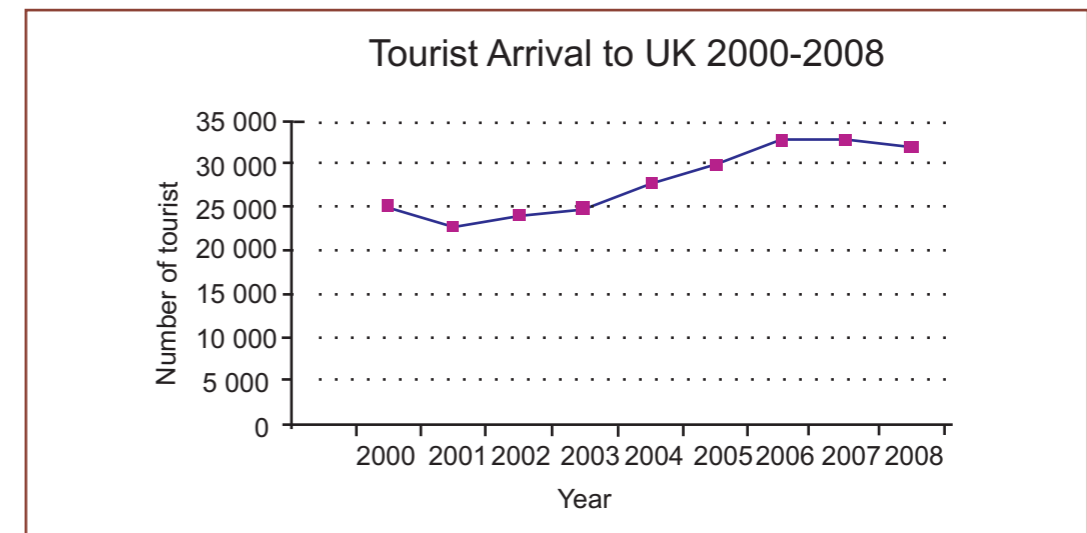
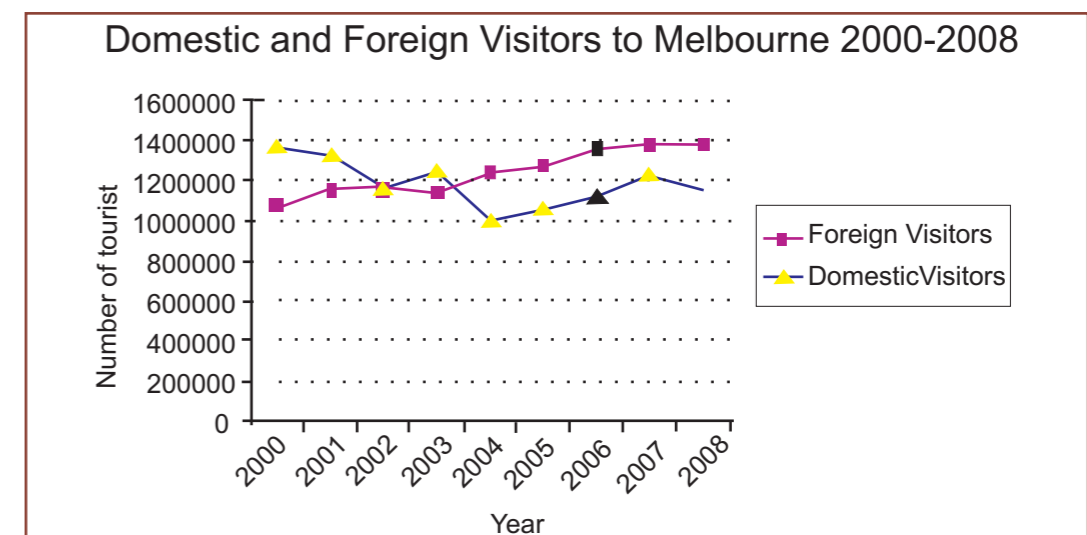


Figure 8: Commonwealth Games 2006



Two interviews with two tourists seem to reflect the note of caution that underlies the expected volume of arrivals.

### Anna, England

She came to visit India for a period of twenty days with the purpose of seeing Delhi. Her per day expenditure varies from Rs1,500- 2,000. In her view the scenario during the Commonwealth Games in Delhi would be the same as what happened in the FIFA World Cup in South Africa. As a tourist she would not want to visit India at the time of the Games because it would be a waste of time and money.

### Linda, Italy

She came to Delhi on an official visit for fifteen days. She has been staying in a lodge at Karol Bagh. Since she is visiting India just three months before the Games her per day expenditure has risen from Rs1500 during her last visit to Rs2500 this time. Nevertheless, she was very positive about the Games. She was very happy at all the development works that is going on in Delhi as it will pour in a lot of profit into the tourism sector.

## Cleaning Up after the Games

The process demolishing existing structures and moving the residents out, contributing to developing urban sprawl and huge public costs, is playing itself out in Delhi. This is part of the State-promoted package of urban renewal wherein the city is no longer an “engine of growth”, but a focus for “sustainable” investments. Land, thus, becomes a 'commodity' from which the city administration earns revenue and the price of land then begins to determine how the city will spread and who will live and work where. The Commonwealth Games 2010 conforms to the same notions of urban transformation, with an ad-hoc violation of planning processes and without public disclosure of and debate on all decisions related to the Games. The slogans of “world class” and “national prestige” are thrown into the faces of all those who would dissent and the space of dissent itself is being forcibly taken away.

*In a context where only 12% of commuters use private motorised transport in the city; where slum dwellers do not have access to affordable housing, and are routinely evicted to free the valuable land on which they are squatting; where decent drinking water is not available to 70% of the citizens; where informal sector workers are continuously insecure because their livelihoods are being taken away by private firms; where the costs of all urban facilities such as health, education, energy, are rising steeply; and where the environment is steadily degrading under the pressure of the consumer culture propagated by market forces; for the Government to divert a staggering investment of over Rs55,000 crores into renewing the city in the name of the Games, and another Rs 46,000 crores into infrastructure, is nothing short of criminal. The diversion of even 10% of this amount into corruption channels is obviously going to lead to a public outcry, but what should be of much greater concern is the legacy that this investment will leave behind as citizens will have to pay back the investment over the next three decades or more.*

As this report shows, citizens have already begun the pay-back in different ways. The beggars and homeless are being displaced, along with street vendors, informal workers, and slum dwellers. In the name of building, cleaning, and beautifying the city for the big event, the working poor are being evicted from their homes and work places. Because of the pressure to complete the work no labour laws and safety measures are being followed. The Games are also starting to have an impact on the middle classes as prices for land, housing, rents, energy, and transport have shot up sharply. Students have been pushed out of hostels to the mercies of the real estate market.

## Section 6

The proportion of new jobs created is only a fraction of what have been lost during eviction of the people. And the existing job scarcity is further aggravated due to the banning of certain occupations and the closure of small shops.

The Games have transformed the banks of the river Yamuna into commercial and recreational development for tourists, along with the construction on a 40 hectare site of the Games Village. This is a prelude to river front development in collusion with private developers. The courts are routinely giving clearance to such activities that are degrading the social and environmental fabric of the city. Large global sporting events have major consequences because they entail a large consumption footprint, typically reflected in the large amounts of materials required driven by construction activities, energy requirements, food consumption, water requirements, waste generation, and travel requirements that leave a lasting impact on the environment, and such impacts are not necessarily restricted to the host city.

Thus, as predicted, the big gains from the Games are accruing to business groups in real estate, hotels, tourism, hospitality, and transportation. Corporate and multinational groups are finding a platform to sell their commodities in the name of branding the city. Because of international exposure, media groups, advertising lobbies, and sponsorships are getting a huge share of the profits and the real estate market is booming. In the name of a “world-class city” much of the development and renovation is taking place at selected zones and being legitimised on the basis of the supposed economic benefits of sports. But what all this will leave behind is a hugely expensive infrastructure of gleaming stadia, roads, Metro, bridges, flyovers, hotels, airports, whose capital and maintenance costs will have to be recovered over many years.

Considering that other cities in the 'developed' world have taken 20-25 years to pay off the debts that accrue from big sports events, it is clear that the burden on India will be even higher. The “Games” is not a sporting event at all. It is all about watching a nation spend heavily on activities that are not on the priority list of the large majority of its people; watching the hype and glamour of the Games as they unfold in laser-zapped opening and closing ceremonies interspersed with a series of mediocre 'sporting' events; and watching the detritus they leave behind for ordinary citizens to sweep up and into their lives. We are become a nation of uncritical, unthinking, and pliable watchers. This report is witness to that process of national decay. Because to bear witness is also to remind us all that learning from the past is important for building the future.

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