

ACTS OF



OLYMPIC

DISSSENT

SPATIAL STUDIES: OLYMPIC CITY

SPRING 2016

FORWARD

Despite its consensual rhetoric, the Olympics are a divisive event. Not everyone is able to benefit from the Olympic Charter's ideals of fair play and "harmonious development of humankind." During its modern history, the Olympics have discriminated and displaced populations. Under the guise of preparing for the Games, cities have used militarization as a means of weakening civil rights. The propagated messages common in the Olympics reduce host cities to stereotypical images that conceal the lived reality of the multiple identities that define a space. For such reasons, the Olympics are often questioned, contested, or resisted by local and translocal populations, who are either directly affected by the actions taking place under the Games or defend the values of the communities that are threatened as a result. The usual lack of visibility of resistance acts in the mainstream media should not make us neglect their significance in empowering communities, building transnational alliances, and altering the ways the Olympics are realized—even if they are small steps toward change.

The papers in this book explore a variety of counter-Olympic acts extended by athletes, artists, musicians, designers, photographers, intellectuals, or the general public. The book begins with two papers that study actions of the past: Claudia Marina's inquiry on the black US athletes' protest during the Mexico City 1968 Games and a study by Yachen Han of community-engaged art in London taking place in the aftermath of the displacements forced by the 2012 Games. Three papers examine resistance toward the Rio 2016 Olympic Games: Alexandra Venner's study of alternative visualizations of urban experiences that contest the conventional place-marketing campaigns of Rio de Janeiro; Noa Bartfeld's study of musicians' revolt against the increasing militarization of Rio's favelas through the import of militarized vehicles from Israel; and Drew Vanderburg's analysis of the campaign by a transnational counter-Olympic committee consisting of activists, intellectuals, and local people that aims to raise awareness of the inherent elitism of the Olympic development in Rio and beyond. The book ends with a paper by Katherine Gross that examines designers' reactions toward the Tokyo 2020 Olympics—namely, their objections to the International Olympic Committee's chosen methods of soliciting design work for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games.

The authors of these papers do not merely focus on the content or cause of disagreement with the way the Olympics take place. Rather, they look at the tropes adopted by the acts of dissent and identify aesthetic, designerly, performative, and other affective characteristics (or lack thereof) that have the capacity to induce a dissemination of the dissenting attitude beyond the domain of verbal communication.

These papers emerged in the framework of a graduate elective class called "Spatial Studies: Olympic City" that I taught in in the spring of 2016 at Parsons School of Design. The class introduced students to spatial design studies, an interdisciplinary field that stands at the intersection of cultural geography, urbanism, architectural history, spatial anthropology, and design studies. The aim of the course was seeing the Olympic City as a field of top-down operation enforcement in the ways it employs national and place branding, creates a state of exception, allows for displacement of people and militarization of public space, and affects the environmental equilibrium in a negative way. The Olympic City, therefore, gives room for a space of dissent where both social movements and transnational groups contest the sociopolitical changes that the Olympic Games bring to the city which is hosting them.

Coming from various backgrounds across Parsons, the students in this class undertook their own original research and also worked toward the design and production of this book. Their papers provide evidence of ongoing Olympic dissent in the last seven decades, and discuss the role that design, aesthetics, and performative action play in the politics of resistance.

JILLY TRAGANOU

**ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF SPATIAL DESIGN STUDIES
PARSONS SCHOOL OF DESIGN**

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THE BOYCOTT THAT NEVER WAS: EFFORTS OF THE OLYMPIC PROJECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS TO SUBVERT THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE MEXICO CITY '68 OLYMPIC GAMES

CLAUDIA MARINA

On February 17, 2016 Beyoncé performed “Formation” at the Super Bowl 50 halftime show. The song is a clear message of black pride which Beyoncé chose to debut on a national televised stage, not only through her lyrics, but also through her all-black female cast of dancers decked in visual symbolism pertaining to the Black Panthers. Beyond the berets, black bands worn around the legs, and militant costumes, what was most telling during the show was a brief but direct sign of Black Power when Beyoncé and her troupe raised their left fists in unison in the middle of the performance. In that the moment, the message was changed from one of sterile peace, promoted by co-headliner Coldplay, to an active form of political resistance. Though Beyoncé was not the first to use the stadium as a platform for dissent—the media attention and praise she received in the event’s aftermath wouldn’t be held in history the way it is today without her forerunners.

Forty-eight years ago, on October 16, 1968, US Olympic Team athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos performed an act of dissent that would forever change the American socio-cultural fabric of sports and prove that, in the promotion of peace, the stadium is political.

Four days after the Opening Ceremony, which ignored the reality of the student protests that resulted in a massacre 10 days before, Smith and Carlos sat under the stadium with Australian Team athlete Peter Norman and discussed what would happen on the medal stand. Smith had just won the gold medal at the Olympic 200 m final, Norman won silver, and Carlos bronze. In the months before the Olympics, many US black athletes competing in the Mexico City '68 Games abandoned their commitment to a black boycott and in light of wavering opinions, their champion organization—the Olympic Committee for Human Rights—changed its strategies to reflect more individualized forms of protest. OCHR leader Harry Edwards wrote in his seminal text, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*, that among the reasons they adapted their plan of action was because “the sports establishment in this country could point to Negro athletes who refused to boycott and thus undermine the entire revolt.”¹

So left largely to their own devices, Smith and Carlos calculated how to use the medal stand to send a message that reflected the struggles of black people during the Civil Rights Movement back home. Beyoncé did the same when she realized she could use the Super Bowl to her advantage rather than herself being an advantage to the event’s corporate interests.

Smith had one pair of black gloves that were central to the act of protest. He gave Carlos the left pair and told his teammate, “The national anthem is scared to me. This can’t be sloppy. It has to be clean and abrupt.”² The heavy symbolism of the resulting medal stand Black Power salute is the main focus of this paper followed by a closer examination of the historical timeline that led to the moment, which demonstrates a calculated effort to subvert the United States’ race problem through an Olympic boycott of black athletes.

SYMBOLISM

Smith demystified the visual elements of the salute and defined each component in the aftermath of the Games. The black gloves, when raised, created unity. “My raised right hand stood for power in black America. Carlos’ raised left hand stood for the unity of black America. Together they formed an arch of unity and power,” Smith said in an interview.³ Walking up to the medal stand shoeless while wearing black socks symbolized black poverty in America.⁴ Smith wore a black scarf around his neck that stood for black pride,⁵ while Carlos’ beads stood in protest of black lynching.⁶ In such a way, while still participating in the Olympics they originally intended to boycott, Smith and Carlos were incredibly aware of their leader Harry Edwards’ belief that “grinning black faces atop an Olympic victory stand only mock kids smothering in slums, old women dying of malnutrition, bombed out churches, the bodies strewn along the path of riot.”⁷

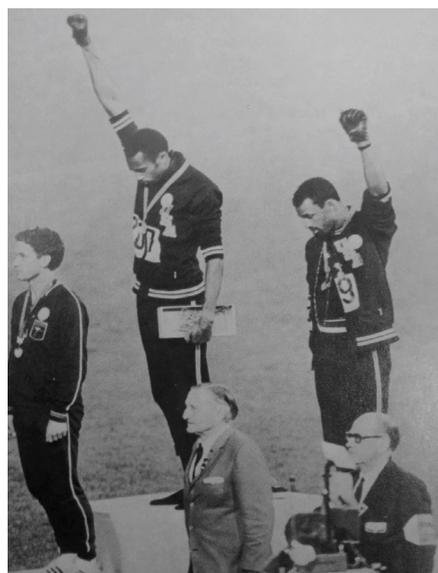


Figure 1. Black Power victory stand protest of Tommie Smith (center) and John Carlos (right.) Peter Norman is seen wearing the OPHR badge on the far left. Photograph by Wide World Photos. Mexico City 1968.

Source: Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of The Black Athlete*.

Combined, their presence on the medal stand was more of a meditation—perhaps the most peaceful moment in the Games, charged with solidarity for those who died and were suffering because of deep racism instilled in the very fabric of national pride imbued in performance.

Other protests happened by black athletes during the Games, though with far less intensity or ramifications. At the very least, those athletes who had identified with the Olympic Project for Human Rights agreed on wearing black armbands in protest of the U.S. government’s unwillingness to protect its neglected population of African Americans.⁸ Smith and Carlos’ unapologetic disposition was what made the protest act so contested and impactful. It was seen as disrespectful by International Olympic Committee President Avery Brundage, who vilified the athletes, kicked them out of the Olympic Village, and gave them 48 hours to leave Mexico City.⁹

The response from the media was polarizing. An understanding headline from the Associated Press read “Black Athletes Protest at Games in Name of Dignity, Justice and Humanity,”¹⁰ while others, such as an article in the *Los Angeles Times*, were more critical

in opinion claiming the gesture was “a Hitler-like salute.”¹¹ Body language proved to be key in comparison with milder versions of this protest action later on in the Games. Smith and Carlos’ bowed heads were not of disrespect to the American flag, but rather an act of mourning Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and others who have died fighting for change in the civil rights struggle back home.¹²

When compared alongside the actions of US Team runners Lee Evans, Larry James, and Ron Freeman—all African American—the results of the later act fell flat. The men, after being warned that serious action would be taken against those who tried to protest, wore black berets but removed them when the “Star Spangled Banner” played. Unlike Smith and Carlos, these men did not bow their heads and only raised their fists after. Instead of a powerful gesture symbolizing a want for change, the Black Power fist suddenly changed meaning and was interpreted as a victory gesture by the smiles on their faces as they performed this action. In comparison to Smith and Carlos’ actions, the United States Olympic Committee even believed these athletes were respectful.¹³

Taken as a whole, the act of dissent performed by Smith and Carlos was a tactical moment of spatial appropriation. The men utilized a brief moment of time¹⁴ allowed only by the time it takes to

BODY LANGUAGE PROVED TO BE KEY IN COMPARISON WITH Milder VERSIONS OF THIS PROTEST ACTION LATER ON IN THE GAMES.

salute the flag and receive the medals to change the meaning of the podium salute as a passive stage for statuesque athletes to embody national pride to an active, resistant global platform for disrupting institutionalized values including racism and a false pretense for peace. A barrier was clearly crossed that changed how the stadium was to be seen.

While the IOC likes to present the Olympics as a neutral realm where politics are not to be included, this can never be the case with the modern sports stadium. The stadium, itself, is a political tool of silencing the masses. In recent scholarship regarding sports stadiums, Christopher Gaffney asserts, “Stadiums function as mechanisms through which politicians attempt to organize and control social relations. In this sense, stadiums function as an instrumental public space used to deliver political messages.”¹⁵ Avery Brundage’s removal of Smith and Carlos from the Olympic Village was not punishment for the athletes bringing politics into the stadium; it was punishment for not promoting their brand of prescribed politics. The very presence of saluting the national anthem coupled with the nationalism attached to racking up gold medals and subsequent competition between nations proves that politics play a major role (e.g. the years of Olympic back-and-forth battle between the United States and the Soviet Union). In an age of televised mega-events, the Olympics are elevated to the level of spectacle. Because of this, the Black Power fist claimed a visual message that was not seen as widely appealing to international audiences, especially when athletes competing for their country were also exposing its dirty laundry. At the time, sports was very much still deemed a white space, emphasized by attempts to keep civil rights matters such as the student massacre at Tlatelolco out of sight. The intentional ambiguity of who owns the Olympics has further served to suppress alternative voices. As Monroe Price points

THE INTENTIONAL AMBIGUITY OF WHO OWNS THE OLYMPICS HAS FURTHER SERVED TO SUPPRESS ALTERNATIVE VOICES

out in *Owning the Olympics*, “because ownership of the platform is multiple and ambiguous, so too is the question of dominant or accepted narratives.”¹⁶ At an international scale, these multiple and confusing narratives directed by corporate interests attempt to make it more difficult to use the Olympics as a platform for one group’s message. Therefore, “ceding the Olympic Games to the sports entertainment industry has inevitably resulted in multiple forms of corruption.”¹⁷ In juxtaposition to the corruption of the sports entertainment industry, and in the context of the ongoing Civil Rights Movement, the new black athlete emerged to play a critical role in activism at the time.

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DESIGNING A BOYCOTT

Was the idea of a boycott more of a tactic than a long-term strategy by the Olympic Committee for Human Rights? By Michel de Certeau’s definition, a tactic is “a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus,”¹⁸ In order for a tactic to become a strategy, a triumph of place over time must happen, which was unattainable by the one-year pressurized effort of the Olympic Committee and Olympic Project for Human Rights’ campaign. Their actions were temporary, appearing as a result of past successes and recognition of a weak spot to penetrate. The OCHR used media manipulation through a timeline they decided would be beneficial to have certain information be released. While organized, in opposition to the institutions they were up against, these demonstrations and the graphic and literary documents of support served to subvert the

Olympic vision of peaceful nations competing against each other in a show of athletic excellence when the reality was that the United States was still deeply marked by racism and used African American athletes as tokens in the Olympic Games while still denying them equal status as citizens. Some goals were met (like successfully getting the IOC to remove South Africa and Southern Rhodesia from the year's Games) but others existed merely to build momentum and gain support. "It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow," de Certeau writes.¹⁹

The effort to boycott the '68 Games was elegantly carried out through the span of a year from October 1967 to October 1968 and resonates with other student movements at the late '60s. It is important to note the impact of the United Black Students for Action, an organization formed in 1967 by former athlete, PhD candidate, and professor at San Jose State College Harry Edwards. In response to racial discrimination on campus, on and off the field, Edwards coalesced with other African American students to organize a protest rally on the first day of classes in 1967. Edwards created list of demands, which if were not met, United Black Students for Action would prevent the first football game of the season from being played—a costly and symbolic blow.²⁰

The significance of this event was that it served as a catalyst to realizing that this form of organized protest for African American rights using athletics as leverage could successfully be brought to an international scale of awareness and pressure in the wake of the Mexico City 1968 Olympic Games. As Edwards claimed, "We had learned the use of power—the power to be gained from exploiting the white man's economic and almost religious involvement in athletics."²¹

On October 7, 1967, The Olympic Committee for Human Rights was formed in Edward's house alongside Tommie Smith and other key players of the rally at San Jose State and other colleges in California. A sub-committee called The Olympic Project for Human Rights would be responsible for organizing the Olympic boycott of black athletes, which held its inaugural workshop at the Black Youth Conference in Los Angeles one month later, on November 23, 1967. As a result of this workshop, The Olympic Project for Human Rights released their first press statement outlining reasons for the boycott, skillfully using rhetorical tactics such as anaphora in the style of great speeches to make an impact with the press. The statement began with an airing of grievances. "Whereas: the United States has failed to use its power—governmental or economic—to effectively alleviate the problems of 22 million black people in this country...Whereas: the United States government has acted in complicity with other racist elements of this society to strip black athletes of their prestige and athletic status based upon mere racist whim, Resolved: Black men and women athletes at the Black Youth Conference held in Los Angeles... have unanimously voted to fully endorse and participate in a boycott of the Olympic Games in 1968."²²

The Olympic Project for Human Rights' strategy was to up the ante and mobilize support by utilizing the media to their advantage. A series of press releases, demands, and selective exclusion of reporters at given times were strategic to organizing the protest.

Edwards and Civil Rights leaders were distrustful of white institutions that used token black men as a mouthpiece for their messages. For this reason, Edwards spoke out against 1936 Olympic athlete Jesse Owens, who in '68 was sent to talk black athletes out of continuing to show any form of protest after Smith and Carlos' act. "What really troubled [Owens] was the thought that anyone dared to launch a direct attack against a hallowed institution as the Olympic Games in particular and sports in general. All the fine Negroes who would be competing in Mexico City, he believed, would help erase the misunderstanding between races," Edwards criticized in *The Revolt of*

The Black Athlete.²³ Outside of athletics, Edwards realized this was occurring in journalism, which is why at the Black Youth Conference, where the Olympic Project for Human Rights actualized its plans for boycott, black journalists were allowed to be in attendance but could not record any information during the event. "It was decided by the three-man Olympic Committee for Human Rights that because black people did not control to any significant degree any form of mass media, we would have to guard against 'the [white] man's' means of communicating being used to our disadvantage."²⁴ Instead, black athletes' and journalists' language would be the sole quotable



Figure 2. Pin for the Olympic Project for Human Rights, 1968. Source: https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/12061013_a-rare-african-american-olympic-project-for-human.

information provided to the media in order to prevent dissolution.

"We were well aware that time alone might eclipse the start we had made in Los Angeles unless we could manage to keep news of our activities before the public," Edwards said.²⁵ To this point, the committee sought the help of important civil rights movement leaders including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Larry Lomax, and Floyd McKissick. Interestingly enough, prominent "Negro oriented" organizations, Edwards claimed, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were avoided. To this effect, one can conclude that though the focus of the OPHR was centered around African Americans, the project chose to rhetorically frame the protest as a general human rights campaign—thus introducing a strong element of interracial support (rather than exclusion) that served to strengthen the movement. Said Tommie Smith in a 2012 interview with Vice: "The OPHR had more of a humanistic interest in the world, whether the person being mistreated was a person of color from the US or Africa or wherever."²⁶ As Simon Henderson writes in his paper exploring the deeper inter-racial messages that spoke to the complexity of Smith and Carlos' medal stand salute, the graphic elements of support—the badges and pins worn by black and white athletes during the Games—"represented the Olympic Project for Human Rights, not the Olympic Project for Black Power, nor the Black Militant Olympic Movement."²⁷ What's more, instead of a Black Power fist, the pin featured a laurel wreath, which served as syntactic appropriation of an Olympic symbol. [fig. 2] Jilly Traganou describes syntactic appropriation in her book, *Designing the Olympics* which is a form of appropriation achieved by "adopting the language (syntax or deep structure) of an original work without establishing direct visual similarities through mimicry."²⁸ Laurel wreaths were traditionally placed upon the heads of winning athletes in ancient Games. By placing the wreath against the "Olympic Project for Human Rights," the language and former meaning of fame and honor associated with outstanding physical performance was tested

alongside the contemporary reality of black athletes being used by white American officials to further advance their public relations, economic gains, and national “honor” while racial problems such as widespread black poverty, crime, and segregation continued to exist back home.

Other visual components tied the movement together. Besides the badge which was worn by white athletes such as the Harvard rowing crew and decathlete Tom Waddell showing support for the movement and actions of Smith and Carlos,²⁹ graphic materials—though less acknowledged than the actual acts—played a role in promoting actual change. At this point, the boycott had reached national and political relevance as a real threat to the Olympics (evidenced by public figures such as then-governor of California Ronald Reagan and Vice President Hubert Humphrey speaking out against the boycott).³⁰ The final stage of the boycott effort was gaining support from international allies and taking the movement to a relevant transnational scale that would affect the Olympics directly. Two posters were designed for this final stage of gathering support for the boycott. The black-and-white posters featured the words “Olympic Games 1968” with the silhouette of the rings. Underneath, one poster signed “Boze” (possibly designed by Edward’s wife whom he met at

San Jose State, Sandra Boze) symmetrically divides the United States and Africa with two mirroring Black Power fists coming up from behind the countries. It reads: “Black America & Africa United: 32 Black African Nations Have Voted To Boycott The ’68 Olympics. Can We Do Less?”

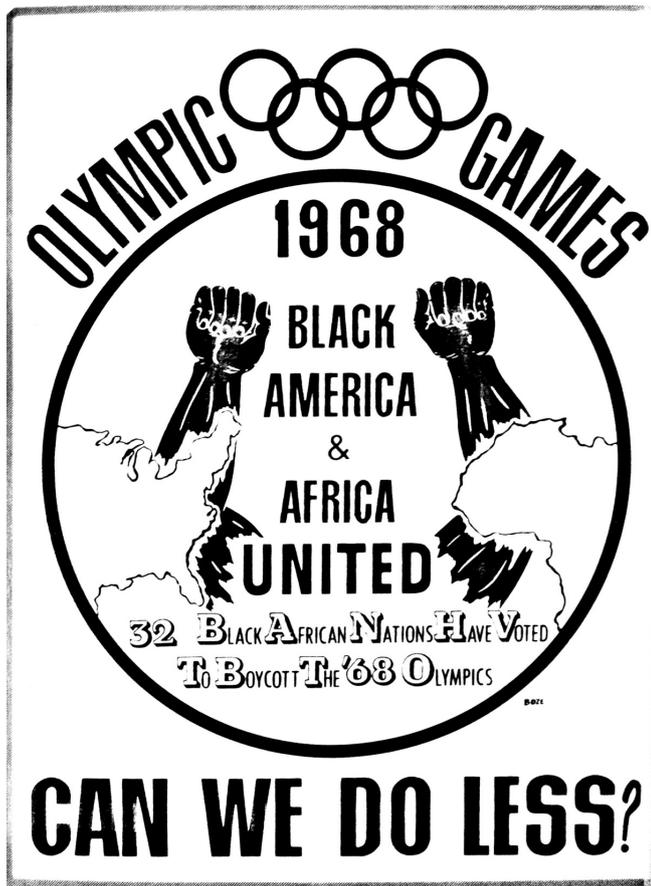


Figure 3. Poster for the Olympic Committee for Human Rights used to gain support of the 1968 boycott. Design by Boze. 1968. Source: Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of The Black Athlete*.

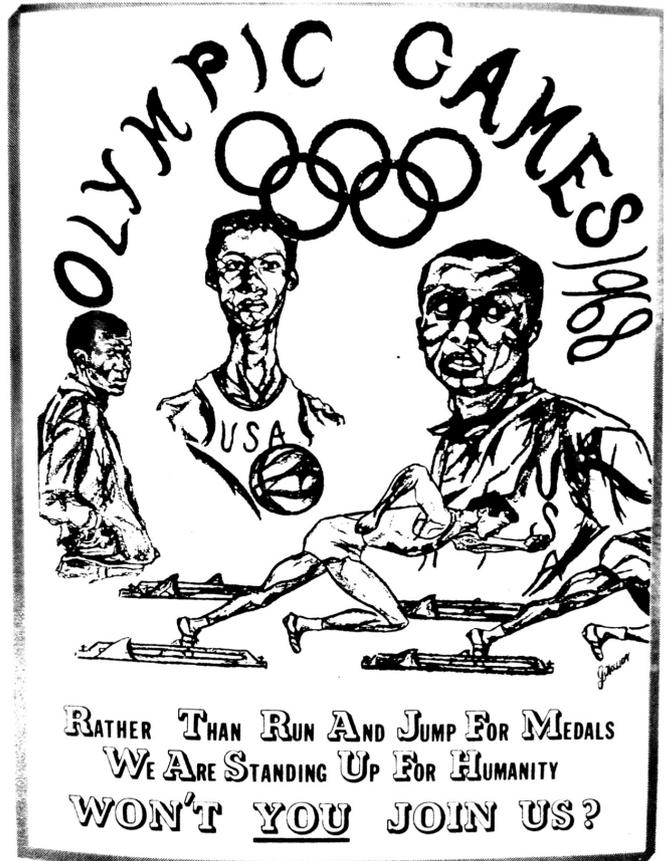


Figure 4. Second poster for the Olympic Committee for Human Rights used to gain support for the 1968 boycott. 1968. Source: Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of The Black Athlete*.

Visually, the Olympic Project for Human Rights succeeded in gaining relevance and media attention through the symbols of the Black Panther Party such as the fist, the black berets, beads, and armbands. Edwards, who had received advice from Larry Lomax to make a distinct visual impression in an increasingly televised age, designed the look of an all-black Olympic boycott.³¹ According to Amy Bass, “For the OPHR, the connection to radical iconography, whether a black beret, a goatee, or dark glasses, proved beneficial in its ability to situate the organization within the sweeping political landscape of racialized radicalism but also allows many critics to dismiss the group, as well as its demands, as political posers engaged merely, in the words of one observer, in ‘a large symbolic confrontation.’”³²

Perhaps for this reason, a second poster featured none of the Black Panther’s radical symbolism, but appealed more to non-black viewers wanting to support the OPHR (for example: the Harvard men’s rowing crew, who proved to be a big supporter of the project and Smith and Carlos during the ’68 Games). The illustrator of the second poster is not credited, and scans of the image prove difficult

to read its author, but the style is more illustrative and pathos-laden than the first that focused more on symmetry, a standardized type face, and graphic shapes of the Black Power fist and geographical silhouettes of the US and Africa. The second poster is in the style of an emotive rapid sketch. Instead of relying on symbolism to get the message across, the poster is humanized by the faces and silhouettes of black athletes. It reads, “Rather Than Run And Jump For Medals We Are Standing Up For Humanity. Won’t You Join Us?” [fig. 4] The underlined you directly addresses the viewer, making the message more personal and introspective than the first poster’s collective rally cry “Can We Do Less?”

Only one of the OPHR’s demands was met, and that was the subsequent removal of the apartheid nations of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia after the OPHR blasted a campaign that threatened to organize a separate all-black Olympics to be hosted in Africa and gained international support. The final stage of the boycott was considered to be a “significant victory in the international arena,” according to Edwards.³³

CONCLUSION

Smith and Carlos’ Black Power salute has been highlighted as a single moment in history, but in reality it was merely a component in response to the efforts of the yearlong act of dissent by the Olympic Committee for Human Rights. Through a created sub-committee known as the Olympic Project for Human Rights, San Jose State College professor Harry Edwards, alongside Tommie Smith and prominent Civil Rights activists, organized a yearlong effort to have black athletes boycott the Olympics. The movement gained credibility and made some effective changes on a national and international scale thanks to Edward’s mastery of utilizing the media to his advantage and riding on the visual imagery of the Black Panther Party. In light of the failed boycott, OPHR was seen as being more tactical than strategic, but the project and its leaders adapted to the changing attitudes of black athletes and encouraged each of them to perform personalized acts of dissent to their judgments.

Tommie Smith and John Carlos enacted the culmination of the OPHR’s message in a poignant visual demonstration of dissent at the men’s 200 m final. Their tactical spatial appropriation of the medal stand and sports stadium as a whole was inundated with symbolism of the layers of black struggle, pride, and resistance. Their act of dissent changed the sporting-event world forever. Black athletes gained a heightened sense of awareness in their relationships with self-proclaimed neutral institutions that masked racism and other civil rights issues such as free speech.

Afforded by spectacle and the sheer size of seating an international audience, athletes and entertainers such as Smith, Carlos, and Beyoncé use appropriation of sporting mega-events to transcend their roles as performance figures and successfully open up a dialogue in history for contemporary issues.

ENDNOTES

1. Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: Free Press, 1969), 99.
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3. Edwards, *Revolt*, 104.
4. *Ibid.*

5. Robert G. Weisbord, “Racism and the Olympics: Black Protest at the 1968 Mexico City Games” in *Racism and the Olympics*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015), 81.
6. Moore, “A Courageous Stand.”
7. Weisbord, “Racism and the Olympics,” 77.
8. Edwards, *Revolt*, 99.
9. *Ibid.*, 104.
10. *Ibid.*, 137.
11. Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 274.
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13. Weisbord, *Racism*, 84.
14. Certeau, *Practice*, 39-40
15. Christopher Gaffney, “Mega-events and the Socio-spatial Dynamics in Rio de Janeiro, 1919-2016” *Journal of Latin American Geography*, Vol 9 N. 1 (2010): 12-13, accessed April 17, 2016.
16. Monroe Price, “On Seizing the Olympic Platform,” in *Owning the Olympics*, eds. Monroe Price and Daniel Dayan, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 90.
17. *Ibid.*, 93.
18. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 37.
19. *Ibid.*
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21. *Ibid.*, 47.
22. *Ibid.*, 55.
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26. Joshua Haddon, “We Interviewed Tommie Smith about the 1968 ‘Black Power’ Salute,” *Vice*, August 10, 2012, accessed April 17, 2016, <http://www.vice.com/read/the-story-behind-the-1968-salute>.
27. Henderson, “Nasty Demonstrations,” 85.
28. Jilly Traganou, “Opposing the Olympic City: Designerly Ways of Dissenting,” in *Designing the Olympics: Representation, Participation, Contestation*. (London: Routledge, 2016), 258.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Edwards, *Revolt*, 91.
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32. *Ibid.*, 145.
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DISSENT, ART, COMMUNITY

YACHEN HAN

Modern urbanization has a predominant role in modern society defining and reforming citizens life. Process of urbanization oftentimes involves violent forces that stop citizens from dis-obeying a pre-constructed way of life. Citizens, or residents who are ever affected by urban changes, sometimes join forces to speak about their actions against the expectation of being passively displaced and replaced endlessly. Through acts, engagements, and participation, these people grab an opportunity to express on their opinions and values. This is often done through minor, yet influential projects and happenings, which further gather their forces to be present on the controlled from above urban map in which they are often visually and structurally invisible.

This paper focuses on the Clays Lane Live Archive, which was a project formed during the period of the 2012 London Olympics, as a practice that revealed the role of materiality and urbanity on human memory and living experience. It showcases an understanding on the interactions between material engagement and dissent, particularly the dissent against international mega events like the Olympics. More importantly, it evokes discussions on the notion of “community”, a cluster of people who on different levels share memories and living experiences, as well as investigations on how this sense of “community” adds to the power of citizens leading to new acts, engagements, and participation. The same attention to the notion of “community” is also present in Marie Watt’s participatory art project *Blanket Stories*, which alternatively defined “community engagement” in a material format. The focus on the notion of “community” brings the scope of this paper to another community-engaging (art) project by Swiss artist Thomas Hirschhorn. It is the Gramsci Monument he created in 2013 as the fourth and the last monument of the series in which he reflected on the work of major thinkers and writers. By bringing up the discussion to the Gramsci Monument, this paper contemplates on how the notion of “responsibility” would be activated through the public’s involvement and community interactions, so that it would circle back to rethinking the power that is being held by modern urban citizens in their negotiation or resistance towards urban violence.

PRACTICE

Clays Lane Live Archive __by Adelita Husni-Bey

While dissent is often staged upon vigorous physical actions and mental processes, the dissenting acts’ effects or outcomes are difficult to define, clarify, and value on the basis of being either positively effective or negatively influential. Alternative approaches that raise dissent using a less aggressive language transcend the practice of direct contestation to be more critical and optimistically generate methodological possibilities for recovery and empowerment.

The Clays Lane Live Archive, which was initiated by Italian born artist Adelita Husni-Bey, is a participatory research and development project that seeks to activate the visualization of rhetoric and memory that are embedded in the Clays Lane estate’s tenants’ experience who were evicted around 2007 for the 2012 London Olympics construction. The archive acts as a gesture of dissent in the way of commemorating the past and healing the traumatized living experience, and thus exemplifies how dissent functions as a type of therapy with artistic sensibility playing a significant part within

the process. Moreover, executing dissent in a material format that emphasizes both the tangible and intangible shared memories of a community reveals the significant value of community in individual’s life. At the same time, it indicates a give-return relationship between efforts that are put into collective interest and it’s the service that community members receive by the community.

The Clays Lane was established in 1947 as a communal housing co-operative to provide residences for vulnerable single people in east London. As described by Husni-Bey in her article *Clays Lane Live Archive*, “tenants were required to purchase a £1 share in order to become a member of the co-operative, entitling them to attend and vote in the annual general meeting, elect or stand for the management committee, participate in the co-operative’s affairs and receive its services”. These principles demonstrate that the Clays Lane was not only politically and economically established to support the life of those needed, but also to help them build up social connections and healthy community life.

The Clays Lane estate became a community, not only structurally based on the physical architecture, but also psychologically and emotionally as tenants developed sociable life style after they settled in. Qualified residents who were proved to be “vulnerable single people” were provided initially with sympathy by the authorities that allowed alternative non-main stream lifestyles, although when the need for a “compulsory purchase” appeared, they were forced to move without respects to their physical and mental wellness. A double standard is obviously utilized in such circumstance, as it excuses a “state of exception” for the Olympics. Can social relations and community life be reformed efficiently for the tenants who have



Fig.1 Block view of Clays Lane Estate. Unknown photographer, London. Source: Clays Lane Live Archive.



Fig.2 Construction View of Clays Lane Estate. Unknown photographer, London. Source: Clays Lane Live Archive, 2009-2012.

already experienced isolation from society before? What does it mean to the “vulnerable single people” to reestablish social relations and community life? For the former tenants of Clays Lane who moved into the estate for being helped, the entire story of building a social community life was utopian-ized. In fact, the initial housing policy provided services to the selected group of people as tenants primarily for a later possibility that would appropriate an empowered bureaucratic decision-making that proceeds some types some types of urbanization.

If sympathetic rhetoric was used to execute Clays Lane estate as a public housing project, it got transformed into a sacrificial and patriarchal scheme as the prioritization of the Olympics comes. Residential eviction is always the most complicated part of practicing that prioritization, and it is often executed to dismiss the effects urban-change brings to residents’ perception of living. What becomes more important is the city’s fame of hosting the Olympics and the ultimate goal of anew urbanization. Husni-Bey foresaw the possible consequences as if they were to become tragedies, and made the Clays Lane Live Archive a long-lasting research project consisting of multi-formatted materials, objects, and activities. A large amount of statistics and paperwork that legitimized the eviction process was collected as the most direct objects that could symbolize the involuntary and almost violent nature of the eviction. Also

various types of documentation, creative constructs, and materials that entail the history of the estate and memory of the community are included in the archive.

The Clays Lane Live Archive urged the effected former tenants of Clays Lane estate to look for and collect physical materials, and the intangible memories that existed in their pasts. Such actions happened as a process that resulted to the rise of dissent. At the same time the “healing” character of making the archive was realized through the process of finding, gathering, sorting, and collecting. As “finding” happens participants are mentally unfolding a wrapped box that contains facts and stories.

These facts and stories might intrigue further unwrapping of stored memories, while it forces physical actions such as digging through storage boxes, cabinets, drawers, etc. Similar processes happen during the acts of “gathering”, “sorting”, and “collecting”, while they start focusing more on the collectivity of the life in the estate and the shared values. Such a process applies a poetic quality to the practice of dissent, but it does not ask the participants to be poetically moved, instead, it creates a healing atmosphere within which the participants can undergo a therapeutic engagement and practice.

The fact that these processes enabled participants to act individually but contribute collectively reinforces the participants to further understand and appreciate what

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1989

MEMBER'S RENT CARD

Reference No. 95

Member's Name Jeff Ellis

Address 95 Daly Court
Plays Lane Stratford E15

Date of Change				
Weekly Fair Rent	£			
Service Charge	£			
Rates	£			
WEEKLY TOTAL DUE	£	22	15	

PLEASE PRODUCE THIS CARD WHEN PAYMENTS ARE MADE

Summary of Part X of the Housing Act, 1985
1. An occupier who causes or permits his dwelling to be overcrowded is liable to prosecution for an offence under the Housing Act, 1985, and, if convicted, to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds. Any part of a house which is occupied by a separate family is a "dwelling".
2. A dwelling is overcrowded if the number of persons sleeping in it is more than the "permitted number", or if such it is two or more of those persons, being ten years old or over, of opposite sexes (not being persons living together as a family) and which must sleep in the same room.
3. The "permitted number" for the dwelling to which this Payment Card relates is persons, including the number of persons each child under ten years of age counts as half a person, and a child of less than one year is not counted at all.
4. The Act contains special provisions relating to overcrowding already existing or which is due to a child attaining the age of either one or ten years, or which is due to exceptional circumstances. Full information about these special provisions is contained in the explanatory notes to the Act which may be obtained free on application to the local Authority.



Fig.3. (left) Member's Rent Card. Donated by Jeff Ellis, 1989.
Source: Clays Lane Live Archive, 2009-2012.

Fig.4. (right) Archive image of Clays Lane Estate. Photograph by S.Bradwell.
Source: Clays Lane Live Archive, Supplement Gallery, London.
<http://www.supplementgallery.co.uk/exhibitions/ccla/index.html#panel1-9>

it means to be part of a community in urban society. Joining the broader feeling of dissent because of the negative effects of the Olympics, an art exhibition was showed at the Supplement Gallery in London August 15th-19th, 2012, which was also accompanied by off-sites event programs taking place in other public institutions across London. The gallery display of the archive delivered different yet effective messages for the entire dissenting process. Being placed in an art gallery as a show that was curated, the Clays Lane Live

...IT CREATES A HEALING ATMOSPHERE WITHIN WHICH THE PARTICIPANTS CAN UNDERGO A THERAPEUTIC ENGAGEMENT AND PRACTICE

Archive exhibition represented the project as a healing treatment that visualized memories, celebrated community effort, and visually translated the rhetoric that was embodied in the actions related to the eviction and dissent. Simultaneously, it gave the chance for people to retrospectively look back to the living experience of Clays Lane's former tenants, and to continuously keep the memories alive.

Executing dissent against the Olympics by utilizing artistic inventions reveals the power of visualizing memory and experience. That brings in the questioning of how creative professionals, in this case artists,

....IT GAVE THE CHANCE FOR PEOPLE TO RETROSPECTIVELY LOOK BACK TO THE LIVING EXPERIENCE OF CLAYS LANE'S FORMER TENANTS, AND TO CONTINUOUSLY KEEP THE MEMORIES ALIVE.

extend their field of practice to a much larger scale in contemporary societies. It is a question on the blurring of boundaries between professional identities, as well as cross-cultural and cross-national social identities. These blurred boundaries taken by the creators also inevitably apply onto material productions, and of course materiality-involved social activities and projects. Dissent is among many, one of the tropes of production that latently embodies the truth of that question. The sense of "community" that is implied during the process of dissent reveals more complexities to the arguable question by engaging social acts.

COMMUNITY

Drawing Analogies with Blanket Stories:

Confluence, Heirloom, and Tenth Division by Marie Watt

Sharing major characters with the Clays Lane Live Archive, the *Blanket Stories: Confluence, Heirloom, and Tenth Division*, a participatory art project created by American artist Marie Watt in 2013, rises questions on the definitions of art and dissent.

As an artist, Marie Watt works mainly with blankets as her material, and she often seeks to translate the conceptual and

physical interactions between the “arc of history and the intimacy of memory” into a materialized form. *Blanket Stories: Confluence, Heirloom, and Tenth Mountain Division*, is a project Marie Watt worked with the Denver Art Museum in which she asked the local community of Denver to donate their personal blankets to create a blanket tower that would be permanently placed in the American Gallery at the Denver Art Museum, surrounded by American artifacts that mostly represent the indigenous cultures.

Through the process of the project, the sense of “community” is applied to the body of the physical artwork which is the tower of the donated blankets. Where the participant comes from and where the donation takes place define the meaning of the community. The community of the Blanket Tower project signifies a partial function of geographical location which is to provide possible social connections for those who live within the area. Although, as the donated blankets are mounted together to form a whole new form of material representation, this geographically categorized community is transformed conceptually.



Fig.5. *Blanket Stories: Confluence, Heirloom, and Tenth Division*, by artist Marie Watt. Collection of Denver Art Museum. Denver Art Museum, Denver 2013.

Source: <http://www.mariewattstudio.com/work/project/blanket-stories-con->

This newly formed community has similar features with the residents of the Clays Lane estate who share common experiences and memories. In the case of Watt’s project, the shared experiences and memories are evoked in the participants’ mind through their act of donating their personal blankets. And as the Blanket Tower is constructed and installed in the American Galley at the Denver Art Museum, the newly formed community contributes to the raising of a dissent against the ignorant and hierarchical attitude that indigenous cultures are undergoing, the forgotten history of minorities, and the de-valuing of crafts (applied art; textile art). Participants of the project were aware of the meaning of their donations; their participations create this dialogue between the blanket tower and the issues it reveals.

Another significant factor involved in Marie Watt’s blanket project is the story tags attached on the blankets. Donors of blankets are asked to briefly write down stories and histories related to their blankets or personal histories. The tags that have the writings on are physically apparent, but they become more and more distant from the floor-level the higher the blanket is set. Stories in a way are not fully accessible to audiences; their presence on the tower creates a form of archive. As in the Clays Lane Archive materiality again acts significantly to delivery intangible subjects, such as history and story.

Looking at Marie Watt’s project that involves a physical installation in a conventional art institution as a form of dissent provides useful perspectives to the understanding of Clays Lane Live Archive. The *Blanket Stories* was initiated as an art project that would result to an artistic creation at the end of the whole process. The process evolves primarily a narrative, or a rhetorical message that generates communal participation and the final formation of the blanket tower. Marie Watt is an artist, although the project could also have been realized by her as an individual but not necessarily and artist who conceptually presents her intentions and approaches for how she wanted to execute the making of her conceptual ideas. To Marie Watt, materiality is her medium, and material presentation is the production she wanted to produce. Consequently, what defines the *Blanket Stories* as art is neither the clarified initial definition of the project as “an art project”, nor the final material presentation that’s often part of art institutions such as the Denver Art Museum.

It is almost a radical hypothesis to define Marie Watt’s *Blanket Stories* as a project that intrigues unstated dissent. But this hypothesis also provides an analytical logic to argue the nature of Anelita Husni-Bey’s archive. As discussed above, realizing the identity of Husni-Bey, the initiator and an artist, and developing the project into an art gallery exhibition are strongly suggesting the archive project as an artistic invention. If Husni-Bey’s identity and the gallery exhibition are not discussed while researching on the dissent at Clays Lane estate, would the creative conception of making the archive still be considered as an artistic invention? And would the archive still be realized as a form of dissent to the 2012 London Olympics?

RESPONSIBILITY

Drawing Analogies with Gramsci Monument by Thomas Hirschhorn

The Gramsci Monument, which was initiated by Swiss Artist Thomas Hirschhorn as a public art project, align with the Clays Lane Live Archive’s features of involving community, witnessing urban changes that affect community life, and functioning as a form of community therapy. Briefly, Thomas Hirschhorn was commissioned

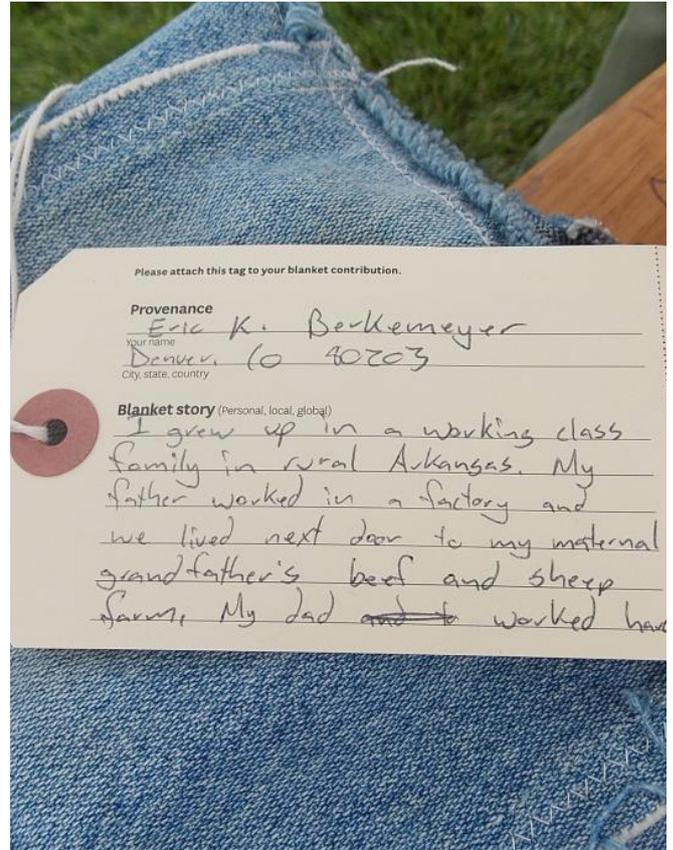


Fig.6. & 7. (left & right) Blanket Stories. Blanket Contributed by Eric K. Berkemeyer. Collection of Denver Art Museum, Denver 2013.
 Source: <http://denverartmuseum.org/article/staff-blogs/community-blankets-heartfelt-stories-donated-dam-art-installation>

by the Dia Art Foundation in New York to conduct a housing project at Forest Houses in Bronx, New York, and employed residents of Forest Houses to build a wooden structure in the park of the housing complex and also to serve for maintenance and operation of the space and programs through the duration of the project. The project was designed to be a monument dedicated to the Italian Marxist theoretician and politician Antonio Gramsci with his texts placed in the center library of the wooden house. Multiple other rooms were rendered within the built structure including a stage platform, an Internet corner, a lounge, a workshop area and the Gramsci Bar. The employment of residents from the community triggered heavy discussions on whether it only took place for making the project really a community-involved public art project. The monument lasted from July 1st to September 15th, 2013, and provided engaging educational and entertaining activities for the local community, such as Children's Class, workshops, and daily Happy Hour meeting at the "Gramsci Bar"; as well as attracted national and international explorers to investigate it as a work of art.

After the project went down, Forest Houses went back to its earlier state before the artwork was constructed. The park where the wooden structures were built upon started again looking unsanitary, and kids from the community are again not having as much entertaining and educational activities after school as when the project was up.

The project by its nature was an institutional commission that meant to last for a limited amount of time. While it happened it followed its premises, and it successfully created opportunities and programs that intellectually involved the local community. One can

safely claim that it was almost unrealistic for the project to resolve its aftermath due to the lack of funding that would support further design or programming for a future plan.

The sense of community in the Gramsci Monument occasion meant to be rooted in the core of the project. But the central messages the project delivered were foreign to the local community, and they have been critically perceived by reviewers as a way of invasion. The Forest Houses' community witnessed the changes of their community's urban environment by starting with no specific expectation and ending with an unexpected sense of disparity. Different from the Clays Lane Live Archive which it entailed to the community at Clays Lane as a treatment for the forceful eviction, the Gramsci Monument generated potentials that could have developed into negative triggers for violent reactions. The happening of the Gramsci Monument was meant to create a utopian environment for the community similar to that of the Clays Lane estate housing project when it was enacted. But when such projects for public well being end with the decision of some form of authority, such as the project's initiators in the case of the Gramsci project, the stakeholders are inevitably forced to face the reality. This is not to say that the stakeholders are purely exploited without any benefits. Rather more and deeper reflections from the project initiators are necessary to make public projects sustainable to a community's health and well-being.

CONCLUSION

As explored by this paper, art and dissent can function in synergy with each other expressing creativity and leading to courageous acting. Their interaction evokes questions about what do they serve for people, subjects, objects and places with which they are engaged. Victims from violence who dissent are in exile when they are displaced geographically or mentally harmed.; Public well being would be in exile as local communities keep receiving ignorance and disrespect. Art will eventually be in exile as it could be the last possible form to raise dissent, but dismissed as irresponsible.

Practice, community, and responsibility are factors that can transform forces generated by living experiences into the reflections on social violence. Violence does not only include forms of aggression such as a massacre, but may also immerse from human adaptations to urban changes. This adaptation is flexible by its nature of being accommodating, and it potentially requires collective efforts when socio-political forces and pre-existing social constructions are dominating the society. Interestingly, this flexible process of adapting can always response back to the process of how citizens are perceiving their living experience, in which communal power is realized. As discussed in the Clays Lane Live Archive section, the practice of dissent provides opportunities for participants to seek for, dig through, and communally recollect their tangible and intangible memories. Those “acting” procedures involve flexible potentials, such as forgotten memories, lost material goods, and also the variously complicated circumstances that fostered all the changes happened in the recent history. So the Clays Lane Archive is a true example of how living experiences in the past can be transformed through a collective manner of reflection, and how communal force and community are challenging the common perception of a social system. This self-reflective and circulatory battle between citizens and urban spaces was also apparent in the discussions on Marie Watt and Thomas Hirschhorn’s projects, although they are lack of a “dissent” character.

Landing that sense of flexibility onto “responsibility”, as discussed throughout the paper, is opening the conversation on “sustainability”. “Sustainability” is concerned in many fields as a product of human development. It is a task that comes with the artificial implications that humans have marked on nature’s pure form. Relating it to how citizens can over come the obstacles while experiencing urbanization, how community life can stop being irresponsibly diluted by larger forces, and also how dissent can speak to more audience, it becomes obvious that sustainable concerns are apparent and significant within all of these occasions, which makes most forms of social acts become efforts for keeping a society conceptually and physically sustainable.

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ANTI-OLYMPIC ACTIVISM IN THE INTERNET AGE

DREW VANDERBURG



Figure 1: Logo of Olympic Watch, Beijing 2008
Source: OlympicWatch.org

In the period preceding sporting mega-events, it is common to encounter flagrant violations of human rights. The World Cup, the Pan-American Games, and the Commonwealth Games are examples of the type of all-consuming urban redevelopment spectacles of which The Olympics are the world's most expensive and notorious. A report by Human Rights Watch lists the most common human rights abuses that the Olympics repeatedly commit: forced evictions without due process or compensation, abused and exploited migrant workers, silencing and arrests of protestors and journalists, and discrimination. The International Olympic Committee, despite its "Fundamental Principle #2" of "harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society," is a constant perpetrator of human rights violations. What organizations exist to hold the IOC to task on its own mission statement? And what is the current state of their efforts?

A RECENT HISTORY OF TRANS-NATIONAL OLYMPIC WATCHDOGS

Historically, resistance to the Olympic games has originated from host city populations. Each Olympic host city's struggle features a unique cocktail of activist campaigns, community initiatives, popular protests, and legal battles. These forms of resistance may be targeted at city-level struggles such as housing justice or transportation equity, or they may concern regional and nationwide plights such as human trafficking or unwise use of public tax dollars. Anti-Olympic sentiment in a host city can be rampant. However, locally embedded resistance groups consistently fall short at exercising political leverage over the Olympic actors they desire to affect. The targets are increasingly global in scope. As globalization has mobilized foreign investment capital, the Olympic games have become designed and produced by a cadre of international corporations who operate beyond the political, legal, and financial reach of city governments. This fact has pushed anti-Olympic resistance groups to seek more trans-national approaches to protest and (try to) reform the Olympics.

The possibility of organizing trans-nationally has been facilitated by the growth of communication technology. The internet, social media, mobile devices, and the miniaturization of the camera have all collided to produce an atmosphere of information sharing that is not hampered by geographical distance. As global finance can now circulate funds and stocks over the web instantaneously, activists are able to circulate imagery, videos, news, and data that can just as drastically affect the landscapes of power, if done strategically. This makes a truly global anti-Olympic movement (or pro-reforming-the-Olympics movement) increasingly feasible. The idea of such an organization would not be embedded in a local geography or socio-political milieu, but rather operate like the Olympics do: that is to say it would be mobile, ongoing, international, and multi-lingual. What follows is a timeline of trans-national Olympic resistance efforts since the coming of the internet age.

2008 BEIJING — OLYMPIC WATCH

Olympic Watch was an organization set up to monitor the procedures of the International Olympic Committee during the construction of the Beijing 2008 Olympics. Their logo employs a common trope of Olympic visual appropriation, the handcuffs as the Olympic rings. Their stated mission was to document and decry human rights violations at the hands of Olympic organizers, especially in light of China's dismal record on human rights. Although the organization does not imply in its mission that it seeks to watch the IOC's work in future Olympic games, the name "Olympic Watch" recalls the international monitoring efforts of "Human Rights Watch." Olympic Watch partnered with international groups such as Amnesty International and UNICEF. Notably, Olympic Watch is the first Olympics-specific monitoring organization to even have a website (or at least, it is the oldest such website that is still online.) That website features links to other world-scale organizations and articles about global leaders (such as Vaclav Havel, Wei Jingsheng, and Desmond Tutu), who had been operating against Olympic activities in Beijing at the time. Considering all this, I am identifying Olympic Watch as the first prototype of a truly global Olympic resistance effort. Some of the group's work led to improvements in China's foreign policy, namely cessations related to rights violations in Darfur. The global-scale influence of Olympic Watch was mainly attained by celebrity buy-in (by Mia Farrow and Stephen Spielberg) which created controversy and threw international scrutiny onto China's government.

A useful account of the trans-national strategies employed by Olympic Watch is available in Monroe Price's "On Seizing the Olympic Platform." In Beijing, ultimately, because of the censorial and authoritarian state of Beijing, little public on-the-ground action was allowed to occur. Therefore, the IOC and China's elites went forward with their Olympic plans unabated. Nowadays, Olympic Watch seems to have ceased operations, at least outside of China, and its website was last updated in 2008.



Figure 2: Drawing of the Olympic Resistance Network, Vancouver 2010
Source: Vancouver Media Co-op

2010 VANCOUVER – THE OLYMPIC RESISTANCE NETWORK

Vancouver’s civil society banded together in various ways to protest the Olympics on its turf in 2010. The Olympic Resistance Network (ORN) was amongst these initiatives. It was created by the Vancouver Media Co-op as a platform to unify numerous movements operating throughout British Columbia. The drawing in Figure 2 exemplifies the agglomeration of communities that composed ORN, such as feminist organizations, housing justice activists, and indigenous groups. Through riotous street protests such as the anti-capitalist Heart Attack march, and through theatrical street actions such as the satirical Poverty Olympics, the ORN created counter-spectacles to the Olympic spectacle in Vancouver. But as in Beijing, despite the resistance, the International Olympic Committee went through with most of its plans. Though the Olympic Resistance Network initially declared itself as an organizing hub for 2010-specific activities, it has supported subsequent Olympic resistance. Two years later, in a symbolic act of solidarity, Vancouver activists shipped the giant paper-mache torch from their Poverty Olympics over to the London-based activist groups. The actions of the Olympic Resistance Network surely raised visibility of popular anti-Olympic sentiment, but the group has apparently since disbanded. Although Vancouver Media Co-op still exists, the last post on the ORN website was in 2011.

2012 LONDON – COUNTER OLYMPICS NETWORK

Receiving the torch of the Poverty Olympics from Vancouver was the Counter Olympics Network in London. Their logo advances the trend of handcuffs in the formulation of the Olympic Rings (and improves upon Olympic Watch’s version by adding color and higher resolution). The group was once again decrying negative impacts of Olympic development such as human rights violations, gentrification, and wasteful expenditures of public money. CON sought to link individuals and organizations that were protesting against the 2012

games worldwide, but reached mostly to civil society groups within the UK. It is only in the agenda for the group’s final meeting, posted on their website in Fall of 2012, that the group mentions its aspiration to become the International Counter Olympics Network and continue the struggle in future Olympic cities. That is the last post on the website, though this group (at least one person) is still active on Twitter as of this writing. There is no website for an International Counter Olympics Network.

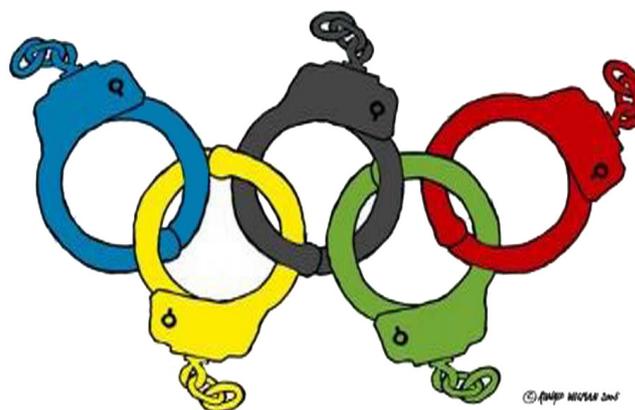


Figure 3: Logo of the Counter Olympics Network, London 2012
Source: DropDownNow.org

SUMMARIZING THE TRENDS

So it seems that an overarching and unfortunate reality of (functionally or nominally) trans-national Olympic resistance cells is that they lack staying power. They lack longevity. But this is perfectly logical. Once the Olympic games have left their city, individuals who have committed the past few years to a likely tumultuous ordeal of protesting would be grateful for a respite. And they would be unlikely to possess the fiscal means or available personnel to take the fight onward to a different city across the world. Nor would they necessarily speak the correct language or possess the situated knowledge necessary to be of much use in an anti-Olympic scenario abroad.

Another trend is that, while using the internet to publicize their struggle on a global scale, these groups limited their physical resistance efforts to just their own cities. And, despite a wide variety of protestatory strategies, none of these groups were able to prevent the Olympics or the bulk of their negative effects from happening. There have been other cases, such as Chicago’s 1976 cancellation of the games or Boston’s rejection of the 2024 bid, in which a hyper-localized initiative has had success. This could suggest that focusing too much effort on composing an international platform could in fact undermine a group’s ability to make an impact in their specific city. The reverse may also be true: that these groups did not effectively execute a global publicity strategy that could have won them more political leverage. Either way, in 2008, 2010, and 2012, the outcomes are identical: The Olympics still happened in an undesirable fashion and the resistance cell has since fallen dormant.



Figure 4: Pussy Riot music video shoot for "Putin Will Teach You How To Love," Sochi 2014
Source: David Goldman/Associated Press

NEW NETWORKS, NEW ALLEGIANCES

The 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi induced a pivot in global civil society's strategy to halt mega-event-driven human rights incursions. During the construction phase, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch delivered letters and petitions to the Kremlin decrying exploitative labor practices. But construction continued apace, and with vast cost overruns. Most cases of dissent in Sochi were met with heavy media censorship and violent police repression, preventing a local opposition from taking root. But the Russian agit-punk music outfit Pussy Riot precipitated a strategic tipping point. The band already had global notoriety for their controversial messaging, costuming, and performative antics that got them arrested in Moscow in 2012. In Sochi, Pussy Riot successfully blended visual and spatial resistance to expert effect. They enacted a surreal agit-prop tour of the city which ended in violent arrests. They filmed everything.

The dominant visuality of the Vancouver resistance was black-clad protestors smashing windows with mailboxes, which could be easily villainized by the press. But the neon/pastel color palette and non-violent (albeit angry) musicality of Pussy Riot did not fit cleanly into pre-fab categories of mediated opinionizing. The further incongruity of the bank-robber-style ski-masks on the dancing female form is at once intimidating and alluring to the public eye. Such visual juxtaposition exacerbated the scandal that ensued a few days later when the world saw videos of the women getting publically whipped by police coupled with a music video of their anti-Olympic punk-rock escapades. This sparked an outpouring of global anti-Olympic sentiment. Numerous Facebook groups called things like "No Sochi" and "Boycott 2014 Sochi Games" popped up. LGBTQ groups spoke

and "Boycott 2014 Sochi Games" popped up. LGBTQ groups spoke out against Russia's discriminatory policies regarding homosexuality. Vancouver groups chimed in to remind the world of Russia's 19th century Circassian genocide in the region. Even Rio de Janeiro news agency RioOnWire jumped into the fray by reposting World Cup rights infractions in sympathetic solidarity. Evidently, the repression of free speech during the Sochi games enflamed the global conversation about the need for mega-event reform and advanced a de-spatialization of Olympic dissent. Hyper-local groups were increasingly connecting the dots between each other and plugging in to the trans-national discourse. The internet, (Facebook in particular), were now widespread enough to be an activist organizing tool with which localized Olympic resistance groups could exchange knowledge and build power across geographies.

As power coalesced online between city-based organizations, the international watchdog organizations were also realigning themselves. In 2015, alarmed by Sochi's many debacles, Amnesty International created a new coalition called the Sports and Rights Alliance. The coalition includes Human Rights Watch, Terre Des Hommes, Football Supporters Europe, the International Trade Union Confederation, and Transparency International Germany. This coalition represents a new echelon of organization to reform the Olympics.

Of particular interest to the remainder of this paper is Terre Des Hommes, a humanitarian organization based out of Lausanne, Switzerland, where the IOC is also based. Their mission is specifically targeted towards protecting the rights and safety of the world's children. Children Win – Changing the Game of Mega Sporting Events is their campaign to ensure the ethical and sustainable staging of mega sporting events. Currently, the campaign is focused on the latest context for Olympic human rights violations: Rio de Janeiro 2016.



Figure 6: Screenshots of “Rio 2016: The Exclusion Games” campaign video, 2016
Source: Terre Des Hommes Foundation via YouTube.com

CRITIQUING THE CHILDREN WIN CAMPAIGN

In the digital age, web presence is ostensibly the public-facing instrument of any campaign. The Children Win campaign is prominent on Terre Des Hommes’ website, and they use Twitter, Facebook, etc. to advertise it directly. ChildrenWin.org’s primary features are a short video and a petition.

Figure 5 is the website’s clickable cover image for the petition. It displays the face of a child, torn down the middle, resonating with the campaign’s header slogan “Rio 2016: My community is being torn apart.” As of this writing (in mid-May 2016) the Children Win petition has been live for months, and it has received 1882 signatures out of its stated goal of 2500. In a world of 7 billion, against an Olympics that boasts nearly 1 billion viewers between tickets and TV, 2500 signatures is paltry. If the theory behind a petition is to show popular support for a cause, this meager metric practically demonstrates a lack of support for Terre Des Hommes’ cause! But surely millions would agree that the wellbeing of our children is of the utmost importance and that Olympic development has lost its moral compass. So what explains the low participation in the Children Win campaign?

The main mechanism of attraction to Children Win’s petition is a one-minute and seventeen seconds long video. The video juxtaposes the messaging of the Olympic charter with the reality of demolitions and protests on the ground in Rio de Janeiro today. It opens with a morose piano chime and a soaring shot of the favelas. A female voiceover narrates. Highlights of the word “respect” crossfade to a man in a construction uniform is sledgehammering a ramshackle building. A highlight of the word “peaceful” overlays street riots with flame and teargas. “Ethical principles” accompanies a backhoe taking down a building as residents peer out neighboring windows. “Dignity” shows a bloodied resident arguing with a police officer. Then the video shifts and the music picks up to surging violins. Shots of some rising Olympic sites appear, and headlines of past mega-even injustices. The message is “As Rio prepares to bring the world together, the Olympics are tearing communities apart.” The video concludes by singling out Rio’s Mayor Edurardo Paes and The IOC President Tomas Bach, and urging us to sign the petition to demand an Olympics that does not harm the local population. The film concludes with the social media hashtag #OlympicsforPeople, and logos of Rio’s Comitê Popular, who created the video, and Terre Des Hommes, who funded it.

This video, which is hosted on YouTube.com, has only been viewed 2,918 times, with 21 likes. Children Win’s channel has 39 subscribers. Amnesty International’s channel has 38,764 subscribers and Human Rights Watch’s has 43,789. To put this in perspective, The Olympics YouTube Channel has 1,224,847 subscribers, and their Rio 2016 promotional campaign video (similar in length at 1:30) has 23,280 views with 371 likes.

If we consider that 2,918 people have watched the Children Win campaign video, and 1,882 people have signed the petition, we could infer that approximately 2 out of 3 people who watch the video sign the petition. But such an inference does not take into account that it is possible to sign the petition without watching the video, nor that the video may have been watched more than once by a person who signed the petition only once. So there is no way to know how effective this video has been in getting people to sign the petition.

The website also contains posters and a 2 minute trailer for a documentary short called “The Fighter,” telling the story of a 12 year old girl living in a favela jeopardized by the Olympics. “The Fighter” video is similar in tone to the petition’s video.

After watching the videos and signing the petition, a fully invested netizen could click on “learn more” to view or download the “Mega Events and Human Rights Violations in Rio de Janeiro Dossier.” The dossier is a 192 page document that reports the gritty details of human rights violations in Rio de Janeiro between 2009 and 2015. It’s called The Exclusion Games, a reference to the allegation that the Olympics are an exclusionary endeavor that constructs for and entertains the rich at the expense and suffering of Brazil’s poor and middle classes. Images from The Exclusion Games comprise the banners for both the video and petition. But there may be some dilution of the campaign slogan going on here, as “Children Win,” itself a campaign, is now promoting the hashtag “#Olympics4People” alongside the Rio-centric “Exclusion Games” campaign.

Further exploration of the tidy website reveals a section of news about recent events in Rio or regarding mega-events more broadly. There are links to other initiatives of Terre Des Hommes and its partner organizations. The page also has a modest page of “campaign tools” which features some visual art, some digital flyers, some infographics, and a Rio de Janeiro travel safety guide. But due to their positioning at the bottom of the page and compared to the drama

of the videos and the detail of the Dossier, I doubt that these other subpages draw much traffic. The Exclusion Games dossier is really the centerpiece of Terre Des Hommes engagement in Rio de Janeiro. Analyzing it more deeply may give us a sense of how hyper-local initiatives translate to the trans-national stage.

Diagramming the Steps from Trans-National to Hyper-Local in the Children Win Campaign



Figure 7: Diagramming the cyber-steps from the trans-national to the hyper-local scales in the Children Win campaign

DISSECTING THE DOSSIER

The Exclusion Games dossier was funded in part by Terre Des Hommes and compiled by the Popular Committee for the World Cup and Olympics, more colloquially known in Portuguese as the “Comitê Popular”. The Comitê Popular is a Brazil-wide legion of academics, activists, and social welfare groups. The committee has tracked a staggering array of human rights violations in Rio de Janeiro and throughout Brazil since 2009 (when it was selected to host the Olympics.) The group has hosted workshops and panels, staged manifestations and marches, provided research, analysis, and legal assistance, and developed art projects all to open dialogue and raise awareness of the injustices of mega-event-driven development. The dossier is their lasting contribution to the field, a testimonial research project, which has been translated into English for its fourth edition. The focus of this inquiry will now shift to consider the Comitê Popular dossier as an object of design. Given the lackluster nature of

the Children Win campaign website, the dossier must be captivating to deliver an impact. In this section I will wade into the territory of personal opinion about what makes an alluring or evocative publication. Especially if a publication has a political agenda, its aesthetics must be carefully considered.

First of all, the document is too long. Its commitment to detail is impressive, but it strikes me that anyone who sits down to read 192 pages about human rights violations in Rio is already quite aware of their existence. The .pdf version also has a small typeface and requires tedious zooming and scrolling. The document is not searchable by keyword nor clickable. Table 1 is a simplified version of the table of contents, to give an idea of the dossier’s content, its rhetorical writing style, and some of the idiosyncrasies of the Portuguese-to-English translation.

Table 1: Chapter Titles of the World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee Human Rights Dossier
1. Housing
2. Urban Mobility: transportation revolution for whom?
3. Work: informal trade repression and slavery practices in formal work
4. Sports: where is the Olympic legacy?
5. Environment: contradictions on the Olympic environmental discourse
6. Public Safety: The Olympics, militarization and racism
7. Gender: Women’s protagonism in popular struggles in the city of Rio de Janeiro
8. Children and Adolescents: condition of vulnerability and violence
9. Information and Budget: obscure games
10. Resistance Initiatives of the World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee
11. Proposals of the World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee: for a city to all people, with social justice and democracy

The document's strength lies in its ability to analyze Rio de Janeiro's scenario and draw conclusions that support a strong anti-Olympic stance. The text is comprehensive in its statistical analysis and its narrative storytelling. The stories it contains are appalling and saddening. Anyone with a heart who reads this document will surely feel the imperative for the Olympics to reform the way they do things. However, the structure of the document and its graphic design may inhibit the effective delivery of the message.

The visuals in the Dossier range from full-page color photographs of favela environments to black and white insets of protests or police raids. Most prominent throughout, starting with the cover photo, is a full-color photographic series of torn wheatpastings on crumbling favela walls. These were originally a visibility-raising campaign posted around the city to memorialize Brazilians who had been killed by police violence. But in the process of "cleansing" the urban space that preceded the 2014 World Cup, authorities attempted to remove the posters. But they did so unsuccessfully, leaving behind palimpsests of concrete and paper that aptly demonstrate the competing spatial claims of local residents and mega-event security forces.

Crucially, while metrical information such as numbers of forced removals, murder rates, or government spending data is depicted in inset gray boxes as charts or lists, there are hardly any graphs or graphics in the Dossier. To me, this is a drastic shortcoming. It is difficult to comprehend the dense tables of tiny type, but in some cases a few simple bar charts or pie charts could make the message clearer and more concise. It would be a doable and useful graphic design undertaking to visualize all of the data in this document in a single two-page spread.

Overall the Dossier is an excellent tool for informing and politicizing anyone who is invested enough to read it. But therein lies

ANYONE WITH A HEART WHO READS THIS DOCUMENT WILL SURELY FEEL THE IMPERATIVE FOR THE OLYMPICS TO REFORM THE WAY THEY DO THINGS.

its weakness. In order for the Dossier to be read, the Dossier must be clicked on. (Although there was a limited print run distributed in Rio de Janeiro, the Dossier is purely a .pdf in its international distribution format.) This begs the question: who will click it, and who will really read it? And who is the target audience for this publication?

It would seem, considering its degree of detail and its length, that this Dossier is intended as a historical research document. Such a document is of use to future anti-mega-event activist groups who would base their strategies on precedent. It is also of use to groups or individuals in the academic sphere who seek data for further reports on Mega-event injustices. It is also surely of use only to English or Portuguese speaking people since those are the only languages in which it has been published. Thus, for all the effort that this report took to compile, it has a relatively narrow social function. The displaced communities of Rio de Janeiro don't need to read it to know about their plight. Neither would the corporate executives or authoritarian enforcers responsible for the evictions and violence need to read it. Alas, it seems that while the ideal audience for such a report is the entire planet, the actual audience for it is a sliver of intellectuals who are already aware of the trends that it confirms.



Figure 8: Wheatpastings of victims of police violence, incompletely removed from Rio de Janeiro walls before the 2014 World Cup. These set the aesthetic tone of *The Exclusion Games* dossier and the *Children Win* online petition.

Source: World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee of Rio de Janeiro, 2015

CONCLUSION - ADMITTING THE INADMISSIBLE

In her 2014 book *Extrastatecraft*, Keller Easterling names the presentation of “inadmissible evidence” as a tactic to destabilize power. In the struggle to claim their rights against the hegemonic Olympic machine, this is precisely the strategy that the Comitê Popular has used. Easterling writes: “Looking beyond the sanctioned plotlines of the proper political story, inadmissible evidence identifies the category leftovers, or the butterflies that are not pinned to the board.” The Dossier intends to make the struggles of Rio de Janeiro’s everyday inhabitants visible, known, and admitted as evidence in the contentious discourse on the future of the Olympic endeavor. Easterling continues: “Dissensus always exposes this inadmissible evidence, forwarding and highlighting it within the consensus that tries to explain it away.” If the International Olympic Committee would deny the facts that are presented in this document, that is all the more reason for the document to be disseminated and read worldwide.

Despite its value, and despite its flaws, there are other limits to this Dossier’s wide consumption. Even if it were concise, compelling, graphic, and heavily shared and read online in 2016, it will always be fixed in time and place. The Olympics will move on, again, to PyongChang South Korea for the 2018 Winter games. Who will search out data about Rio de Janeiro then? Will the site-specific stories and demands that the Dossier sets forth be relevant to a Korean resistance struggle? Perhaps so. But will this document be translated into Korean?

The use of The Exclusion Games dossier in the Children Win campaign, and its sponsorship by Terre Des Hommes under the auspices of the Sports and Rights Alliance, indicates a new degree of collaboration between hyper-local and trans-national Olympic resistance. Yet when the best practices on offer are limp-wristed petitions and heavy-handed .pdfs, it is admissible evidence that the global effort to reform the Olympic movement is still far off from reaching its goals. There is not only much more to do to build the global human rights movement, but much more to learn about how local resistance groups can articulate within it.

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RIO DE JANEIRO'S 2016 OLYMPIC VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS: BRANDING, RESISTING AND CONTESTING

ALEXANDRA VENNER



Figure 1. Brazil's then-President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (seen far left) celebrating Rio's 2016 Summer Olympic Bid Win in 2009. Photograph by Charles Dharapak, Copenhagen 2009. Source: <http://www.thenation.com/article/how-the-rio-olympics-could-cement-a-brazilian-coup/>

Olympic-induced representations articulate a cohesive place identity to sell to the global stage. Under Olympic pressures, host-cities and their host-nations are especially bombarded by interpretative inscriptions as they seek to project themselves utilizing their culture, as well as their political and economic references. From positioning themselves as cultural sites, economic centres or political capitals, there is a continuous struggle and battle over metropolitan visibility in order to capitalize investments, stimulate commerce, activate tourisms and fortify political nice. In order to investigate this particular instrumental logic of the aestheticization and representation of a nation and a city I will attempt to illuminate the geopolitical landscape of tourism and branding that is accelerated by the Olympic Games. The upcoming 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil presents one opportunity to explore the visual motives and visual politics embedded in its Olympic landscape.

I ask, "how is value and identity in the globalized twenty-first century conceived and acted upon when external bodies, like the International Olympic Committee & foreign investors, and internal bodies, like national and municipal governments, combine forces to generate reputable global prestige?" Hosting the Olympics is often presented to the general public and government authorities as an ideologically neutral opportunity to boost tourism and sports, however, there also lies a strong on-the-ground presence for those who are aware of the negative impacts that the olympic 'opportunity' brings, including the gentrification of the Olympic host city, the dispossession of the poor and marginalized, and an overrun branded and commodified city-landscape.¹

Thus, this analysis will investigate three modes of visual representations towards Olympic spaces: branding, resisting and contesting. This spectrum serves to question what is being sold to the international audience, how the city and or nation is being represented and how everyday urban struggles are masked via spectacular

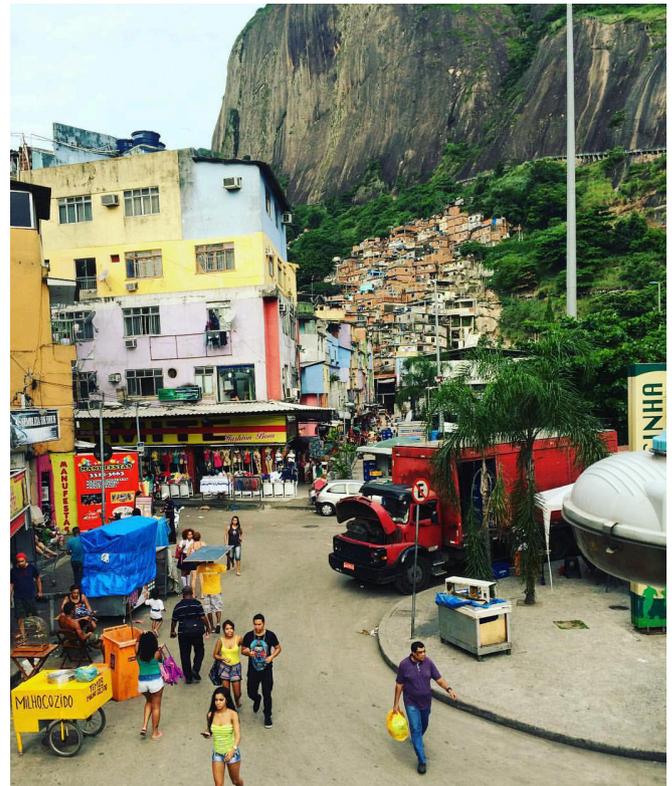


Figure 2. Favela Da Rocinha, São Conrado, Rio de Janeiro. Photograph by Alexa Jensen, March 2016.

tourism and Olympic-oriented imagery. I investigate such Olympic host-city pressures that reinforce the homogenized role of imagery in national branding and place marketing, while also exploring how on-the-ground artists resist and contest the Olympic induced brand and tourism marketing machinery. In fact, how the local operates in response (and resistance) to the global Olympic imagery serves to shed-light upon the invisible displacement and social exclusion of marginalized communities and the multiple cultures and identities engrained in everyday life itself.

OLYMPIC FRAMING

Politics of Visual Representation

As Rio de Janeiro prepares to host the world for the 2016 Olympic Games, the lead-up to the global sporting event has already faced its fair share of controversy. For instance, Brazil is in the midst of an economic crisis, facing its worst recession since the 1930s, and also faces a political crisis as a congressional committee is considering impeachment of Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff. Still, perhaps more than any other Brazilian city, Rio de Janeiro has this guaranteed presence in the global imaginary as a city of tourist attractions, samba, beaches and music; a spectacle for the tourist eyes that conceals political corruption, political unrest, and citizen protest. Certainly, the hosting of the Olympics certainly serves to perpetuate the spectacle-image of Rio, yet it also catalyzes a more critical spectrum of acts of imaging to confront Olympic-accelerated gentrification, uneven development and social coercion.

Thus, what becomes powerful to discuss are the three scales of images that range from supporting, contesting, and resisting Olympic-city/nation branding: Rio's tourism and Olympic city branding campaigns, photography portraying the favela residents in Rio being

displaced for Olympic preparations, and design counter-methods against the simplistic tourist information guidance tools. Foremost, it is important to call attention to the social and spatial conditions that, above all, reveal the rise of a ‘new’ Rio. Importantly so, calling attention to the visual conditions that sell a nation to the global stage, under accelerated Olympic forces, serves to question the values and identities grounded in the coerciveness of Olympic imaginaries.

OLYMPIC SUPPORTING

Value and Identity Through Tourism Campaigns, and Olympic City Branding

Hosting big sporting events is part of the country’s long-term development strategy to burnish its image, attract more visitors and jump-start long stalled projects to improve the country’s roads, ports and airports. Thus, as Brazil looks forward to the Olympics, it has bigger tourism goals, according to the the Brazilian Tourism Board (Embratur), to enhance its ‘sun’ and ‘beach’ image to the foreign investor.² However, tourism and nation branding is a powerful tool to control a country’s image. As geographer Luc Gwiazdzinski says, “once again, symbols replace reality and cliches conceal complexity.”³ Thus, in wake of visually selling a nation to an international stage, as seen through various media platforms such as google [figure 3], one big question that should be raised when analyzing image-based campaigns is whose image is being represented, whose image is being denied and which sectors and or services of the city, region and or nation are being promoted and prioritized over others.

Within Rio’s recent context of hosting mega-events, including the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the upcoming Summer Olympics, it is no surprise that Brazil continues to draw in tourists (and foreign investors) through stereotypical images of samba, sun, sea, and soccer. Significantly, when it comes to “brand Brazil”, there’s a thin line between sticking to the stereotypes, and getting stuck in them. In fact, the Olympics was heralded as Brazil’s moment to gain reputation and influence beyond Carnival and the soccer pitch. While Brazil was still a candidate for the Olympics, they released a series of short films in 2009 as promotional videos for the Olympic Bid. The short video clip, “Promise of Rio” represents a “new Rio”, which is emblematic and symptomatic of a “New Brazil”⁴, while also positioning Rio as a destination which would further globalise the Olympic community and “unite the world like never before”.

A few years later this was followed by another mega tourism campaign for the promotion of the country as a tourist destination: “The world meets in Brazil. Come celebrate life” [figure 4].⁵ This is the theme of the new international campaign for the promotion of Brazil abroad launched by President Rousseff in the summer of 2012. However, what needs to be questioned is how city marketing and image making continue to show the international, friendly competition as a masquerade that hides the prevalent power dynamics that govern the productions of drastically revamping nation perceptions. I question how the selling of nation and a city to the global stage, especially under pressures of mega-event hosting, will turn them into tourist traps and business ventures where the only way the Western world is encouraged to relate to these countries is through a process of exotification and commodification.

The geographer Christopher Gaffney offers a more critical perspective on the beautification and aestheticization efforts of Rio. From his perspective, the Olympic process in Rio performs as a catalyst for improving Brazil’s and Rio’s image to the world by

embarking on a large-scale urban restructuring scheme to modernize and sanitize the city.⁷ Thus, with Rio and Brazil’s growing competitive edge in the global market for attracting tourists and (often foreign) investors, the tactful process of camouflaging what would ultimately tarnish Rio’s international image is pursued for the attraction of visitors.⁸ From this lens, this is part of the unjust procedure and dominant practice of selling places in a ‘Third World’ economy and ought to be scrutinized. For instance, as Rio’s municipal authorities stage their image-making schemes following the success model of Barcelona’s 1992 Olympics, who used image-making campaigns to increase foreign attraction to boost their collapsing economy, the study by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) found that, in addition to the 2,500 evictions, housing prices rose 139% for sale and 145% for rentals in the period from 1986, the year it was selected, to 1993.⁹

Moreover, to be weary of Olympic induced image-making is also to be concerned about political and economic restructuring; in fact, it characterizes the power that is needed to restructure the urban landscape to cater to an attractive image worthy for the international stage. As investigated in New York’s rebranding and redevelopment strategies in the era of Mayor Bloomberg by urban and cultural sociologist Miriam Greenberg, the branding/re-branding of a city is a massive operation when cities and or nations reimagine changing their representation.¹⁰ According to Greenberg, it’s not only about image making, campaign launching and logos, but also new forms of governmental commodification that begin at the institutional level and trickle down and impact the neighbourhood scale. Afterall, the Olympic host-city is confronted with dynamic pressures to raise its ‘place identity’ in order to position itself competitively in the global context.¹¹



Figure 4. “The World Meets in Brazil. Come Celebrate Life.” the campaign has been created by the Ministry of Tourism and Embratur (the Brazilian Tourism Board) to promote Brazil as the host of major sporting events, including the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games.
Source: <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/brazil-launches-new-global-advertising-campaign-163931966.html>

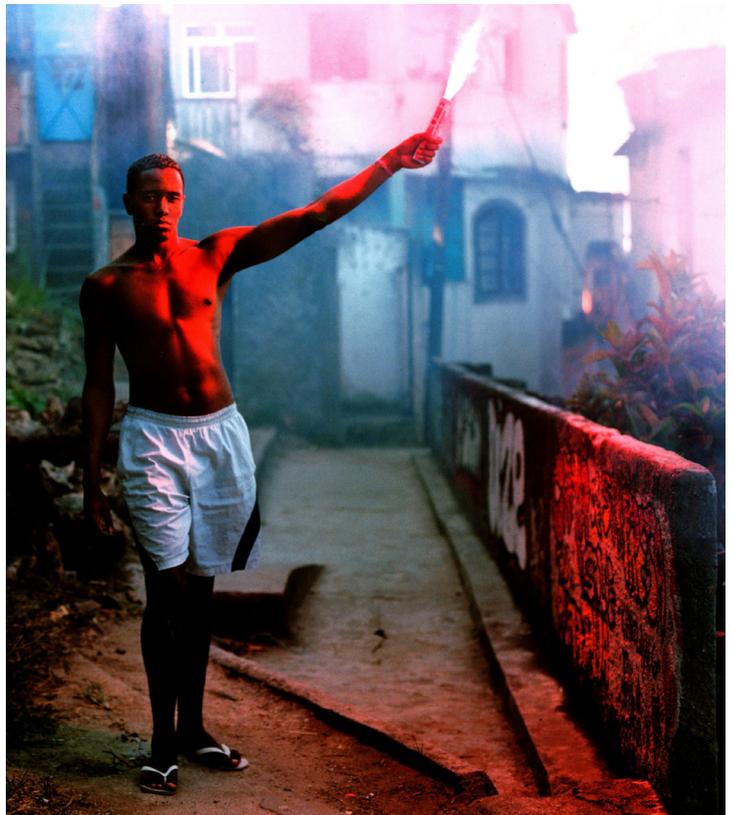
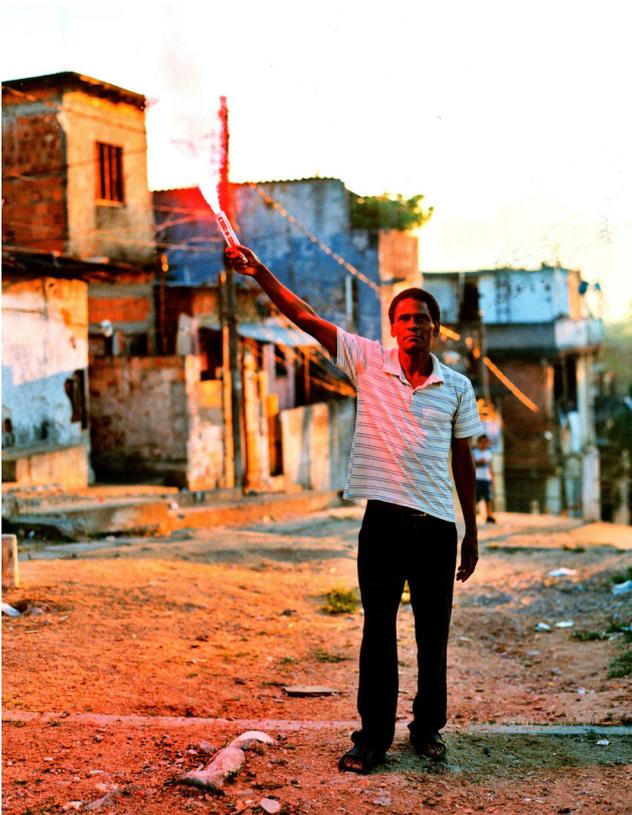


Figure 5. "Olympic Favela." Photographs by Marc Ohrem-Leclef, Rio de Janeiro, 2012-2013.
Source. Marc Ohrem-Leclef, *Olympic Favela*.

OLYMPIC RESISTING

On-the Ground Representation of the Olympic Spectacle

Tourism and branding creates certain conditions that actively undermine the inherent rights and agency of the local residents and treats their inhabited spaces as a destination, rather than living spaces of social relations. This is what Henri Lefebvre, the philosopher, sociologist, and urban theorist, calls “lived space” as “the space of the everyday activities of users” as opposed to “the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners).”¹² Moreover, it is the materiality of lived space that is absent in city maps, statistics, measurement, ideology, and capitalism. Thus, more than images, slogans and brands, there is a need to reframe how a rhetorical, commercialized tourist space that intensely focuses on serialized and distracted pleasures of leisure and consumption undermine the populations that are affected by the ‘city on the rise’.

As Brazil works to accommodate Olympic partners and structures, and build its political economy through a new national image, the favelas of Brazil are one spatial reference to illuminate how macro, mega-event planning forces, either directly or indirectly, put certain urban districts at a higher risk of commodification, forced displacement, disappearance and/or non-community controlled urban transformations. For instance, According to RioOnWatch, more than 170,000 people have been displaced from their homes since Rio’s 2014 World Cup constructions and they predict that many more forced evictions are to come.¹³ Moreover, the organization of RioOnWatch self-represents themselves through the misplaced global perception of favelas and favela residents as a way to defend them as territorial spaces, meaning they are not a destination, but inhabited and active “lived” spaces.¹⁴ A big question arises, how do you show that space is constructed by human activity but influenced and impacted by powers far greater than the local, such as Olympic media coverage schemes?

One demonstration is from Marc Ohrem-Leclef, a German-born photographer living in New York City. He published a photo-book, called *Olympic Favela*, in 2014 compiled of images and text to contextualize the people impacted and affected by the building of Rio’s Olympic landscape [figure 5]. Marc worked in approximately 13 communities in 2012 and 2013 to capture ideas like “belonging” and “home”¹⁵ to tell stories of forced displacement and the array of people committed to defending their home. Moreover, Marc appropriates one of the more powerful Olympic symbols, the torch, to reveal the layers embedded in Olympic ‘togetherness’. Although the symbology of the Olympic torch is one that represents pride and dignity among the athletes, spectators and Olympic organizers, his images foreground bottom-up cultural activism to transcend existing urban imaginaries and political logics that fail to see active urban sites affected by the government and Olympic authorities. Significantly, the gripping portraits of the favela residents holding the torch is a symbolic representation that ultimately calls attention to the favela residents being evicted by Olympic accelerated forces.¹⁶ Thus, the way the favela residents perform the torch in his photograph is one that subtly sheds light towards social-class distinctions to affect perception in-between the Olympic spectacle and everyday struggles.

In fact, given that Marc captures residents and their homes being slated for removal, the favela becomes an active and exclusionary site of spatial representation to unfold the domino effects of Olympic urban development. Thus, unlike the mainstream place marketing campaigns that embody the spectacle of Rio’s global slogan, *Cidade Maravilhosa*, Marc’s book resists the aesthetization of pleasures of ‘beach’ and ‘sun’ by representing everyday people in their favela communities as active sites of multiple cultures, struggles and resistance. His book has gained international attention and through organized discussions, events and exhibitions he is able to garner international attention about the tensions in-between existing and

‘new’ urban Olympic spaces. Thus, it is useful to think how certain artists resist the spectacle and homogenized, Olympic-induced imagery to unfold every day stories embedded in a contested Olympic landscape.

OLYMPIC CONTESTING

Visualizing Multiplicity Methods as Counter - Design

Situated between Olympic bottom-up visual representations by cultural activists and top down visual representations by corporate and/or public-private partnerships is the work of Fabio Lopez, a designer, who takes on a task to articulate a variety of Olympic visual demands. I ask, “what role does the designer play in ‘justifying’ or ‘de-mystifying’ how major Olympic driven urban development projects are being pursued at the expense of existing local settlements, cultures and ecologies?” Beyond marketing tools that strive to promote Olympic destinations as spectacle, there is a fine-line between simplicity, homogeneity and the erasure of the cultural identities being represented. In fact, a utopia-like, fantasy involvement of a place seen through multiple brochures, advertisements and campaigns, especially during the Olympics, calls for a pertinent demand to move “from marketing to information,” as the multidisciplinary graphic designer Reudi Baer explains, by “cultivating representations of proximity and differences rather than that of the least common denominator.”¹⁷ For instance, for the 1968 Olympics in Mexico, the graphic designer Lance Wyman approached the subway signage project with an investigative and anthropological approach to visually tell historical and present narratives of Mexico City’s urban transformations.¹⁸ Although the viewer’s encounter is brief with the images on the subway, it still presents a more nuanced case sensitive to a lived reality in juxtaposition to the Olympic distorted imagery.

Brazilian graphic designer Fabio Lopez has contested the global imaginary of Rio by creating 200 pictograms depicting landmarks, wildlife, activities and culture in Rio de Janeiro in a project called “Mini Rio” [figure 6]. Parallel to the Municipal and National preparations of the making of multiple information packages to distribute across the city, Fabio has utilized his personal perspective, design skills and visual perspective to challenge the mainstream narrative of Rio being sold to the global stage by promoting the inclusion of multiple spaces and identities that construct everyday life. According to the project’s website, Rio Mini Project is an extensive collection of pictograms and illustrations that have been designed to honor and visually present the cultural of the city of Rio.¹⁹ Moreover, Fabio refers to his project as a visual laboratory for Rio that offers new understandings of social and political issues. Since the project has gained widespread attention in Rio’s design-field, Lopez is working to publish a book of his Rio pictograms and plans to set up commercial partnerships to make a range of licensed products.²⁰

Although the Rio Mini Project is a very personal project since it was individually created through Fabio’s eyes, he used his designerly ways as a strategy to contest the spectacle of Olympic and tourism based-imagery. In fact, Lopez’s previous projects, *War in Rio* and *Bando Imobiliario Carioza*, which are games to bring awareness about the multiple perspectives and debates pertaining to Rio as a violent city, are examples of how he uses graphic design as a tool to prompt political discussion among the users about the theme at-hand. Thus, his design perspective is a form of creative dissent that allows his work to enter into multiple scenes, from big branding corporations to small scale-organizations, but under the same vision to provoke a more politically engaged commentary towards the city of Rio itself.

ENDNOTES

CONCLUSION

Rio's tourism and Olympic city branding campaigns, photography portraying the favela residents being displaced for Olympic preparations, and design counter-methods against simplistic tourist information guidance tools are three scales of visual representations that support, resist and contest Rio's dominant Olympic imagery. Foremost, the method that continues to support the dominant global perception of Rio's city life are the tourist branding campaigns. However, the interrogation of Olympic tourism-based campaigns whether in the media or on billboards in the cityscapes produced by Rio's Ministry of Tourism and the International Olympic Committee offers insights towards an understanding of the mechanisms that co-construct the relationship between space, power and social justice. We can gather that Olympic host city's organizers work to redefine an image through multiple media platforms for international partners, foreign investors, and tourists, which is ultimately part of a broader political act of imaging from gentrification to social coercion. In fact, it is the power of selling 'newness' that becomes accelerated by Olympic pressures and quickly defines and concentrates political power towards the visual parameters and spatial strategies of who belongs where and under what conditions.

As the urbanist and sociologist, Sharon Zukin, reminds us, an urban image that "[reflects] Disney World values of cleanliness, security, and visual coherence" is one to be questioned.²¹ Although using different platforms to visualize representations of everyday life in Rio, Marc Ohrem-Leclef photographs and Fabio Lopez' pictograms are two visual means that begin to challenge the judgment and misconceptions of stereotypical images that encompass the global perception of Rio as "cidade maravilhosa." Marc made the choice to engage with favela residents whose lives have been neglected and disinvested upon by the renovations to prepare for both the World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. The staged performance with a favela resident holding a hand-crafted Olympic torch is a powerful act of symbolic appropriation while the images bring forward the residents and their communities threatened with eviction via Olympic constructions. On the other hand, Lopez with his 100 pictograms embedded in his Mini Rio project critically selects, frames, interprets, and stylizes otherwise neutral branded images of Rio to depict the political and social multiplicities of everyday Rio, rather than one monolithic image of the city.

Seen from this perspective, this is about the importance of the relationship between presence and absence, between who is represented and misrepresented and the values of a nation or city that are being sold to an otherwise homogenized global tourist market. The visual politics of representation embedded in an Olympic city is part of the grand political vision for global attraction. Yet, different imaginaries serve to reflect and act upon some of the unjust logics that reconstitute economic and cultural boundaries. Can forms that resist, and contest the role of imagery in national branding and place marketing catalyze a more critical discussion about image-making of an Olympic host city itself? This question is one lead towards challenging the dominant global perception of an Olympic city as a tourist and investment destination.

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THE IMAGERY OF THE CAVEIRÃO VEHICLE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE BRAZILIAN CITIZENS DURING RIO'S 2016 OLYMPICS

NOA BARTFIELD

In June 2013, Brazil experienced a massive wave of civic protests. The public protests began with a series of demonstrations against the increasing cost of public transportation in Sao Paulo, organized by the MPL (Free Pass Movement). The police reaction to these demonstrations has been aggressive, and reports about physical violence, pepper spray and tear gas spread quickly on social media, which caused the demonstrations to explode into a large variety of protests. These took place from Belo Horizonte to Rio de Janeiro, during the final soccer games of FIFA Confederations Cup, excessively close to the Maracanã stadium “advancing more than two kilometers past the perimeter established by FIFA.” With the spread of the uprising, the protests evolved to address multiple civic issues such as police violence against black youth and slum residents, issues of educational and public health, the negative implication of the World Cup and mega events such as gentrification of areas hosting those events, and the huge sums of money the government has invested in preparation for hosting the FIFA 2014 soccer games and the planned 2016 Olympics.

June 2013 was a sensitive time for those large scale civic protests in Brazil, as the public eye was focused on it for the hosting of the 2014 soccer games. One of the military means the police used to act against the protesters, and have been also using for the pacification program of the favelas of Rio, is the caveirão vehicle [fig. 1]. Caveirão is the common name for this armored car, the meaning of it is “big skull”, and it refers to a special operations battalion of police known as BOPE (special force trained specifically for aggressive urban

warfare). They were formed for the 2014 World Cup in an effort to fight the violence and drugs lords in Rio. Their uniforms are all black with emblem featuring a skull, impaled on a sword, backed by two gold pistols [fig. 2]. The symbol is supposed to send out a strong, direct message of armed combat and death.

In 2006, Amnesty International published a report about the caveirão actions in Rio; they described it as violent, intimidating, threatening and traumatic, transferring the voice of a resident of Caju community, where the caveirão has been deployed: “Imagine an official armoured vehicle, emblazoned with a skull and a sword, with police who come in shooting – first at the streetlights, then at the neighborhood’s residents... this is the caveirão” (2 December 2005). In their report, they point out that the design was intentionally developed in order to serve both “physical and psychological threats.” “When the caveirão approaches someone in the street, police shout through the megaphone: “Hey, you over there! You are acting suspiciously. Move very slowly, lift up your shirt, turn around... now you can go.”” The brutality of it was not only contested in the Amnesty report, but also in a personal protest song by a local rap singer and composer from the community of Maré, Rio de Janeiro, named Edilson Ernesto;

Sai Caveirão (Go away Caveirão) by Edilson Ernesto.

Sunday in the slum was a normal day
Children playing, adults reading the newspaper

It's been a long time since i've seen anything like this.

The slum lived in total peace
Suddenly something wrong happened
Someone wrong us

And people started running
All frightened world
Afraid of dying

And the pastor was making his prayer
He ran with the Bible in his hand
When someone shouted trouble is going to come!
He yield, there is trouble coming
The caveirão has arrived.

Ih ih ih, the caveirão is coming
Go way caveirão
Ih ih ih, the caveirão is coming

The caveirão is an armoured car
Bristling with weapons, rifles on all sides
It arrives in the favela and soon starts shooting
Hitting innocent people
The government has to provide security
Favela residents can't bear to suffer any more.
This can not happen



Figure 1. The Caveirão. 2012

Source: http://defense-update.com/20120327_fort_urban_combat_vehicle.html

Who lives in the slum has the right to live
Those who live in the favela can not take
suffer any more

Ih ih ih, the caveirão is coming
Go away caveirão
Ih ih ih, the caveirão is coming

Go away caveirão
Go away caveirão
Go away caveirão
Go away caveirão ...

Rap songs in Rio are a pretty common way for citizens to represent forms of dissent and Ernesto song is one of them. The video of this song is made in a simple, low-tech photomontage. The images are random, visual expression to the lyrics of the song, while the source of those images is not clear. The video mixes cartoon like images with photographs of slums. It is possible that this video was created by someone other than the rapper. By exploring his other songs online, it seems that this is the only song he has with a political theme, which makes me assume that this song was a reaction to his everyday life in the favelas. The fact that this song was mentioned in an Amnesty report might show he is a known figure in the favela community, but it doesn't necessarily mean he is a political artist or a well-known one. Ernesto in this song is expressing the mental and physical fear that was experienced by the citizens of the favelas in the report. Fear slowly builds up with the loudspeakers that are placed outside of the vehicle announcing the arrival of the caveirão: "Residents, we are here to defend your community. Please, don't go out of your homes, it's dangerous"; to the alarmist: "Children, get out of the street. There's going to be a shootout"; to outright intimidation: "We have come to take your souls." When the caveirão approaches someone in the street, police shout through the megaphone: "Hey, you over there! You are acting suspiciously. Move very slowly, lift up your shirt, turn around... now you can go." Protest songs within the political contexts of Rio's violence are not unusual. Another example is the Rap Das Armas (Weapon rap) 1990, written by a local artist, MC Leonard. It has become an international hit after being used as a soundtrack in the movie *Tropa de Elite* (Elite Squad) 2007, referring to the BOPE force fights in the favelas. Ironically this song got a remix version and was extremely popular at dance clubs around the world. Other example for a musical form of resistance is the Rhythms of Resistance (RoR) group, formed in London, 2000. The RoR is a network of percussion bands seeking "the role of music as a community-rallying tool against unchecked police brutality in the poorest neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro." They are demonstrating against the militarization measures and abuse of power by the police when attempting to fight the violence in the favelas [fig. 3]. Music is an important tool in this activist action, where street artists together with audiences demonstrate samba or rap for the sake of social improvement in contrast to brutal law enforcement, asking question like: "Where is the real source of the violence? Why does a kid grow up and become marginalized? ... And who is policing the police?"

TRANSNATIONAL MILITARIZATION: ISRAEL'S EXPORT TO BRAZIL

Argentine Israeli, Lao Glasser. Glasser is known as an international brand in the arena of Israeli security exporting. He has been advising on security manners for dark regimes, Olympics Games, mega rock concerts of several international rock stars in Israel, and trained commando units and special forces in three continents. ISDS also serves occasionally, as an unofficial mediator between the state of Israel and other countries. In February 2016, an extensive comprehensive article was published by Idan Landau, on his blog "Do not die a fool," titled the "Technologies of Repression: the Celebration of the Israeli Defense Industries in Brazil". Landau is an Israeli, local blogger from Tel-Aviv, and a Linguistics professor at Ben Gurion University in Israel. Landau mentions that Rio's police bought eight caveirões from ISDS and that several Brazilian defense news have reported on how well adapted the technical outline of the caveirão has been, especially made for the purposes of fighting in the favelas. The police use of the military styled vehicle caveirão, has marked a new phase for Rio de Janeiro as "heavy armory is now being deployed in the heart of residential areas," such as in the favelas. According to the Amnesty International, "the caveirão also sent out powerful signals about the state government's thinking on public security. Their approach is to meet violence with violence in a strategy of confrontation and intimidation. Trapped between the police and the drug gangs, Rio's most deprived communities are now paying the price." The cavaliero is used mainly by the BOPE, whose officers, according to Landau, have been trained in Israel. They consider themselves as an elite unit, that have "cleaned" the streets of Rio from crime and violent, but in fact they are known for their "shoot first, ask questions later policy", and have gained a reputation for being a "Death Squad". For some parts of the population they have gained a glorification popularity being represented in video games and movies, as mentioned earlier. In a blog dedicated to them, we can find products with the skull symbol for online sale, such as cloths, patches and pins, along side with a song the officers sing during training: up and become marginalized? ... And who is policing the police?"



Figure 2. BOPE Logo. Source: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/police-death-squad-bope-called-calm-brazilian-slums-1440534>.

“Man in black,
What is your mission?
To invade the favela
And leave the bodies on the ground.”

“Do you know who I am?
I’m the cursed dog of war
I’m trained to kill.
Even if it costs my life,
The mission will be carried out.
Wherever it may be,
Spreading violence, death, and terror.”

“I’m the combatant
With his face behind a mask:
The black and yellow patch
That I wear on my arms
Makes me a being unlike others:
A messenger of death.
I can prove that I am strong,
If you live to tell the tale.
I am a hero of the Nation.”

In 2014, ISDS won a contract with the Olympic committee to design the security of 2016 Rio Olympics Games, with a budget of 2.2 billion dollars. They will serve as an “integrator,” and will provide consulting services and supplies in order to ensure safety within all of the Olympics locations. ISDS has gained a negative reputation among human rights organizations. Due to their ties and activity in south and central America, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS) for Palestinian rights initiated a focused campaign contesting the connections Rio’s Olympic has with the company and calling for: “Olympics without Apartheid!” [fig. 4].

Israel is known as an hi-tech nation, were military technologies are being developed by companies like “Elbit System,” a private corporation, and “Rafael” (Advanced Defense Systems), owned by the Israeli state (two of the biggest companies in the Israeli market) which develop UAVs (aerial munitions) and surveillance systems. These technologies were sold to Brazil’s Federal Police to secure Brazil’s mega events, after being tested on the citizens of Gaza by the Israeli army. Since 2004-2016 Israel has participated in eight bloody wars in Gaza, during which the newest military equipment were used against innocent citizens. In an article that was published in The Nation, one of the BDS activist describes: “What Rafael, Elbit and Global Shield are doing is exporting the very tactics used on the Gaza Strip...they are taking neighborhoods of poverty and anger and creating Gaza in the favelas of Brazil.”



Figure 4. BOPE fighting crime video game. 2014
video game : https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M_EcPN1kSWs

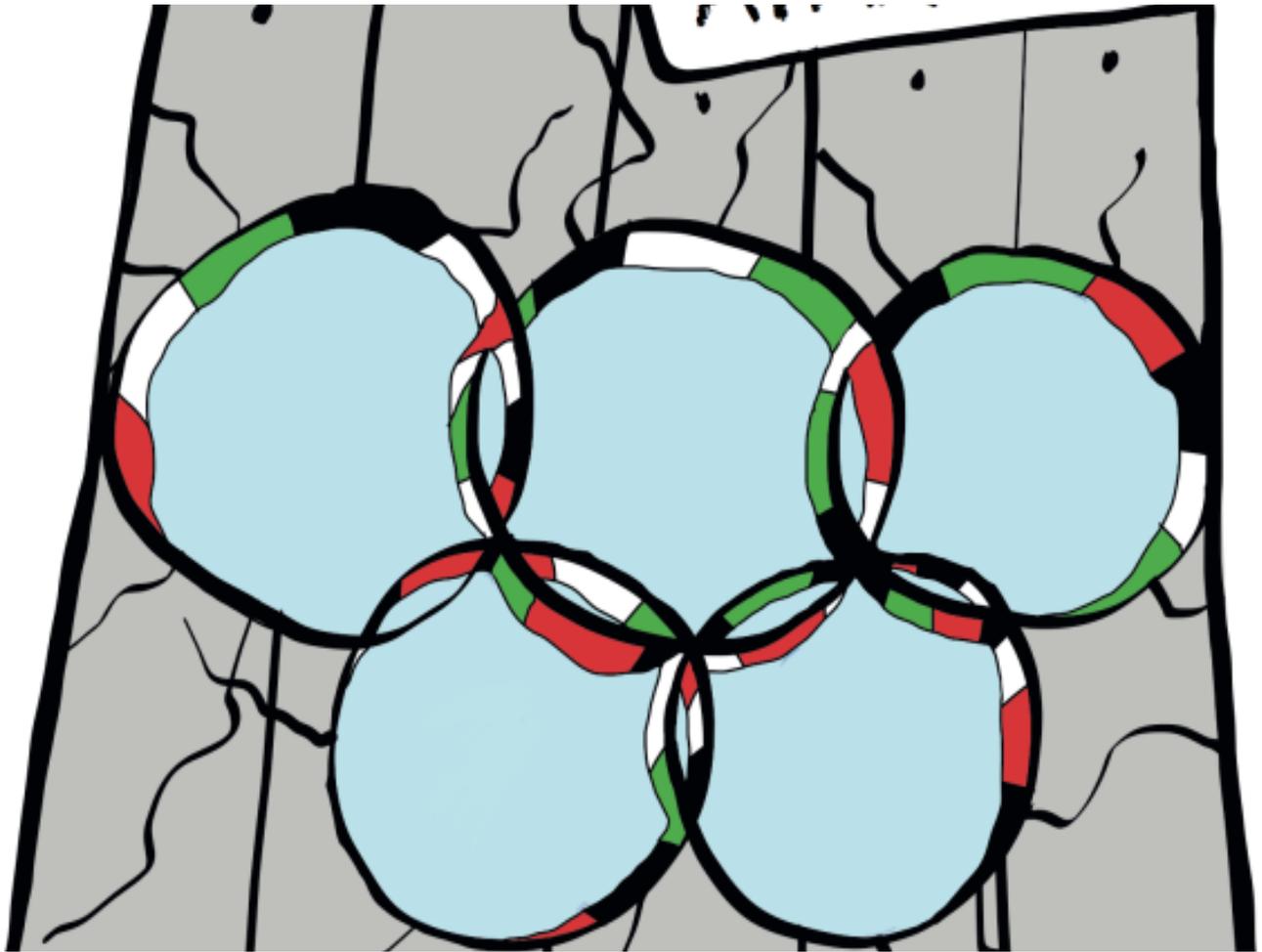


Figure 5. Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign. 2015
Source: www.stopthewall.org

The Israeli citizens, for many years now, have been familiarized with the military presence in their everyday lives, either by the mandatory military service for which everyone has to enlist when they reach the age of 18, or by actions related with the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. For the citizens of Rio, it may be a newer situation. The military atmosphere in the streets of the favelas is triggered by the recent mega events held in Brazil. While for the communities of Rio's slums, the caveirão is representing fear and terror, for the rich people who will attend the Olympic Games of 2016 the vehicle may represent security and safety. If in the 1972 Munich Olympic Games terror attack was the catalyst of fear, in Brazil, war between citizens and the police is the everyday reality. It is in this everyday reality that forms of resistance arise as well, scaling up from songs to street demonstrations.

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FOR THE GLORY: THE RISE OF SPEC WORK IN OLYMPIC DESIGN

KATHERINE GROSS

On December 8, 2015, Director of the American Institute of Graphic Arts, Richard Grefe published a letter to president of the Tokyo Olympic Organizing Committee on the AIGA blog spot protesting the use of a public competition for the logo design for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic games. To quote Grefe, “Competitions that ask designers to contribute their creativity and hours of work without remuneration in the hopes of their work being selected are against the global standards of professional practice for communication designers.”¹ The competition is a result of discovered plagiarism surrounding the initial logo designed by Japanese graphic artist Kenjiro Sans. The logo was later dismissed due to copyright infringement, forcing Japan to reopen the search for the Tokyo Olympic design. Instead of circling back to their previous competition involving over 100 graphic design firms within Japan, the Olympic Committee decided to crowd source the logo design. To crowd source means to have a competition inviting amateurs and professionals alike to compete for either glory or professional practice for a small fee.² In this case, the payment for the winner of the competition for the Tokyo Olympics is the equivalent to 8,250 U.S dollars and two tickets to the opening ceremonies. In previous Olympics, designers have been paid around 600,00 U.S dollars, like the firm Wolff Olins, the designer of the London 2012 Olympics. Yet, now design is simplified to a task that essentially means anyone can participate and create due to the access of design software.³ This sparked protest in many different forms and unlike previous forms of dissent at the Olympics, these Tokyo Olympics are facing protests from professionals within the design field as opposed to known forms of public outcry, athletes and student protests. Not only are graphic designers declaring dissent but also architects since the recent dismissal of Zaha Hadid’s stadium design.⁴ The Tokyo Olympic Committee is withholding final payment until Hadid gives up all copyrights to the Japanese government. The Tokyo Olympic logo will no longer be one of an international community; instead it will be the first in history to reject the standard practices of the design industry. It will further set a precedent for crowd sourced design work, showing the international community that design does not need payment and can be done by anyone within the public.

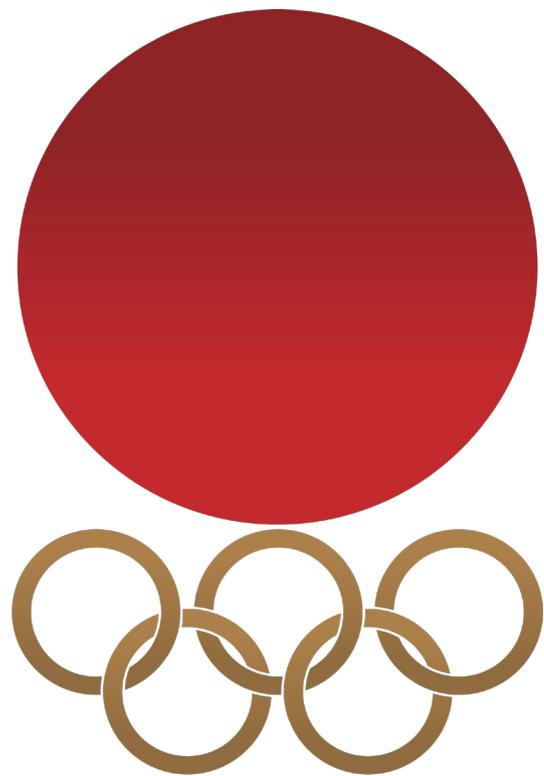
BRIEF OVERVIEW OF OLYMPIC GRAPHIC DESIGN HISTORY

Before discussing further the practices of the Tokyo Olympic design of 2020, it is important to understand a brief history of previous Olympic logos and the progression of design practice over the many games. In many ways, winning the Olympic bid for a country gave that particular country an opportunity to re-brand themselves within the international community. This idea was especially prominent within the Tokyo 1964 Summer Olympics; which would be the first time for Japan to represent their country to the world since World War II. This pressure to visually display a changed country was placed on the designers of Tokyo, a rebranding of an entire country. The design selected by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was by Japanese designer Yusaku Kamekura, a modern take on a rising sun with “TOKYO 1964” displayed in rich sans serif gold font.

The turn from perhaps more traditional design approaches to one of internationalism, a Bauhaus idea of simplified design for all audiences, allowed for Japan to be considered no longer an outsider but a participant in western ideals. As stated by Jilly Traganou in her book describing the work behind the Tokyo Olympic logo, “They were determined not to define Japan’s uniqueness, which would lead to the country’s marginalization or exoticization as “other”. But despite this clear decision, the Tokyo 1964 designers did not dismiss a collective, internal need: to establish a sense of continuity with Japan’s past.”⁵

The design of the Olympics is never thought of last but instead prepared almost immediately and usually a part of the winning bid for the country with a new logo released right before the start of the Olympic Games.

This idea of visually rebranding a country continued throughout the mid-century with designs for the 1968 Mexico Olympics and the 1972 Munich Olympics. Similarly to Tokyo, the Mexico Olympics also needed designers to come and portray the country as a modern, advanced educated culture. Instead of hiring domestically, like Tokyo, the Mexican Government hired a London firm with a head designer

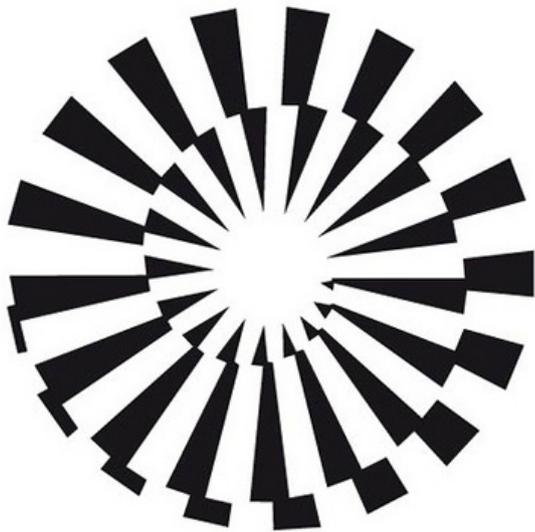


TOKYO 1964

Figure Tokyo 1964 Logo Design by Yusaku Kamekura, Olympic 1964
Source Buzzfeed



Figure Mexico 1968 Olympic Logo designed by Lance Wyman, Mexico City 1968
Source: The Modernist



Munich1972

Figure Munich 1972 Logo designed by Otl Aicher, Munich 1972
Source: Olympic.org

from America, Lance Wyman, after hosting a small competition for the logo. The idea was to have a fresh perspective on the old takes of Mexican design, Eric Zolov describes the process in his essay, "As an internal memorandum discussed in reference to the graphics art program, in general (and to the official logo in particular), images used to promote the Olympics should spring forth from needs and express the grave uncertainties of our epoch, based in Mexico's origins, customs and ways of being and that maintain at the same time, consistency and uniformity. Ostensibly rooted in Huichol indigenous design, yet at the same time clearly influence by the avant-garde Op Art aesthetic then in vogue, the MEXCIO68 logo achieved a truly unique fusion of cultural sensibilities." The undulating lines of the Mexico 1968 logo still represent modernity while creating a full rebranding of for Mexico.

In 1972, designer Otl Aicher was also tasked to create the logo for the Munich Olympics which like Tokyo would be the first international event to happen within Germany since World War II. The pressure to step away from what is remember to be the Nazi Olympics held in Berlin in 1936 with memorable imagery from the Nazi party, Aicher was forced to make a change. Still using the approach of total design similar to the 1936 Olympics by creating a massively cohesive brand, Aicher geared his design away from nationalism, instead utilizing an international design approach similar to Kamekura in Tokyo. Aicher stated in comparison of Munich to the Berlin Olympics, "There will be no displays of nationalism and no gigantism. Sport will not be seen in relation to military discipline or as preparation for it. Pathos will be avoided....Depth is not always expressed in seriousness. Lightness and nonconformity are also indicators of a respectable subjectivity. The Munich Olympic Games shall have the character of informality, openness, lightness and cheerfulness." ⁶ Otl Aicher built upon Wyman's idea of incorporating the city into the logo design by essentially creating a continuous branding that flowed throughout all aspects of the games. A logo was now just part of a bigger Olympic vision which leads to more demands put onto the designer.

With rising technology and growth within the design field, graphic design became more inclusive, accessible and more necessary within the creation of an event or company. Exemplified by Aicher, graphic design moved into a more 'total design' direction, a full packaged design with graphics and the creation of a font as well as perhaps symbols or in this day and age a website. Unlike Aicher's technique of a small group strongly lead by his vision or Wyman's small group of two designers, design as we know it today has become much large group oriented. With the growth of technology and the graphic arts starting to become more recognized within the industry as a profession, there was all of a sudden and uptick in designers. However, there was also an increase in work involved to create a brand or design because of this move to 'total design' and the advancement within computer technology. All of sudden, there were various roles in graphic design's operation: web developer, typographer, interactive applications designer, creative director and of course assistant designers or simply the mass amount of people needed to small tasks within design like type setting.

Design became more accessible and necessary all at once, as designer Tiziana Terranova discusses in her essay 'Free Labor: Producing Culture for the Digital Economy' about the graphic design industry in 2003, "These events point to necessary backlash against the glamorization of digital labor, which highlights its continuities with the modern sweatshop and points to the increasing degradation of knowledge work. Yet the question of labor in a 'digital economy' is no so easily dismissed as an innovative development of familiar logic of capitalist exploitation." ⁷ With the creation of larger graphic design

firms, this creates a hierarchy of knowledge and essentially a technical vocational designer, employed as a simple processor. With this elaborate hierarchy already dismissing the lower technical designer, we now include a Do –It – Yourself designer who is anyone who has access to design programs. This growth pattern in the design industry starts to bring into question the role of the professional or trained designer, the role of the maker and a steady flow of competition between people of DIY quality at a lower price point than trained professionals.

The pressure of the design industry and the outside public eye can be felt especially within the London 2012 Olympic logo design with the hiring of the firm Wolff Olins and the payment of 400,000 pounds for said logo design. For Olins, taking almost an Aicher view for the logo, stated in 2007, “Containing neither sporting images nor pictures of London landmarks, the emblem shows that the Games are more than London, more than sport...The emblem is designer to be populated, to contain infills and images, so it is recognizable enough for everyone to feel and be part of London 2012.”⁸ Wolff Olins designers defend the strictly geometric shaped logo by connecting the logo to the cohesive design work and interactive possibilities within the public eye. Though perhaps not the most successful Olympic logo, Wolff Olins consultancy was criticized for the high payment for such a design and an online petition to redesign was signed by over 48,000 people. Many claimed that they could design a logo or a brand better than designer Wolff Olins and his firm however did not just design a logo – they branded the whole Olympics. A new font was designed,, colors were hand selected, interactive videos and displays were created for the public. The design was not just a logo, it was so much more and currently a similar all encompassing design occurring within the Rio 2016 Olympics.

After the London logo design and the public outcry for a redesign, the International Olympic Committee starting with the Sochi 2014 Olympics, implemented a more competition based method for the design of the logo instead of commissioning a designer perhaps well known internationally or within the Olympic bid country. Instead of working with one selected designer, Sochi worked with a team of eight IOC selected designers from across the world and utilized a website URL as a logo instead of an actual pictorial image which also caused backlash.⁹ This drove the IOC to reconsider completely the logo competition and for the Rio Summer Olympics 2016, created what appears to be a more standardized competition for logo. This type of competition has only so far been seen in Rio and Tokyo but only time will tell if this style will continue further. Design firms within the country of the Olympic bid winner can submit a fully rendered design, logo and application of the design to either stadium or outside objects. This logo design once submitted is now owned by the IOC and cannot be reproduced or shown outside of the competition. Agencies or amateurs are essentially creating spec work, completed work submitted to a client without receiving payment in hopes of obtaining a job, for the Olympic games that will either earn them recognition or a meaningless exercise within the firm. For the Brazil Olympics, 109 firms applied for the Rio Olympic logo and in the end, the firm Tatil was chosen who works with companies like Walmart and no surprise, Olympic sponsor, Coca Cola within Brazil. That means 108 firms spent a couple of months paying designers in their firm in hopes of winning the Olympic logo design and as of right now, there has been no announcement of the payment for the winning logo design by Tatil, instead just broad recognition.

THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE TOKYO 2020 OLYMPIC DESIGN

Based on the success for the IOC with the Rio Olympic 2016 logo competition, Tokyo began the same type of competition in 2015. In July, the IOC announced there were 139 logos submitted for the Tokyo Olympics and one winner, Japanese graphic designer, Kenjiro Sano owner and head designer of MR_DESIGN inc. According to The Japan Times, “Sano’s entry was chosen from a competition open only to designers who had won at least two of seven designated awards.”¹⁰ Sano’s design utilized the colors and some of the design elements from the previous Tokyo Olympics, playing with Kamekura’s modernist techniques while applying it directly to an abstracted sans serif ‘T’ with the TOKYO 2016 written in a bold serif typeface. Though Sano was chosen from many award- winning designers, by late summer he was being accused of plagiarizing the work from a Belgium designer, Oliver Debie’s logo for the Theater de Liege. The IOC initially defended Sano and the originality of his logo however, once Debbie decided to press copyright charges the IOC decided to move on to another design, reopening the competition not to just designers but to the wider public. Debie eventually dropped his lawsuit against the IOC due to the rising cost of legal fees and as of right now is not pursuing any further damage retribution.

Instead of going back to their original competition and choosing a design from the 130 award winning firms submissions, the Tokyo Olympic Planning Committee decided to reopen the logo competition during the winter of 2015. The competition was open to any resident of Japan over the age of 18 and to groups of 10 designers outside of the country as long as one member of the group lived within Japan. The submissions must contain a design for the Olympic symbol as well as the Paralympic Games. As stated previously, the winner of the competition would receive what is equivalent to 8,250 dollars and tickets to the Tokyo Opening ceremonies in exchange for complete copyright of the design.

...THE WINNER OF THE COMPETITION WOULD RECEIVE WHAT IS EQUIVALENT TO 8,250 DOLLARS AND TICKETS TO THE TOKYO OLYMPIC GAMES



Figure Proposed Tokyo Olympic 2020 Logo by Kenjiro Sano, Tokyo 2020
Source: The Japan Times

Tokyo 2020 Chief Operating Officer Yukihiko Nunomura told The Japan Times regarding the previous competition, “The biggest lesson we learned from last time was that we need to open it up to as many people as possible. Last time, we placed too much importance on design expertise and qualifications. The judges were also designers. So it was not open to enough people and we need to do that for people to get behind the logo.”¹¹ The critical moment of Nunomura’s comment is the fact that he believed a design competition was too heavily dependent on expert designers. On November 2, 2015 20 days before the open design to the public competition launched, designer Kenya Hara revealed his submission for the original logo competition in an effort to make the competition more apparent. Though the IOC technically owns the designs submitted to the competition, Hara took a risk by changing the logo to say ‘Tokyo 2200’ instead of 2020 before publishing his logo proposal online. Hara stated, “Removing the curtain from the design competition will help graphic design become more widely understood. It will serve as a valuable resource in contemplating our future Olympics logo.”¹² Yet, the open competition for the logo design still began despite critique from outsiders and former designers for initial logo designs.

The main critique circling the competition was from Richard Grefe of the AIGA; an organization located outside of Japan yet a huge organization within Graphic Design and a leader of the industry. Grefe personally addressed the letter to President Mori detailing the exact faults of the competition while also expressing why a competition around ‘spec work’ demeans the professionalism of design. Grefe states on the AIGA BlogSpot,

*While the committee takes advantage of thousands of hours of creative talent without compensation (which denies the value of creative enterprise) from those who submit designs, the selected design is compensated at a rate well below what is appropriate for a mark that will be reproduced literally millions of times, providing the Committee with the means of extraordinary levels of licensing income. It is very likely that the rewards to the designer for the mark that will provide global value to the Committee that is considerably less than the legal fees to simply restrict the designer’s reward. Is this fair and appropriate?*¹³

Grefe especially highlights the lack of payment within the competition along with the lack of copyright agreements for the designer, pointing a finger back at IOC for profiteering off of a designer’s intellectual property. The Tokyo Olympic Planning Committee did not ignore Grefe’s statement but instead wrote back to him directly almost missing the entire context of the original letter. The letter stating that the competition is an effort to incorporate more of the public’s voice into the Olympics while also diversifying the design. Chief Planning Officer Hidemasa Nakamura writer of the letter and strangely unlisted on the board member list of the Tokyo Olympic Committee website wrote, “As you pointed out, the designer shall transfer the intellectual property rights in the same way as all Olympic Games assets commissioned for the Olympic Games by the Organizing Committee. In accordance with the Olympic Charter, such assets are considered Olympic Properties and all rights related thereto are retained by the IOC.”¹⁴ Essentially, the Tokyo Olympic Committee acknowledges that the rights of the designer are void while designing for the Olympics however they lacked to talk about compensation for said designer and equally opportunity rights for the designer. No action was taken by Grefe after the letter responding to his initial dissent except for Grefe repeating the AIGA’s stance on spec work on the AIGA blog.

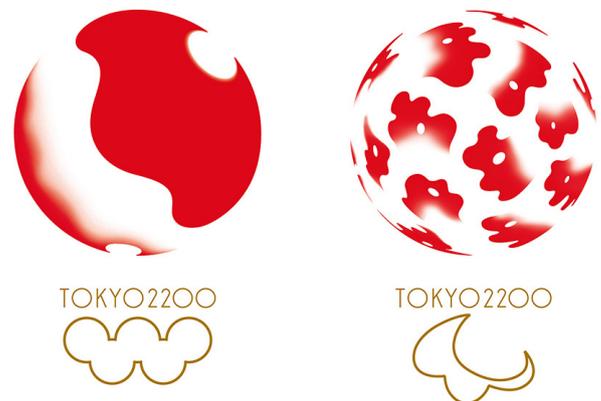


Figure: Proposed Tokyo '2200' Logo for Tokyo 2020 Olympics by Kenya Hara
Source: Spoon -Tamago.com



Figure 8: Zaha Hadid Architecture Proposal for Tokyo Olympic Stadium, Tokyo 2020
 Source: Design Boom Blog via Zaha Hadid Architects

DESIGN OF THE TOKYO 2020 OLYMPIC STADIUM

This idea of spec work or preliminary work for no pay has also been controversial within the graphic design industry for the Tokyo Olympics 2020 as well as the architectural sphere. Similar to the logo competition, Japan held a competition for the new Olympic stadium for Tokyo inviting architects from around the world to participate, not just limiting designs to Japanese designers. Instead of reviving the 1964 Olympic Stadium designed by Mitsuo Katayama, the Japanese government opted to redevelop it to accommodate for more viewers. Hadid's stadium design was initially selected but due to the high cost and aesthetic objections was scrapped after being publicly announced. Zaha Hadid's design was exchanged for a lower cost design by Japanese architect, Kengo Kuma. Currently, the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Committee is refusing to pay Zaha Hadid's firm ZHA, a final payment until her firm releases all the copyright designs and all employees sign a mandatory gag order by the Japanese government. Hadid's firm, ZHA, declared to Dezeen, "We can confirm that we

HADID'S STADIUM DESIGN WAS INITIALLY SELECTED BUT DUE TO THE HIGH COST AND AESTHETIC OBJECTIONS WAS SCRAPPED AFTER BEING PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED

while Hadid's architects are trying to reserve that same right of usage for their firm. Apparently this controversy comes after many late payments to Hadid and may have led to the changing of stadiums designs which Kuma and the Japanese Sports Council denies. Currently, there is no solution to this controversy around architecture however, Kuma's design is currently in construction and experiencing heavy delays due to the late start and may not be ready until after 2019. Though clearly architecture is a different type of design than graphic design, there still is this overall concern about copyright and the major issue of payment in conjunction with work output.

CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS SURROUNDING FUTURE OLYMPIC DESIGN

On April 25, 2016 the winner out of over 14,000 submissions to the Tokyo 2020 logo competition, after being narrowed down to four designs, was Asao Tokolo with his almost Aicher like logos for the Olympics and Paralympic games. Tokolo is not naïve to design or a member of the general public but instead runs his own graphic design firm, TOKOLOCOM, in Tokyo that specializes in pattern design. No Japanese news outlet have discussed or made public Tokolo's announcements. What does it say that the Japanese government creates this competition for public engagement but ends up picking a well known Japanese designer? Also what does it say for Tokolo to participate in a competition that does not respect him as a designer? Or why was Tokolo not considered during the original design competition? As of right now, nothing has been discussed or expressed by the design community about the selection of Tokolo for the logo, only time will tell as we move closer to the 2020 Tokyo Games.



Figure 9: Tokyo Olympic 2020 logo by Asao Tokolo, Tokyo 2020 Olympics
Source: Tokyo Olympic 2020

The act of dissent of designers expressed above might not be fully backed by the design industry; yet, the Tokyo Olympic 2020 are sparking conversations about Olympic design future. How will designers contribute to the Olympics in the future? Will the problems deriving from copyright and payment prevent designers from participating? Will amateurs become the main participants in the realm of Olympic graphics? These are questions that the IOC and their stakeholders (both audience and design professionals) have to wrestle with.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

NOA BARTFIELD is a first year graduate student in the MFA Transdisciplinary program at Parsons School of Design. She is a multidisciplinary designer from Israel and has extensive experience in set and costume design.

KATHERINE GROSS is a second year graduate student in the MA History of Design and Curatorial Studies at Parsons School of Design. She has a BFA in Illustration from Parsons and hopes to focus her thesis in the history of graphic design

YACHEN HAN is a first year graduate student in the MA History of Design and Curatorial Studies at Parsons School of Design. She has a background in art history and art studio practice focusing on installation work and its relationship with space.

CLAUDIA MARINA is a first year graduate student in the MA Design Studies program at Parsons School of Design. She comes from a background in journalism.

DREW VANDERBURG is a second year graduate student in the MS Design and Urban Ecologies program at Parsons School of Design. He has a background in theatrical production and his current thesis work concerns mega-event driven development in Rio + New York City.

ALEXANDRA VENNER is a second year graduate student in the MS Design and Urban Ecologies program at Parsons School of Design. She is an urban practitioner from Vancouver and investigates issues and instigates actions pertaining to social justice and the city.

EDITED AND CO-DESIGNED BY: NOA BARTFIELD, KATIE GROSS, YACHEN HAN, CLAUDIA MARINA, DREW VANDERBURG, ALEXANDER VENNER, JILLY TRAGANOU

CHIEF DESIGNER: KATIE GROSS

COVER DESIGNER: CLAUDIA MARINA

ISBN 978-0-9915463-3-6



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PAPERS BY:

NOA BARTFELD

KATHERINE GROSS

YACHEN HAN

CLAUDIA MARINA

DREW VANDERBURG

ALEXANDRA VENNER

FOREWARD BY JILLY TRAGANOU