A Distinctive Approach? Governing security at the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (G2014)

Adam Aitken, Michele Burman, Nick Fyfe, Niall Hamilton-Smith, Simon Mackenzie and Suzanne Young

With Financial support from the Prevention of and Fight against Crime Programme of the European Union European Commission – Directorate-General Home Affairs
Overview of Seminar

1. Mega-events as a study of Security

2. Historical overview of Olympics and Commonwealth Games

3. G2014 governance model

4. Political and bureaucratic context for G2014

5. Differences and similarities between G2014 and previous Games
ESRC/Scottish Government co-Funded PhD – ‘G2014 The Security Legacy’

Aims:
• to identify the security legacy of G2014 in the East-End, outlining its governance arrangements, security strategies and associated regeneration projects
• to understand the meaning and experiences that local residents, particularly young people, attach to the security legacy and differential effects on behaviours, values and perceptions, use of public/private space and leisure facilities

The Governance of Security and Risk for Mega-Events: a criminological analysis of security planning for the Glasgow Commonwealth Games (G2014)

Aims
• using G2014 as case study to explore the culture of security:
  – approach taken to the governance of security and analysis of risk in planning processes
  – the multi-level (central and local) government relationships and public-private partnerships required for the delivery of ‘security’

Global mega-events and security

- Major international sporting events (mega-events) increasingly linked to security concerns

- Identification and assessment of security risks characterises and influences planning and management of security measures

- Whilst mega-events portrayed as exceptions to everyday security processes, our approach is to analyse security during large spectacular events as reflective of broader and more mundane public and official sensibilities around security
Mega-events through a criminological lens

(a) Predictive security (preemptive logic) vs reactive strategies of crime control and proof-based (retrospective) criminal justice (Zedner, 2007)

(b) Growing focus on crime prevention

(c) Risk society and risk assessment culture,
   - identification and management of risks
   - actuarial justice
   - risk-averse ‘hazard’ reduction

Mega-events = useful case studies of (a), (b) and (c) coming together in a particular high profile setting
Mega-events as a study of security

Culture of ‘High’ Security

- Security Governance
- Cultural ideologies of risk
- Internationalisation of security
- Political and bureaucratic contexts of security
“The exceptionality of Olympic security coupled with the transference of its strategies across time and place culminates in standardized approaches that map on to the uneven terrain of diverse host cities”

(Coaffee & Fussey 2011, P178)

- Security demands & practices are becoming increasingly standardised at mega-events
- A review of previous security planning and implementation approaches can identify a series of normalised security features – identifying commonalities and distinctions in the security planning for G2014 ...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Nations/Participants</th>
<th>Security Context</th>
<th>Security Strategies</th>
<th>Controversy</th>
<th>Legacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berlin 1936</td>
<td>49 3,963</td>
<td>Nazi regimes projection of military strength to outside world</td>
<td>Large, visible military presence</td>
<td>Demonstrated that mega-events occur within a highly politicised context</td>
<td>Many facilities were built with dual military purpose- e.g. athletes village as barracks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munich 1972</td>
<td>121 7,173</td>
<td>Planners were conscious of creating a ‘low key’ security approach</td>
<td>-£1m – no barbed wire, no CCTV or barricades</td>
<td>Munich Massacre – 17 deaths in total</td>
<td>The catalyst for an emphasis on security at subsequent mega events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal 1976</td>
<td>92 6,028</td>
<td>An example of the first ‘total security’ paradigm</td>
<td>-£100m (£380m today)</td>
<td>Incurred debts of £1.5 billion</td>
<td>Montreal’s security planning became a blueprint for future games</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Olympic Games Pre 9/11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Nations/Participants</th>
<th>Security Context</th>
<th>Security Strategies</th>
<th>Controversy</th>
<th>Legacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona 1992</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>Fears over terror attacks from the fallout of Gulf war &amp; Catalan separatists</td>
<td>-$66m -25,000 security personnel &amp; military/police in high risk areas -Security bunkers, tanks, CCTV</td>
<td>Many local residents were displaced as part of wider regeneration plans</td>
<td>The ‘Barcelona Model’ of regeneration - recognised as an example of how to link regeneration to hosting games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Friends Forever)</td>
<td>9,356</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta 1996</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>Terrorism was not the main risk...Heat stroke &amp; crowd violence was</td>
<td>-$108m -25,000 military/police/volunteers -Hi tech devices – I.D cards/chips</td>
<td>Centennial Olympic park bombing – 2 killed. Took 9 years to catch culprit</td>
<td>Rekindled anxieties over future terrorist threats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(The Celebration of the Century)</td>
<td>10,320</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Olympic Games Post 9/11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Nations/Participants</th>
<th>Security Context</th>
<th>Security Strategies</th>
<th>Controversy</th>
<th>Legacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Athens 2004 (Welcome Home)          | 201 10,625           | Advert for latest anti-terrorism technologies led to the mass fortification of Athens | -$1.5b  
- C41 system – a network of 13,000 CCTV cameras  
- 70,000 special ops & 35,000 on street | - Greece devolved security to a multi-level consortium  
- Faulty C41 system | The retrofitting of security – to be retained after the games raises the question of proportionality |
| Beijing 2008 (One World One Dream)  | 204 10,492           | Beijing didn’t pose the same terror risks as Western host cities                  | -$300m ($6.5b)  
- 100,000 soldiers, 290,000 volunteers  
- 265,000 CCTV cameras | Urban Developments displaced 1.5 million  
ZTP approach to locals | Provided new methods of social control? |
| London 2012 (Inspire a Generation)  | 204 10,820           | 7/7 bombings provided a lasting link between terrorism and the games              | -$553m  
- Already a vast CCTV/security infrastructure  
- CPED/secured by design | Private security-G4S fiasco | Emphasis on sporting legacy  
Clays lane community regeneration |
## Scottish Commonwealth Games

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Nations/Participants</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Legacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh 1970</td>
<td>42, 1,383</td>
<td>First time Scotland has hosted such an event</td>
<td>A lasting success was the Commonwealth pool—Still in use to this day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh 1986</td>
<td>27, 1,660</td>
<td>“The Boycott games” - 32 of 59 countries boycotted due to Thatcher governments links with apartheid South Africa</td>
<td>Massive economic disruption due to losses in sponsorship and broadcasting revenue – a deficit of 4.3 million which took years to pay off. Edinburgh lost £500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Recent Commonwealth Games

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Nations/Participants</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Controversy</th>
<th>Legacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victoria 1994</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>First games to no longer receive threat of Boycott</td>
<td>Considered the “lightweight games” due to use of temporary facilities</td>
<td>Showed that many smaller cities could successfully host a major event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Catch the Spirit)</td>
<td>2,669</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester 2002</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>A catalyst for regeneration of post-industrial areas</td>
<td>Despite its major success – sports participation decreased by 2%</td>
<td>Social and economic regeneration through a range of inclusive projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(The spirit of Friendship)</td>
<td>3,863</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne 2006</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Games used to promote a political agenda–environmental awareness</td>
<td>Disappearing Athletes –seeking refuge from their homeland</td>
<td>Upgraded sports facilities and promotion of healthy lifestyles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(United by the Moment)</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Delhi 2010</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>First games held in India</td>
<td>$11b budget – Security concerns given previous bombings in Delhi</td>
<td>Promotion of a wider diversity of sports other than cricket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Come out and Play)</td>
<td>6,081</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd largest sporting event in world

71 nations

1.5m spectators
1.5bn global audience

6,500 athletes and officials

12 days competition across 17 events

50 sites and venues

£524m budget
£90m security budget (17%)

1,100 police officers

3,000 private security personnel

15,000 volunteers

2,500 journalists

1 million tickets

“To Host A Safe, Secure and Peaceful Games”
G2014 Games responsibilities

Commonwealth Games Federation
– direction and control of Games

Glasgow City Council
– venues, athlete’s village, transport plan, legacy

G2014 Organising Committee
– limited company to deliver games

Strathclyde Police/Police Scotland
– security operation (not just policing element)
Partnership working

Sub-level working groups

- British Transport Police
- Fire and Rescue,
- Scottish Ambulance Service
- Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary for Scotland (HMICS)
- The Scottish Crime and Drug Enforcement Agency (SCDEA)

- Private security contractors
  - will play a crucial role; securing venues and access points
  - estimated there will be nearly 3 times the number of private security personnel than police officers on competition days
Figure 11.6 – Scotland’s structure for security implementation

- Commonwealth Games Federation
- Commonwealth Games Co-ordination Group (Scottish Executive, GCC, CGCS) OIC
- G2014 Organising Committee
- Security Directorate Chaired by Security Director – a Chief Officer of Strathclyde Police
- MGCC Ministerial Group on Civil Contingencies
- UK Government

Strategic
- Counter Terrorism
  - Special Branch
  - The Security Service
  - Joint Intelligence and Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC)
  - VIP Protection
  - Armed Forces
  - Specialist Resources
- Policing and Security
  - Public Space
  - Venues
  - Crime Prevention
  - Crime Investigation
  - Road Policing
  - Access/Search
  - Accreditation
- Consequence Management
  - Fire and Rescue
  - Health
  - Coast Guard
  - UK Immigration Service
  - Revenue and Customs
  - Civil Aviation Authority

Tactical Planning
- Intelligence
- Command and Control
Multi-level governance

- Complex governance structures
  - policy, tactical, operational

- Networks of security / safety organisations (both public and private) have a particular role and responsibility in securing G2014

- Roles and responsibilities closely defined such that risks become a type of property – and ‘owned’ by a particular organisation in the security network (Douglas 1996)

- Risks identified for G2014 have reputational implications for their ‘owners’ in the case of mis-management as well as consequences for Games delivery
Political and Bureaucratic Context

- Experienced Scottish Police services
  - Previous Games; G8. Papal Visit etc..
- ‘Political appetite’ for risk

- Reconfigured policing landscape
  - Scottish Police and Fire and Rescue reforms
    - symbolic associations between policing, nationhood and ‘polity-building’ (Walker, 2000, p. 133) establishment of a national police organisation may be seen as part of wider state building project (Fyfe and Henry, 2012).
- ‘Sensitive’ political context
  - Scottish Referendum in autumn 2014
  - Successful ‘delivery’ of the Games part of a much wider story of political aspirations of SNP

Reputational Risk...........
Creating a ‘hostile environment’ - Operation Comet and crime intelligence teams

- Terrorism
- Serious Organised Crime
- Theft and Fraud
  - Construction Industry
- Zone and precinct security
- E-ticketing
  - Touting
- Pick-pocketing
- Street Trade
- Human Trafficking
- Insider threat

International Liaison
71 Countries
Law enforcement and intelligence
Creating a ‘smooth-running’ Games

- Infrastructure
- Contingency planning
- Transport
- Communication
  - IT Systems
  - Social media
- VIPs and IPPs
- Crisis and emergency management
  - Resilience
- Human resources
  - volunteers
Key Venues Map

GLASGOW 2014 XX COMMONWEALTH GAMES

WEST CLUSTER
- SCOTSTOUN SPORTS CAMPUS
  - Squash
  - Table Tennis
- SECC PRECINCT
  - Boxing, Netball, Gymnastics, Wrestling, Judo, Weightlifting
- International Broadcast Centre (IBC)
- Main Press Centre (MPC)
- KEVINGROVE LAWN BOWLS CENTRE
- LAWN BOWLS
- SOUTHERN BOWLS

EAST CLUSTER
- GLASGOW ROAD COURSE
  - Marathon
  - Road Cycling
- GLASGOW GREEN
  - Hockey
- NATIONAL INDOOR SPORTS ARENA + SIR CHRIS HOP WELDROME
  - Badminton
  - Track Cycling
- MOTHERWELL
  - STRATHCUCHE COUNTRY PARK
  - Triathlon
- EDINBURGH
  - ROYAL COMMONWEALTH POOL
  - Swimming
  - CARNMACLE
  - CARNMACLE

IBRAX STADIUM
- Rugby Sevens
- HAMPDEN PARK
- Athletics, Closing Ceremony
- CATBHIN BRAENS
- COUNTRY PARK
- Mountain Bike

DALLASMUCK
- Commonwealth Games Athletes Village
- TOLLAR CROSS
- AQUATICS CENTRE
- Swimming
Differences and Similarities

“In planning our security response to this event we have of course looked to the international practitioner and research base for evidence of good practice ....”

[ACC Fiona Taylor]

- Global Games experts
- making use of the Scottish experience
- ‘consensus’ style policing
- ‘soft’ security
- “a live city experience ...” “a party atmosphere ....”
G2014: The ‘Friendly Games’

“Security support in the Queens Baton Relay and the Games itself must look and feel as a competition, and a friendly event, so that the policing effort doesn’t actually take over what we are seeking to achieve here, which are the ‘friendly’ events or Games for Scotland.”

[Senior Police Officer, Security Committee]

“Then there are the huge number of volunteers that we are looking for ..... because that mix gives the correct look and feel for everyone attending what is effectively a sporting event and not a policing security event, so the balance needs to be really struck well.”

[Senior Police Officer, Security Committee]
Ideally, then, security at mega-events operates as an absent presence, apparent to attentive citizens seeking reassurance but inconspicuous enough that the spectacle of security does not itself terrorize the citizenry or undermine the spirit of consumption that sponsors aim to nurture.

(Boyle and Haggerty, 2009: 265)
Glasgow 2014
The Opening Ceremony

A Landmark moment
1.5 Billion global audience:
References

• Glasgow 2014 (2007) People, Place, Passion: Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games Candidate City File (Glasgow: Glasgow 2014)