

**GOVERNANCE OF SUSTAINABLE EVENT-LED
REGENERATION:
THE CASE OF LONDON 2012 OLYMPICS**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

by
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ABSTRACT

This study aims to understand the interface between the governance of event-led regeneration and sustainable development by taking the London 2012 Olympic Games/Lower Lee Valley area regeneration process as a case study. Since the early 1990s, there is a widespread trend towards the use of mega-events to promote a city, stimulate the local economy and regenerate rundown post-industrial areas and communities. The importance of mega-events in destination development has gained increasing attention and they are also considered as a catalyst for city regeneration. The emphasis in the aims of event-led regeneration has changed over the time and the sustainability in terms of economic, physical, social and governance dimensions has gained significant attention from both organisers and researchers. In the context of sustainable event-led regeneration, multiple stakeholder perspectives are essential and it is important to know how different actors are involved and interact in an event-led regeneration.

London used 2012 Olympics to regenerate East London, one of the most deprived parts of the city. It is taken as an opportunity to explore new frontiers of interaction and cooperation between the local, regional and national stakeholders. This research adopts an integrative approach, which evaluates the changes in the built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisation together to evaluate the sustainability of the event-led regeneration governance. Data collection methods include interviews with stakeholders of London 2012 planning and organization, focus group meetings with residents living in and around the fringe of the London 2012 Olympic Park, secondary data analysis and document analysis.

The research provides a sound base from which the planning of more sustainable mega-events can be undertaken by using the epistemological framework for sustainable event-led regeneration and the evaluation of their impact more fully measured across a wider stakeholder community. The conclusion emphasises the importance of the collaborative approach for the governance and resilience as critical for sustainable event-led regeneration.

DECLARATION

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To My Mum, Tulay Edizel

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I believe having the opportunity to conduct this research in London during the Olympic era has been one of the biggest chances of my academic career. My first degree in City and Regional Planning and masters in Regional Planning had provided me with a good understanding of the urban issues but I particularly wanted to extend my knowledge and experience in the area of mega-events, related regeneration and governance. East London hosting the London 2012 is a historic event with several planning challenges, which this thesis focused on. I would like to acknowledge some special people who made the completion of this PhD possible.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BIE	Bureau of International Expositions
CBD	Central Business District
CSL2012	Commission for Sustainable London 2012
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
ELLB	East London Legacy Board
EZ	Enterprise Zone
GLA	Greater London Authority
GOE	Government Olympic Executive
IBC/MPC	International Broadcast Centre and Main Press Centre
IOC	International Olympic Committee
LA21	Local Agenda 21
LBG	London Borough of Greenwich
LBH	London Borough of Hackney
LBN	London Borough of Newham
LBTH	London Borough of Tower Hamlets
LBWF	London Borough of Waltham Forest
LCA	London Communications Agency
LCS	Legacy Communities Scheme
LDA	London Development Agency
LLDC	London Legacy Development Corporation
LLV OAPF	Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework
LLV RS	Lower Lea Valley Regeneration Strategy
LLV	Lower Lea Valley
LMF	Legacy Masterplan Framework
LOCOG	London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games
London 2012	London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games
LTGDC	London Thames Gateway Development Corporation
LVRPA	Lea Valley Regional Park Authority
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODA	Olympic Delivery Authority
OLSPG	Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance
OPLC	Olympic Park Legacy Company
OPRSG	Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group
SME	Small and Medium Size Enterprise
SRF	Strategic Regeneration Framework
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
UK	United Kingdom

UKDA	United Kingdom Data Archive
UN	United Nations
UNCED	UN Conference on Environment and Development
USA	United States of America
WCED	World Commission of Environment and Development
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Mega-events have become important tools for cities seeking to enhance their global position, attract investment, promote tourism and regenerate deprived neighbourhoods. The literature discusses that despite their short duration, mega-events have significant impact on the built environment. Mega-events are often hosted in derelict and deprived parts of the city and require a certain level of permanent and temporary infrastructure (Hall, 1992). Therefore, the history of mega-events and urban regeneration goes far back in time although researchers have only started to give attention to this area after the 1990s. Currently, even world cities - leading international business, finance and tourism centres in the world- like London, New York, Paris and Tokyo bid for hosting mega-events (Massey, 2007) and these events are considered as catalysts of urban regeneration (Essex and Chalkley, 1998; Evans, 2011).

London has always been a city of spectacles and especially since 2011 events that grabbed worldwide attention have followed one after another in the city. The Royal Wedding in 2011 can be considered as the kick-starter of this era of spectacle, where over the month of April, an extra 350,000 visitors came to the UK compared to the previous year and visitors spent a record £17.8 billion over 2011, equivalent to almost £600 each and a year-on-year increase of 5 per cent (ONS, 2012). It was followed by the Diamond Jubilee, celebrated on the 2nd of June 2012, which is expected to add £10 billion into the British economy, as hundreds of thousands of visitors flowed to London's hotels, restaurants, bars and shops (Parker and Rainey, 2012). Finally, the most spectacular of all, London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, had been staged between July 27th and August 12th 2012 and Government data showed that the UK welcomed 590,000 visits either for the Olympics or Paralympics, or attendance at a ticketed event and who spent an average of £1,290 during their visit, compared with £650 by other visitors (ONS, 2012). Besides the tourism and economic impacts, London 2012 had a significant impact on the urban environment in the Lower Lea Valley- one of the most deprived areas in the UK- where the Olympic Park is located. London 2012 involved several stakeholders in the decision-making process aiming to deliver sustainable legacies and regeneration. Therefore, the main aim of this study is to critically analyse the governance structure of event-led regeneration and evaluate its sustainability. This research uses London 2012 Games as a case to explore the complex structure of event-led regeneration through using sustainable development principles, and thus offers a new insight into this process.

This first chapter aims to introduce the topic of this research and offers an overview of the thesis. Firstly, it discusses the rationale for this study by highlighting the importance of the research and the relevance of the approach adopted, followed by the research aims. Finally, it briefly describes the content of the following chapters and how they relate to the research aims.

1.2 RATIONALE

Although the urban regeneration dimension of mega-events has a long history back, it has not been discussed comprehensively until the 1990s (Gold and Gold, 2005). Among different types of urban regeneration models such as retail-led, housing-led, culture-led and design-led regeneration; event-led regeneration - urban regeneration related to physical, social, economic and governance dimensions of mega-events - has had a greater economic, tourism, physical and socio-cultural impact and meaning (e.g. self image, identity) for host cities when compared to their relatively short duration (Ritchie, 1984). Mega-events can of course also incorporate several of these other forms of regeneration, particularly, property and housing (e.g. Olympics and EXPOs), with the regeneration 'legacy' used to rationalise the hosting and public financing of a mega-event, and vice versa. According to Harvey (1989), when some events are used as a tool for urban regeneration, they give the host city the opportunity to produce a new and entrepreneurial image, internally and to external audiences.

The aim and emphasis of event-led urban regeneration projects have changed in different periods. One of the reasons for that is the shift in the governance system. Governance refers to the modes and manners of governing, steering or guiding organisation (Jessop, 1998). From the 1980s, there has been a shift in urban governance system from a managerial to an entrepreneurial structure which means that urban governance has started to adopt entrepreneurial strategies such as new ways to foster and encourage local development and employment growth; instead of the managerial practices of earlier decades which focused on the local provision of services, facilities and benefits to urban populations (Harvey, 1989, p. 3). Therefore, boosterist policies as the main feature of urban entrepreneurialism have started to gain more attention from city and central governments as a result of globalisation and the imperative for place competitiveness. Peck (2005) suggests that regeneration projects have an important role in urban development since policy-makers develop various strategies in order to increase city attractiveness, (re)position their cities in the regional and world city hierarchy and also, provide new gentrified work, leisure and housing for the 'professional managerial' (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1979) and the more recently identified 'creative' class (Florida, 2005). Cities have consequently started to expand their marketing policies to create and change their image to attract more tourists, businesses, inward investment and service industry workers (Ward, 1998). Therefore, event-led regeneration

strategies of 1980s and 1990s were more focused on flagship projects and events had been used as a catalyst to achieve a wider range of urban objectives (Smith, 2012). However, there has been a shift towards the legacy of the events and sustainability dimension in terms of economic, physical, social and governance since the 2000s. The concepts of legacy and sustainability overlap in mega-event literature, and legacy creates the essential event hinterland in which sustainability becomes possible. Legacy has been defined as the stamp that mega-events leave in the host city in terms of planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures (Preuss, 2007). Therefore, legacy is a process to plan rather than an unknown outcome of the post-event period and mega-event legacy commitments aim to meet the sustainable development principles.

Sustainable development principles and sustainable community planning aspirations have become core components of urban regeneration policies since the beginning of the 2000s reflected through event-led regeneration projects which have started to focus more on legacy and sustainability. Since UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) (1992), more than 2,000 local governments have implemented Local Agenda 21 (LA21) Plans indicating that the sustainability agenda has started to be taken seriously at the local level because at local level it is easier for governments to integrate economic, social and environmental professions so as to facilitate sustainable policy developments (Newman and Kenworthy, 1999). It is now evident that sustainable development is not only an environmental concern, but it also has economic and social/cultural dimensions (Dalal-Clayton and Bass, 2002; Hawkes, 2001; Hershgal, 2008).

In the UK, the term 'sustainable' fits in the 'agendas of inclusiveness, multiagency partnerships, and the shift from government to governance' (Evans and Jones, 2008, p. 1416). Deindustrialisation has left considerable vacant, derelict, brownfield and waterfront areas where there are numerous development challenges and opportunities (DCLG, 2008). However, in the 1970-80s, powerful, localist quango agencies applied 'fast-track' initiatives to make sure that property-led regeneration projects were delivered in designated sites with minimum local opposition and involvement (Cochrane, 2007; Raco and Tunney, 2010). Without a local democratic planning process, Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) were able to focus on converting these spaces into highly visible regeneration areas (Raco and Tunney, 2010). By the early 2000s, the tension between sustainability and growth/development is highlighted in national and international documents and policies. During the International Conference on Financing for Development in 2002, world leaders agreed to mobilise and increase the effective use of financial resources and achieve economic conditions for poverty reduction and sustained economic growth. Also, Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister, suggested that 'development, growth, and prosperity need not and should not be in conflict with sustainability' in the Securing for the Future Report (DEFRA, 2005). Although appealing to politicians and other interests, the hosting of mega-

events as a competitive city strategy is a controversial topic since there are multiple environmental, social, economic and urban risks involved which may jeopardise the sustainable development of the related regeneration. Nonetheless, there is a widespread trend towards the use of mega-events to promote a city, city-region (or area/sub-region of a city), stimulate the local economy and regenerate 'rundown' post-industrial areas and communities.

In the context of event-led regeneration, Getz (2009, p. 65) suggests that multiple stakeholder perspectives are essential when analysing the outcomes of such events and all stakeholders have to be in consensus to deliver sustainable events. The term 'stakeholder' refers to people who have an interest in a certain decision as individuals or representatives of a group (Hemmati et al., 2002) which in mega-event planning case refers to both the local communities and organisations. However, this study uses the term 'stakeholder' only to refer to the organisers and institutions and take local communities in a separate category since their involvement in the governance is formed in different ways. In order to understand how event policies are realised, it is important to know how different actors are involved and interact in planning and delivering the strategies (Hall and Rusher, 2004). The involvement of local residents in decision-making is therefore increasingly important and researchers stress that the residents should be able to benefit from living close to the mega-event site, not negatively affected by it (Poynter, 2008; Smith, 2010). Healey (1997, p. 29) states that public policy and planning are 'social processes through which ways of thinking, ways of valuing and ways of acting are actively constructed by participants' which she labelled as communicative or interpretive planning. Communicative planning aims to sustain a governance process where political communities can collectively be involved in their common dilemmas about the changes and developments in their neighbourhood (Healey, 2002). Full integration of residents and other stakeholders in the decision-making period for bidding, marketing and assessing the event is therefore crucial for having what Getz (2009, p. 62) calls 'sustainable and responsible events' as well as related regeneration projects. Although some researchers mention the importance of good governance for sustainable event-led regeneration, it has not been discussed along with public participation. The literature discusses mega-events mainly from a single perspective such as their impact on the host city/region/nation economy and tourism as well as spatial impacts, socio-cultural impacts such as volunteering, training, or cultural festivals, or political and governance related studies.

The study of mega-events became an important area of the tourism and leisure literature in the 1980s (Gratton and Henry, 2001). Being the fastest growing element of the leisure travel market, event (and cultural) tourism receives a significant interest from researchers (Chalip and Leyns, 2002; Richards, 1996). The major key words of the literature are place marketing (Holcomb, 1999; Ritchie and Hall, 1999; Roche, 2000) and image creation and re-imaging

(Holcomb, 1999; Smith, 2001). Early studies discussing the mega-event phenomenon have emerged from this subject area. The work of Getz (1991), Ritchie (1984), Hall (1992, 1998) and Roche (1992) shaped the early theoretical discussions on the concept of mega-events. Tourism studies of events can also be considered along with the economic impact studies which had initially provided a justification for tourism research attention. Together with tourism studies, the growing use of events as an economic development tool has grabbed the attention of researchers and policy makers. The literature on mega-events has tended to focus on their economic impact on the host city, region or even nation. As the media attention and sponsorship increased in mega-events, the number of cities willing to host such events increased accordingly and the economic impact imperative became normalised.

Economic and tourism studies have widened their scope and to a certain extent diverged, in the latter case with a focus on social, cultural and environmental impacts. Socio-cultural dimensions and consequences of mega-events started to gain more attention since the 1990s. Previously, most studies had focused on tourism or economic impacts of mega-events. According to Jeong (1992), the main reason behind the dominance of research on the impacts of the mega-event at the macro-level (i.e. nation-wide, city-wide) may be the difficulty of quantifying local and socio-cultural impacts and their indirect, intangible nature. It is clear that mega-events can, however, affect a host city in both positive and negative ways.

The majority of the literature about spatial impacts of mega-events considers post-event urban development and built environment/landscapes, with few studies undertaken on the pre-event phase of mega-events and the decision-making governance processes that lead up to them (Essex and Chalkley, 1998; Evans, 2011; Hiller, 1999; Smith, 2013). This is therefore a particular focus of this thesis. Significant urban intervention associated with the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games had a key role in drawing the attention of urban researchers to this phenomenon, whilst events were seen to make a very direct contribution to redevelopment through the upgrading and rehabilitation of spaces in the city (Richards and Palmer, 2010). Hence, approaching mega-events as a governance issue is a current research concern. Olympic governance and legacy has been studied from different perspectives in the 2000s (Burbank et al., 2001; Cashman, 2006; Girginov, 2012a; Poynter and MacRury, 2009a; Smith et al., 2011).

Therefore, the most striking gap in the mega-event research is the lack of an integrative approach which evaluates the changes in the built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisation structure ('triangulated') together in order to evaluate the sustainability of the event-led governance. Investigating London 2012 and related regeneration by using this approach allows the researcher to explore what rationales, processes and sustainable development principles are evident as this is necessary to

analyse the process of event-led regeneration and its contribution to more sustainable urban and community development goals.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS

This study is located at the interface between the governance of event-led regeneration and sustainable development by taking the London 2012 Olympic Games/Lower Lee Valley area regeneration as a case study. The research methodology adopts an integrative approach in which built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisations are studied together. In order to analyse sustainable development in any regeneration project, it is important to understand the relation of these three components with each other. Stakeholder interviews have been undertaken in order to understand the organisation structure, involvement and approach of related organisations in regeneration. Focus group meetings have been organized with residents living in and around the fringe of the London 2012 Olympic Park and secondary data from a Host Borough Resident Survey has been analysed to understand how much the local people are involved in the decision-making, their expectations from the London 2012 Olympic Games and regeneration legacy. The main aim of the study is ***thus to critically analyse the governance of mega-event led regeneration and assess how organisers can enhance the sustainable development principles in event-led regeneration.*** In order to reach this aim, three research questions (RQ) are determined at the outset of the study:

RQ 1: What is the rationale for hosting mega-events and regenerating areas/cities that surrounds them?

RQ 2: How can host cities achieve sustainable development in event-led regeneration?

RQ 3: How have the sustainable development principles been implemented in London 2012 event-led regeneration from stakeholder and local community perspectives?

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This study is structured in nine chapters. The above research questions are addressed through the upcoming chapters (Figure 1.1). Chapter 2 involves a review of literature relating primarily to the RQ1. Chapter 2 to 4 are the critical assessment of the literature review on mega-events, event-led regeneration and sustainable development, which comprise the three main branches of this research. Given the definitions, phases, temporal and controversial approaches of mega-events, this literature is eclectic and interdisciplinary. Chapter 3 discusses event-led regeneration to contribute to address RQ1 by evaluating literature in event-led regeneration as compared to other types of regeneration models and their evolution. Following this, Chapter 4 critically assesses the sustainable development and sustainable development principles of event-led regeneration to address RQ2.

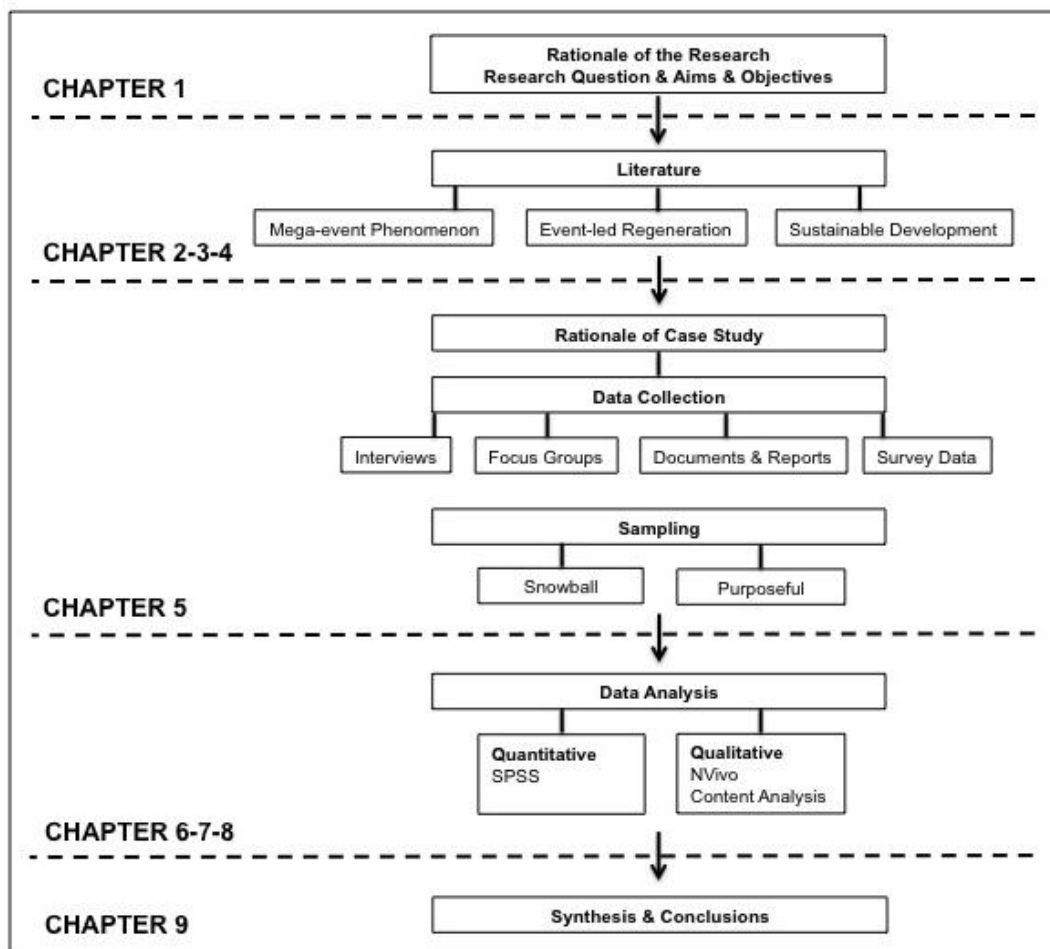


Figure 1.1: Research Structure

Chapter 5 introduces how to address the research aims methodologically as a dynamic process using qualitative and quantitative research methods. The research uses multiple theoretical perspectives, sources of data and methodologies to analyse change and processes. Where possible, these changes in built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisation are analysed in connection with each other, not as single units. Each aspect is evaluated accordingly with the changes in order to understand the complex structure of the regeneration in the area in a holistic way.

In Chapters 6 through to 8, the findings from the research are presented. These are organised according to themes that relate to the first two research questions and particularly, RQ3 of understanding the event-led regeneration strategies of London 2012 and different approaches towards the Games. Chapter 6 analyses the changes in the built environment of the LLV where the Olympic Park is located. London 2012 is analysed in terms of historical evolutions in the relations of land use and strategic plans, delivery and legacy. The findings of Chapter 7 contribute to exploring the sustainability of the governance of London 2012 regeneration through stakeholder interviews and this is supplemented in Chapter 8 through

focus group meetings and secondary data analysis. Chapter 7 and 8 also address RQ3 since a number of potential transferable sustainable event-led regeneration governance indicators, along with constraints, are identified based on the analysis of the interviews undertaken with representatives of the organisations that participated in this study.

The findings from these chapters are brought together in the Conclusion (Chapter 9) in which the main research question is addressed - *How can organisers enhance the sustainable development principles in event-led regeneration?* Firstly, major findings of the research and potential transferable sustainable event-led regeneration governance indicators along with constraints are introduced. Next, the limitations of the study followed by the directions for future research are discussed.

CHAPTER 2 UNDERSTANDING THE MEGA-EVENT PHENOMENON

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Hosting events has always been a popular strategy for cities to promote their image, stimulate the local economy and regenerate rundown post-industrial areas and communities. Today, there is a wide range of events held all over the world. The types under investigation in this research are 'mega-events'. This chapter aims to explore the mega-event concept in detail.

The chapter starts with discussing different definitions and classifications of mega-events in order to clarify which type of events can be considered 'mega'. Later, different phases of mega-event hosting are introduced as bidding, managing and legacy processes. The chapter continues with questioning the rationale of mega-events. It is argued that while the early events are mostly seen as an image development strategy for the host cities, the influence of the urban dimension has started to gain significant importance especially since the mid-twentieth century. Cities expect several economic, social and physical benefits from hosting a mega-event however, there are also multiple criticisms about hosting them. The chapter, therefore, discusses the controversy around mega-events and summaries the findings and discussions.

2.2 DEFINITIONS AND CLASSIFICATIONS

There is a wide range of events and this diversity makes it difficult to provide a single definition for them. Therefore, the categorization and definition of mega-events changes according to their rationale and location. In the mega-event literature, 'special events' (Jago and Shaw, 1998), 'hallmark events' (Ritchie, 1984) and 'major events' (Getz, 1991) are the terms that are generally used by different researchers. These events have global reputations and are organized to provide opportunities for participating in sporting, cultural, religious and political activities and especially to sustain a visitor attraction to the area where the event is held (Getz, 1991). The term 'mega-events' is used in this research as the phenomenon under investigation.

Researchers use various indicators while making a classification of mega-events such as duration, size, scale, volume of visitors and prestige. Ritchie (1984, p. 2) defines hallmark events as important, one time or habitual events that take place in a limited period; aimed mainly to improve the awareness and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term, and these events derive their success from uniqueness, status or timely

significance to create interest and attraction. Based on his definition, Ritchie (1984) categorized mega events in seven ways (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Ritchie's Classification of Mega-events

Classification	Examples and Location
1. World fairs/expositions	Knoxville'82, New Orleans'84 Expo'67/ Montreal, Vancouver'80
2. Unique carnivals and festivals	Quebec Winter Carnival/Quebec City Stampede/Calgary
3. Major sports events	Summer Olympics/Los Angeles 1984 Winter Olympics/Calgary 1988 World Cup Soccer/Spain 1982 Marathons/Boston Grand Prix Racing/Monza
4. Significant cultural and religious events	Oberammergau/Germany Papal coronation/Rome Royal Wedding/London
5. Historical milestones	Anniversaries Centennials Bicentennials Royal weddings
6. Classical commercial and agricultural events	Royal Winter Fair/Toronto Wine Purchasing/France Floriade'82/Amsterdam
7. Major political personage events	Presidential inaugurations Funerals of head of state Papal visits Major political leadership conventions

Source: Ritchie (1984)

Ritchie's (1984) definition and categorisation establish the basis of mega-event research and it is followed by Getz (1997, p. 6) who explains hallmark events in a similar way as "yield(ing) extraordinarily high levels of tourism, media coverage, prestige, or economic impact for the host community or destination." His classification depends on seven major categories of planned public events but six of them are found in the public domain (Table 2.2). While events like international festivals such as Edinburgh, Glastonbury and Salzburg draw international media attention and large numbers of tourist to the host city, they are run by "permanent staff that utilise well-established sets of practices to stage their events" (Gold and Gold, 2008, p. 302). On the other hand, Gold and Gold (2008, p. 302) define mega-events as a major one-time event with a complex bidding and planning process that have an "ambulatory character".

According to Getz (1991) when considered from the tourism perspective, the only indicator to categorize mega-events is the amount of its attractiveness and he states that the definition must focus on the proportion and number of international visitors. Similarly, Travis and Croize (1987) express that mega-events should be defined in terms of the scale of visitor numbers but not only international tourists. Therefore, in order to be a mega-event, at least 500,000 visitors should come to the event (Travis and Croize, 1987). These definitions clearly disregard the prestige and economic, social and physical dimensions of the mega-events, which may mean more than just the number of visitors.

Table 2.2: Getz's classification of mega-events

Classification	Examples
Business / trade	- Fairs, markets, sales - Consumer and trade shows - Expositions - Meetings and conferences
Cultural celebrations	- Fund-raiser events - Festivals - Carnivals - Religious events - Parades - Heritage commemorations
Art / entertainment	- Concerts - Other performances - Exhibits - Award ceremonies
Recreational	- Sport competitions (professional / amateur) - Recreation (games and sports for fun / amusement events)
Educational / scientific	- Seminars, workshops, clinics - Congresses - Interpretive events
Political state	- Inaugurations - Investitures - VIP visits

Source: Getz(1997)

Aiming to cover all important dimensions when defining the events, Jago and Shaw (1998) identified the key attributes of special events by making a detailed examination of usage of different terms in event literature and introduced a typology of special event types. Out of many in the literature Jago and Shaw (1998) determined seven attributes as the most important for special events: 1) attracting tourists or tourism development, 2) being of limited duration, 3) being a one-off or infrequent occurrence, 4) raising the awareness, image or profile of a region, 5) attracting media attention, 6) having a large economic impact, and 7) being out of the ordinary or unique. Based on this analysis, Jago and Shaw (1998) proposed the framework in Figure 2.1 to represent the relationship between different event types. This analysis, however, is entirely based upon the literature, which does not necessarily relate to the practice of the event and rejects the possibility of a minor event becoming a hallmark event under provisional conditions.

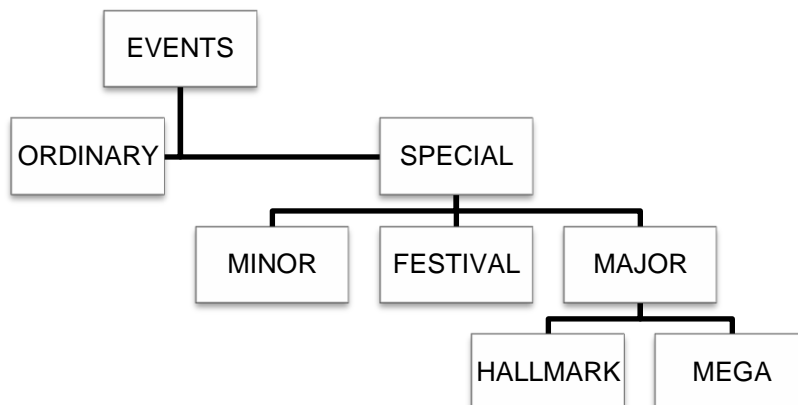


Figure 2.1: Jago and Shaw's classification of events (Source: Jago and Shaw (1998))

From a different perspective, Roche (2000) considers three events as 'mega': The Olympic Games, the World Fairs (EXPOs) and the World Football Cup (Table 2.3). Roche explains mega-events as "...large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance" (2000, p. 1). His research mainly focuses on the contribution of mega-events to public culture in modernity. Therefore, his classification is related to this cultural context, such as target attendance, type of media interest and so on. His grouping of mega-events depends on ranking the events in accordance with their scale of significance.

Table 2.3: Roche's classification of public events

Type of event	Example of event	Target attendance/market	Type of media interest
Mega-event	Expos Olympics World Cup (Soccer)	Global	Global TV
Special Event	Grand Prix (F1) World Regional Sport (e.g. Pan-Am Games)	World Regional/ National	International/ National TV
Hallmark Event	National sport event (e.g. Australian Games) Big City Sport/Festival	National Regional	National TV Local TV
Community Event	Rural Town Event Local Community Event	Regional/Local Local	Local TV/Press Local Press

Source: Roche(2000)

On the other hand, Fredline (2000, p. 23) defines mega events not according to these definitions but "different dimensions such as frequency, size, theme, authenticity, type of tourist attracted, age, spatial concentration and facility and infrastructure requirements". Fredline (2000) suggests one of the most comprehensive categorisations of mega-event definition since the urban dimension was mostly missing in previous ones. Following up on this, the key factor in mega-event definition according to Hiller (1999) is significant alterations in the built environment. In the light of this definition therefore, Rio's Carnival is not considered to be a mega-event since the structures are constructed temporarily in the city. There is no permanent structural change in the morphology of the city in that or similar cases (e.g. Notting Hill Carnival), despite meeting other mega-event definition requirements such as visitor numbers. Similar to Hiller's (1999) argument, Kammeier (2002) defines mega-events as an issue of urban management and combines the characteristics of the mega-event with the characteristics of the host city to outline strategies to cope with the 'pulsar effects'. Pulsar effects are challenges that cities face while dealing with mega-events from both demand and supply sides of urban development therefore, "innovations in urban development largely result from the 'pulsar effects' of unique or periodic special events" (Kammeier, 2002, p. 1).

In conclusion, mega-events are normally one-off, high profile festivals, sports competitions or trade fairs held for a limited time in which the built environment has global and symbolic

significance and attract national and international interest - investors, media, tourists (Getz, 1997; Ritchie, 1984; Roche, 2000). In terms of urban regeneration impacts, EXPOs (World Fairs) and Olympic Games can be categorised as mega-events (Gold and Gold, 2008), whilst branded events such as European City/Capital of Culture, World Cups, Biennales often use pre-existing facilities (e.g. Venice Biennale) and do not necessarily entail area or site-based regeneration projects in the host city. Smaller versions of these mega-events such as Commonwealth Games can however also form part of area regeneration projects and schemes e.g. Manchester Commonwealth Games (2002), Glasgow Commonwealth Games (2014) and Sheffield Student Games (1991). The main focus of this research however is the Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games ('Olympics') but examples from other type of events are also included to demonstrate different policies, approaches and impacts.

2.3 MEGA-EVENT PHASES

It is evident that hosting a mega-event is not only about putting on a global show but also, before and after periods of the event are important parts of the process which should be planned in utmost care for successful and sustainable outcomes (Poynter and MacRury, 2009a; Smith, 2012). Although mega-events may differ in their origins, the practices they adopt can be quite similar. Therefore, it is important to understand the main phases of mega-event management and planners should take into consideration the whole processes of bidding, hosting and legacy in order to cope with the pulsar effects arising (Kammeier, 2002). This section aims to evaluate the phases in mega-event hosting, starting with exploring the bidding period, followed by the hosting and management and finally the post-event period, which is also known as the event legacy.

2.3.1 Pre-event: Bidding

There are a range of policy impacts of mega-events, which may result from hosting them and which can help to achieve the political goals of a local, regional and national government. These impacts include stimulating economic growth, improving place image and developing social cohesion. On the other hand, policy impacts of mega-events are not only important when the city is selected to host the event. The literature discusses that cities should develop ways of using the experience of both winning and losing as a part of a process of acquiring knowledge that can further strengthen its capacity.

Generally, competition to host mega-events starts at the national level. National governments decide which city to support for the mega-event bid at the international level. Park and Mitsuhashi (2009) focuses on factors contributing to mega-event city selection in a nation by using the 1994 World Cup as a case study to test the quantitative assessment phase of the screening process proposing a three-part framework for city selection. The

assessment is conducted in two parts. First, the variables are identified as a key criterion for assessing the potential of a city as a host site for a mega-event based on central place theory (Park and Mitsuhashi, 2009) using multiple logistic regression analysis. Second, the selection of host cities based on the proposed quantitative analysis is compared with the host cities actually selected for the 1994 World Cup. No significant differences are found between the theoretical city selection and the actual host city selection in the 1994 World Cup case. Therefore, although the availability of existing infrastructure and basic socio-economic factors (household size, age, gender, income, population size, population density, size of central place, salary and unemployment) of the city seem effective in the decision of city selection, there are definitely signs that political lobby and personal connections affect the mega-event location decisions.

There are also studies that discuss the bidding process as a way to generate urban design projects, and the construction of facilities. For example, Hiller studies Cape Town's bid for the 2004 Olympic Games, analysing the bid in terms of its developmental aspects in order to determine its urban significance and legitimacy. Cape Town's Olympic bid had focused on human development and restructuring the 'apartheid city' which was enforcing strong residential segregation between races, whereas it could have contributed to the transformation of the city. In the beginning of the bid process, the Planning Department was actively integrated into the process and the Olympics were planned to serve as a catalyst in transforming the built environment and upgrading facilities and infrastructure. Nevertheless later on, it turned into a form of place marketing strategy for the private sector (Hiller, 2000).

From a different perspective, Burton (2003) reviews different organisations involved in the host city Olympic bidding process and correlates investments and actual performance by analysing Sydney and Salt Lake Olympic Games. The study is based on bid costs, games costs and revenues obtained in evaluating the success of the Games, but what is missing is the discussion on the legacy or opportunity costs and benefits. Moreover, Matheson and Baade (2004) point out the increasing voice of developing countries to get the right to host and share the economic benefits of mega-events. However, such regions face difficulties while hosting such events. They claim that in most cases mega-sporting events are an even worse investment for developing countries than for industrialised countries. First, expenditure for infrastructure is much higher in developing nations. Second, the opportunity cost is higher. Third, post-event use of facilities is questionable due to the affordability level for sports and entertainment facilities. Lastly, attracting spectators and fans is more difficult due to affordability and access constraints.

The success of mega-event led regeneration therefore lies in a more inclusive approach which considers the cultural values of the 'local'. In practice however, many cities bidding for mega-events do not adopt or consider this approach and limit their efforts to the event site,

external visitors and to a short term branding exercise. By the nature of competitive bidding, most aspiring cities are of course unsuccessful (and some re-bid again and again) (Evans, 2011). These cities often continue regeneration projects in the selected or even different localities without being able to host the original planned event and by adopting a different approach, including hosting smaller events and culture or sports-led regeneration projects (e.g. Manchester, Birmingham, New York).

Besides several research studies about the bidding process and city selection, there has been some interest in the failed bidding cities since by the nature of the events several cities bid but only one city wins. According to Richards and Palmer (2010), if a city loses its bid for an event because of a lack of coherence of stakeholder networks, the visibility of public support, the organisational capacity of event programme operation and scale and the efficiency of the city's physical infrastructure, transportation or security capability - these issues can be addressed after the bid. For example, Manchester gained experience from its unsuccessful bids for the Olympic Games. The city failed twice in its bid to stage Olympic Games (in 1996 and 2000), but which did lead to the city hosting the Commonwealth Games in 2002 (Masterman, 2008). Berlin also failed to secure the Olympic Games in 2000 and this gave an impetus to the Open City event in Berlin. Newcastle/Gateshead had prepared a very ambitious programme and although losing the competition (to Liverpool) to be European Capital of Culture in 2008, the city decided to implement much of its planned programme anyway. The failure of cities to host certain events may offer incentives to chase others or to invent new events themselves. It is therefore valuable for cities to learn from unsuccessful bids and problematic events rather than simply write them off (Edizel, 2013). Masterman (2008, p. 177) supports this, highlighting the fact that bidding is an expensive process and there is only one winner and the concept of bidding, losing and then still achieving physical legacies is somewhat new. Therefore, it is important to see "bidding as a means to an end" (Masterman, 2008, p. 177) rather than focusing on the failure of the bid itself.

2.3.2 Event: Management and Hosting

The process of event management is usually closely allied to tourism, place marketing and economic development, and less often analysed (or rationalised) from a cultural point of view. According to Richards and Palmer (2010), effective planning of events with a holistic approach can help the city to achieve its economic, social, cultural and spatial goals. Collaboration, partnership and coordination between stakeholders are very important to sustain the effectiveness and socio-economic success of events. A 'triple-bottom-line' (TBL) approach is also recommended by festival specialists as a route to embedding sustainable development principles into event planning and impact evaluation. Noting, perhaps over-optimistically that "the effect would be to ensure that the usual claims of economic benefits are not accepted at face value, and that social, cultural and environmental measures of value would be equal to the economic" (Getz, 2009, p. 76). Pumar (2005) states that after

1972, the promotion of sustainable development lost attention whereas the process of institutionalisation strengthened. Getz (2009) uses Pumar's framework to understand how sustainability principles and a TBL approach to event evaluation might become institutionalised. The research concludes by stating that agencies for the advancement of sustainable and responsible events should lead governments to "adopt a comprehensive policy for planned events, based on principles of sustainable development, and to institutionalize a TBL approach to determining worth and evaluating outcomes" (Getz, 2009, p. 76). Therefore, social, cultural and environmental measures of value would be on the same level as the economic.

Managing events also requires public policy management, which covers the planning, regulation and legacy. Stokes and Jago (2007) investigate new insights and links between the aims of government for event investments and the emphasis given to different event tourism strategy arenas by public sector event agencies, through a qualitative study across six Australian states/territories. They conclude by pointing out that seven public sector influences of a political and economic nature are relevant to an event tourism strategy, which are: competing policy agendas, premier's priorities, other ministers' priorities, budgetary issues, preoccupation with economic criteria, need for public accountability and need to have events as attractions. Budgetary issues and economic criteria are the most important ones in assessing agency performance. They also identify new influences which are: governments' risk profiles, the focus on regionalisation of service delivery and the need to utilise public venues. In their view, these findings can provide a general checklist for event agency managers.

Changing urban development strategies leads to changes in regimes and a new form of city governance which depends on collaboration with the private sector and promotion of pro-growth economic development strategies shaping the character of cities (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Painter, 1998). Mega-events became increasingly managed by specially created public-private partnerships or private companies contracted by cities. Although the public bodies usually remained the key stakeholders for the new organisations, they often include strong representation from private sector and latterly, academic institutions. Public-private partnerships are usually organized to develop very specific initiatives or proposals, such as mega-events or mega-projects. Manchester sought to use the Olympic Games as a tool to place the city in a better position in the urban hierarchy and although the city did not succeed in securing the 1996 Olympics, the collaboration of local business and property interest with local politicians can be seen to be a good example of Olympic-bid partnership which succeeded in terms of extra public-sector funding, partnership building and local state entrepreneurialism (Cochrane et al., 1996).

Whitford (2004) analyses the event policies of two Australian local government authorities measured by four development paradigms: modernisation, dependency, economic neo-liberalism, and alternative (alternative development). The analysis of event public policy developed by these two local government authorities showed that the benefits of event policies within the local region have not yet been proven and event policies usually adopt a top-down approach (Whitford, 2004). From a similar perspective, O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002) investigate the contribution of festivals to sustainable local economic development by developing eight criteria: capacity building and training, fostering community enterprise, access to credit and capital, local business development, sustainable approaches to inward investment, responsible business practice, access to and distribution of work, and trading locally. Three different festivals in Wales that are analysed with these criteria demonstrate a lack of evidence to prove the contribution to sustainable local economic development. The research concludes by indicating that: "while festival tourism may have the potential to make a valuable contribution to a locality, it does not automatically make a significant contribution to sustainable local economic development" (2002, p. 338).

2.3.3 Post-event: Legacy

Although policy development is important during and prior to the event, the legacy and use of the organisational structure are also very essential components. Thus, according to Richards and Palmer (2010, p. 385) "the sustainability of the event considers not just the immediate outcomes of the event but also the ability of the event to sustain itself and its outcomes over time". The examples of ECOC 2003-Graz and ECOC 2004-Lille demonstrate the problems of shifting from a short-term event perspective to a long-term sustainability perspective (Richards and Palmer, 2010). Girginov (2012a) analyses the governance of the London 2012 legacy by using the modes of governance that Treib et al. (2007) described, which distinguishes between institutional properties (polity), actor constellations (politics), and policy instruments (policy). He concludes with the suggestion that "a meaningful sport legacy requires not top-down approaches but locally informed strategies supported by a developmental design of the Olympic Games informed by sustainable principles" (Girginov, 2012a, p. 543). Approaching from a different perspective, Smith (2013) researches on the governance and planning arrangements of London 2012 and suggests that "rather than a process driven by corporate interests and public-private partnerships, London 2012 regeneration planning is best understood as government intervention that de-risked East London for private-sector investors" (Smith, 2013, p. 1). This, therefore, could be seen to mirror the approach taken to the regeneration of the Docklands in the 1980s (Pacione, 2009).

In terms of the post-event development period, Essex and Chalkley (1998) focus on general improvements in the infrastructures and economic activities of the host cities. When considered from an infrastructural perspective, the most successful Games are the ones that

have followed a long-term development plan for the major programme of investment and renewal. Hiller (1999) on the other hand, stated that mega-events can play a significant role in urban change in the long-term, but only in the context of other changes of redevelopment and revitalisation. According to Richards and Palmer (2010, p. 78), “cities provide the space for events and in turn become shaped by those events”. Therefore successful cities tend to use the event not only for their physical upgrading, but also to sustain vibrant and social interactions in the area (Evans, 2003; Richards and Palmer, 2010).

2.4 RATIONALE: IS IT AN IMAGE DEVELOPMENT OR URBAN PHENOMENON?

The use of mega-events has been a widespread trend to promote a city, stimulate the local economy and regenerate rundown post-industrial areas and communities. Recently, pressures of globalisation, economic restructuring and new civic identities have encouraged cities to develop cultural assets to become distinctive and to create economic, social and cultural wealth and events offer the potential to attain these outcomes (Richards and Palmer, 2010). The emergence and expansion of event related academic research “reflects the transformations occurring across global society and the relationship, role and meaning of events within the process of social, cultural, political and economic development and change” (Page and Connell, 2011, p. 1). There is considerable historical literature on World's Fairs (Greenhalgh, 1988), circuses and arena spectacles, princely pageants, celebrations of political revolution, public executions and sporting mega-events (Gold and Gold, 2005). Therefore, while the research on mega-events is comparatively recent, the interest in mega-events have roots that go far back since the mass audiences and achieving different political and social objectives can be observed in mega-events such as the Great Exhibition of 1851 and Olympic Games in the late nineteenth century (Gold and Gold, 2005; Page and Connell, 2011). It is evident, however, that the rationale of mega-events has changed over time. While the early EXPOs and Garden Festivals were more focused on image development and attracting tourists, later on, the urban regeneration aspect of mega-events has become more and more important, in fact up to the point that the event became the prime regeneration agent itself when latest Olympic Games are considered.

Place marketing via new attractive land-uses and urban renewal projects for historic sites that together create symbolic value and destinations, is considered to be one of the popular strategies of new urban tourism (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Fainstein and Judd, 1999; Holcomb, 1999). Holcomb (1999) states that staging events is one of the most important place marketing strategies and hosting an Olympic Games or EXPO is a key to global recognition and consequently tourism. In the UK, National Garden Festivals had an important role in changing the image of post-industrial cities like Liverpool, Stoke and Glasgow in the 1980s. Besides changing the image of the city and giving them a new identity, the Garden Festivals brought awareness to urban land issues by large-scale land

reclamation, attracting investment, providing new services and opportunities for residents in the post-industrial cities (Theokas, 2004).

For example, several host cities aimed to attract tourism and develop a new identity by hosting EXPOs, especially during mid-twentieth century. Smith (2001) gives examples of the contribution of EXPOs to the built environment and image creation such as landmark structures like the Eiffel Tower in Paris EXPO 1889, the Atomium in Brussels EXPO 1958, convention centres in Spokane EXPO 1974, subway lines in Montreal EXPO 1967 and restoration of historic buildings in San Antonio EXPO 1968. Their industrial character was a barrier to the evolution of their tourism industry, and this stimulated cities to find more positive concepts and themes in order to attract capital and people. Besides iconic structures, developing sports infrastructure is considered as a good strategy in promoting an industrial city, which was on the road to losing its industrial power due to changing economic structures. The British cities of Sheffield, Leeds and Manchester are significant examples of sports-oriented local development strategy. Burton (2003), also, supports this by highlighting mega-sporting events such as the Olympic Games as catalysts for economic change especially in tourism, and claims that Sydney's success in tourism after the Olympics depended largely on a developed strategic plan for marketing, advertising and publicity. Page and Connell (2011, p. 2) support this approach mentioning that staging events stimulates the global interests in the host cities but "at local levels, concerns about conserving and celebrating traditions, culture and customs, and developing sustainable forms of tourism and leisure, are strong features in both developing competitive destinations and strengthening community relations." Therefore, together with mega events such as EXPO and Olympics, previously industrial cities acquired new identities geared to the needs of a globalised economy and to secure a new economic role for the locale (Short et al., 1996).

The urban dimension of mega-events has started to receive more attention after the 1990s although its history predates that (Hall, 1992). While Monclus (2011) claims that the events prior to the 1930s did not aim to leave a permanent legacy in the built environment, there are examples of mega-events in the early twentieth century where host cities addressed several urban problems through the event such as infrastructural development and legacies, for example; 1900 Paris EXPO and 1935 San Francisco EXPO. However, it is fair to say that using events as a catalyst for urban development and regeneration have become more popular only recently. While the events of the nineteenth century were more about displaying technology and trade (e.g. EXPOs), celebrating arts and culture (e.g. Garden Festivals) and establishing links between different cultures and nationalities via sport (e.g. Olympics), city authorities have started to see these events as an opportunity to initiate their regeneration plans in recent decades. Gold and Gold (2005, p. xii) also support this approach by stating "it may be an exaggeration to say that promotion of culture has become the preferred route for

regenerating ailing economies, but its importance cannot be minimised.” Therefore, regenerating the host city through culture rather than pure desire of putting on a good show has become even more popular in recent years. Regeneration benefits of mega-events, especially the Olympic Games, were mostly associated with physical infrastructure projects in the early 1930s, whereas recently, mega-events target not only interventions to physical environment but also social, environmental and economic problems are pointed as a part of sustainability and legacy plans of mega-events (Fussey et al., 2011; Pitts and Liao, 2009). Moreover, Fussey et al. (2011, p. 23) highlights that:

“Olympic-led regeneration is now associated with local and national intervention programmes and physical projects that target health, education, employment, local economic development, community cohesion, housing needs, crime reduction and environmental clean up as well as large scale physical development schemes.”

Therefore, these Olympic-led regeneration targets (Fussey et al., 2011) can be seen as a part of Getz’s sustainable events since he defines sustainable events as not only the ones that can endure indefinitely but also ones “that fulfil important social, cultural, economic and environmental roles that people value” (Getz, 1997, p. 70). This comprehensive approach to mega-events has become more visible after 2000s. Recently, hosting mega-events are claimed to bring several social benefits to the host communities. According to Ritchie (1984), mega-events offer at least two important benefits to community development. Firstly one is the reinforcement of the social fabric of the community through better quality of personal relationships derived from the extensive volunteer efforts frequently associated with the event. The second one is the possibility of reinforcing activities and behaviours that can contribute to the community culture. Smith (2012, p. 152) undertakes a more detailed analysis and lists the social policy goals that events aim to achieve as enhancing community cohesion, encouraging local involvement and civic responsibility, increasing employability, assisting education, encouraging healthier lifestyles and improving attitudes towards, and experiences of, persons with a disability.

Today, many world cities are diverse and to make people from different background is one of the biggest challenges (Sassen, 1991). Mega-events can be used to promote community cohesion by providing opportunities to encourage local involvement such as volunteering (Smith, 2012). Roche (2000, p. 38) notes that EXPOs and the Olympic Games, “together with the event movements and networks and cycles connected with them, decisively influenced and helped create a new level and form of international public culture.” Therefore, mega-events are considered as a powerful method for promoting versions of citizenship, social cohesion and cultural inclusion (Jeong, 1992; Ritchie, 1984; Roche, 2000). However, there is also considerable controversy about the extent that mega-events create a community cohesion and inclusion.

2.5 CONTROVERSY

Besides several positive dimensions of hosting mega-events, researchers have started question the other side of the coin especially since the late 1990s. It has been discussed that some important challenges related to mega-event hosting such as possible budgeting problems, environmental impacts, social dimensions or under-utilised facilities have been swept under the carpet and mega-events are always advertised with their glamorous ceremonies, competitions and iconic venues. Fussey et al. (2012, p. 16) highlight that there are usually conflicts about the actual and predicted cost of mega-events as well as the transparency of the decision-making process and the appropriateness of the risk management protocols. Economic leakage is often found to be high in the case of mega-events, due to foreign (or non-local) ownership and import of services and goods. Supporting this approach, Ingerson (2001) questions the consistency of the estimation mechanisms of positive benefits such as tourism, image change, and employment and claims that they are generally exaggerated and negative impacts such as vandalism, environmental damage, service fees, and displacements are mostly ignored. Similarly, Matheson and Baade (2004) also agree the exaggeration of benefits arising from a major sports event and give three main reasons for this exaggeration. Firstly, the use of gross as opposed to net measurement may give the impression of an increase in direct spending, however, “the gross-spending approach fails to account for decreased spending directly attributable to the event (which) represents a major theoretical and practical shortcoming” (Matheson and Baade, 2004, p. 11). Crompton (1995) reaches similar facts through the use of sales, income and employment as multipliers of economic impact of events and highlights the misuse of these multipliers in most research. Displacement and substitution effects are seldom captured, nor additionality in public spending. The second reason for the exaggeration of benefits of mega-events is the ‘crowding out’ effect, which is the displacement by event visitors with other users who would normally visit the host venues/area in the absence of the event. Finally, the ‘multiplier effect’ which is the increase in additional spending in the local/regional economy as a result of direct spending can cause exaggeration in economic impacts of mega events (Matheson and Baade, 2004). Hiller (1998) also underlines the need to make a more comprehensive analysis of mega-event impacts by broadening the analysis by including a wide range of impact from a longitudinal perspective. He discusses that hosting a mega-event does not always bring benefits to the host cities. Staging major sports events often results in the city authorities losing money even though the city itself benefits greatly in terms of additional spending in the city.

As mentioned before, few studies exist on economic risks and costs of such events in terms of the local and national budget. Cox and his colleagues (1994) discuss that low-income people are generally affected in a negative way from mega-events as they are disadvantaged by a localised boom in rent and real estate prices. Ritchie and Hall (1999)

also agree with this concern by criticising the dominance of economic impact studies that might hide such social costs of hosting mega sporting events. From a local business point of view, Raco and Tunney (2010) researched the Olympic regeneration impact on local businesses with over 200 small firms that existed on the Olympic site in East London being evicted in the summer of 2007.

Although the positive orientation of mega-events in terms of cultural inclusion is highlighted in several studies, until the post-Second World War and post-colonial periods this orientation was damaged by the 'advanced' Western nations and empires as athletes and teams from colonised 'nations' were either excluded from international competitions, or only included as representatives of the colonial power in Olympic or other international games (Roche, 2000). Today, the socio-cultural controversy around the mega-events mostly focuses on the community involvement and sense of ownership to the community. According to Ritchie (1984), if social disagreements and charges of cultural elitism are not taken into serious consideration, they may conflict with the values of residents. Similarly, Smith (2012, 2010) suggests that it is not enough for host cities to rely on the automatic effects of the events, but that event-related projects should also engage with the wider community. Moreover, mega-events tend to impose lifestyles and behaviours which alienate significant segments of the community (Getz, 1991). Therefore, instead of developing new structures, organisers of mega-events should involve the existing cultures, networks and community organisations (Getz, 1991; Ritchie, 1984).

Another important controversy around the mega-events is the under-utilised venues especially after hosting the Olympic Games. According to Gratton and Henry (2001) a bigger scale event does not necessarily have to have a bigger revenue or positive economic impact. Relating to this, Barton (2004) discusses the importance of the opportunity cost rather than direct cost, since the opportunity cost would be higher if the Olympic Games generates 'white elephants' (under-used Olympic facilities in the post-Games period) with little lasting value to the economy or community. For example, although 1992 Barcelona Games is accepted as a success story since the city used the Olympic project as a tool of long-term urban planning, and make a positive transfer of the sports and other venues to everyday, community use (Monclus, 2011), they also have experienced facility under-use problems to a certain degree, as the diving and baseball facilities had to be torn down after the Olympics, the main stadium is seldom occupied, and the 1992 Games made only \$3 million from \$10 billion invested (Coaffee and Johnston, 2007). Likewise, Athens 2004 is the most significant example of 'white elephants' since Smith (2012, p. 71) also defines it as "perhaps the worst contemporary example of venues legacy planning". Similarly, Gold (2011) mentions the extensive press coverage taking Athens 2004 as an example of how not to plan the Games, with abandoned facilities and derelict open spaces in the Olympic Park area. However, she also highlights the intangible success of Athens 2004 with an

outstanding Opening Ceremony along with other cultural activities and tangible legacy of transport infrastructure (Gold, 2011).

2.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter reviews the current literature on mega-events by defining them in relation to their scale and duration, organisational complexity and involvement of various agents and contributed to understanding the mega-event phenomenon, its changing rationale over time and the controversies around it. This addresses **RQ 1: *What is the rationale for hosting mega-events and regenerating areas/cities that surrounds them?***. Considering all dimensions, mega-events are normally one-off, high profile festivals, sports competitions or trade fairs held for a limited time in which the built environment has global and symbolic significance and attracts national and international interest - investors, media, tourists. Hosting mega-events, thus, engages diverse interests “ranging from the commercial, with their concern to maximise profit, to the governmental, with their concern for political, social and economic benefits” (Malfas et al., 2004, p. 217).

Although having different origins and aims, mega-events involve similar phases. Especially in recent decades, the bidding process has become almost as important as hosting the event as a result of the significant amount of money and effort spent on it. Besides the importance of managing the event itself, it is important to turn the bidding process into an opportunity even if the city could not manage to host the event. Bidding for mega-events offers cities promotional benefits as well as helping to assist urban regeneration benefits such as networks between stakeholders, discussions on the city development, production of related plans, new facilities that are built anyway and more chances to host in event in the future using the experience (Smith, 2012). Similarly, the legacy period has gained attention after failures in the after use of event-venues or disadvantaged communities. It is evident that the rationale of events has also changed throughout time. The urban dimension of mega-events has started to receive more attention from organisers and researchers. While early events left some iconic structures and infrastructure after staging the event, recently mega-events have turned into the regeneration itself.

Host cities have started to place high expectations on hosting mega-events. Although increased economic development, tourism, social inclusion, job creation and improved infrastructure have been witnessed in some examples; several researchers also highlight under-used venues, high inflation, expensive housing and displacements. These dimensions are all inter-related and hard to evaluate separately. Therefore, ensuring political sustainability of the event programme is important, because without the necessary political support, event programmes and strategies are unlikely to be sustainable in the longer term. The research in the field stresses that ideally and in order to approach sustainable

development objectives, an event should be conceived as a part of a dynamic, long-term process of cultural, social and economic development. Hence, the next chapter focuses on the urban regeneration dimension of mega-events which approaches the concept not only from a physical changes perspective, but also economic, social and environmental dimensions and how it differs from other types of urban regeneration along with the evolution of event-led regeneration, especially in the UK.

CHAPTER 3 EVENT-LED REGENERATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Mega-events are hosted for several reasons, from securing economic benefits, to strengthening political power. The previous chapter provided the foundation of mega-events along with their changing rationale and the controversy around them in the literature. It has been evident that the urban dimension of mega-events has gained more attention from both the organisers and researchers, which led to increasing criticism around them. The relationship between mega-events and urban regeneration is referred to as 'event-led regeneration' in this research. This chapter explores the nature of event-led regeneration and its evolution.

The first part of the chapter defines event-led regeneration and its importance in urban policy through analysing different types of regeneration models. The models that are explained in detail are retail-led, housing-led, design-led and culture-led regeneration. While event-led regeneration involves several aspects of these different models throughout the process, it differs significantly in terms of organisation structure, time span and the overall social, economic and physical impacts. Therefore, the second part of this chapter aims to understand the changes in event-led regeneration policies over time and the way these changes relate to the urban policies of the period in question. Five periods are discussed in chronological order: the reconstruction period (1950-60s), the renewal era (1970s), the era of entrepreneurial policies and strategies (1980s), economic development and competitiveness (1990s); and finally, legacy and sustainability focused strategies (2000s).

3.2 MODELS OF URBAN REGENERATION

Urban regeneration has become a major element of urban policy since the late 1970s. Since urban areas are complex and dynamic systems, they reflect processes that "drive physical, social, environmental and economic transitions and they themselves are the prime generators of many such changes" (Roberts and Sykes, 2000, p. 9). Therefore, one of the key aims of urban regeneration can be interpreted as providing better living conditions for declining communities and neighbourhoods. According to Hall (2006), urban regeneration is a series of interventions towards urban decline which tries to support vulnerable communities through the redistribution of resources, or improve the life quality of those in need by promoting growth and development. Consequently, this research adopts Roberts and Sykes' (2000, p. 17) definition of urban regeneration which is "a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks

to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change”.

Among different types of urban regeneration models such as retail-led, housing-led, design-led and culture-led regeneration; event-led regeneration has a greater economic, tourism, physical and socio-cultural impact and meaning (e.g. self image, identity) for host cities when compared to their relatively short duration (Ritchie, 1984). Event-led regeneration projects can embrace retail, property, housing and design related policies under one scheme and substitute the delivery tools of each at different time periods. Therefore, it is important to understand different urban regeneration models that have influence on event-led regeneration, and vice versa.

3.2.1 Retail-led Regeneration

Retail-led regeneration has been a dominant model since the 1980s and acknowledged as an essential way of rejuvenating communities by supplying jobs, promoting economic growth, creating attractive places and most importantly it is an important place-making tool in wider urban regeneration (Claxton and Siora, 2009). Therefore, it is evident that event-led regeneration projects include some strategies inspired from retail-led regeneration.

Globally, the retailing sector has become a key employment source as traditional manufacturing has declined since the 1970s. The retail sector offers employment opportunities (skilled, semi- and unskilled entry-level jobs) for different socio-economic groups and therefore, is seen to promote social inclusion. However, there have been several criticisms about the quality of the jobs provided by the retail sector (Sims et al., 2005). In the *Retail-led Regeneration: Why It Matters to Our Communities Report*, Claxton and Siora (2009) mention that retail was the third largest service sector employer in the UK with around 3 million people in full-time and 1.75 million in part-time employment in 2007. The link between retailing and local economic regeneration is not new, since retail-led regeneration in the UK goes back to the 1950s and also to new town/garden suburb developments (e.g. Welwyn Garden City). The concept of planned shopping centres in the UK gets its origins from North America in the 1950s (Lowe, 2005). Retail development in the UK took on the American concept with a significant difference, which is that shopping malls in the UK were used as “a vehicle for enlarging and modernising central area shopping” (Guy, 1994, p. 181) whereas in the US, most of new shopping centres were developed as free-standing suburban facilities. In the 1960s and 1970s, many towns and cities in the UK had shopping malls within the central area such as the Arndale Centre in Manchester (1976), Eldon Square in Newcastle (1976) and the Bull Ring in Birmingham (1964) (Lowe, 2005). In the 1980s, growing consumer expenditure and a property boom saw many proposals for new regional and ‘out of town’ shopping centres started to threaten the established major town centres in many Western European Countries (Guy, 1994). Therefore, city centres started to

adopt a combination of new policies on retail development. In addition to place marketing and image transformation policies, retail-led regeneration strategies were also planned to attract investment back to city centres.

Central government in the UK introduced the Enterprise Zones (EZs) (see 3.4.3 for detail) to regenerate deprived area by using retail and attracting investment. The EZ policy of central government in the 1980s “encouraged commercial activity by the removal of certain tax burdens and relaxation or speeding up of the application of certain statutory or administrative controls” (Lowe, 2005, p. 490). This led to development of a number of retail centres on brownfield (previously developed) land such as the Merry Hill regional centre in the West Midlands (Lowe, 1998, 1993), the Swansea enterprise zone (Thomas and Bromley, 1987) and West Quay Shopping Centre in Southampton (Lowe, 2005), Bluewater Shopping Centre in Kent (Chaplin, 1998), and most recently the Westfield Shopping Centre in Stratford, London. Moreover, many of the Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) (see 3.4.3 for detail) found it practical to use retail development as a trigger for urban regeneration. From the 1990s, the links between retailing and urban regeneration became more evident. Retail planning regulation was however progressively tightened. For example, revised Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) Note 6 *Town Centres and Retail Developments* and PPG13 Transport, prioritised the vitality and viability of town centres (Lowe, 2005, p. 450). Especially after 2000, the main retailers started to promote the regenerative effect of superstores in off-centre locations such as declining shopping areas and deprived neighbourhoods. The stores proceeded as a “catalyst for other forms of investment and regeneration” (Tallon, 2010, p. 185).

In his Cardiff case studies of retail-led regeneration, Guy (2008) showed how retail-led regeneration has kick-started regeneration and created increased confidence. Also, Claxton and Siora (2009) focused on a detailed review of five retail-led developments in England which are: Byron Place and Dalton Park in East Durham, Glasgow Fort, The Centre, Feltham in Hounslow in London, and the Bullring, Mailbox and Castle Vale in Birmingham. The results from the five case studies point out that retail-led regeneration is contributing significantly and distinctively to improving communities, where the main impacts can be summarised as accessibility to jobs and training for local people, living in neighbourhoods; better quality of life; improved pride of place; accessibility; connectivity; better integration and cohesion; cleaner and safer environment; opportunity for supporting SME's and local business. On the other hand, some researchers criticise retail-led regeneration and the increase of superstores in terms of local physical and environmental impacts and force out smaller, independent shops. Sims and his colleagues (2005) argue that towns have become 'clones' since most of them replaced the distinctiveness of their high street shops by monotonous global and national chains. Real local shops have been replaced by chain stores that make high streets all over the country almost the same as one another. In *Clone*

Town Britain, researchers noted that many UK town centres that have undergone extensive regeneration have lost their sense of place and the distinctive facades of their high streets since “retail spaces once filled with a thriving mix of independent butchers, newsagents, tobacconists, pubs, bookshops, greengrocers and family-owned general stores are becoming filled with faceless supermarket retailers, fast-food chains, and global fashion outlets” (Sims et al., 2005, p. 1). It is evident that although retail-led regeneration helps to regenerate the derelict areas by bringing investment, there is always the risk of losing the uniqueness of the area with this kind of regeneration.

3.2.2 Housing-led Regeneration

Housing market renewal is one of the most popular drivers of recent urban regeneration policies all over the world and event-led regeneration projects often involve housing projects targeting both locals and new residents.

Since the late twentieth century, urban regeneration policies have been developed to repopulate and revitalise city centres (Tallon, 2010). The population loss in city centres becomes the main focus of several housing regeneration policies in the inner cities. In the UK, central government officially recognized the existence of an inner city problem in the late-1960s (Cameron, 1992). Most of the back-to-centre policies include increasing retail and service functions as well as encouraging more people to live in city centres. In the 1990s, there has been a reversal trend towards city centres and away from out of town shopping development (Cameron, 1992; Tallon, 2010). However, government policies had shifted as the role of private sector and the importance of commercial use in the centre increased, whereas the role of public sector, especially local authorities which deal with the economic and social problems of inner city residents has lost much of its power (Cameron, 1992, p. 3). Couch (1997, p. 1) states that “much of this urban housing development will take place on so-called brownfield sites across urban areas but there is scope for a proportion to be accommodated within the heart of the urban area: the town or city centre”. In this scenario, professionals tended to move to the city centres because of their proximity to offices, cultural and entertainment facilities. This type of high density urban living is first introduced by Le Corbusier (1929) as the compact city model. The compact model proposed high density, mixed use model, which reduces travel distances and offers an energy efficient type of urban development. This is later reintroduced by Roger’s (1997) sustainable city discussion where he mentions the importance of compact and polycentric communities to sustainable community goals.

The increase of housing supply within city centre areas is also supported by the environmental movement. In terms of urban planning, Agenda 21 policy aims at more sustainable development within urban areas and seeks to maintain and improve town centres (Couch, 1997) since urban sprawl is not sustainable in terms of extending

infrastructure, transport links and harming the environment. Starting from the mid-1990s, all these housing development policies (Table 3.1) led to an increase in several UK city centre populations. Since 1997, the proportion of housing built on previously-developed urban areas has increased by 24 % from 56% to 80%, while the proportion of previously-developed land changing to residential use has increased by 22%, from 47% to 69% (DCLG, 2010).

Table 3.1: City Centre Housing Development Policies of the Government between mid-1990s and the late 2000s

DoE (1994) Planning Policy Guidance 13: Transport
DoE (1994) Planning Out Crime
DoE (1995) Projection of Households in England to 2016
DoE (1995) Our Future Homes: Opportunity, Choice and Responsibility- The Government's Housing Policies for England and Wales
DoE (1996) Planning Policy Guidance 6: Town Centres and Retail Development
DoE (1996) Household Growth: Where Shall We Live?
DoE (1997) Planning Policy Guidance 1: General Policy and Principles
DETR (1998) A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone
DETR (2000) Our Towns and Cities; The Future – Delivering and Urban Renaissance
DETR (2000) The State of English Cities
DETR (2000) Planning Policy Guidance 3: Housing
DETR (2000) Living in Urban England: Attitudes and Aspirations
DETR (2001) Planning Policy Guidance 13: Transport
ODPM (2003) Sustainable Communities; Building for the Future
ODPM (2005) Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development
ODPM (2005) Planning Policy Statement 6 (PPS6): Planning for Town Centres
ODPM (2005) Housing Land Availability Assessments: Identifying Appropriate Land for Housing Development- Draft Practice Guidance
ODPM (2006) State of the English Cities
CLG (2006) Planning Policy Statement 3 (PPS3): Housing
CLG (2007) Homes for the Future: More Affordable, More Sustainable

Source: Tallon (2013, p. 208)

In order to promote city centre activity, policies such as mixed-use developments and 'living over the shop' (LOTS) strategies were adopted (Bromley et al., 2005; Evans, 1997). The Urban Task Force (1999) and the Urban White Paper (DCLG, 2000) synthesised these ideas into a vision of an 'urban renaissance' which aims to make cities attractive to live and work in (Bromley et al., 2005). This vision was sometimes connected with gentrification justified on the grounds of regeneration (Lees, 2008, 2003). Pacione (2005, p. 212) defines gentrification thus:

“a process of socio-spatial change where the rehabilitation of residential property in a working-class neighbourhood by relatively affluent incomers leads to the displacement

of former residents unable to afford the increased cost of housing that accompany regeneration.” (Pacione, 2005, p. 212)

Pacione (2005, pp. 213–214) focuses on two theories of gentrification: (1) *consumption side*: where neighbourhood change is accounted for in terms of who moves in and out; and (2) *production-side*: where the role of state is highlighted in encouraging gentrification and the significance of financial institutions in selectively providing the capital for rehabilitation. In the UK, gentrification was related to the rehabilitation of older inner housing areas, especially in London, resulting in a class transformation (from working-class to middle-class), and tenure (from private renting to owner-occupation) (Hamnett, 1984).

Gentrification is “a multi-faceted and heterogeneous process” (Tallon, 2010, p. 201) which embraces physical, economic, social and cultural transformations (Hamnett, 1984; Warde, 1991). For example, although the regeneration of London Docklands¹ was successful in terms of the physical regeneration of a former industrial landscape, it received criticisms about neglecting the poor since the project failed to provide much affordable housing to lower-income people who had formerly lived in the area (Brownill, 1999; Foster, 1999). The Maritime Quarter in Swansea is also an example of central city regeneration that has effectively made the transition from industrial to post-industrial uses and finally, develops a successful urban regeneration and image transformation of the city. In the Maritime Quarter, significant social housing was initially developed with major public sector investment making the Swansea Maritime Quarter a more positive and inclusive example of a dockland redevelopment (Tallon et al., 2005). Nevertheless, Maritime Quarter regeneration had some negative dimensions of change such as the disappearance or displacement of traditional employment. This redevelopment established a new built environment for higher social status households in an area of traditionally low cost housing and created polarisation (Robinson and Williams, 1990; Tallon et al., 2005). Similar criticisms were made of the docklands redevelopment in Bristol (Punter, 1992; Smith, 2012) and the Cardiff Bay redevelopment (Rowley, 1994). Event-led regeneration projects face similar challenges since the new housing areas developed as a part of events and the housing of locals have the risk of creating a gentrified neighbourhood. Therefore, it is suggested that the stakeholders should develop policies that would help the convergence of the communities of event-led regeneration (Host Borough Unit, 2009)

3.2.3 Design-led Regeneration

Urban design has a significant role in urban policy making and local economic development since it helps to build image making, re-branding and place marketing of cities. Design-led urban regeneration is mainly connected with urban planning and architecture as “flagship buildings, high quality residential and commercial developments, squares, fountains, boulevards, street furniture, lighting and landscaping make up the tool-kit of this particular

¹ For more information on London Docklands regeneration, see Section 6.2.1

brand of design-led urban regeneration” (Bell and Jayne, 2003, p. 124). These physical improvements go hand-in-hand with place promotion and marketing strategies in order to stimulate local economic development through attracting mobile post-industrial employers, middle-class citizens and tourists (Florida, 2002). Event-led regeneration usually adopts several design aspects such as flagship structures, squares and open spaces and aims to integrate these into local structures.

Bell and Jayne (2003, pp. 124–125) describe three types of design-led interventions which contribute to urban regeneration schemes in economic, social or cultural ways. The first group stresses the importance of design features in the planning process in order to contribute to crime prevention, improve community interaction and develop sociability in relation to housing, public space and transport. Therefore, design-led urban regeneration is highly related with social regeneration, social exclusion and environmental sustainability (Jeffery, 1971; Newman, 1973) as well as their local economic benefits if local creative businesses and manufacturers are encouraged. The second group of design-led urban regeneration interventions relates to the creative industries. Projects and initiatives including creative industries or design-orientated economic development services are most often started by local authorities to create a local economy characterised by innovation, creativity and flexibility (Bell and Jayne, 2003). Finally, the third group makes a connection with the work of creative design and businesses including manufacturing, engineering, advanced technology and other industries to encourage design-led production. Design innovation is a part of many traditional manufacturing processes though “the ability of such businesses to be competitive and sustainable can depend on their ability to innovate through design practice and innovative process” (Bell and Jayne, 2003, p. 125). As an example London, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Nottingham, Cardiff and Bristol have adopted regeneration strategies that promote creative industries and area-based clusters. As a result of these strategies, city centres become the symbolic and economic focus of revitalizing city-regions with creative industries clustering in post-industrial quarters (Florida, 2002).

In the UK, design-led urban regeneration has come to the fore with the New Labour government publication *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999) and many UK cities started to develop policy initiatives to promote urban design quality. The Urban Task Force report criticised most of the agencies tasked with delivering the urban renaissance (such as the RDAs, UDCs, Urban Regeneration Companies and English Partnerships) for being too focused on site delivery, whereas they should put the quality of design of the built environment at the heart of their mission (Urban Task Force, 1999). From 1999 onwards, British cities such as Manchester (Quilley, 2000; Williams, 2003), Birmingham (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Loftman and Nevin, 1996) and Glasgow (Garcia, 2005; MacLeod, 2002) adopted design-led re-imaging strategies and sought a competitive

position among other British and European cities in terms of governance, social inclusion and environmental quality.

The urban design strategies in Barcelona have also inspired many cities which are seeking to adopt design-led regeneration. Julier (2005, p. 880) explains the “Barcelona paradigm” as the best model to assess design-led urban regeneration strategies which assembled “both internal and external cultural, political, social and economic forces in the production of design-led regeneration and urban identity”. In Barcelona, there were momentums of development such as hosting the 1992 Olympic Games, flagship buildings of internationally renowned architects such as Arata Isozaki and Norman Foster and promotion of the city’s architectural heritage of Gaudi, Domenech and Cadafalch. Moreover, enhancements in public transport and redevelopment of the seafront helped economic and social regeneration of the city (Julier, 2000). According to Julier (2005, p. 875) the “Barcelona effect” occurs with “the interaction of several layers of design activity and consumption” and they were related by “both formal and informal networks that course between governmental policy-making, design promotional institutions, associations, civil society and the industrial and retail infrastructure for design”.

In the UK, Glasgow has developed infrastructure and policy relevant to the ‘culture of design’ (Julier, 2000) which can be linked to the Barcelona model. The Glasgow Collection gathers the best in design as a way of marketing the city’s creative talent and design products and Creative Scotland is a support agency for the creative industries which also has a powerful design consciousness. On the other hand, design-led urban regeneration schemes in other cities have not been successful in promoting synergies between the design culture realms such as the Northern Quarter in Manchester and the Rope Walks area of Liverpool since these projects were more architectural focused and did not integrate with the cultural characteristics of these cities (Tallon, 2013). The Leeds Architecture and Design Initiative focused on only architectural design whilst Design Yorkshire has produced a regional design strategy based on comprehensive empirical research into design production and clustering (Julier, 2005).

Bell and Jayne (2003, p. 127) state that design-led production and consumption cultures build up a regional culture of creativity and improve the image of the city in global place marketing context. They emphasise the importance of flagship buildings, local economic development agencies and business support in design-led projects. Similarly, Julier (2005, p. 874) defines the term “urban designscapes” which is “a conceptual model for looking at how public and private consumption are connected within the framework of design-led regeneration, how the actor networks of agglomerations produce aesthetic consent and what kind of aesthetic consent this might be”. Therefore, design-led urban regeneration must

include successful elements in all related fields of the economic, social and cultural life of urban areas with collaboration of all related actors in order to be comprehensive.

3.2.4 Culture-led Regeneration

Since the late-1990s, policies in the UK have sought to locate 'culture at the heart of regeneration' (DCMS, 2004) and to measure their effect in social as well as economic terms (Evans, 2005). Culture in various forms now appears as a major component of regeneration (Evans, 2005) in both economic and symbolic ways: from revitalizing decaying centres with iconic buildings, to bringing communities together around cultural events.

The role of culture in regeneration (DCMS, 2004; Evans, 2005) has required both policy and evaluation models and different approaches to development planning. In particular, an approach that has been coined 'cultural planning' (Evans, 2005; Ghilardi, 2004; Landry, 2000; Mercer, 2006) "a process of inclusive community consultation and decision-making that helps local government identify cultural resources and think strategically about how these resources can help a community to achieve its civic goals. It is also a strategic approach that directly and indirectly integrates the community's cultural resources into a wide range of local government planning activities" (Evans and Foord, 2008). It has been argued for example; that considering mega-events as part of a cultural planning process leads to more sustainable communities, outcomes and urban forms (Getz, 2009). Cultural interventions and culture-led regeneration, it is claimed, can better promote distinctiveness and diversity and protect the vernacular in ways that 'culture-less' regeneration cannot.

Evans defines three models through which cultural activity is included in the regeneration process (2005, pp. 968–970). *Culture-led regeneration* is when cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration such as flagship developments. As a result of de-industrialisation, cheap terrace housing and different uses of vacant warehousing around city centres has started to increase (Tallon, 2010). These areas often seek to create a "Guggenheim effect" to brand their cities. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain opened in 1997 as a new cultural flagship. There has been a sharp rise in the number of tourists since 1997 which can be attributed to the number of visitors to the museum (Evans, 2003; Plaza, 2006). This flagship, iconic development had further effects on city centre regeneration. Overall, it created a community with changing living patterns. There are other examples of cultural flagships that dominate the external image and landscape, such as the Lowry, Salford, and Baltic/Sage Gateshead, UK (Evans, 2005). In the *cultural regeneration* model, cultural activity is more integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere such as Barcelona's urban design, cultural planning and creative quarter approach. Finally, the *culture and regeneration* model is the most observed one when cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning because the responsibilities for cultural provision and regeneration lie in

different departments and examples include small interventions such as a public art programme for office development or heritage interpretation and small scale events and festivals. Event-led regeneration projects usually aim to follow a *cultural regeneration* model as a part of its strategy where culture is integrated in other activities however there are some cases where it ended up with the *culture and regeneration* model. It is fair to say that 'culture' is usually missing in most of the mega-events or comes as an 'add-on' rather than an integrative approach. Recently, organisers discuss Olympics as more than sport by including culture and education programmes with wider benefits like the Cultural Olympiad that aimed to achieve a more integrative model, e.g. London 2012 Cultural Olympiad (Garcia, 2008). Therefore, in order to have sustainable development and communities through mega-events, it is suggested that culture should be embedded in the process (DCMS, 2004; Garcia, 2005).

3.3 WHY EVENT-LED REGENERATION?

Considering all these different models of regeneration, event-led regeneration is probably the most complex one in terms of organisation structure and time pressure. Regeneration has been generally defined as the transformation of a place that has showed signs of environmental, social and economic decline in the UK. Urban regeneration thus aims to attract people, improve the economic competitiveness and accordingly make the place better off (Tallon, 2010). If all these three elements work in balance, the locality can secure long term and sustainable development.

Event-led regeneration includes aspects of different regeneration interventions since most mega-events include retail facilities in and around the venues or a retail zone in the event area (e.g. Westfield Shopping Centre in London 2012 Olympic Park area); new housing in/near the event site (e.g. new housing near the fairground of Hannover EXPO 2000); improvement in urban design and legacy flagship structures (e.g. Eiffel Tower in Paris EXPO 1889); increasing cultural planning strategies in/around the event site (e.g. creative quarter of Barcelona after 1992 Olympic Games).

Using events to promote urban development has a long history. Especially after the 1992 Barcelona Games, which is accepted as an exemplar, mega-events had started to be even more associated with their impact and legacy on the urban environment. Researchers use several terms to relate urban regeneration with events such as "event regeneration" (Smith, 2012), "event-themed regeneration" (Smith and Fox, 2007), "event-driven regeneration" (Garcia, 2005), "event-led regeneration" (Evans, 2011) or having events as a part of "culture-led regeneration" (Evans, 2005; Paddison and Miles, 2007). There are slight differences in the context of what they address, but all of these terms are an attempt to relate urban regeneration with events. Smith (2012) uses the term "event regeneration" to cover both event-led regeneration which addresses regeneration directly related to the event (new

venues, upgraded venues) and event-themed regeneration which levers wider effects (parallel physical regeneration, social regeneration). On the other hand, Garcia (2005) addresses the economic, social and cultural dimensions of urban regeneration when mentioning “event-driven regeneration”. This research uses the term “event-led regeneration” to link the urban regeneration and physical, social, economic and governance dimensions of mega-events.

3.4 EVOLUTION OF EVENT-LED REGENERATION STRATEGIES

The importance of mega-events in city regeneration has gained increasing attention since the 1990s. According to Harvey (1989), when some events are used as a tool for urban regeneration, they give the host city the opportunity to produce a new and entrepreneurial image, internally and to external audiences. One way of analysing event-led regeneration is to understand the changing strategies and policies over time (Table 3.2). Therefore, in the following sections events and regeneration are analysed through the shifts in urban policy in five chronological periods: the reconstruction period (1950-60s), the renewal era (1970s), the era of entrepreneurial policies and strategies (1980s), economic development and competitiveness (1990s); and finally, legacy and sustainability focused strategies (2000s).

Table 3.2: The evolution event-led urban regeneration strategies

Period Policy Type	50-60s Reconstruction	1970s Renewal	1980s Entrepreneurialism	1990s Competitiveness	2000s Legacy and Sustainability
Example events	Tokyo 1964 Olympics	Osaka 1970 EXPO	Liverpool 1984 Garden Festival	Glasgow 1990 European City of Culture	South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup
Main Strategy	Events as agents of reconstruction	Creating an enduring symbol for the city, distinctive urban quarters	Flagship projects and out of town events	Move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice	Event policies integrating social, economic, physical initiatives
Key actors	Mainly delivered by central governments	Emphasis on central government and public sector	Private finance and sponsorship starts to gain importance, growth of partnership, UDCs	Increasing role of private sector	Local authorities gain importance, partnership the dominant approach (public-private-voluntary/community)
Economic emphasis	Growing influence of private investment	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment	Public sector dominant	Greater balance between public and private	Public and private funding
Social emphasis	Social aspects not much considered	Community pride, no involvement of communities	No involvement of communities	Emphasis on deprived communities	Sustainable communities focus but not enough public participation
Physical emphasis	Development of existing areas and use of existing venues, improving infrastructure	Regenerating derelict land	Using derelict land, improving the built environment as well as flagship schemes	More modest than 1980s; heritage and regeneration	Big scale regeneration projects; culture and design-led regeneration
Environmental emphasis	No substantial environmental emphasis	Limited environmental improvements	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment	Introduction of environmental sustainability	Environmental sustainability is a core concept

Source: Derived from Roberts and Sykes (2000), Tallon (2013), Pacione (2009), Smith (2012)

3.4.1 Reconstruction Era

Prior to World War II, the urban-related strategies of mega-events focused on urban development and the expansion of cities starting with Paris World EXPOs in 1889 and 1900 and the cultural legacies in parts of Kensington arising from the 1851 Great Exhibition in London since many objects in the Exhibition were used as the first collection for the South Kensington Museum which opened in 1857 and later became the Victoria and Albert Museum (Smith, 2012). Therefore, the events of the pre-war period were mainly urban development, rather than regeneration based (Gold and Gold, 2005). 1908 London Games led to purpose-built facilities and transport infrastructure for the first time in the Modern Games (Essex and Chalkley, 1998). Later on, the 1932 Los Angeles Games was considered as a catalyst for the reconstruction of Los Angeles with real-estate development projects, and these Olympics left several legacies of infrastructure across the State of California (Dyreson and Llewellyn, 2008).

During the 1950s, UK policies were more focused on reconstruction to recover from the post-war damage. The central government with the Ministry of Town and Country Planning took the main responsibility to offer guidance for local authorities by redevelopment plans. Driven by detailed guidance, the renewal of post-war developments ended up being standardised and unoriginal (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). This era was also the start of suburban growth beyond the green belt. In the 1960s, it was clear that post-war urban policy and Britain's national welfare system was a failure (Lawless, 1989). The government policies were not successful in coping with housing, population and unemployment pressures, therefore a series of adjustments had been made to the policy. The 'discovery' of the inner city increased the emphasis on generating an urban policy-led coordination between economic, social and physical policies, which were operated separately before (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). All these difficulties influenced the policies of the 1948 London Olympics since organisers preferred to modify and use existing facilities instead of going for a stunning spectacle (Gold and Gold, 2011).

However, the Olympic areas of Rome 1960 contributed significantly to the sporting and cultural life of the city and developments including "new roads and bridges built to connect the Village to the main Olympic sites, modernization of the airport, improvement of the telephone, telegraph and radio networks, and initiatives to expand hotel accommodation" (Gold and Gold, 2011, p. 37). Similarly, Tokyo used existing facilities to stage the 1964 Olympic Games and invested in developing city infrastructure, merging the Olympics into a 10 year development plan for the city (Gold and Gold, 2011; Smith, 2012). On the other hand, 1968 Mexico Games, the first Games staged in a developing country, is mostly remembered for the political unrest and boycotts which had a negative impact on the city's provision for the poor in the long-term (Lenskyj, 2000).

3.4.2 Renewal Era

Event-led regeneration strategies of the 1970s brought attention to the design and quality of life in the host cities. Both Munich 1972 and Montreal 1976 Games spent significant money on iconic facilities and distinctive urban quarters (Gold and Gold, 2011). The architecture of the 1972 Olympic Games represented “informality, democracy, humanity and quality of life” (Smith, 2012, p. 51). The Munich Games chose to address the Games development in line with the city’s broader planning goals; to restore the historic centre, improve the transport and extend retail and hotel infrastructure (Essex and Chalkley, 1998). In terms of EXPO experiences, Osaka 1970 EXPO received the highest profit (\$146 million) and the number of visitors (64.2 million) up to that date among other international expositions and left a natural culture park after the showground cleared (Gold and Gold, 2005). The events of 1970s eventually encouraged urban improvements in host cities and brought a significant boost.

During this era, UK cities had not been engaged in events to a great extent, but the changes in urban policies influenced event strategies in later years. The 1976 White Paper on urban policy focused upon the inner cities whereas the 1977 White Paper adopted a broader approach and considered the functional boundaries of cities and their linkages (Parkinson, 2001). The Partnership Programme had been set up in the 1977 White Paper and seven declining urban areas were targeted in the first place: the London Docklands, Hackney-Islington, Lambeth, Newcastle-Gateshead, Manchester-Salford, Liverpool and Birmingham. The partnerships increased the role of the private sector and led to the decentralisation of government by getting private sector involved in funding and decision-making. The partnerships became more visible in the 1980s and 1990s.

3.4.3 Entrepreneurial Era

De-industrialisation, the urban-rural shift and an increasing north-south divide were the key factors that triggered urban regeneration in 1980s. The Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher (New Right) which was active from 1979 to 1990 identified the main problems in urban policy as “too much state intervention and public spending; individual and group dependency on the state; and restriction of the free market” (Tallon, 2013, p. 42). Therefore, 1980s urban regeneration policies invited the private sector to take a bigger role, introducing free-market economy and encouraging public-private partnerships or growth coalitions (Harding, 1991). Top-down neo-liberal regeneration was the dominant approach which is characterised by “the rolling back of the state and rise of market-led regeneration, public-private partnerships, privatisation, deregulation, liberalisation, centralisation and property-led regeneration” (Tallon, 2013, p. 43). Many cities found an alternative in focusing on service industries such as retail, and tourism and mega-events were highlighted as “ways of redeveloping places as sites of consumption and symbolising the shift to a post-industrial

future” (Smith, 2012, p. 52). Therefore, different scale events and physical changes had been used by city authorities to attract investment and tourists in the post-industrial era.

In the UK, the National Garden Festivals staged in Liverpool, Stoke and Glasgow in the 1980s were the major post-industrial event strategy. These festivals aimed to improve the image of the host cities and their impact on physical regeneration has been limited (Smith, 2012; Theokas, 2004). While a consensus on the need for flagship events and interventions seems evident, the form of specific initiatives and mechanisms adopted to facilitate such developments has varied significantly (Bianchini et al., 1992). In London and Liverpool, Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) have led this approach, while in Glasgow the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) has delivered a similar role. Therefore, both Liverpool 1984 and Glasgow 1988 National Garden Festivals were coordinated by the responsible UDC and SDA in the area respectively.

UDCs encouraged partnerships between the government and other agencies as well as local people. Partnerships to deliver regeneration projects and events had become a popular strategy by the 1980s. Growth coalitions are formed by public-private partnerships which have mutual interests for enhancing economic development strategies in cities, Logan and Molotch (1987) name these networks as ‘growth machines’ and define the coalition of local growth elites as the activists who dominate urban policy. Although the UK has a more centralised political and planning system compared to the USA, the New Right Conservative government encouraged private sector involvement in local economic planning and increased the power of business interest in urban development (Harding, 1991). Similarly, governance of mega-events can involve growth coalitions that have an interest in investing in property development of the host city. Smith (2012, p. 225) defines the relationship between the mega-events and growth coalitions as “reciprocal” since growth coalitions can help the cities to win and stage the event and events can support and strengthen the growth coalitions.

In the UK, the reorientation of urban policy by the New Right Conservative Government resulted in the shift ‘from managerial to entrepreneurial governance’ (Harvey, 1989). The private sector had greater emphasis in the partnerships and commercial style of urban redevelopment was dominant (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). Pacione (2005, p. 178) stresses “the Keynesian commitment to the macro-economic goal of full employment was replaced by the objective of controlling inflation by means of restrictive monetary measures, and supply-side-flexibilisation”. Therefore, Thatcherism aimed to open up the UK economy to international competition and shift to more flexible, high-tech industries. This new perspective led to several new government initiatives introduced by the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act which had significant impact on event-led regeneration projects later on, especially the London 2012 Olympics. Two of the most important urban

policies related to event-led regeneration during 1980s were Enterprise Zones and Urban Development Corporations (UDCs).

Enterprise Zones (EZs): EZ policy was introduced in 1981 within large inner city urban areas experiencing declining manufacturing economies. EZs were one of the Thatcher government's inner-city urban policies, which aimed to remove state regulations on private capital investment and entrepreneurial activity (Pacione, 2005) e.g. developments in the Royal Docks. Firms within EZs had several financial and administrative advantages, "including freedom from local taxes for a ten-year period (the local authorities being compensated by the Treasury), tax allowances for capital expenditure on buildings and a simplified planning regime that granted automatic permission for approved types of development" (Pacione, 2009, p. 332).

By providing these special incentives, the Thatcher government expected two main positive outcomes: increase in employment and regeneration of deprived areas (Tallon, 2013, p. 49). However, the success of EZ policy had been subject to discussion and researchers recognised both positive and negative aspects (Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Healey and Ilbery, 1990; Pacione, 2009; Sissons and Brown, 2011; Tallon, 2013). Although, the EZs created new jobs, regenerated derelict land and attracted investment, the efficiency of multiplier effects had been less than anticipated (Pacione, 2009). Sissons and Brown (2011) mention in the *Do Enterprise Zones Work?* policy paper that of the 63,000 jobs created in EZs, only 13,000 were estimated to be new jobs, which mean 80% of these jobs were displaced from other areas and the investment would have happened anyway without the EZs incentives. Moreover, EZs failed to diversify the economy but simply attracted the existing or mismatching enterprises of the regions such as mainly service sector jobs were created in Swansea and Manchester which did not match the lost in manufacturing (Healey and Ilbery, 1990; Tallon, 2013). Finally, EZs did not create the anticipated employment since they were providing part-time, low-skilled, low wage employment and their impact had been relatively small compared to the national unemployment levels, especially during the 1980s (Tallon, 2013).

These negative effects led the government to withdraw the EZs in 1987 except for special circumstances. The Thatcher era of urban regeneration strategies reduced the power of local authorities and increased central-local government conflict by introducing the EZs as a separate development area (Tallon, 2013). The effectiveness of the EZs came into question again when the Coalition Government announced a new generation of EZs in 2011. This will give them an important role in the regeneration of UK cities including in optimising the regeneration legacy of the London 2012 Games (Smith, 2012).

The Mayor of LB of Newham mentioned the importance of having an Enterprise Zone in Newham before the Games were staged: "We have already succeeded in attracting world-renowned international businesses such as Siemens and Westfield to Newham. The area is perfect for an enterprise zone, with outstanding transport connections and demonstrable potential to generate a significant contribution to UK growth" (LBN, 2011). By August 2011, the Government announced 24 new Enterprises Zones across England, one of which is the Royal Docks. Companies in this EZ are expected to benefit from being close to the Olympic Park and having Green Enterprise District status which is a cutting-edge approach to investment in green technology, enterprise and infrastructure². LLDC covers a wider area than the Olympic Park itself which targets the objective of convergence. The Olympic Park and fringe areas are covered by the LLDC and the Royal Docks will benefit from being an Enterprise Zone in the longer term. However, previous EZs' failure to create the anticipated employment raises the same risk in the new generation ones.

Urban Development Corporations (UDCs): The privatisation of urban policy was also reflected in the creation of the UDCs as a flagship Thatcher Conservative government programme in 1980s and 1990s (Imrie and Thomas, 1993). The main objective of UDCs is defined as:

"To secure the regeneration of their area by bringing land and buildings into effective use, encouraging the development of existing and new industry and commerce, creating an attractive environment, and ensuring that housing and social facilities are available to encourage people to live and work in the area." (Pacione, 2005, p. 332)

Therefore, UDCs were quangos with wide land-use powers in their area for creating an attractive environment for private investment and encouraging regeneration. They were managed by boards of members appointed by the Secretary of State, including representatives of the local business community and little representation from local residents (Pacione, 2005; Tallon, 2013). The UDCs were funded by central government and by the proceeds from the disposal of development land (Tallon, 2013). Similar to the EZs, the UDC policy was focused on locals and local development; however the reality did not always turn out benefit the local. A total of 13 UDCs were designated during the Conservative government of the 1980s and 1990s but their impact on the areas had gone far beyond that policy period (Figure 3.1). UDCs were criticised for ignoring the wider planning framework and seizing the existing management of these areas (Raco, 2005).

² See Enterprise Zones Webpage for detail: <http://enterprisezones.communities.gov.uk/?s=olympic>



Figure 3.1: Location of UDCs in the UK (Source: Imrie and Thomas (1999))

The conflict between economic and social goals had been another criticism towards the UDCs since they had limited social content in the development proposals and highly economic biased in their approach (Pacione, 2005). Development of London Docklands (see 6.2.1 for detail) had been one of the most famous examples of both EZ and UDC policies. While the local authorities' strategic plan highlighted the need to stop existing job losses, to attract new jobs for locals, to use the vacant land to address the housing need of East London and improve the general environment; in practice, London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) only moved the planning emphasis from providing manufacturing jobs towards office complexes in the Docklands Area and neglected the social emphasis (Pacione, 2005, p. 332).

The original UDCs were all wound up in 2000. Following the New Labour Government's Sustainable Communities Plan and the designation of 'growth areas', a new generation of UDCs were established in West Northamptonshire (2003-2014), London Thames Gateway (2004-2012) and Thurrock Thames Gateway (2004-2012) (ODPM, 2003). These new UDCs have a more explicit task to tackle deprivation and promote social inclusion.

Several events have been delivered in association with UDCs in the UK such as the National Garden Festivals of Liverpool (1984) and Glasgow (1998) and the new generation UDCs are still part of the delivery in the 2000s (Smith, 2012). Newman (2007) advises that the ODA was established as a type of development corporation familiar in the East End through the redevelopment of London docklands. ODA acted as the local planning authority in the Olympic Park area and was responsible from the remediating of the land and delivery of the venues. Similarly, Sheffield 1991 World Student Games and Manchester 2002

Commonwealth Games used UDCs to regenerate the surrounding events area (Smith, 2012).

3.4.4 Competitive Era

More holistic and locally sensitive policies gained importance in the 1990s after experiencing the challenges of top-down entrepreneurial approaches to urban regeneration in the 1980s. In November 1990, John Major took over the Conservative Party from Margaret Thatcher and served as the Prime Minister of the Conservative government up until May 1997. Although still under Conservative government, the change of prime minister made significant difference in urban policies of this era. 1980s entrepreneurial policies were introduced believing that “by allowing investors to make profits, they would then rebuild cities and create jobs and wealth, which would ‘trickle down’ to those in need” (Tallon, 2013, p. 68). However, local authorities and communities were excluded from the urban regeneration process and property-led regeneration took the key role (Turok, 1992). Therefore, the 1990s was the period that the government realised that property-led regeneration was not worth the high cost of public subsidy and urban regeneration was not trickling down to local communities, especially the socially excluded (Tallon, 2013).

Event-led regeneration in the 1980s was also generally funded by the public sector by using taxpayer’s money, while in the 1990s, partnerships with the private sector started to grow (Smith, 2012). However, the majority of the funding still comes from taxpayer’s money in most of the event-led regeneration cases such as the London 2012 Olympics. Since the main strategy of the 1990s era was reinventing cities rather than building on existing strengths, events were used as a vehicle to regenerate post-industrial cities (Smith, 2012). The *European City of Culture* for example was used by Glasgow in 1990 and in Liverpool 2008 as a tool of city marketing, re-branding (Evans, 2003) and regeneration (Tallon, 2010). However, Mooney (2004) notes that the ‘Glasgow model’ has been criticised for using the public money for staging a festival while it was more needed in housing and major services. Smith (Smith, 2012, p. 57) agrees that in the Glasgow 1990 case, “the event acted not as an agent for regeneration, but as a substitute for direct action”.

While the urban policies of the 1990s were shifted to three-way partnerships between public, private and voluntary organisations and community (Davoudi, 1995), event-led regeneration was experiencing the two-way public-private partnership. This new policy scheme represented a managerial, competitive and corporate approach to regeneration and funding. Smith (2012, p. 58) suggests two ways that the mega-events were integrated in these partnerships: bidding for events introduced new forms of governance and sponsors; and businesses funding the event projects made city councils more comfortable to work with the private sector.

Initiatives such as City Challenge Fund Single Regeneration Budget and New Deal for Communities encouraged bottom-up regeneration policies and comprehensive partnerships. These two programmes are especially important since they aimed to involve local residents in the decision-making process of their area and empower them (Tallon, 2013) which later influenced the participation and partnership strategies in event-led regeneration projects such as Manchester Commonwealth Games (2002) and London 2012 Olympic Games.

City Challenge Programme: City Challenge Programme, launched in May 1991, represented a move away from the centralised, private sector property-led urban policy of the 1980s, back towards the locally based, publicly led, and socially orientated approaches of the 1970s (Davoudi, 1995). Competitive bidding was used to allocate funding. The projects that were funded by the City Challenge Programme were expected to encourage local level collaboration between stakeholders; stimulate innovative approaches to the problem of urban decline and improve quality of life; create value for money; and develop greater sensitivity to local needs (Oatley and Lambert, 1998). The programme had started to bring more attention to deprived areas and local needs and mega-events adopted the idea in later years.

In the first round in 1991, a total of 13 local authorities won out of 15 and in the second round in 1992, 20 won out of 57 local authorities invited to bid and they all received an equal amount of funding, £7.5 million per annum for five years, irrespective of need (Davoudi, 1995). Successful bids usually involved housing renewal, city centre regeneration and community projects for the local residents. LB of Tower Hamlets, which was one of the London 2012 host boroughs, was in the first round of winners. Later on, LB of Hackney and LB of Newham had successful bids in the second round of the City Challenge Programme, which were also Olympic Host Boroughs.

One of the main criticisms towards the programme was the funding being allocated on the basis of competition rather than need (Davoudi, 1995). Another criticism comes in the governance and community involvement. Although the programme aimed to involve local communities in the decision-making and gave them voice; due to lack of time and money these efforts had been limited to the existing community and business networks and excluded a wide range of small arms, and some of the major companies (Davoudi, 1995; Pacione, 2005; Tallon, 2013). It is discussed that the neighbourhood voice was communicated largely through pre-existing community organisations and their relations with other neighbourhood residents were usually problematic (Davoudi, 1995). However, City Challenge can still be seen as a catalyst in urban policy of the era since the initiative could be adopted in other parts of the local authority, which potentially could increase the community involvement in decision-making. The Programme also brought attention to public participation in big scale urban regeneration projects (Tallon, 2010) which is later reflected

on event-led regeneration in the UK through London 2012 Olympic led regeneration. In 1993, the government undertook a policy review and no third round of City Challenge was offered and the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) was created instead.

Single Regeneration Budget (SRB): The Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) came into operation in April 1994 combining twenty previously separate programmes under the control of the Department of Environment and its main purpose was to be a catalyst for local regeneration. The core principle of SRB was to engage local people in regeneration and to enhance the quality of life of local people in an area of need by reducing the gap between deprived and other areas, and between different groups (Tallon, 2013, p. 75). To achieve this aim, multi-sectoral partnerships were encouraged as with City Challenge. The *Evaluation of the Single Regeneration Budget* Report produced by Cambridge University for DCLG mentioned that successful partnerships and regeneration schemes had to meet at least one of the following objectives (DCLG, 2007a):

- enhance the employment prospects, education and skills of local people, particularly the young and those at a disadvantage, and promote equality of opportunity;
- encourage sustainable economic growth and wealth creation by improving the competitiveness of the local economy, including business support;
- improve housing through physical improvements, greater choice and better management and maintenance;
- promote initiatives of benefit to ethnic minorities;
- tackle crime and improve community safety;
- protect and improve the environment and infrastructure and promote good design;
- enhance the quality of life of local people, including their health and cultural and sports opportunities.

Considering these objectives, most players of SRB partnerships had demonstrated an understanding of what was required to achieve good partnership working, hence the evidence points to considerable benefits to the process of regeneration as a result of the SRB partnership model (DCLG, 2007a). The evaluation report also highlighted that in SRB areas the household incomes improved; employment levels increased; satisfaction with accommodation and the quality of the area increased; and the social and physical perceptions about their area became more positive (DCLG, 2007a; Tallon, 2013). The objectives demonstrate a promising foundation for event-led regeneration since the bids had parallels in several sorts of areas.

However, there had been also some criticisms towards the SRB programme. Tallon (2013, p. 75) grouped these criticisms under three titles: finances available for urban regeneration; the real extent of community participation in the regeneration projects; and the coordination

of urban policy. The allocation of funding had been one of the main issues and the need for both more customised policy delivery and more funding for deprived areas were acknowledged after the SRB programme (DCLG, 2007a). Community participation had been limited and deprived communities benefiting from urban regeneration by SRB programmes was still questionable (Tallon, 2013). Finally, the coordination between levels of governance had been fragmented and “there are issues around how the work of existing delivery agencies can be better coordinated to secure more business involvement in neighbourhood based regeneration” (DCLG, 2007a, p. 5). Therefore, the way the government and local authorities should harmonise the economic, physical and social agendas to achieve improvements in the most deprived neighbourhoods remains as an important issue to address.

New Deal for Communities (NDC): In 1997, the Labour Government of Tony Blair took over and kept some of the initiatives with small changes while also introducing some new ones. New Deal for Communities (NDCs) were the result of the 1998 Social Exclusion Unit report and the programme was introduced as the Labour Government’s answer to social exclusion (Florio and Edwards, 2001; Tallon, 2013). It was an area based initiative aiming to “bridge the gap between the most deprived neighbourhoods and the rest of the country by allocating grants to community-based partnerships for neighbourhood renewal” (Tallon, 2013, p. 94).

17 first round NDCs were approved in 1998 and established in 2000 followed by 22 in the second round in 2001 as ten years programmes (Tallon, 2013). While no grant was awarded directly to the London 2012 Olympic Park neighbourhoods, host boroughs received grants from NDC initiative (Hackney: Shoreditch, Newham: Westham and Plainstow, Tower Hamlets: Ocean Estate), which underlines the continuous regeneration in the area. NDCs left positive but modest change in the neighbourhoods. They were longer term programmes (ten years) when compared to Single Regeneration Budget and City Challenge (Lawless et al., 2010). Also, while other initiatives were more functional and entrepreneurial, NDCs were more community focused.

All these initiatives, City Challenge Programme, Single Regeneration Budget and New Deal for Communities, diverted the focus on regenerating deprived communities and encouraging community participation in urban regeneration, which was later reflected in event-led regeneration projects in the 2000s with more attention given to social sustainability of the events. In the 2000s, mega-events started to choose deprived sites as their location to trigger the regeneration in these areas such as Essen-Ruhr 2010 European Capital of Culture, South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup and London 2012 Olympics. Also, community participation and involving local communities in the decision-making process of event-led regeneration was more evident.

3.4.5 Era of Legacy and Sustainability

Event-led regeneration strategies had a new dimension in the 2000s when the sustainable development agenda had started to play an important role in urban regeneration. Having Sustainable Development and Communities gained importance by the late-1990s (ODPM, 2003) and New Labour made a commitment to the renaissance of the UK's cities when it came to power in 1997 (Tallon, 2010). Blair's Government followed a wide range of progressive social reforms leading millions being lifted out of poverty as a result of various tax and benefit reforms (DWP, 2006). Tony Blair's government launched inter alia the national minimum wage, the devolution of power to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and the re-creation of a city-region government body for London, the Greater London Authority, with its own elected Mayor. New institutions such as Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and longer-term regeneration initiatives such as, New Deal for Communities, Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF), Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) and Local Area Agreements (LAAs), encouraged regeneration in deprived neighbourhoods. In 2004, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) were also introduced by government legislation so that private sector provides public services in partnership with local authorities and local firms in the city centre (Tallon, 2010). In the USA, this is extended to major events, e.g. the Chicago Loop BID area festival. Meanwhile, event projects had started to place more attention to social regeneration rather than just the physical environment, image building and economic development.

In 1999, the *Towards an Urban Renaissance* report had been published aiming 'to identify the causes of decline in urban areas and recommend practical solutions that would led to sustainable development' (Tallon, 2013, p. 83). Common themes of the urban renaissance policy were structural development through private investment; development of city centres introducing iconic buildings, retail and culture; place rebranding and marketing in the global economy; brownfield development; and a focus on urban design, architecture and planning (Tallon, 2013; Urban Task Force, 1999). Therefore, urban renaissance policies of the 2000s are closely related to urban competitiveness. Mega-events had been considered as one of the most popular competitiveness strategies of cities and bidding for events and their legacy implications had gained more importance in this decade compared to previous years. The Urban White Paper in 2000 came as the government response to the Urban Task Force report. However, both were criticised for focusing on design and neglecting wider economic and social factors (Johnstone and Whitehead, 2004; Lees, 2003; Tallon, 2013). On the other hand, these reports opened up an important era by highlighting sustainability at the heart of urban policy.

Lawless and others (2010) discuss three agendas that dominate the urban debate during Blair's New Labour government: the evidence based urban policy agenda, strategic urban planning (e.g. urban renaissance) and the evolution of a neighbourhood or locality dimension

(e.g. national strategy for neighbourhood renewal). Tallon (2013) similarly identified physical, economic and city-centre focused 'urban renaissance' policies and community, multiple deprivation in the inner city and peripheral social housing centred 'neighbourhood renewal' policies as the main agendas of the period. On the other hand, Pacione (2009, p. 178) locates sustainable development in the core of New Labour urban policy which is based on community involvement, opportunity to work or get training/education, responsibility in the obligation of citizens, and accountability of governments to the public. Therefore, competitiveness and tackling deprivation in disadvantaged communities can be identified as the main policies of the 2000s, which was reflected in event-led regeneration policies generally. In addition to economic benefits, the main aim of event projects started to shift towards social and physical outcomes and eventually promoting inclusivity and accessibility gained more importance.

Since this time, event-led regeneration has gained a new 'paradigm' of legacy which focuses on long-term impacts of events (Smith, 2012). According to Poynter and MacRury (2009b, p. 5) Olympic legacy "offers bridges between two potentially divergent narratives setting the practical accountancy (and financial and political accountability) of city planning, against the 'creative' accounting that underpins Olympic dreams and promises". Similarly, in the *Before, During and After: Making the Most of the London 2012 Games* report, legacy was defined as:

"The imprint they [the London 2012 Games] will leave. It is therefore not just what happens after the Games, but what we do before and during them to inspire individuals and organisations to strive for their best, to try new activities, forge new links or develop new skills." (DCMS, 2008, p. 8)

In parallel, IOC President, Jacques Rogge acknowledges creating sustainable legacies as a fundamental commitment of the Olympic Movement (IOC, 2012). The IOC's 2013 publication 'Sustainability through Sport' talks of sport presenting "broad opportunities to promote environmental awareness, capacity building and far reaching action for environmental social economic development across society." However, how these concepts can be translated into operational and practical policy is elusive. The new international standard ISO 20121 provides guidance to help event organisers map the events' economic, environmental and social impacts. Therefore, legacy started to be considered something that should be planned rather than an unknown outcome of the post-event period. Preuss discusses 'soft' and 'hard' structural changes through a mega event (Table 3.3) and claims "when 'event-structures' change the location factors (supply side) in a city, any activity based on these changes is the event legacy" (2007, p. 208).

Table 3.3: 'Hard' and 'Soft' Event-structures

'soft' structures	'hard' structures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge: e.g. organisational, security, technological • Networks: e.g. political, sport federations, security • Cultural goods: e.g. cultural identity, cultural ideas, common memory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary structure: sport infrastructure, training sites • Secondary structure: villages for athletes, technical officials and media • Tertiary structure: Security, power plants, telecommunication networks, cultural attractions

Source:(Preuss, 2007, p. 208)

Event-led regeneration also reflected the changes in urban regeneration policies in terms of responsible bodies to deliver the regeneration. Public sector being the main stakeholder of event-led regeneration in 1970s-80s had changed in the 1990s with the private sector gaining importance and with the voluntary or third sector having been the focus in the 2000s (Smith, 2012). However, public sector has always stayed as the main stakeholder and funder of event-led regeneration projects throughout time. New initiatives introduced by the New Labour government played a role in event regeneration and led to changes in the event delivery structure. RDAs are a good example of these new institutions that were involved in event-led regeneration such as LDA getting involved in the land preparations and providing funds for socio-economic programmes in East London for London 2012 Olympic Games and North West Development Agency's contribution to the delivery of Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games.

Regional Development Agencies (RDAs): New Labour set up some new initiatives (e.g. RDAs) and reintroduced some others (e.g. new generation UDCs). Eight RDAs were established in England under the Regional Development Agencies Act 1998 and were launched in April 1999 and the ninth one, the London Development Agency (LDA), was launched in July 2000 following the foundation of the Greater London Authority (Figure 3.2). LDA had an important role in the London 2012 regeneration where it had the statutory power to compulsorily purchase land for the Olympic site and also ran programmes related to socio-economic development of the Park area.

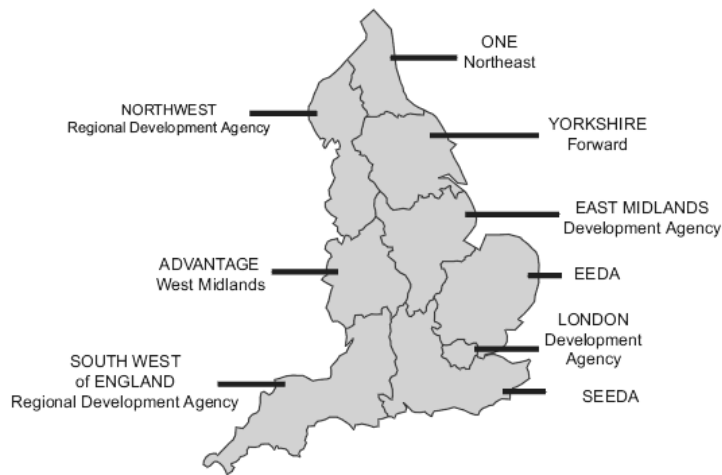


Figure 3.2: Regional Development Agencies of the UK (Source: Business Enterprise Committee (2009))

RDAs were established to oversee the regional development in the UK, improve the relative competitiveness of England's nine regions, and reduce the imbalances that exist within and between them (Business and Enterprise Committee, 2009). They were given an economic development related responsibility and delivered regeneration objectives in a direct manner such as purchase of the site, remediation of the site, award of funding grants for reclamation, development of the site jointly or by only the private sector, and disposal of the site to an investor (Tallon, 2013).

However, the benefits and efficiency of RDAs had been controversial. The third of the TaxPayers' Alliance's Structure of Government series (Business and Enterprise Committee, 2009) argued for the abolition of RDAs branding them unproductive, wasteful and unaccountable quangos. The report claimed that RDAs have neither accelerated economic growth in the regions, nor reduced the disparities between them and considered as an expensive failure since over £15 billion of taxpayers' money has been spent between 1999-2009 with little visible impact considering employment, competitiveness and regional imbalances (Business and Enterprise Committee, 2009). Eventually, the Coalition Government abolished the eight RDAs in June 2010 through the Public Bodies Bill and the LDA through the Localism Bill which the coalition government produced in 2010 and became the Localism Act in 2011 with the "principal aim being to shift power from central government down to the local authority, local community and individual levels" (Tallon, 2013, p. 108). The RDAs stopped operating by April 2012.

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter further examined the literature in event-led regeneration compared to other types of regeneration models and its evolution since understanding the relation between mega-events and urban regeneration is important for the purpose of the research addressing

RQ 1: *What is the rationale for hosting mega-events and regenerating areas/cities that surrounds them?* Four different models of urban regeneration - retail-led, housing-led, design-led and culture-led - have been discussed. These models are not necessarily mutually exclusive but the time span, policies adopted and stakeholders involved differ significantly. While retail-led regeneration contributed to improving communities with providing access to jobs, training, better quality of life and accessibility; some researchers are critical of this since they create similar, isolated environments, damage local economies and smaller retailers. The main concern about housing-led regeneration is the gentrification problem in a class transformation and tenure. Housing-led regeneration usually establishes a new environment for higher income and social status residents and create polarisation. Another model discussed above is design-led regeneration, which usually aims to improve the image of the city in a global context. Flagship buildings, local economic development agencies and business support in design-led projects give the opportunity to provide better quality of life for the residents and attract investment. Similarly, culture had been an important driver of regeneration in the UK since the 1990s.

It is evident that event-led regeneration strategies embrace different models of regeneration, especially mega-events in particular, since mega-event-led regeneration involves retail in and around the event site, housing (athletes village in Olympics or fringe developments) as well as design and culture. The biggest difference is the time limitations since event-led regeneration has to be delivered at a certain time and stakeholders involved as the events under discussion here are international and they are undertaken with high media pressure. Therefore, it is discussed that event-led urban regeneration should balance elements of the economic, social and cultural life of urban areas subject to change, with the collaboration of all related stakeholders in order to be comprehensive and sustainable.

The emphasis in the aims of event-led regeneration has changed over the time and the second part of the chapter explained them in a chronological order mainly based on UK urban policies. Urban regeneration models discussed previously have influenced the event-led strategies of different periods however there is no direct parallel between them. During the reconstruction period of the 1960s, the event-led regeneration policies were more focused on reconstruction based on using existing venues and improving infrastructure. Later in the 1970s, the focus has been on renewal and urban policies such as the Partnership Programmes, which influenced the event strategies in the later years. In the 1980-90s, the coalitions had given more importance to staging events. During these different periods of time, events had been used as a catalyst to achieve a wider range of urban objectives (Smith, 2012). Finally, in the twenty first century, the legacy of the events and sustainability dimension in terms of economic, physical, social and governance had gained significant attention from both organisers and researchers.

Evaluating events with sustainable development concepts is therefore a current approach. Economic, physical, social dimensions are usually analysed independently whereas, it is important to understand how these concepts work together in governance structures. Therefore, the next chapter approaches event-led regeneration from a sustainable development point of view which provides the foundation for the case study analysis.

CHAPTER 4 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND EVENTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the UK, the urban regeneration concept was replaced by the broader concept of an urban renaissance under the New Labour government in the late-1990s (Lees, 2003), but since the mid-2000s the sustainable communities agenda has been preferred instead of the urban renaissance (ODPM, 2003; Tallon, 2010). The urban regeneration agenda in the new context of sustainable development was seen to include a wide range of issues such as “housing, communities, local governance, climate change, energy consumption, economics, construction, design, health, land use planning, natural resources and environmental limits, waste, transport, education, and young people” (Tallon, 2010, p. 154). Therefore, sustainable development is not only an environmental concern, but it also has economic, social and governance dimensions.

This chapter aims to critically assess the sustainable development principles for event-led regeneration. Hence, the chapter starts with the evolution of the sustainable development concept in the literature and then focus on its emergence and evolution in the UK planning context. Next, the urban governance and public participation theories are explored as the components of the governance of sustainable development. Finally, synthesising all relevant research, the sustainable development principles for event-led regeneration are established as governance, social, economic and physical sustainability.

4.2 EVOLUTION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainability is a complex term that has been defined differently and applied in various ways. Although sustainable development is a fairly abstract and broad subject, it has caught the attention of policymakers and citizens worldwide. One of the most remarkable challenges of the term sustainable development is that it is explained different things to so many different people and organisations. Therefore, it is no surprise that the concept of sustainable development usually reflects the political and philosophical position of those proposing the definition other than any clear-cut scientific view (Mebratu, 1998).

The most common and frequently cited definition was developed by the World Commission of Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987, known as the Brundtland Report, and the sustainable city and development concept has gained significant international importance since then. The Report defines sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to

meet their own needs". While the WCED's statement of the fundamental objectives of sustainable development is brief, the Commission discusses the operational objectives of it in much more detail. WCED states the critical objectives, which follow from the concept of sustainable development as: (1) reviving growth; (2) changing the quality of growth; (3) meeting essential needs for jobs, food, energy, water, and sanitation; (4) ensuring a sustainable level of population; (5) conserving and enhancing the resource base; (6) reorienting technology and managing risk; (7) merging environment and economics in decision making; and (8) reorienting international economic relations (WCED, 1987, p. 49). The Report claims, "sustainable development can only be pursued if population size and growth are in harmony with the changing productive potential of the ecosystem". However, it is not a fixed condition, but a process of change in which the utilization of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are able to be reconciled with future as well as present growth needs (WCED, 1987, p. 9). Lélé (1991, p. 611) criticises the logical connection between the brief definition of fundamental sustainable development objectives and the list of operational ones since many of the operational goals are not independent of the others which makes it difficult to operationalize each one of them. Many following attempts to discuss the notion of sustainable development are jumbled and there is a danger of the term becoming a hollow term, unless an intensive effort is made to add accuracy and content to the discussion (Lélé, 1991).

The emergence of the sustainability concept develops from a global political perspective, which searches solutions to the most powerful needs of this century which are: (1) the need for economic development; (2) the need for environmental protection; and (3) the need for social justice and cultural diversity. Therefore, sustainability does not simply refer to achievements in the environmental arena, but also social and economic development. In order to reach sustainable community goals, all three principles of sustainable development must converge and work in harmony (DEFRA, 1994; ODPM, 2003). Moreover, sustainable development necessitates policy changes in many sectors and greater coherence between them. Dalal-Clayton et al. state that sustainable development requires "integration of objectives where possible; and making trade-offs between objectives where integration is not possible" (2002, p. 7). These objectives act in different ways and scales - at global, national and local levels, but should be consistent between these levels (Figure 4.1). There are a wide range of sustainable development approaches which reveal different challenges faced by individual countries and their response to these. Hence, although sustainable development is a global challenge, it can only be handled and operationalised by national and local practice (Dalal-Clayton and Bass, 2002).

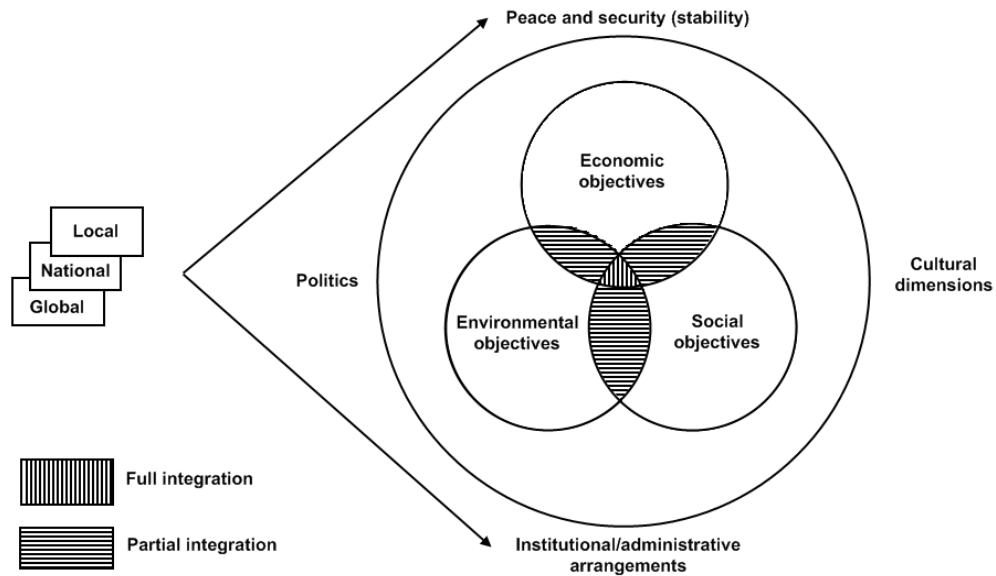


Figure 4.1: The Systems of Sustainable Development (Dalal-Clayton et al., 1994, p. 7)

In Figure 4.1, the intersection areas depend on the national or local strategy process for sustainable development. Governments are responsible for providing enabling conditions which both permit and facilitate the necessary dialogue and negotiation between all sectors and interest groups in society. However in the real world, ideal conditions are rarely likely to exist. The objective of sustainable development is to optimise the goal achievement both within and across the three systems through an adaptive process of integration, but more usually through trade-offs agreed (or not) amongst many sectors and stakeholders in society. The process of integration is adaptive because individual choices, social norms, ecological conditions, and rates of development change over time and trade-offs can be considered within certain limits (Dalal-Clayton et al., 1994).

Newman and Kenworthy (1999) state that academic discussions about the meaning of sustainability should be developed from four main principles of the Bruntland Report: (1) Third World economic and social development is necessary for global sustainability since where population grows without economic and social development, the environment unavoidably suffers, (2) First World must reduce its resource consumption and waste production, (3) All nations should cooperate for solving environmental problems, and (4) Orientation to local cultures and community-based approaches are necessary for global sustainability. The WCED agrees that these targets are neither easy nor straightforward and in the final analysis, sustainable development must rest on political will. The Bruntland Report is however viewed as a landmark document since it increased the global awareness on sustainable development.

Five years on from the Brundtland Report, the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the Earth Summit, was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. UNCED developed an interest in integrating the concept of sustainable development into policy making and planning. At UNCED, it is agreed that a development approach will be considered that would protect the environment while sustaining economic and social development. UNCED founded the basis of a global partnership between industrialized and developing countries to ensure a healthy future for all on the planet. The conference was significantly successful in terms of attendance and partnerships.

In the UNCED, nations agreed on an action plan for achieving sustainable development in the 21st century called 'Agenda 21'. Agenda 21 is a comprehensive global blueprint for sustainable development and recommends that local authorities adopt Local Agenda 21. Local Agenda 21 Plans are community-based processes that (1) set up objectives to accomplish the sustainability agenda, (2) determine indicators to be able to measure the progress toward sustainability, (3) assess the performance of the city on applying these criteria, and (4) offer policy options about how it can do better (Newman and Kenworthy, 1999). Agenda 21 addresses many problems and solutions at the local level and stresses that the participation and cooperation of local authorities is crucial in satisfying its objectives. Local authorities therefore play a key role in educating, mobilizing and responding to the public in order to achieve sustainable development. They are also required to consult with their citizens, local organisations and private sector to develop and implement the Agenda 21 programme.

Since UNCED in 1992, more than 2000 local governments have implemented Local Agenda 21 Plans meaning that the sustainability agenda started to be taken seriously at the local level because it is easier for governments to integrate economic, social and environmental professions for developing sustainable policies (Newman and Kenworthy, 1999). 2002 Earth Summit, held in South Africa, delivered several declarations and commitments. The Summit gave a new impetus to the understanding of sustainable development by strengthening the linkages between poverty, the environment and the use of natural resources (Bogopa, 2005). The most significant outcome of the Summit is that it does not suggest that sustainable development has been achieved. According to Bogopa "the two decades of deliberations on the concept sustainable development remained nothing more than an educational and information sharing rather than producing concrete products" (2005, p. 9).

However, the term sustainable development should be discussed and applied in a more inclusive way. Robinson (2004, pp. 378–80) draws some lessons from up to date use and practice of sustainable development and makes five suggestions to make it a more inclusive concept: (1) Sustainability must be an integrative concept, across fields, sectors and scales; (2) New forms of social learning are needed to allow sustainability approaches fit in diverse

socio-political and environmental circumstances; (3) It is necessary to go beyond technical fixes such as achieving improvements in eco-efficiency and begin to address profound issues of opportunity, distribution, material needs, consumption and empowerment; (4) It is necessary to address the social constructions of sustainability; and (5) It is important to achieve the forms of social engagement. Therefore, Robinson (2004, p. 382) concludes suggesting that “the development of new forms of partnership, and new tools for creating political dialogue, that frame the problems as questions of political choice, given uncertainty and constraints; that renounce the goal of precise and unambiguous definition and knowledge; and that involve many more people in the conversation” need to be followed to meet the sustainability challenge.

4.2.1 Sustainable Development in the UK

The Bruntland Report brought the concept of sustainability into the public agenda of most countries in the late-1980s. For instance Canada launched a Round Table on the Environment and the Economy targeting understanding the new agenda and its implications; whilst the Ecological Sustainable Development process was taken up in Australia which includes government, industry, unions, academics and NGOs; and the Clinton Administration set up the President’s Council on Sustainable Development in 1996 which was the first US government response to sustainability (Newman and Kenworthy, 1999).

In the UK, sustainable development has been one of the main concerns of government since the early 1990s and several documents and studies have been produced by the government (Table 4.1). Central government supported the development of Local Agenda 21 (LA21) and established local and national sustainable development performance indicators such as waste, resource use, economic growth, education and more (DEFRA, 1999a), publishing Sustainable Development: the UK Strategy in 1994. An important new element to the indicators of sustainable development was a subset of quality of life indicators; intended to put more attention on what sustainable development means, and to give a broad overview to test achieving a “better quality of life for everyone, now and for generations to come” (DEFRA, 1999b). In this report, UK Government made a wider sustainable development definition compared to the Bruntland Report stating “sustainable development does not mean having less economic development: on the contrary, a healthy economy is better able to generate the resources to meet people’s needs, and new investment and environmental improvement often go hand in hand” (DEFRA, 1994, p. 7). This political approach to build relation between economic development and environmental sustainability is contradictory to general sustainable development definitions and can lead to an inherent weakness in sustainability policies in the operational level.

Table 4.1: UK National Policy Documents on Sustainable Development

Date	Policy Document Title
1990	This Common Inheritance: Britain's Environmental Strategy
1994	Sustainable Development: The UK Strategy
1995	The Environment Act
	The British Government Panel on Sustainable Development: First Report from the Select Committee on Sustainable Development
1997	Manifesto placing concern for environment at the heart of policy-making
	This Common Inheritance: 1997 Report
1998	Opportunities for Change: Consultation Paper on a Revised UK Strategy for Sustainable Development
	Our Healthier Nation: A Contract for Health (Green Paper)
1999	Building a Better Quality of Life - A Strategy for More Sustainable Construction
2001-2013	Measuring progress: Sustainable Development Indicators (SDIs)
2003	Sustainable Communities Plan: Building for the Future
2005	Quality of life counts - indicators for a strategy for sustainable development for the United Kingdom: a baseline assessment
	Securing the Future - the UK Government Sustainable Development Strategy
	One Future Different Paths - The UK's shared framework for sustainable development
	Sustainable Communities: Homes for All
	Sustainable Communities: People, Places & Prosperity
2007	Sustainable Communities Act
	Planning for a Sustainable Future White Paper
2009	Towards a One Planet 2012
2011	Mainstreaming Sustainable Development
2013	London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games: inspiring sustainable living projects
	Mainstreaming Sustainable Development: government progress 2013

Source: Adapted from DEFRA (2005), Newman and Kenworthy (1999) and Tallon (2013)

Bulkeley and Betsill (2005, p. 44) highlight that, "many UK local authorities have adopted LA21, seeing it as a means through which to reclaim some of the policy ground lost during the Conservative administration of the 1980s". LA21 was initially triggered at the national level by the Local Government Management Board, who provided advice and links between the UK local authorities. The UK Sustainable Development Strategy identifies the need for a more environmentally sound approach to development, especially in terms of transport, energy production and waste management. The Government wishes to allow economic growth to continue, but more environmentally and socially sustainable. The UK Strategy can be considered as a catalyst for change. On 17 May 1999, the UK government published "Quality of Life Counts: Indicators for a Strategy for Sustainable Development for the United Kingdom" (DEFRA, 1999a). The document sets out the principles of sustainable development, some of the priorities for action in the UK, key actions that the government is taking and commitments which the government has so far made. In the strategy document, the government identified a core set of about 150 indicators of sustainable development, which will be central to monitoring and reporting on progress. These cover the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainable development and set out the indicators in more detail showing past and current trends. From 2001 on, 'Measuring progress: sustainable development indicators' has been produced and printed annually. The pocket-sized Sustainable development indicators in your pocket (SDIYP) has been highly influential in the way indicators are presented in the UK and it has been followed widely at international level.

In the late 2000s, three principal New Labour policies for sustainable communities related with urban regeneration were seen – the Sustainable Communities Plan, growth areas and housing renewal (Tallon, 2010, p. 159). Sustainable Communities Plan determines a long-term vision for some of the most important requirements of sustainable communities. According to the Sustainable Communities Plan the key requirements of sustainable communities are (ODPM, 2003, p. 5);

- A promising local economy to provide jobs and wealth;
- Strong leadership to control and respond the change;
- Effective engagement and participation by local people, groups and businesses;
- A safe and healthy local environment with well-designed public and green space;
- Adequate size, scale and density;
- Good public transport and transport infrastructure;
- Buildings that can meet different needs over time, and that minimise the use of resources;
- A well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes;
- Good quality local public services;
- A diverse, vibrant and creative local culture;
- A 'sense of place';
- The right links with the wider regional, national and international community.

Leading from these requirements, the importance of strategically planned regeneration cannot be denied for sustainable communities. The New Labour government identified growth areas in the southeast: Milton Keynes and the south of Midlands, the London-Stansted-Cambridge-Peterborough Corridor, the Thames Gateway (see 6.2.2 for detail) and Ashford and the northern growth corridor of the UK. The Sustainable Communities Plan also identified strategic areas of brownfield land in the 20 per cent most deprived wards in England as the priority areas (ODPM, 2003). It also highlights the need for decent homes and a good quality local environment in all regions of England.

In 2005, the UK Government launched its new strategy for sustainable development, *Securing the Future*, with a Strategic Framework. The Strategy makes further analysis of international and domestic developments since the 1999 Strategy, the changed structure of government in the UK, and put greater emphasis on the regional level (e.g. regional, spatial strategies) and the new relationship between government and local authorities. It also highlights the renewed international push for sustainable development from the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002. *Securing the Future Report* defines sustainable communities with respect to a wider approach to urban regeneration:

“Sustainable communities are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all.” (DEFRA, 2005, p. 121)

Accordingly, in regional planning guidance for London and the rest of the South East in 2000 (RPG9) four growth areas identified- Thames Gateway, Milton Keynes/South Midlands, Ashford, and London-Stansted-Cambridge. The government aims to achieve the best design and planning in new and expanded communities to make sure that the built environment is of a high quality, and the surrounding countryside is protected and enhanced (ODPM, 2003, p. 46). Finally, New Labour worked on housing market renewal policies considering the requirements of sustainable communities. Nine Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder projects aimed to prosper the most sensitive areas of low demand in the north London and Midlands (Tallon, 2010, p. 159). However, the *Mainstreaming Sustainable Regeneration* report was produced by the Sustainable Development Commission which was an independent Government advisor on sustainable development until March 2011. The report suggested 10 action points to mainstream sustainable regeneration and sustainable development was the first of the list highlighting, “sustainable development principles should be at the heart of regeneration policy and practice, thus ensuring that regeneration has environmental as well as economic and social justice outcomes” (Sustainable Development Commission, 2003, p. 4), as well as involvement of local people, addressing housing need, employment and so on. However, the Coalition Government, which came into power in 2010, has not followed the *sustainable communities* strategies of New Labour and encouraged community-led regeneration highlighted by the localism agenda (Tallon, 2013).

4.3 THE GOVERNANCE OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN EVENTS

There are several organisations involved in delivering sustainable development. In the context of mega-events, two groups can be defined in broader terms: (1) stakeholders³: the officials, organisers and related institutions that are responsible or have interest in mega-event related decisions, and (2) local community: people who live in and around the mega-event site and effected from the changes in their neighbourhood that come through the mega-event. This division is used to make the analysis of the case study more comprehensible. Although the local community is a stakeholder of event-led regeneration, the way they can be involved in the decision-making process is different from the delivery organisations, institutions and various units. Therefore, this section explores the theories on urban governance to understand stakeholder relations in event-led regeneration and public

³ Although the term *stakeholder* refers to “people who have an interest in a particular decision, either as individuals or representatives of a group” (the Environment Council UK) which includes both the local communities and organisations, this study uses the term *stakeholder* only to refer to the organisers and institutions and take *local communities* in a separate category.

participation in order to analyse local community involvement in event-led regeneration. The stakeholder relations and governance under discussion here does not relate to the *stakeholder theory* (Freeman et al., 2010) or the *theory of network governance* (Jones et al., 1997).

4.3.1 Urban Governance: Stakeholder Relations

In order to evaluate the mega-event governance in the frame of sustainability, it is important to understand transformations in the broader urban governance field. The "managerial" approach of the 1960s has gradually transformed to 'entrepreneurial' forms of action in the 1980s (Harvey, 1989). Urban entrepreneurialism has risen to sustain the transition from a Fordist-Keynesian regime of capital accumulation to a flexible type of accumulation (Harvey, 1989). In the 21st century, urban governments had to be much more innovative, entrepreneurial and thus competitive, in order to attract business, tourists and citizens to the city.

In the post-Fordist period, the political power remained in the state but its capacity to project the power is weakened due to internationalization and the risks emerging from the global environment. Some state capacities are transferred to other bodies with a widening range of powers and some powers are moved to restructure local or regional levels of governance in the national state and some are taken over by emerging horizontal networks of power. This "hollowing out" can be seen as a response to the various state failures which accompany the crisis in the Fordist system, and its social mode of regulation. The "hollowing out" is to "relocate important legitimacy functions to levels of political organisation which are able to cope better with the symptoms of Fordist crisis" (Jessop, 1994, p. 253). This process is also defined as the shift from "government" to "governance". Jessop defines governance as the "action or manner of governing, guiding, or steering conduct and overlapped with government" (1998, p. 30). Thus, governance would refer to the modes and manner of governing whereas government refers to the institutions and agents charged with governing.

The transition to post-Fordism has led to an increase in the engagement of local government in local economic development. In terms of increasing local political action, the rise of public-private partnerships, and the emergence of urban governance rather than direct government, post-Fordism reveals a difference in urban governance (Graham, 1992). Jessop (1998) associates the shift from government to governance with the decline in the central state's direct management and funding of economic and social projects, and the engagement of quasi-state and non-state actors in public-private partnerships. Therefore, state functions have been transferred upwards to supra-national institutions, and downwards to localities.

In mega-event context, having arms-length bodies (quangos) to deliver the event means transferring some state capacities to these bodies, mostly in horizontal networks of power described as the “hollowing out” of the state (Jessop, 1994). In terms of relocation of local residents and businesses, “by converting the relocation process into a ‘technical’ issue, overseen by dedicated experts working in quango agencies, the clearances were to a large extent depoliticised” (Raco and Tunney, 2010, p. 2086). However, who sits in these quango agencies to take these decisions is subject to criticism since they shape the future of the event area.

This changing structure led to increasing networks between cities and regions rather than nations. The relationships are not between nations anymore but it is between different regions in the world in most cases. Governance signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing or a changed condition of ordered rule or the new method by which the society is governed.

Stoker (1998, p. 18) discusses the governance on five propositions which are complementary rather than contradictory:

- 1) Governance refers to a complex set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government
- 2) Governance recognizes the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues
- 3) Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action.
- 4) Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors
- 5) Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority.

Therefore, governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred. The core of governance is focused on mechanisms that do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government (Stoker, 1998). Hence, the success and failure of governance can be related to several factors. According to Jessop (1998, p. 36), the successful “heterarchic” governance depends on “the modes of co-ordination adopted, the constitution of the objects of governance, and the environments within which relevant actors co-ordinate their activities to achieve their objectives”. Following up on this, there are three main sets of factors which limit the success of governance in guiding economic development: capitalism itself, the contingent insertion of partnerships, and the nature of governance as self-organization (Jessop, 1998).

4.3.2 Public Participation: Local Community Involvement

Since the 1990s, social sustainability has started to receive more attention from researchers and policy-makers. Effective public participation is considered as an important component sustainable development. Macnaghten and Jacobs (1997, p. 6) mention that Agenda 21 draws attention to public participation as a global action and defined the term as “the involvement of ordinary citizens in both decisions about and the implementations of social and economic” which highlights the involvement of communities in decision-making to reach social sustainability. Healey (1997, p. 5) explains this notion with the communicative approach which is the “design of governance system and practices, focusing on ways of fostering collaborative, consensus-building practices”. Therefore, communicative approach both offers a governance process for shared power and enables all stakeholders to have a voice introducing participatory democracy in pluralist societies (Healey, 1997). On the other hand, Arnstein (1969) uses the eight rung ladder metaphor to describe the extent of citizen participation in urban decisions (Figure 4.3).

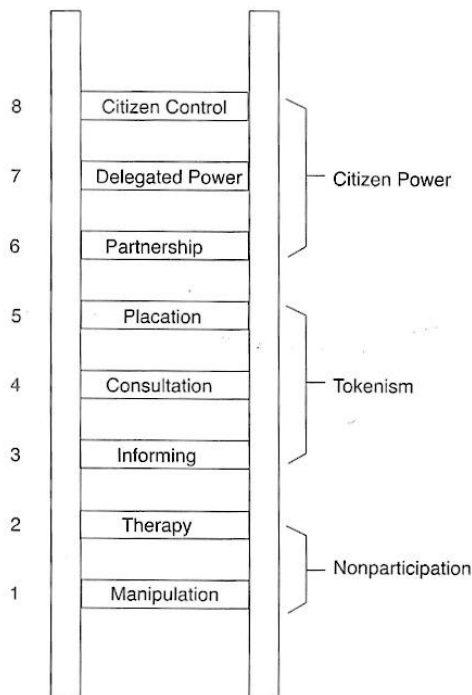


Figure 4.2: Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217)

The lowest levels of the ladder are *manipulation* and *therapy*, which are forms of non-participation. The real objective is not to participate people in planning but to make citizens accept predetermined courses of action and ‘the distortion of participation into a public relation vehicle by power holders’ (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216). *Informing* and *consultation* give presently excluded citizens a voice, but they lack to power to make sure that their voice will be regarded by the powerful. *Placation* is the point that the government gives the citizen ground rules to advice but keep the power-holders with the right to decide. The highest levels of the ladder are *partnership*, *delegated power* and *citizen control*, which are levels of

citizen power. *Partnerships* are the most popular ones where the power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders through joint policy boards or planning committees. At the top most rungs, *delegated power* and *citizen control*, citizens have the majority or full managerial power, which is rare.

While Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation has been a benchmark for policy makers over the years, there also have been substantial critics about the approach. Tritter and McCallum (2006) point out some limitations of Arnstein's model such as ignoring several aspects of user involvement by failing to differentiate between method, category of user and outcome. Also, the hierarchy embraced by Arnstein's ladder leaves little opportunity to engage in evaluating the nature of involvement (Cornwall, 2008; Tritter and McCallum, 2006).

Therefore, besides all the discussion on how people can participate better, maybe, the most important question is "Why should people participate?" Macnaghten and Jacobs (1997) highlights that participation will occur only if the public believe in what they are being asked to take part, and if they do participate, social sustainability can be achieved. UK Government acknowledged this notion in the *Sustainable Communities Plan* and puts effective community involvement at the centre of delivering the Plan (ODPM, 2003). Later in 2004, a specific document on community involvement called *Community Involvement in Planning* had been published.

The main focus of the report is to emphasise that community involvement in planning should not be a tick-box process but "it should enable the local community to say what sort of place they want to live in at a stage when this can make a difference" (ODPM, 2004, p. 4). The report also mentions that the government had introduced some reforms to increase community involvement and that "the reforms are designed to provide an accessible system with clear formal stages for participation, which reaches out to groups that have not, historically, easily engaged with planning" (ODPM, 2004, p. 4). This is possible by making the plans available for communities in an easy to understand form and encourage participation. The report acknowledges that it is not enough to focus just on giving information and consultation on proposals when it is too late to take any view on board. It is highlighted that:

"Active participation in the development of options and proposals should be at the heart of the process. The community must be able to put forward and debate options and help mould proposals before they are settled. People need to feel that their participation can make a difference. This is challenging in terms of resources and effort, and means that councillors and planners have to be ready to listen and to adapt their own ideas. It is also important that all sides know just what to expect at each stage of the process, especially when there will be open debate on wide ranging options, or when consultation is focused on specific propositions." (ODPM, 2004, p. 8)

Overall, decentralised decision-making, community participation and accountability are considered as the important themes and building strong, empowered and active communities should be a key aim through government initiatives (ODPM, 2004, p. 5).

4.4 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES IN EVENT-LED REGENERATION

Without a doubt, sustainable development has attained significant importance in the UK urban regeneration policies. In parallel to urban policies, 'sustainability' has become established as a necessary component of mega-event strategies. Over the last 20 years, sustainability has become an increasingly important consideration when staging the Olympic Games. This dates from the Centennial Olympic Congress in 1994, where concern for the environment became incorporated in the Olympic Charter as the third Pillar of Olympism. The IOC defined its role in the Charter as 'to encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport and to require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly.' It also states that it is an IOC responsibility 'to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries'. Following the Olympic Movement's Agenda 21 aims to encourage members of the Olympic Family to play an active part in the sustainable development of the planet. It sets out the basic concepts and general actions needed to ensure that this objective is met.

FIFA as organisers of the World Cup have followed. 2010 FIFA World Cup, which prompted concerns about the sustainability of the event, FIFA began to develop the 2014 FIFA World Cup Sustainability Strategy with discussions and meetings with the Local Organising Committee (LOC) and government representatives in Brazil in 2011. The IOC Olympic Legacy Report (2012, p. 32) states that "through proper planning and management, the environmental impacts of the Games can be minimised and organisers can work closely with public authorities to use the Games as an opportunity to enhance areas of the host city and introduce new sustainability programmes, which can create a lasting environmental legacy once the Games have finished".

As stated before, the goal of sustainable development in this policy context is to satisfy the basic needs of all people in the world and to enjoy a better quality of life, without compromising the quality of life of future generations. The UK Government and the Devolved Administrations set targets in order to achieve this goal using "an integrated way through a sustainable, innovative and productive economy that delivers high levels of employment; and a just society that promotes social inclusion, sustainable communities and personal wellbeing" (DEFRA, 2005, p. 16). These sustainable development policies were felt to respect the following five principles, which means that in order to live within environmental limits and achieve a just society; a sustainable economy, good governance and sound science are necessary (Figure 4.4).

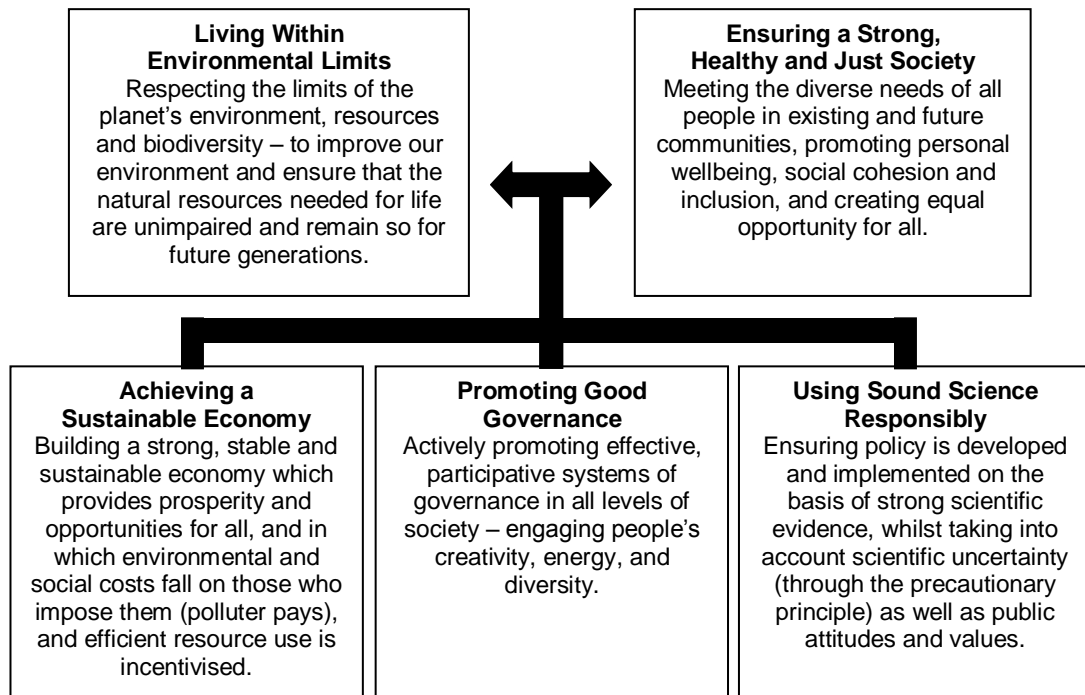


Figure 4.3: UK Principles of Sustainable Development (DEFRA, 2005, p. 16)

Getz (2009) focuses on similar principles when sustainable events are under consideration, suggesting that sustainable events are the ones that meet social, cultural, economic and environmental considerations. Getz (2009, p. 71) adapts the Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism in Destinations (online at icrtourism.org) to events and suggests sustainable events should have the following characteristics:

- minimize negative economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts;
- generate greater economic benefits for local people and enhance the wellbeing of communities;
- improve working conditions and create employment;
- involve local people in decision making;
- embrace diversity and contribute to conservation of natural and cultural heritage;
- create enjoyable experiences by enabling visitors to connect meaningfully with residents;
- provide access for physically challenged people; and
- be culturally sensitive, encouraging respect between event-goers and hosts, building local pride and confidence.

Pacione (2007) approaches it from a different angle by locating the political sustainability as the core of his sustainable urban development model as the governance framework regulates the performance of the other four dimensions, which are economic, social, natural and physical sustainability (Figure 4.5).

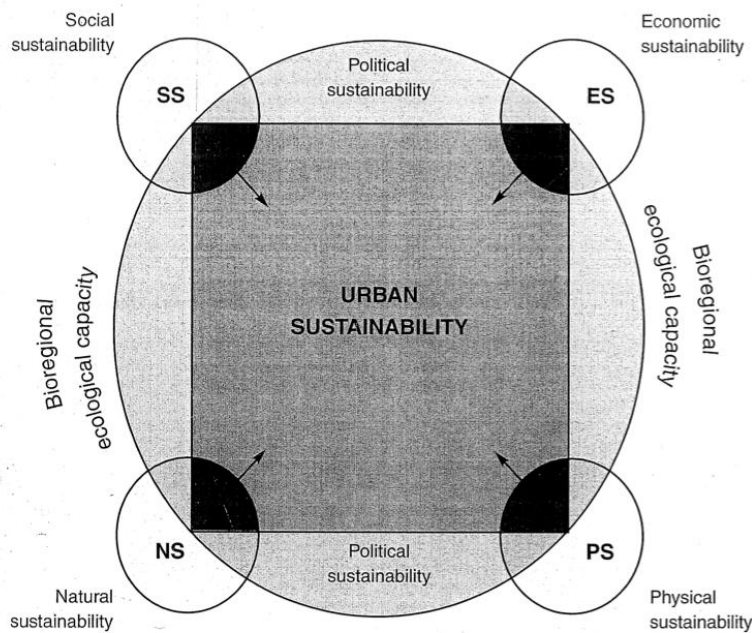


Figure 4.4: Major dimensions of urban sustainability (Pacione, 2007, p. 251)

In this regard, governance is the core component of sustainable development since without a participative governance structure, revising the process of sustainable development is not possible (Evans, 2011; Girginov, 2012a). Boron and Murray (2004) also agree that sustainability represents a paradigm shift to construct a balance between the environmental, economic and social dimensions of decision-making. Similarly, Spangenberg (2004) also stressed that all economic, environmental, social and institutional dimensions of sustainability should be considered for integrated politics. Therefore, sustainable development principles are categorised under four headings: governance, social, economic and physical dimensions. These principles are later used to evaluate the case study of this research, the London 2012 Olympic Games.

4.4.1 Sustainable Governance

The urban governance dimension of mega-events, especially the Olympics, has been discussed in the literature by several researchers (Girginov, 2012a; Newman, 2007; Shoval, 2002; Smith, 2012). Since the beginning of the 2000s, the legacy of events had started to be explained along with the governance issues. Girginov (2012a, p. 544) points out that systems of governance are required for the delivery of any social, economic or physical legacy to guide and steer collective actions towards a consensus amongst related diverse stakeholders.

The notion of delivering successful economic, social and physical outcomes through modes of governance actually refers to the governance dimension of urban sustainability. Pacione (2007, p. 251) highlights urban sustainability as “a political process rather than a

technological or design problem in that one of the greatest obstacles to achieving enhanced urban sustainability is the absence of political support policies aimed at implementing sustainable practices in local context". Therefore, Olympic governance and legacies have also been evaluated within the sustainable development notion (Evans, 2011; Gardiner and Chalip, 2006; Girginov, 2012a; Smith, 2013; Smith et al., 2011). The sustainability concept thus brought a "new dimension to the conceptualization and delivery of mega-events legacy and turns it into a governance issue" (Girginov, 2012a, p. 545).

Urban economic policy-making, public-private partnerships and place marketing strategies became the driving forces of changing urban management as competitiveness started to rise between cities and regions (Graham, 1995). This local political action involves not only the local state but also a wide range of private and semi-private actors. In terms of mega-events, "the construction of Olympic legacy therefore, provides a new policy space where old and new actors interact in order to negotiate the meaning of legacy and how particular visions of it are to be achieved" (Girginov, 2012a, p. 545). Richard and Palmer (2010) analyse the governance of events by focusing on leadership, representation of different stakeholder interests and accountability of the events to the community. Similarly, Smith (2012) highlights the multi-level governance aspect of event delivery and the way diverse stakeholders are involved or not involved enough. On the other hand, Girginov (2012a) uses a different approach by exploring the legacy governance of London 2012 by linking the conceptualization of governance as institutional properties (polity), actor constellations (politics), and policy instruments (policy) and its operationalization. Hence, the main themes of sustainable urban governance can be listed as: *leadership, representativeness, power relations and conflicts and knowledge transfer and networks*.

The definition of *leadership* varies in different contexts. In the mega-event context, "complex programme of events and different event stakeholders have to be coordinated in the face of major internal and external challenges" (Richards and Palmer, 2010, p. 130) and the leader is the one responsible of this coordination. The Olympics usually give the city mayors a world stage to promote the city and their own personal role in governing the city. Newman (2007) suggests that the Prime Minister and mayor share leadership roles in the Olympic project. Event leaders need to inspire and empower the other leaders and communicate a clear vision with all stakeholders (Allen, 2005). The political leaders are usually very successful in achieving these aims, but the collective strength of all stakeholders is equally important to have sustainability in the governance of events. Political support can be considered as a precondition for delivering successful mega-events; however without cultural sensitivity, decision making, coordination, communication and team building a leader cannot be successful (Richards and Palmer, 2010, p. 135). Especially in the case of Olympic Games, the realignment of powers such as a change of mayor and change of government might change the destiny of the Olympic project if not handled strategically.

Representativeness of the governance structure of a mega-event is crucial for its sustainability. The involvement of different levels of government, event agencies, private sector and local communities in event regeneration are usually seen as a strength of these projects (Smith, 2012). National government, local authorities, event organisers/delivery agencies and local communities are considered the main stakeholders of event-led regeneration (Richards and Palmer, 2010; Smith, 2012). It is important that stakeholders have a forum in which their views are heard and they can influence the decision-making process. This diversity can be seen as a strength of mega-event delivery, however it also makes them very difficult to manage. In order to avoid problems, “responsibilities need to be clearly set out in the strategic plan of the organisation and backed up with clear task descriptions for all involved” (Richards and Palmer, 2010, p. 141).

It is usually quite a long period to prepare, deliver and create legacy of mega-events. Changing *power relations and conflicts* are unavoidable in such a long and complex process where several stakeholders are involved. Effective working relationships between city and event stakeholders can be considered as one of the most crucial points in the success of an event while, it is difficult to generate the atmosphere and objectives for the stakeholders to make them work in harmony. According to Richards and Palmer (2010), the eventful city should integrate many different management structures within its event programmes. Therefore, stakeholders vary in terms of their control of power, legitimacy and urgency. Event organisers must ensure that all stakeholder groups are given a voice to increase the representativeness and efficiency of the organisation structure. On the other hand, with the involvement of so many different stakeholders from different areas, conflicts are inevitable. Stakeholder conflicts mainly relate to programming of the event, which decreases the effectiveness and success. However, although conflict is considered negatively and the reaction is to avoid it, it can be beneficial to the performance of groups and organisations, bringing creativity, decision quality and communication between working groups. The success of the coalition comes from the clear understanding of the objectives of the coalition and strong leadership capacity (Hall and Hubbard, 1998b).

Different models of governance can be identified while delivering events. Usually, the main tool of governance in mega-events is the Board (e.g. London 2012 Olympic Board) and it gives strategic direction to the event while professional managers deliver day-to-day operations (Richards and Palmer, 2010). However, not having clear division of roles and having overlapping responsibilities can potentially create conflicts between the Board and the stakeholders managing or running the event. Moreover, the long process of mega-event preparation and delivery means that political changes may take place. Since the public sector is highly involved in the event delivery and elections and associated changes might affect plans (Smith, 2012). Even if the build up to an event is not disrupted by a change of

government, new administrations may disrupt the legacy period. For example, changes in political leadership meant that cultural and regeneration budgets were cut after Porto's ECOC 2001 and the momentum gained during the event was lost (Smith, 2012). Hence, in order to have sustainable development throughout the event process, it is crucial to have a strategic plan from the start to handle these changes without any disruption. Also, having the event delivered by specially created arm's-length bodies, with clear objectives and responsibilities, acting together with a range of well-established organisations helps in not getting affected by political changes (Evans, 2011; Smith, 2012). However, these agencies can lack accountability and transparency.

It is also important to understand how different leaders interact to deliver events and how *knowledge transfer and networks* can be optimised to deliver sustainable urban development in a mega-event context. Analysing the stakeholder networks "allow a city to identify its key players, areas of potential development and the policies and actions that might be needed to utilise stakeholder networks to their full potential" (Richards and Palmer, 2010, p. 148). However, changing stakeholders and power relationships may lead to the loss of knowledge created throughout the event period if the process not planned clearly. A structured transfer-of-knowledge process has started to gain more attention from event organiser in the recent years especially in the Olympic Games (Girginov, 2012b).

4.4.2 Social Sustainability

Pacione (2007, p. 250) defines social sustainability as "actions and policies aimed at improving quality of life and encouraging fairness to, and distribution of, rights over the use and appropriation of the natural and built environment" which relates to improving local living conditions by reducing poverty and increasing satisfaction of basic needs. In the last decade or so, event organisers also have adopted the social sustainability approach and the social outcomes of events has started to get more attention to avoid negative impacts in the long term and to ensure 'ownership' of the event.

Communities, especially local people, are the core of social sustainability in event-led regeneration. Richards and Palmer (2010, p. 165) note the importance of local residents not only as a potential core audience but also as event initiators and important source of sustainability for events. The involvement of local communities both in decision-making and event related activities and training encourages the sense of local ownership, which contributes to a successful legacy for the event (Richards and Palmer, 2010; Smith, 2012). Similarly, Pacione (2007) highlights self-determination and participation in decision-making as the key components of sustainable urban development. According to Smith (2012, p. 152), events aim to achieve several social policy goals: enhancing community cohesion, encouraging local involvement and civic responsibility, increasing employability, assisting education, encouraging healthier lifestyles and improving attitudes towards, and experiences

of, persons with a disability. Clearly, community involvement in decision-making and engaging locals in different stages of the event are important for social sustainability of event-led regeneration. Besides, enhancing community cohesion and handling displacements in a strategic way can also lead to sustainable events. Therefore, social sustainability of event-led regeneration can be analysed under three headings: local consultation in decision-making, engaging locals in different stages of the event, and addressing community cohesion and displacement effects.

The lack of *consultation* in mega-event planning is one of the main criticisms of social sustainability. Urban social sustainability requires genuine consultation between planners and local communities. However, event planning generally engages with less consultation and public accountability than the usual case (Smith, 2010). Misener and Mason (2006) question how to get inclusive community involvement in mega sporting events and make four proposals: (1) the centrality of community values in the decision-making processes, (2) the involvement of all stakeholders, especially community groups, in preliminary strategic activities, (3) the degree of collaborative action from all groups at all stages, (4) the degree of dissemination of outcomes to all community members and the degree of reflection and focus on mutual learning in all activities. Similarly, Smith (2010) defines involvement of citizens as institutionalised and non-institutionalised networks between all stakeholders and a way to create social capital. Involving community groups in decision-making stages of mega-event planning is crucial since it increases the feeling of belonging and ownership of the event and leads to more sustainable outcomes.

It is a common argument that mega-events inspire people to get more *involved* and take an active part in their communities. Volunteering programmes are the most well-known examples of linking events to community. Volunteers do not only contribute to the economy of mega-events but also create an image of the host nation (Nichols, 2012; Preuss, 2004). Smith (2012, pp. 154–155) notes “if volunteering projects are designed with extra training, associated qualifications and places for disadvantaged people they become less like cost-effective management tactics and more like social regeneration projects”. From a different perspective, Nichols (2012) highlights that volunteering strengthens the community networks and generate a volunteer legacy. Several other programmes give people the opportunity to get involved in the Olympic Games. Pre-employment schemes and educational programmes aim to encourage young people especially to engage in initiatives focusing on healthy lifestyles, environmental concerns or personal development which all feed into social sustainability (Smith, 2012). Moreover, community based regeneration is usually encouraged through small funding packages (e.g. London 2012 Changing Places Programme).

Using mega-events to enhance *community cohesion* is one of the aims of social sustainability through events. Making everyone welcomed and building a wider collective identity is very important to have long-term positive impacts of events. Macrury also states:

“Successful community development process must manage tensions between municipal and national agendas, between various tiers of local government, between communities and market priorities, between segments of the community and between competing conceptions of the ‘good’ city.” (MacRury, 2012, p. 150)

In summary, this research suggests that communities should be able express their needs and opinions on the event-led regeneration decisions. Changing communities as a result of massive regeneration can influence the socio-cultural dynamics of the host neighbourhood. The most significant negative impact of the events is *displacement*. Even if the residents and businesses are not pushed out, they might have to leave eventually because of rent pressures or changing communities (Raco and Tunney, 2010; Smith, 2012). Usually, the main problem is recognised as stakeholders not having enough time to propose and discuss alternative plans for relocation with local residents (Smith, 2012) and use economic development financing.

4.4.3 Economic Sustainability

The increasing competition between cities and focus on local economic regeneration has become even more established after the global economic crisis in the late 2000s (Tallon, 2013). According to O’Sullivan and Jackson (2002, p. 329) sustainable local economic development considers longer term outcomes and inter-generational equity. In the *Securing for Future: Sustainable Development Strategy for the UK* (DEFRA, 2005), Prime Minister at the time, Tony Blair, acknowledges the importance of sustainable local economic development and that economic growth is not alone enough. The economic side of mega-events and its sustainability have been argued by several researchers (Essex and Chalkley, 1998; Jasmand and Maennig, 2008; Malfas et al., 2004; Raco and Tunney, 2010). It is usually discussed that most cities want to host mega-events for their potential positive impact on their local economy which in turn can prosper the local communities (Malfas et al., 2004). Events can promote economic activity as a result of jobs created before and after the event as well as attracting more investment and tourism (Essex and Chalkley, 1998; Malfas et al., 2004).

Mega-events can generate large number of *jobs*, “not only those directly associated with the organisation of the event itself but also those in the tourism and retail industry due to increased volumes of spectators/tourists, and in the construction industry especially when staging of the event requires major infrastructural development” (Malfas et al., 2004, p. 212). According to Jasmand and Maennig (2008) no significant Olympic related employment effects observed in Germany during the pre-Games period of 1972 Munich Olympics which supports the results of Baade and Matheson (2003) who concluded that Los Angeles 1984

and Atlanta 1996 Olympic Games had no significant impact on employment. On the other hand, Hotchkiss and colleagues (2002) report that 1996 Atlanta Games had significant impact on employment levels whereas wage effects had not been significant.

When economic sustainability is under discussion, the researchers mainly discuss quality and duration of the jobs and their local dimension. Hiller (2000) highlights this in his research on the 2004 Cape Town Olympic bid discussing that the majority of the anticipated jobs would have been short-lived and low-paid. Similarly, Miguelez and Carrasquer (1995) note that most of the jobs created through Barcelona 1992 Games were short-lived. Since most of the Games delivery related jobs are temporary in nature, organisers have started to adapt new strategies for social and economic sustainability of the events. Both formal and informal training, work placements, personal support, taster sessions and Games-themed educational programmes are usually introduced to get people in a position that they can apply for a job (Smith, 2012). Therefore, organising committees seek to work with partners to create new employment and business opportunities, particularly for communities surrounding the event site, to facilitate the achievement of overall regeneration aspirations. According to Richards and Palmer (2010, p. 385) the success of the event can be enhanced with “urban boosterism based on a coalition of business leaders and civic authorities with a consensus on stimulating investment and economic growth while limiting the redistributive function of the state”.

Using the events to help *local businesses* and attract more *investment* is one of the ways to contribute to the economic sustainability. Mega-events are claimed to provide opportunities for attracting new industries as well as prospering the current ones, however their impact on local businesses is still question (Raco and Tunney, 2010). Many host cities aim to develop clusters of new industries such as sports, creative or high-tech on or near the event sites (Smith, 2012). The role of high-profile investors and ‘creative-sector’ firms contributing to the success and sustainability of urban economies is highly visible especially in event-led regeneration (Raco and Tunney, 2010). However, Nordin (2003, p. 34) suggests that clusters cannot be created by the policy alone and should develop with a bottom-up perspective where “any interventions and government frameworks need to be tailored to local circumstances”.

On the other hand, the results of the studies on local businesses and mega-events have been varied. Spilling (1996) reported that a great deal of business activity was stimulated in the 1994 Winter Olympics, whereas Putsis (1998) argues that while construction and service sectors benefit from the Games, local businesses are usually worse off. Similarly, Raco and Tunney (2010) mention the ‘invisibility’ of local SMEs in London 2012 Olympic regeneration.

Staging mega-events contributes to the *tourism* industry of the host city, region and even nation. Events can create short-term and long-term effects on the tourism facilities and demand of the host cities (Smith, 2012). While short-term effects can be described as increasing demand in tourism such as longer stays and more spending (Chalip and Costa, 2005), long-term effects are the subject of sustainable event-led regeneration since it relates to “post-event demand, the supply of tourism facilities and the provision of new capacity” (Smith, 2012, p. 192). Sustainable tourism development has started to gain more attention with the publication of Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry in 1995 (Pigram and Wahab, 1997) and relatedly, it became one of the important concerns of the events industry in later years. Mega-events can contribute to the tourism of the host city in several ways; enhancing the destination image, increasing the number of visitors and spending, contributing to the capacity building with venues and hotel developments (Hiller, 1998; O’Brien and Chalip, 2007; Smith, 2012). According to the results of the research done on actual venue regions of the 1972 Munich Summer Olympics by Jasmand and Maenning (2008), greater international recognition attracted additional numbers of tourists to both the venue regions and other German regions which led to an increase levels of income and employment in the tourism sector. However, Hiller (1998) discusses the fact that mega-events cannot be isolated from other factors occurring simultaneously or independent of the event so the direct tourism impact of mega-events are hard to attribute.

4.4.4 Physical Sustainability

The fast growth of cities, especially during the last two decades, raised environmental concerns as well as the sustainability of development (Pacione, 2005; Tallon, 2013). Pacione (2009, p. 683) suggests adopting a ‘smart growth’ strategy which is “a set of planning techniques designed to achieve more sustainable development, that includes infill development, revitalization of existing neighbourhoods, mixed-use developments, environmental preservation and integrated regional transport and land-use planning”. Therefore, physical sustainability involves more than environmental concerns but also having a comprehensive view of the urban development process. In this regard, the impact of mega-events on urban environment has long been a key discussion since mega-events are usually associated with urban transformations where large areas of the cities are redeveloped (Hall, 1992; Richards and Palmer, 2010). In order to stage mega-events, cities invest hugely in new venues and infrastructure. While World EXPOs are more associated with temporary venues (but also city extensions, e.g. Lisbon, Shanghai), Olympic Games usually leave landmark venues to the post-event period (Smith, 2012).

Mega-event infrastructure includes high quality information, accommodation, transport, visitor services and also venues and infrastructure for the event itself (Richards and Palmer, 2010). Host cities sometimes end up with white elephants which is “under-utilised facilities that are expensive to maintain” (Smith, 2012, p. 68). The white elephant theory proposed by

Robinson and Torvik (2005, p. 197) suggest that “white elephants may be preferred to socially efficient projects if the political benefits are large compared to the surplus generated by efficient projects”. On the other hand, Horne and Manzenreiter’s (2004) study on the World Cup 2002 showed that both South Korea and Japan ended up with under-utilised football stadia since interest in football is very low in these countries and they have not assigned any other use to the stadia. Similarly, Burton (2003) discusses the Olympic venues and mentions that Olympic venues are attractive during the event time, but they can turn into ghost towns after the Olympics has left the city.

Therefore, researchers make different suggestions to avoid white elephants and have sustainable physical event-led regeneration. Garcia (2005) notes that it is possible to benefit from investing in event-led infrastructure, if the process is embedded within the wider urban and cultural policy. Similarly, IOC acknowledges the issues related to venue development and suggests that venues should be developed in reference to host city’s long term plans, they should be sustainable, existing or temporary venues should be used where suitable, and host cities should consider flexibility from early stages (Pitts and Liao, 2009). Smith (2012) makes a similar categorisation of strategies to avoid under-utilised venues: using existing venues, securing long-term users in advance, using temporary structures, converting venues and using satellite venues. Adopting one or more of these strategies in venue development would help host cities to have a sustainable physical event related development.

Pacione (2007, p. 249) summarises the goals of *ecological* urban sustainable development as maintaining biodiversity, maintaining life support systems, conserving the resource base, reducing reliance on non-renewables, creating a secondary materials economy, eliminating health risks, avoiding creation of new risks, and protecting household and workspace safety. All these goals have started to be recognised by mega-event organisers in recent years and several research studies have been conducted to examine the environmental impact of mega-events such as Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) to standardise the planning and development. Collins and others (2009) suggest that environmental impacts of mega-events can best be assessed by using quantitative methods and examine two approaches: Ecological Footprint and Environmental Input–Output modelling (ENVIO). Finally, they propose:

“quantifying the environmental impacts of major sporting events will become increasingly important as sustainable development commitments become mainstreamed into the constitutions and mission statements of sports organisations, and in the statutes of the public sector bodies.” (Collins et al., 2009, p. 835)

Staging mega-events may cause environmental problems and it is highly important to adopt the appropriate model so that policy-makers can undertake the appropriate policy formulations (Munday and Roberts, 2006). For example, temporary facilities had to be

demolished after the Atlanta Games since they would not be used by the host community (Lenskyj, 2000) and disposing of such material which cannot be recycled fails to be ecologically sustainable (Malfas et al., 2004). Similarly, local people were worried about the environmental degradation during the build up period of the 2004 Athens Games (Dodouras and James, 2007).

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter critically examines the sustainable development in event-led regeneration addressing **RQ2: *How can host cities achieve sustainable development in event-led regeneration?*** The chapter highlighted that urban regeneration studies have been even more concerned with sustainable development, since it is important to bring forward development in a less resource intensive way, but still satisfying the current and future need of the population (Smith, 2012). It is evident that sustainable development is not only concerned with the environmental impacts of development, but also social, physical and economic dimensions. The current research highlights the importance of 'good' governance to manage all these dimensions, which can also be adopted in event-led regeneration. This study therefore analyses the governance of social, economic and physical sustainability and the way stakeholders manage these dimensions in event-led regeneration; not just the actual content, targets and outcomes of these dimensions such as the carbon footprint calculations under environmental sustainability or economic models and economic sustainability. In the light of the discussion above and using the determined dimensions of sustainability, the case study of the London 2012 Olympic Games and related regeneration is thus analysed in the following chapters in order to test these concepts in practice.

CHAPTER 5 METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODCUTION

This chapter outlines how the research is conducted, which methods are used to collect the data, and the way the analysis is undertaken. The chapter starts with setting the research aim and objectives and then explains the reason why the case study methodology is applied, followed by the epistemological framework. The rationale for adopting a case study research approach is then explained. The case study methodology attracts growing interest while investigating real world research problems, as they allow in-depth examination of social phenomena (Yin, 2009). Later, the research methods and data collection are explained outlining the interviews, focus group meetings, secondary data analysis and document analysis. Next, the way the data analysed is explained under both qualitative and quantitative methods since the research adopts a mixed methodology and the validity of the research is justified. Finally, the chapter discusses the ethical issues and limitations that are raised during the research and how they are encountered.

5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study includes nine chapters. The aim of the study is to understand the governance of mega-event led regeneration and assess how organisers can enhance the sustainable development principles in event-led regeneration. In order to reach this aim, three research questions are determined in the beginning of the study with key research methods (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Research Questions and Aims

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	AIMS
<p>RQ 1: What is the rationale for hosting mega-events and regenerating areas/cities that surrounds them?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literature review on the current evidence on mega-events by definitions, changing rationales and controversy around them • Literature review on different models of regeneration and the evolution of event-led regeneration over time.
<p>RQ 2: How can host cities achieve sustainable development in event-led regeneration?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literature review on sustainable development, sustainable development principles and event-led regeneration • Assessing reports and official documents on sustainable development and events • Interviews with regeneration related stakeholders of London 2012 Olympic Games

<p>RQ 3: How have the sustainable development principles been implemented in London 2012 event-led regeneration from stakeholder and local community perspectives?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis of the physical evolution of London 2012 through master plans, planning documents and policy guidance of London 2012 • Interviews with regeneration related stakeholders of London 2012 Olympic Games • Conducting focus group meetings with residents in host boroughs of London 2012 and analysis of secondary survey data
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5.2.1 Case Study Research

This study adopts a case study approach since it allows the researcher to understand the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events. Bryman (2008) describes five different types of research design in social research which are: experimental design, cross-sectional design (survey design), longitudinal design, case study design and comparative design. Overall, the case study methodology is determined as the ideal way to clarify the above objectives and aim since the fundamental nature of a case study is that it aims to illuminate decision(s) by questioning why they were taken, how they were implemented and with what result (Schramm, 1971).

One of the main criticisms of case study research is the limitation of not being able to generalize the findings. However, it is not the target of this research to generalize to other cases beyond the case itself but the lessons learnt are transferable to other mega-events. The aim of this research is to generate a detailed examination of a single case in relation to engaging theoretical analysis (Bryman, 2008; Yin, 2009). This approach, where the researcher generates theory out of findings, is “theoretical generalization” (Mitchell, 1983) and is usually associated with inductive research. Eisenhardt (1989) argued that case studies are most suitable when the researcher wants to question the 'how' and 'why' aspects of a case. Case study research can also offer new approaches and develop theoretical frameworks for understanding social manners. As Veal (2006, p. 110) comments, case study outcomes may be evaluative, e.g. to confirm or raise doubts about policy intervention in one or more setting, or explanatory, e.g. to confirm or raise doubts about the applicability of theory in at least one setting.

Yin (2009) distinguishes five types of case studies. The *critical case* is decided on the basis that it leads the researcher to a better understanding of the conditions in which the hypothesis will or will not hold. The *representative case* “epitomises a broader category of cases or they will provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered” (Bryman, 2008, p. 70). Third is the *revelatory case* which analyses a condition or event which is inaccessible to scientific study. The *extreme* or *unique case* demonstrates a unique situation. The *longitudinal case* gives the opportunity to be explored at two or more stages. Although, many case studies offer a longitudinal element, a case is chosen both because it

fits in one of the other four case study types and gives an opportunity to be studied over the long term (Bryman, 2008). Therefore, a case study does not have to fit only one of the categories but can combine these elements. London 2012 Olympic Games and associated regeneration has been selected as the main case study in this research. Initially, the regeneration process of London 2012 is considered as a *representative case* on the basis thinking that all similar event-led regeneration projects adopts a similar perspective in terms of regeneration decisions and governance policies. However, rather than a representative case it turned out to be a *unique case* since London 2012 Olympic Games/Lower Lee Valley area regeneration process demonstrates a mega-event led regeneration project which had substantial impact on built environment, governance structure and local communities and the connection between these three components is significant. On the other hand, the policy implication offered on the basis of London 2012 can be tested in future mega-events/mega-projects for more sustainable event-led regeneration and legacy planning and the integrated approach of this research can offer a comparative foundation for future research.

5.3 EPISTEMOLOGY

The research design adopts a mixed methodology. Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as complete opposites but they are different ends on a scale (Newman and Benz, 1998). Qualitative research aims to explore and understand the meaning individuals or groups attribute to a social problem whereas, quantitative research tests objective theories by examining the relationship among variables (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, quantitative research engages with more positivist approaches which concentrate more on *theory verification* through survey methods, mathematical modelling, and statistical means, whilst on the other hand qualitative research holds a constructive view and concentrates on *theory generation* using interviews, documentation, archival analysis and so on (Creswell, 2009). A mixed method is in the middle of this scale since it involves both qualitative and quantitative elements.

The research methodology adopts an integrative approach in which built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisation structure are studied together. In order analyse sustainable development in any regeneration project, it is important to understand the relation of these three components with each other. The research uses multiple theoretical perspectives, sources of data and methodologies to analyse the case. Changes in built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisation are analysed in connection with each other, not as single units. Each aspect is evaluated accordingly with the changes in others to understand the complex structure of the regeneration in a holistic way.

As discussed previously in Chapter 4, the sustainable development concept involves a balanced integration of economic development, environmental protection and social and

cultural diversity. In order to reach sustainable development outcomes, all three principles of sustainable development must converge and work in harmony. In the UK, the aims of sustainable development set out in the Planning Policy Statement 1: delivering sustainable development (PPS1) 2005, reflects the wide range of principles that the Government adopts for sustainable development and sustainable communities. These principles are *living within environmental limits, ensuring a strong, healthy and just society, achieving a sustainable economy, promoting good governance and using sound science responsibly.*

When the focus is on the sustainability of events, Getz (2009, p. 70) suggests that “sustainable events are not just those that can endure indefinitely, they are also events that fulfil important social, cultural, economic and environmental roles that people value”. Pacione (2007) approaches it from a different angle by locating the political sustainability at the core of his sustainable urban development model as the governance framework regulates the performance of the other four dimensions which are economic, social, natural and physical sustainability. In this regard, governance appears as an important component of sustainable development since without participative governance structure, reaching sustainable development outcomes is not possible (Evans, 2011).

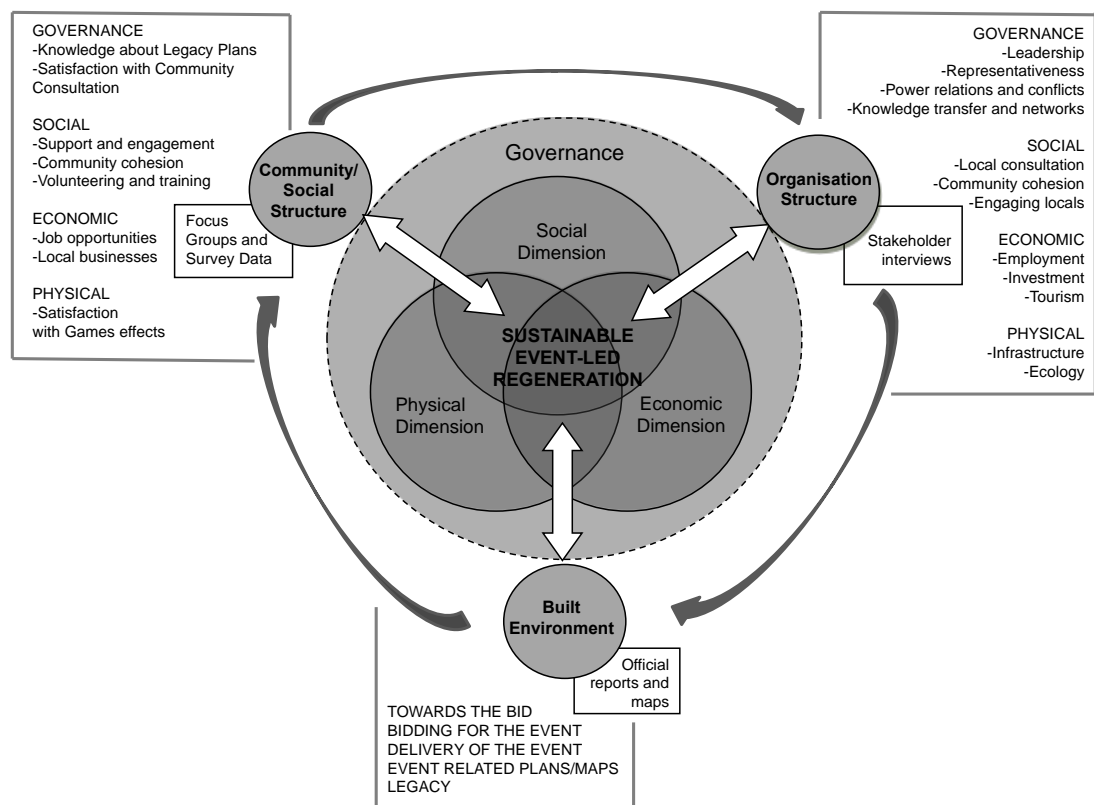


Figure 5.1: Epistemological framework of Sustainable Event-led Regeneration

Figure 5.1 introduces the epistemological framework of this study and the governance is a meta-theme that involves and influences all three principles of sustainable development (economic, social, and environmental). Chapter 3 discusses that the objective of sustainable

development is to optimise the achievements both within and across the three systems through an adaptive process of integration, but more usually through trade-offs agreed (or not) amongst many sectors and stakeholders in society. In order to have sustainable event-led regeneration, therefore the governance has to be sustainable as well. Organisation structure, community structure and changes in built environment are discussed individually and in relation to each other.

This has been evaluated in several ways. Firstly, to what extent and how the local communities are involved in the organisation structure of the regeneration projects are analysed through stakeholder interviews, focus group meetings held in relation to the London 2012 Olympic Games and survey data (Chapter 8). The way that the decision-making structure and power relations work on the changes in the built environment is analysed through stakeholder interviews (Chapter 7) as well as policy reports and master plans of the London 2012 Olympic Park and its surroundings (Chapter 6). Finally, the extent that changes in the built environment respond to the needs of local communities is evaluated through the analysis of focus group meetings, survey data and policy documents (Chapter 6-8).

5.3 RESEARCH METHODS & DATA COLLECTION

A mixed methodology is adopted in this research in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the regeneration and its implications on, and in and around the London 2012 Olympic Park. There are five main methods in qualitative research; ethnography/participant observation, qualitative interviewing, focus groups, discourse/conversation analysis and document/text analysis (Bryman, 2008). Similarly, Shipway, Jago and Deery (2011) identify participant observation, in-depth interviews and focus groups as the three most common qualitative research methods in event studies. This research used three qualitative research methods: interviews, focus groups and document analysis. As another source of data, secondary data is used to further understand the local resident reflections on London 2012 related regeneration. Secondary data does not have to be quantitative (Veal, 2006), however in this research quantitative analysis has been undertaken using the available secondary data. Therefore, this research uses a multi-method approach. Semi-structured interviews conducted with London2012 stakeholders, focus group meetings held with local residents of four London 2012 host boroughs and document analysis are analysed adopting a qualitative approach and secondary data analysis is undertaken using the dataset Host Borough Resident Survey that is adopting a quantitative approach (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Summary of Research Methods and Data Sources

	RESEARCH METHODS			
	Qualitative			Quantitative
	Interviews	Focus Groups	Documents	Survey Data
DATA	24 semi-structured face-to-face digital recorded transcribed	4 structured face-to-face digital recorded transcribed	Official government reports, candidate file and media files	Host Borough Resident Survey-Taking Part Survey N=918
PARTICIPANTS /SOURCE	London 2012 regeneration decision-making stakeholders	Residents living in and around the fringe of the London 2012 Olympic Park	London 2012 database of all related institutions	DCMS (UKDA)
TIME PERIOD	July 2011-May 2012	March-April 2012	2005-2013	February-April 2012

5.3.1 Interviews

Interviewing is probably the most widely used method in qualitative social research and also an important source of information for case studies (Bryman, 2008). Three types of case study interview methods are in-depth (unstructured) interview, focused (semi-structured) interview and structured survey (Yin, 2009). This study employs semi-structured interviews where the researcher has specific topics to be covered and questions but the interview process is still flexible.

Interview Design and Administration: A scoping study has firstly been undertaken of the London2012 Olympic Games to gain an understanding of issues related to mega-events as well as the likely perspectives and responses of different stakeholders. Later on, semi-structured interviews are conducted with the identified decision-making stakeholders. Interview questions are directed towards understanding plans undertaken to develop the mega-event strategy, the response to the mega-event led regeneration, reasons behind decisions made, expectations from regeneration, relationships with other stakeholders and opinions about public participation. Interview questions are also considered in relation to the Meta-Evaluation of the Impacts and Legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games study (DCMS, 2011) and necessary adjustments applied. The researcher has followed fairly specific topics and specific questions. The interviews have been conducted face-to-face at the working place of the interviewees and each lasted around 30-60 minutes. The interviews are audio-recorded with the consent of the interviewee. At the end of the interview, respondents are asked to fill in a feedback form and send it back to the researcher via pre-paid envelope (see Appendix 2). During the interviews, other relevant data is also collected, including marketing materials, media kits, videos, strategy documents and reports etc.

Sampling: The sampling in this research is not random since the stakeholders to be interviewed are chosen because of their relevance to the research. Purposive sampling is used for determining London2012 stakeholders who “will best help the researcher

understand the problem and the research question” (Creswell, 2009, p. 178). The institutions which are going to be interviewed are selected on the base of their relevance to social, physical and economic regeneration of the London2012 Olympic Park. In terms of determining the individuals interviewed in each institution, a snowball sampling method is used. The researcher initially sampled a group of stakeholders in the determined institutions and as the interviews started these people proposed other participants who have experience and expertise in the London2012 regeneration. The interviews continued until theoretical saturation when no new data was felt be emerging through interviews, the research discussion expected through interviews is well developed and the relationship between other categories (change in built environment and social structure) are well established (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Investigation of the stakeholder interviews including deciding on the contact database and content design started in May 2010. Before starting the interviews, a letter is emailed to the central regeneration and mega-event contacts. The letter indicates the intention to conduct further research in the area and ask support for the research (including access to key people, policy and other non-public documents, e.g. ‘grey’ material). The contacts are telephoned/e-mailed and agreed contacts participate in the study. 24 interviews have been conducted with 20 institutions and 11 feedback forms received (see Appendix 1). Additionally, 10 meetings have been held with university staff members doing research about London 2012 Games, as well as research institutes and community relations staff. These meetings helped to incorporate different perspectives and reach a broader coverage of documents and reports.

5.3.2 Focus Group Meetings

Focus group meetings sought to understand the involvement of the residents in the decision-making and their expectations from the London 2012 Olympic Games and regeneration legacy. Focus groups are an appropriate method to explore the ways in which people perceive and talk about the issues raised by the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley and public participation. This method is a form of group interview which involves several participants and a facilitator/moderator and there is an emphasis in the questioning on a particular topic where the emphasis is upon interaction within the group (Bryman, 2008). Focus groups enable researchers to dig beneath what many see as the ‘superficial’ responses given to questionnaire-based surveys (Macnaghten and Jacobs, 1997). Therefore, they try to reveal a wide range of views across a broad section of social experience and they do not claim to identify public opinion in any definitive sense. Another important reason to choose focus group as a methodology in this research is, that it offers the chance of letting people explore and challenge each other’s reasons for holding a certain view (Bryman, 2008). In a one-to-one interview, interviewees are rarely challenged, however in the context of a focus group, individuals usually challenge each other’s views. This

process allows the researcher to have more realistic and in-depth results on what people think.

Focus Group Design and Administration: Focus group meetings have been organized with the residents living in and around the fringe of the London 2012 Olympic Park to understand the expectations of local residents, to what degree they participate in the Olympic activities, to what extent hosting Olympic Games has changed their life and outlook, and what they think about social, physical and economic regeneration in the area.

The focus group sessions begin with an introduction whereby the facilitator (researcher) thanks people for coming and introduces herself. The aims and objectives of the research are briefly outlined and the format of the focus group meeting is then summarized. The participants are asked to sign a consent form where they are informed that the meeting will be recorded and all data will be treated confidentially and anonymized. Later on, the participants are asked to fill in a form providing some basic socio-demographic information about them (see Appendix 5) and informed that they are free not to answer any questions that they do not feel comfortable with. Although all participants did not fill and return the form, they all agreed the session being recorded and the information they provided used for this research. Based on the information provided by the participants, the majority aged between 45 and 64 and lived in their current neighbourhood for more than 10 years. The groups were ethnically diverse, which reflects the characteristics of the host boroughs (See Appendix 6).

Participants are then asked to introduce themselves briefly. Finally, the session starts with a facilitator raising some questions and phrases about involvement, public participation in decisions taken in the Olympic park, feeling of belonging and expectations. Since it was challenging to reach local residents and channels of accessing them were limited, the focus group meeting questions were not piloted. However, some adaptations were made after the first focus group meeting in terms of making questions more understandable and considering time limitations of the meeting. Each question is demonstrated in a single A4 page so that everybody can see during the discussion period (Appendix 4).

All focus group meetings are audio recorded with the consent of participants. The meetings last around an hour and at the end, the facilitator thanks the group members for their participation and asks if they have any questions or comments.

Sampling: The focus groups usually include five to twelve participants and they are chosen either from “a ‘panel’ of people who make themselves available to market researchers for this sort of exercise, or they may be chosen because they are members of a particular group of interest to the research” (Veal, 2006, p. 201). This study has chosen the participants

following the second method who are local residents in a particular area and mostly do not know each other. Four focus group meetings were organised, one in each host borough bordering the Olympic Park: Newham, Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest.

Therefore, stratified purposeful sampling is adopted in focus groups. The techniques help to ensure that relevant subgroups are represented in the sample by dividing the population into strata based on variables, which is the borough of residence around the London 2012 Olympic Park in this case. The researcher aimed to reach as many residents as possible to make the participants diverse and to increase the representativeness. The researcher attended 11 drop-in sessions and 5 community meetings organised by LOCOG⁴ to reach the local community members living in the host boroughs and organised the focus group meetings for this study in the following weeks (Appendix 3). Moreover, the researcher visited different community centres in the host boroughs to meet people and leave flyers (see Appendix 5) to invite them to the focus group meetings. Local residents who gave their contact details are sent reminders before the meeting and confirm their attendance.

5.3.3 Host Borough Resident Survey Data

Secondary data is the information that is collected for purposes serving other research which can be used as a second time in the current project (Veal, 2006). This saves time and cost as well as provides access to a larger scale of data than would otherwise be possible. Therefore, this research has used the data from the Host Borough Resident Survey to understand the reflections of local residents about Olympic regeneration.

Survey Design: Taking Part⁵ is a survey undertaken by DCMS which collects data on many aspects of leisure, culture and sport participation in England, as well as an in-depth range of socio-demographic information on respondents. The Host Borough Survey was a one-off, area-specific survey that covered only the six Olympic host boroughs (Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest) rather than the whole of England as part of the annual Taking Part Survey in 2012. It was specifically commissioned to inform the Meta-Evaluation of London 2012 Olympics (DCMS) and gathered information of the views, behaviours and attitudes of the residents in the six Olympic host boroughs. The researcher accessed the raw data and it is used as a secondary and comparative data source in this research.

⁴ LOCOG organised several community meetings and drop in sessions in the London 2012 host boroughs to ensure an Olympic and Paralympic network was in place to get the Games families from the accommodation centres to their respective venues in good time with minimum disruption to residents. Parking restrictions, security issues and additional signage that were in place during the Games were introduced during these meetings.

⁵ For more information on Taking Part Survey, please see National Archives webpage (<http://nationalarchives.gov.uk/>)

Sampling: The methodology for the Host Borough Survey was consistent with that of Taking Part. Multi-stage stratified random sampling is adopted and the survey is conducted face to face with 1,320 adults between 27 February and 27 April 2012. For the purpose of this study, only the data of four host boroughs bordering the Olympic Park (Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest) is analysed which represents 918 respondents (see Table 5.3). The respondents of the Host Borough Survey were broadly split across the four host boroughs and 72% of the respondents have been living in one of the host boroughs for over 5 years.

Table 5.3: Residential borough distribution of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Hackney	219	23.8
Newham	230	25.0
Valid Tower Hamlets	244	26.5
Waltham Forest	226	24.6
Total	918	100.0

Source: The Host Borough Survey (DCMS, 2012)

5.3.4 Documents and Reports

Official documents, reports and media outputs are used as a source of data in this research. Official documents include IOC files, DCMS, OPLC, DCLG and other reports and plans related to London 2012 regeneration and sustainable development. These documents are scanned and analysed before starting the fieldwork. Also, more documents are collected, including marketing materials, media kits, videos, strategy documents and reports during the stakeholder interviews and London 2012 related meetings and conferences.

Additionally, press releases are monitored before, during and after the London2012. These releases cover the London2012 Olympic preparation phase and the post-Olympic period. Given that the post-event period debates in London are very contemporary and still finding their place in written and visual media, the press releases are used as a key information source.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

As noted, mixed method research is used in this research. The analysis is undertaken by the continuous comparison of the data with theory in an iterative process, and there is a frequent overlap between data collection, analysis, and theory development. This iterative process also gives the researcher the freedom to make adjustments to the path of inquiry, enable the collection of additional data sources, and allow the research to explore emergent theories and take advantage of special opportunities (Yin, 2009). By the nature of the data subject to

analysis, this research has undertaken both qualitative and quantitative analysis where the former is the primary data and the latter is the secondary data.

5.4.1 Qualitative Analysis

The data from both the stakeholder interviews and focus group meetings are analysed in a qualitative way by the nature of the data collected. Before the data collection process, several decisions are taken in order to foresee the way that the analysis will be undertaken. All interviews and focus group meetings that are audio recorded are transcribed into a report format. Bryman (2008) considers coding as one of the main steps in grounded theory. Therefore, interview and focus group transcripts are reviewed and given labels to component parts that have theoretical significance which are called “indicators” in this study. As Veal (2006) suggests the indicators are determined through the epistemological framework and research questions.

Data collected through the interviews are analysed by using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software called NVivo which provides an easy way of coding when “the researcher is faced with a substantial number of lengthy documents to analyse” (Veal, 2006, p. 213). Obtained data is analysed with regard to the research objectives. Through iterating between the data and concepts, key theoretical constructs are recognized and data is interpreted in this frame (Yin, 1994).

5.4.2 Quantitative Analysis

The raw data of the Host Borough Resident Survey is accessed through the UKDA in SPSS format which is a “computer package for analysing data from questionnaire surveys” (Veal, 2006, p. 297). Besides investigating frequencies, cross-tabulations and related graphs/bar charts, a statistical test has been run to examine the relation between variables. Chi-square test has been used to understand the relation to cross-tabulations of two nominal variables. The main reason to run this test was to understand if there is a difference between the approaches of residents from different host boroughs and therefore, different spatial relationship toward the London 2012 led regeneration. When examining cross-tabulations it is possible to use ‘common sense’ to make an approximate judgement as to whether there is any sort of relationship between the variables involved in the table, however, unless the pattern is very clear, it can be hard judge whether the overall differences are significant and chi-square test is designed to achieve this (Veal, 2006).

After deciding on the variables, the null hypothesis is set up stressing there is no relationship between the variables. The cells of the cross-tabulation include the count and column parentages as well as the expected counts which would be expected if the null hypothesis

were true. Chi-square⁶ is “a statistics based on the sum of squared values of differences between the counts and the expected counts” (Veal, 2006, p. 340). In this research, SPSS package has been used to calculate the value of the chi-square and the Pearson Chi-Square value has been used to understand the relation between variables.

Figure 5.3 shows the case that the null hypothesis is true (population counts and expected counts are the same). As with the normal curve it is common to adopt a 5 per cent cut-off (Veal, 2006), which this study adopts as well. Therefore, if any value of chi-square is in the range to the right of the 5 per cent in the diagram, it is considered inconsistent with the null-hypothesis (reject null hypothesis). In other words, if the value of chi-square is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected and concludes that there is a significant difference between the two variables.

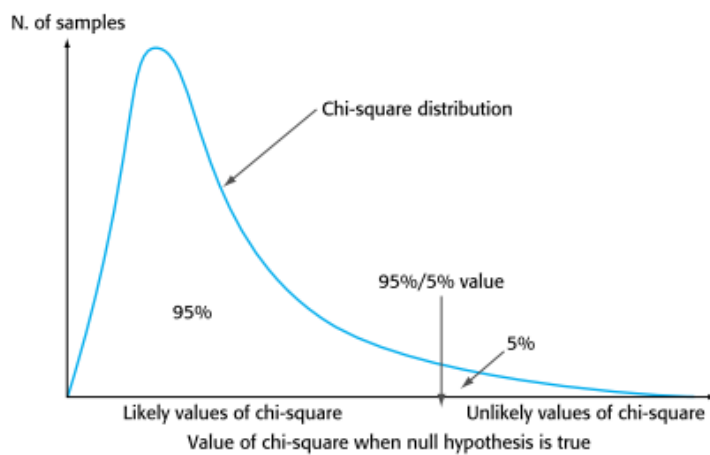


Figure 5.2: Distribution of chi-square assuming null hypothesis is true (Source: Veal (2006, p. 342))

The value of chi-square depends on the table size which is indirectly measured by the *degrees of freedom* (df). In this research, the results of chi-square tests are mostly demonstrated in bar charts for better visual understanding and giving the chi-square value, degree of freedom and significance in brackets. Finally, the survey data analysis is presented along with the focus group data which gave the opportunity to understand the reasons behind decisions and opinions.

⁶ Chi-square test mathematical formula:
$$x^2 = \sum_{\text{all cells}} \frac{(\text{Observed} - \text{Expected})^2}{\text{Expected}}$$

5.5 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Empirical social research is largely concerned with people's behaviour and with their attitudes and for information on these, the researcher is reliant on people's own responses to questionnaire based or other types of interviews which makes the validity of this kind of research difficult (Veal, 2006). Similarly, reliability in terms of having the same research findings if the research were to be repeated with a different sample is very unlikely in social science since the report of a person on certain subject reflects a snap-shot of that certain moment, location and people (Veal, 2006). Therefore, any research dealing with human should be careful when making generalisations.

On the other hand, some qualitative researchers argue that this kind of concept of validity is false or outdated since it is important to recognise that there are different interpretations of any set of phenomena and plural ways of assessing validity (Creswell, 2009). This means that any claims of knowledge "can only be valid within a particular frame of assumptions; or within a particular socio-economic context" (Creswell, 2009, p. 47). However, Creswell (2009, p. 48) mentions, "while judgements cannot be absolutely certain, they can vary in the extent to which we are justified in giving them credence". Triangulation method is one of the most common methods to overcome this issue, therefore case study and other interpretivist methods usually include triangulation. This study adopted *methodological triangulation*, which "involves checking data collected via one method with data collected" (Creswell, 2009, p. 222). The researcher approached London 2012 Olympics and related regeneration by combining different methods (mixed methodology) and data sources (stakeholders, local residents and official reports) that gave the researcher the grounds to validate and test the reliability of the data collected.

On the other hand Yin (2009) approaches the whole concept from a different perspective and proposes the four tests method: *construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability*. As seen in Table 5.4, the research corresponds and adopts most of the tactics mentioned in Yin's (2009) study to sustain the validity and the reliability of the research.

Table 5.4: Tactics to increase case study research design

Tests	Case Study Tactics	Application in this Research
Construct validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ use multiple sources of evidence ◆ establish chain of evidence ◆ have key informants review draft case study report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ triangulation of interviews, focus groups and documentation ◆ chain of evidence through transcriptions, and protocols
Internal validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ do pattern matching ◆ do explanation building ◆ address rival explanations ◆ use logic models 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ the characteristics of different variables explored in sustainable event-led regeneration and London 2012 ◆ explanation building in narrative form
External validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ use theory in single-case studies ◆ use replication logic in multiple-case studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ analytic generalisation

Reliability	◆ use case study protocol ◆ develop case study database	◆ both case study protocol and data base is saved
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Source: adopted from Yin (2009, p. 41)

5.6 LIMITATIONS/DELIMITATIONS

Case study research might have several limitations discussed in the literature (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001; Yin, 2009). Firstly, there is the risk of accumulating too much data which is not easy to analyse. Case study researchers are conscious of being flooded in data. In terms of literature review, the most relevant material has been examined. For the interviews, focus groups and secondary data analysis, the questions relevant to the research aims are included in analysis. Using the NVivo and SPSS software helped the researcher to organise the primary and secondary data and tag them under relevant headings.

Second, case study research can be very expensive and time consuming if undertaken in a large-scale project. Case study data is time-consuming to collect, and even more time-consuming to analyse (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001). The primary data for this research has been collected between July 2011 and May 2012, which is almost a year in time. Organising the focus group meetings were a big a challenge since not having enough people contributing to primary research may weaken the value and credibility of any findings produced. This limitation is mitigated with the use of secondary data (Host Borough Resident Survey) and the use of official reports and documents.

Next, case study research is stronger when researchers expertise are maximised, but this raises doubts about their “objectivity” (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001). In order to reduce this risk, the interviews and focus group meetings are recorded digitally and transcribed. However, no matter how rigorous it is, the researcher cannot be, completely objective, nor can he/she easily make transparent all the judgements made (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001). Therefore, adequate evidence from the data is presented to support the findings, but a certain amount has to be taken ‘on trust’. The research explains the interpretation of the data along with direct references, so that the reader can make his/her own judgements on the relevance of the findings and their significance.

Finally, the case study approach has often been criticised because it does not provide a basis for ‘scientific generalisation’ (Yin, 2009, p. 15). Case studies can make no claims to be typical and although the findings from case studies cannot be generalised as done in experimental design, several conclusions can still be made and these may be applicable for other contexts. In this study, it is not the target of this research to generalize to other cases beyond the case itself but the lessons learnt are transferable to other mega-events.

Moreover, there are several challenges about doing research on a recent event that is still under the spotlight and the legacy is still unfolding. Firstly, the urban politics have witnessed changes at national, city and local levels throughout the course of this study. Leaderships as well as leading institutions and powers changed throughout this time. Organisations such as the ODA and LDA have started to pass their responsibilities to GLA and OPLC/LLDC during the course of this research. While these shifts could have created difficulty to reach related people for interviews, in general it was not difficult to secure interviews or information for this research through using snowball method. However, there were cases, for instance the BOA, where the researcher was unable to obtain an interview. However, there was a great deal of information from BOA in the public domain in the form of official reports.

Secondly, most of the organisations involved in the Olympics have a high public profile and they collaborate with each other in later stages of the Olympic legacy or other projects. Therefore, in reporting the findings care had to be given to the anonymity and in order to jeopardise these relationships, whilst retaining the integrity and richness of this study. This is part of the challenges of conducting research on recent and contemporary events.

5.7 ETHICS

Several ethical issues are addressed during the course of conducting the research since it includes both stakeholder interviews and focus group meetings. The researcher has worked through British Psychological Society, Brunel University Code of Research Ethics and EU Directive 95/46 on Data Protection accordingly with the research.

All stakeholder interviews are conducted face-to-face in the working environment of the participants. Interviews are mostly audio-recorded (with permission) otherwise notes are taken during interviews. Later on, the notes are written as a report-style document. In the beginning of each stakeholder interview, the participant is asked to sign an informed consent form. This form gives the participants “the opportunity to be fully informed of the nature of the research and implications of their participation at the outset” (Bryman, 2008, p. 140). It involves an information sheet explaining the purpose of the study and how the data obtained from them will be processed. The participant is given the choice to allow the researcher to process the personal data that he/she have supplied, assign the copyright of his/her recording to the researcher, agree to the audio recording of his/her interview and agree that the researcher can quote participant’s name and the company he/she works for research. Informed consent provides information to a potential research participant through which they gain a full understanding of their involvement in the study and researcher’s responsibilities to them as a research participant so that they can decide whether or not to take part in the study before the research begins.

The consent form is slightly changed for the focus group meetings but still each participant is asked to read the forms and sign before the meeting starts if they want to take part. Focus group meetings are held in local community centres/libraries in the area where the participants live. Focus group meetings also include a short questionnaire where the participants are asked about their socio-demographic information. All participants are anonymized in the focus group meetings (Appendix 5).

Audio-records are transferred into digital form and stored in a locked file until the research completion. Under no circumstances will identifiable responses be provided to any other third party. Only the researcher has access to the information participants provide. The results from this research will be available in one or more of the following sources; scientific papers in peer reviewed academic journals; presentations at national and international conferences and local seminars. Also, key agents related with the research will be able to approach the outcomes, so that participants can get information from them.

5.8 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter introduced the research methodology starting with the research design and the general structure of the research and outlining the research questions and objectives. The reason why case study (London 2012 Olympic Games and related regeneration in the LLV) methodology chosen is explained and it is followed up with the epistemological framework in order to understand the structure of the analysis and the basis that this research is grounded. There are two groups of actors in this research. The first group is called the “stakeholders” which refers to the organisations and institutions involved in the decision making of London 2012, and the second group is the “local residents/community” which is the people living in and around the London 2012 Olympic Park/Host Boroughs. In order to reach these two groups, different data collection strategies are adopted. The stakeholder data is gathered through face-to-face interviews whereas local resident data is supplied through focus group meetings in the host boroughs and the use of secondary data (Host Borough Resident Survey) to reach a more representable result. Alongside this, numerous official reports and documents are analysed.

Depending on the type of data, both qualitative and quantitative analysis is undertaken. The multi method approach made triangulation possible and together with other components the validity and reliability of the research is sustained. Lastly, the ethical considerations of the research and the way they are addressed are explained in detail in the final section of this chapter. The next chapter presents the historical context of the London 2012 Games and the regeneration of the LLV and discusses several policy documents and plans that influence the regeneration of the area.

CHAPTER 6 REGENERATION GAMES: LONDON 2012

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As the first city to do so, London hosted the Olympic Games for the third time, in 2012, the two previous ones being in 1908 and 1948. Nine cities had submitted bids to host the 2012 Summer Olympics in 2003: Havana, Istanbul, Leipzig, London, Madrid, Moscow, New York City, Paris and Rio de Janeiro and the IOC reduced the number of cities to five on 18 May 2004 after technical evaluation: London, Madrid, Moscow, New York and Paris. On the 6 July 2005, London won the right to stage the 2012 Olympic Games against, the final candidate, Paris and then, the countdown started. This was also the start of the next stage of a major regeneration in the Lower Lea Valley where the Olympic Park is located. The legacy of the Games included regeneration of this part of East London- one of the most deprived areas in the UK- and creating one of Europe's largest urban parks.

As explained in the epistemological framework of this study (Figure 5.1), it is important to understand the changes in the built environment of an event-led regeneration project in order to evaluate its sustainability. Therefore, this chapter starts with analysing the regeneration programmes in East London where the Olympic Park is located, exploring the Docklands development and related Thames Gateway programmes and the establishment of a regional authority in London and the way they strengthen London's bid for the 2012 Olympics. The chapter continues with the bidding period for London 2012, followed by the delivery of the Games investigating the socio-economic and physical profile of the Lower Lea Valley; displacements caused by the development of the Olympic site; the stakeholders responsible for the regeneration of the area and their vision for the legacy of the Games. The Olympic Park legacy-related plans are then discussed and the section aims to understand how these plans shaped the future of the Olympic Park zone. Finally, the legacy of London 2012 is discussed by introducing a profile of the future neighbourhoods and facilities in the Park area.

6.2 TOWARDS THE BID: REGENERATING EAST LONDON

The failures of Birmingham (1992) and Manchester (1996 and 2000) to secure the Olympic Games forced UK officials to recognise that London was the only city in the UK that could win the Olympic bid. London was always a step ahead from its competitors with its previous experience in exhibitions and events as well as cultural facilities. In 1999/2000, the Millennium Dome project aimed to create an urban entertainment site in Greenwich, which struggled to maintain public and media image (Evans, 1996). Besides politics, regeneration

strategies for East London such as the development of the Docklands, expansive Thames Gateway scheme, local Stratford Master Plan and the regional London Plan, and the issue of London-wide regional authority were considered as important factors in London's successful bid (Evans, 2011; Horne and Whannel, 2011). This section will outline the Docklands and Thames Gateway scheme and the foundation of the Greater London Authority (GLA) as a regional authority.

6.2.1 Docklands Development

The Government had begun to develop the Docklands from the early 1980s by founding the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1981, to speed up the development of the area by largely bypassing local authority planning (Evans, 2011; Horne and Whannel, 2011). The LDDC was responsible for the riverside parts of Southwark, Tower Hamlets and Newham, which was an area of 8.5 square miles (Figure 6.1) and the aim was to 'respond to the severe economic, physical and social damage caused to East London by the closure of London's docks' (LDDC website date). LDDC was expected to complete its task in 10-15 years. In October 1994, the process of 'dedesignation' started and ended with the withdrawal from the Royal Docks by March 1998 although it was not fully redeveloped⁷. Finally, the LDDC was formally wound up in June 1998.

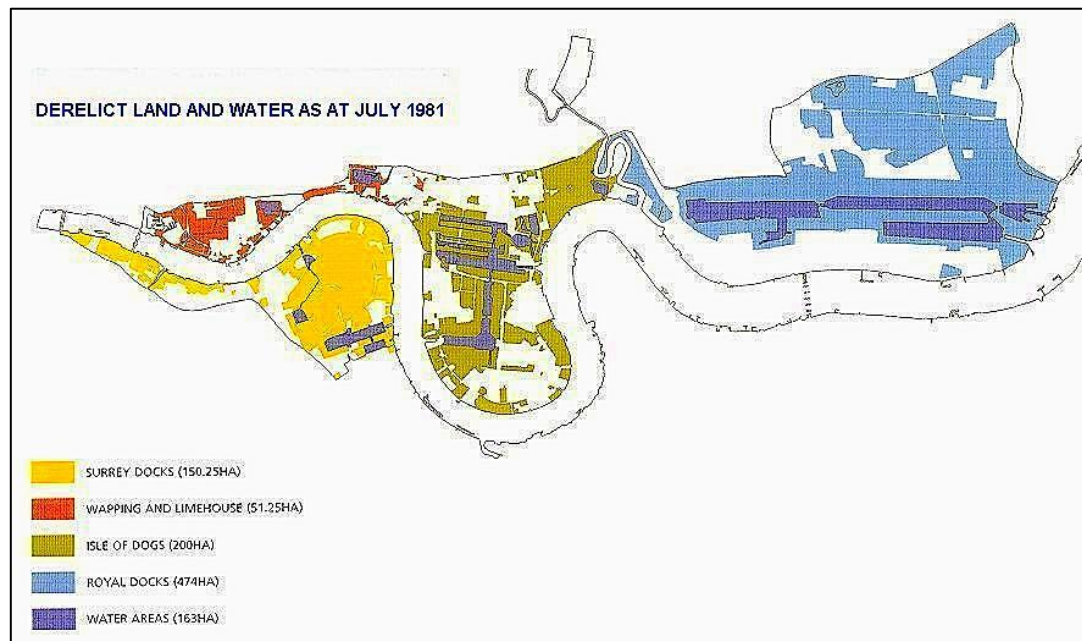


Figure 6.1: Derelict land that LLDC was responsible from (source: LDDC website)

The LDDC wanted to redevelop the brownfield sites of Docklands for a mix of residential and commercial uses to improve the local economy (Figure 6.2). This initiated the development pressure for new houses. Therefore, Docklands was planned in a way to take the pressure

⁷ LDDC: <http://www.lddc-history.org.uk/>

off the City and the West End and targeted to promote sustainable development since people would be able to live and work in the same area and reduce the need for long distance commuting (Breheny, 1997) which was earlier highlighted in the compact city model of Roger's (1997). In order to achieve this, the LDDC focused on investment on land and infrastructure and marketing the area in the early phase (Brownill, 1999). Relatedly, transport infrastructure was a priority to market the area and LDDC initiated the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) and Jubilee line Extension (Evans and Shaw, 2001), with substantial public funding.

Before and After



Surrey Docks-early 1980s



West India Docks, 1982



Limehouse basin, 1983



Shadwell basin, 1985



Western Dock, Wapping 1981



Surrey Quays Shopping Centre, 1996



Canary Wharf and Isle of Dogs, 1997



Limehouse Basin, 1998



Shadwell Basin, 1998



Western Dock, Wapping 1998

Figure 6.2: Before and after images of the regeneration in Docklands (Source: LDDC webpage)

Another LDDC policy was to create jobs by encouraging private investment into the area. The Enterprise Zone (EZ) was intended to draw investment into Docklands by the removal of certain tax burdens and speeding up of the application of certain statutory or administrative controls for businesses. The Isle of Dogs Enterprise Zone was designated in 1982 and

lasted for ten years, which also created the momentum for the first wave of investment in the area Canary Wharf, in the mid-1980s together with the extension of the DLR (Brownill, 1999). Canary Wharf symbolised an ambitious 1980s scheme established to expand the financial centre of the city eastwards, similar to the development of Battery Park in New York in the 1960s (Poynter, 2008) by the same Canadian developers (Olympia & York). However, Canary Wharf only became viable after public funding to the area and the extension of the Jubilee Line.

By March 1998, LDDC reported that Docklands received £1.86 billion investment by the public sector, £7.7 billion investment by the private sector, with 1,066 acres of land sold for redevelopment, 25 million square feet of commercial space built, 1,884 acres of derelict land reclaimed, 24,046 new homes built, 2,700 new businesses trading and 85,000 people working in London Docklands at the time (LLDC 1998 Annual Report). Therefore, LDDC modelled itself as a form of urban governance that “could bring global change to the inner city” (Brownill, 1999, p. 43). However, it also brought several questions around the sustainability of this type of governance approach. Hall argues that UDCs such as the LDDC had “the most extraordinary set of powers ever given to a set of quangos, and by the same token the most extraordinary incursion into local authority powers ever authorised by a British government” (Hall, 1999, pp. 912–913). Similarly, Thomas and Imrie (1993) and Brownill (1999) note that UDCs represented a type of governance that triggers the change in the area by bringing in the private sector, excluding local forces and influences and imposing change without legitimation, which is arguably not socially sustainable. However, Brownill (1999) claimed that the LDDC did not exclude the local interests to the extent that the UDC theories suggest.

The regeneration of the Docklands had been a start on the way to redevelop the long neglected eastern inner city boroughs of London. It also represented an experience of regenerating a derelict area by a Development Corporation, LDDC, since the regeneration of the London 2012 Olympic zone is going through a similar process to the LLDC. Therefore, the project had helped to strengthen the London 2012 bid since the Lower Lea Valley could go through an even better regeneration scheme by implementing the lessons learned from the Docklands. The regeneration of the Docklands had not been confined to the attempts of the LDDC. The key policy interventions to regenerate the London Docklands and the wider Thames Gateway have been ongoing since 1981, firstly through the LDDC, and latterly through the London Thames Gateway Development (LTGDC) regime.

6.2.2 Thames Gateway Development

In the early 1990s, the Conservative Government initiated the Thames Gateway area programme and from 1997 onwards, the Labour government continued to support it (Poynter, 2005). Being part of this scheme, the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley and

Stratford was already one of Europe's most ambitious regional regeneration projects (Horne and Whannel, 2011; Poynter, 2005). The London Thames Gateway boundary is defined in a Government document (RPG9a, 1996) and is presented as the main opportunity for growth within London and the South East (GLA, 2004). Fourteen areas were defined as 'zones of change', of which the first six are within London (Figure 6.3).

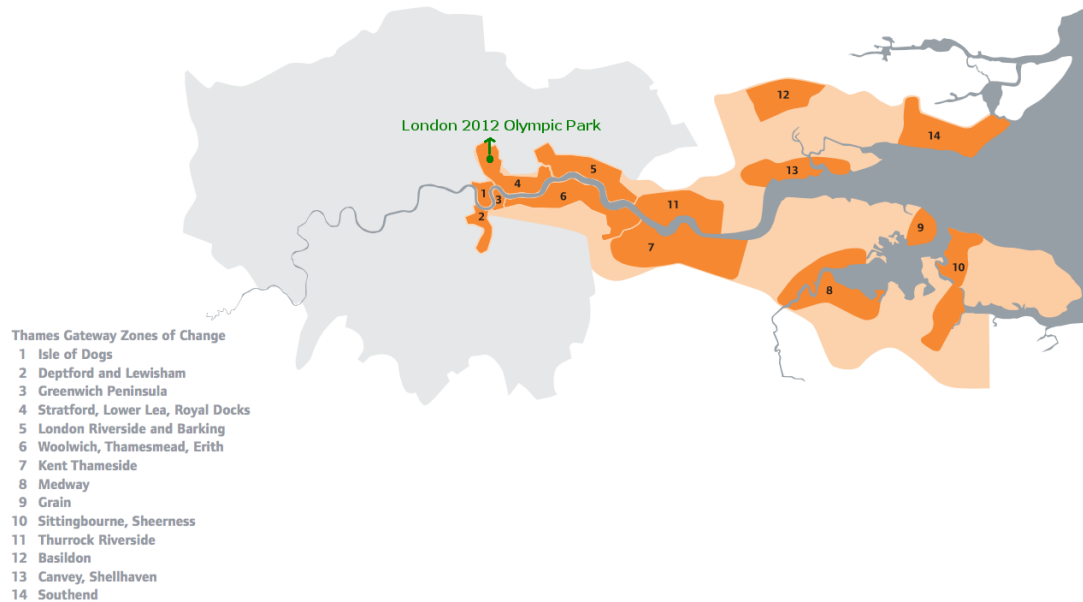


Figure 6.3: Thames Gateway Zone of Change (Source: GLA (2004))

In June 2004, London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTGDC) was formed and LTGDC Chairman, Bob Lane noted: "from 2004 to 2012, the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation was the Government's lead regeneration agency for east London, with responsibility to realise its economic potential". Over the past 15 years, the western end of London Thames Gateway has seen radical change (GLA, 2004), including:

- Cultural and creative industries developed on the east of the City of London
- Canary Wharf as a major financial services location
- Plans developed/implemented for places like Silvertown Quays, Greenwich Peninsula and Royal Arsenal Woolwich.
- Channel Tunnel Rail Link station (CTRL) in Stratford in 2007, linking Thames Gateway, central London and northern Europe and further major transport improvements
- London's bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games speeding the regeneration within the Lower Lea Valley

The community aspect of the regeneration in the Thames Gateway had been one of the key issues. 1.5 million people live in the Thames Gateway and the Labour Government was keen to deliver the regeneration in a way that would benefit local communities. In 2003, the government's Sustainable Communities Plan was established as the first dedicated funding programme to help accelerate the regeneration and development of the Gateway (DCLG, 2007b). The programme confirmed that Thames Gateway would be one of the priority areas for new residential community development and tackle the housing supply problem of the South East (GLA, 2004).

Besides housing, the improvements in the infrastructure and transport had been substantial in the Thames Gateway. The Channel Tunnel had opened in 1994 and a high-speed link from St Pancras to the tunnel is running through Stratford. The scale of the project built up the confidence in the ability of the UK to deliver major engineering projects and the fact that it could include a station on the Olympic site added strength to the London bid (Horne and Whannel, 2011). However the absence of a city-wide authority resulted in a situation that "there was neither strategic nor local area planning in this regeneration zone at the time of its peak development" (Evans, 2011, p. 362).

6.2.3 London's Regional Authority

The abolishing of the Greater London Council (GLC, established in 1965) in 1986 through the 1985 Local Government Act, by the Thatcher Government was seen as a major barrier for London to put forward a convincing Olympic bid in the absence of a strategic city-wide authority (Horne and Whannel, 2011). Most of the powers of the GLC were devolved to the London boroughs and quangos, claiming that it would create greater electoral accountability. However, it was clear that a world city with 33 separate boroughs, London, could not run effectively in the absence of a central strategic authority, which also affected the city negatively when competing with Manchester (1996, 2000) and Birmingham (1992) for BOA support (Horne and Whannel, 2011).

Therefore, when the Labour government was elected in 1997, it was committed to bring back London-wide government. A referendum was held on the establishment of a new London authority and elected mayor in 1999 and the new Greater London Authority (GLA) was established in 2000. The GLA has a different structure to the GLC since it has a directly elected Mayor of London and a London Assembly. Ken Livingstone was the leader of the Greater London Council (GLC) from 1981 until the abolishment in 1986, and then the first elected Mayor of London from the creation of the office in 2000 until 2008. Livingstone believed that East London was the most viable option to host the Olympic Games because of the regeneration opportunity it created. In the 2008 elections, the Conservative candidate, Boris Johnson, was elected as the Mayor and since then he has been in power. This change

in politics has led to some important modifications in the Olympic regeneration policies (See Chapter 7 for more detail on stakeholder organisation structures).

6.3 BIDDING FOR THE 2012 OLYMPIC GAMES

London's first Olympic Games was in 1908, after Rome, the winning city, had pulled out. Therefore, London did not really bid for 1908 Games and then the capital also hosted the first post-war Games in 1948 (Masterman, 2012). In 1979, GLC presented a feasibility study on staging the 1988 Olympics Games in a west London and Wembley Stadium-focused area, but the Government did not support it (Barker, 2003). In the following years, the BOA supported Birmingham bidding for the 1992 Games and Manchester bidding for 1996 and 2000 Games, but all ended with failure. Hence, the bids of UK's second and third largest cities had not been able to win the right to host the Summer Games, which put all the signs pointing to a London bid (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: London 2012 Olympic bid timeline, 1991-2005

1991		The plan to build a Channel Tunnel rail link, a high-speed line from London to the tunnel, is announced
1994		Channel Tunnel opens
1995		Thames Gateway Task Force plans for 30,000 new homes and 50,000 new jobs in the Thames Gateway corridor by 2021
1997	May	BOA commissions feasibility study Labour Government elected, new Prime Minister Tony Blair
2000	July May	Greater London Authority established Ken Livingstone elected Mayor of London, as an independent
2001	May Sept Nov	BOA feasibility study published Government, BOA and the Mayor formed group to consider London bid Olympic group commission Insignia Richard Ellis to confirm land availability and ARUP to undertake a cost benefit analysis Wembley site seen as impractical for hosting Olympics and Stratford is preferred
2002	May	ARUP presented its findings based on a specimen bid in East London
2003	15 May 20 June	Government agree to back to London bid Livingstone appoints Barbara Cassani as Chair of the bidding Committee
2004	15 Jan 18 May 19 May 10 June 15 Nov	The full bid proposal is submitted to IOC IOC includes London on shortlist Cassani resigns, replaced by Sebastian Coe Livingstone re-elected London Mayor, as Labour party candidate Final bidding document presented to the IOC
2005	06 July 07 July	London is awarded the Games London bombing: bombs explode in three tube trains and a bus

Source: adapted from Horne and Whannel (2011, p. 13)

In 1997, David Luckes, a member of the British hockey team, prepared a feasibility study on a London bid for hosting the 2012 Games. Although, the report focused on the alternative to host the Games in West London by redeveloping around Wembley Stadium; the option of regenerating the run-down East End was the favourite (Lee, 2006). This report had been presented to the Government and the Mayor of London at the time, Ken Livingstone and he 'insisted that the Games bid was focused upon East London, with the sporting benefits,

complemented by a firm commitment to enhancing an existing urban regeneration agenda (Poynter, 2009, p. 184).

Later in 2001, BOA, Government and the Mayor formed a stakeholder group to consider the London bid in detail and assigned an engineering consultancy firm, ARUP, to undertake a cost-benefit analysis of the bid to host the 2012 Games (Horne and Whannel, 2011; Poynter, 2009). The report claimed to outline a proposal for a 'specimen' Olympic Games for evaluation and concluded:

"If all levels of government and other agencies are committed to a common proposal, the potential advantages of a 2012 Games centred on the Lower Lee Valley can be developed into a world-beating Olympic bid. The most important ingredient of success will be the political priority to pursue both the nomination, and if successful the staging of the Games, wholeheartedly. The Olympics will require a concentration of political focus and priority in favour of Olympic sports, East London, and tourism." (ARUP, 2002, p. 11)

Therefore, the report highlighted the importance of a commitment to a common objective by all stakeholders and the focus on East London. Finally, in May 2003, the Minister for Culture, Tessa Jowell, announced that the government would support the London 2012 bid and £2,375 billion was allocated to pay for the staging of the Games (Horne and Whannel, 2011, p. 14). In June 2003, a bidding committee had been formed and Barbara Cassani, an American businesswoman, appointed as the chair. The full bid proposal was submitted on 15 January 2004 and on 18 May, the IOC announced London being shortlisted along with Paris, New York, Madrid and Moscow as a Candidate City.

The London bid was based on a compact plan where the Games mainly centred on a new Olympic Park and bringing this East London area up to the social, economic and physical level of West London by the Olympic-led regeneration. Reddie draws attention to the same point as 'there would be a substantial legacy, particularly because the new venues would be located in a new park setting that would bring about much needed regeneration to this part of east London' (Reddie, 2011 cited Masterman, 2012, p. 34).

While preparing the Bid Book, three issues had to be addressed in detail so that London could get through successfully which were: (1) government support and guarantees with a detailed budget; (2) ensuring the delivery of a sustainable Games; and (3) improvements in the transport infrastructure including "upgrades on underground, extensions on the DLR, implementation of construction of a new rail system and also establishment of a link to the Games using the Channel Tunnel rail system" (Masterman, 2012, p. 34). Finally, the bidding file was submitted to IOC on the 15 November 2004 and London had been selected to host the 2012 Olympic Games, in June 2005.

6.4 DELIVERING THE GAMES

After the celebratory day in Singapore when London was announced as the host city of the 2012 Olympic Games, the preparations accelerated. The Lower Lea Valley would be the home of the London 2012 Games so the 7-year journey commenced with a new area focus from that envisaged in the Lower Lea regeneration plans (Smith, 2013). This section will firstly start with introducing the physical and socio-economic profile of the Lower Lea Valley before the Olympic regeneration started, followed by the clearance of the land by compulsory purchase order for the Games, and the process of displacement of residents and businesses in the areas required for redevelopment. Finally, the stakeholders responsible for the decisions on the regeneration of the area and their vision for the legacy of Games will be explored.

6.4.1 The Profile of the Lower Lea Valley

The Olympic Park was chosen to be located within the Lower Lea Valley, traversing the Boroughs of Newham, Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest. It is situated in a 250 hectare area around the River Lea, bordered by the A12 in the north and Stratford High Street in the south. The Park was primarily situated on contaminated, derelict land and divided by waterways, sewers, overhead pylons, roads and rail lines.

By the early 1900s, Stratford was an important railway intersection and depot area with over 6,000 employees. During the second half of the 19th century, commercial development started at Carpenter's Road and Warton Road, the bank of the City Mill River and Marshgate Lane along Pudding Mill River, which was filled in for the construction of the Olympic Stadium. The area had been home to mainly chemical industries up until 1950s. The western boundary of the area is a section of the northern outfall of the London sewer. A scheme to implement sewers was started in the late 1850s to resolve the epidemic of cholera and end the 'Great Stink'. Although the new sewerage system was in operation, and water supplies gradually improved, it did not prevent a later epidemic during the 1860s, especially in east London. However, the reason for this epidemic was the polluted River Lea, which was mixing reservoirs of the East London Water Company.⁸ The conditions of the River Lea had not really improved until the Olympic preparations and clean up.

Staging the Games is a huge undertaking, which requires facilities and related infrastructure most of the time from scratch. The area was dominated by light industry and depots before the preparations for the Games. There were overhead power pylons all over the site, which was also putting off potential investors. The River Lea was polluted and accessibility over the rivers was not enough (Figure 6.4).

⁸ LLDC webpage: <http://www.londonlegacy.co.uk>

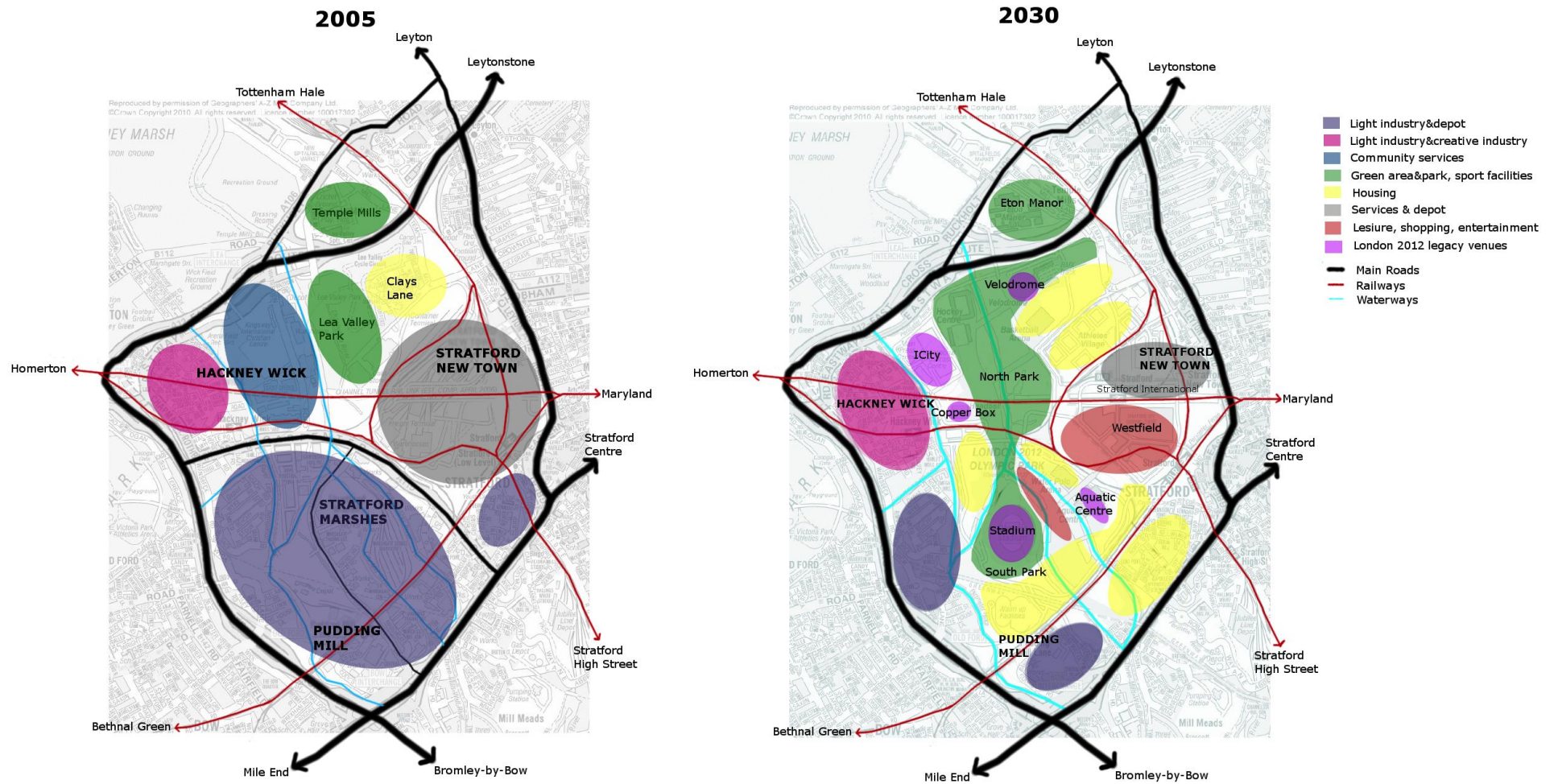


Figure 6.4: Conceptual representation of the Lower Lea Valley before (2005) and after (2030) the Games (Source: author)

The Games coming to the Lower Lea Valley therefore fast-tracked the regeneration of the area and drew the investment from public and private sources. The overhead pylons were taken underground, the rivers cleaned and several bridges built over the river. Besides the permanent venues and the Park itself, new neighbourhoods were planned in the area with improved infrastructure and transport links (see 6.6.1 for detail).

Effective construction, preparation and holding of the event and the completion of a transformative legacy that impacts upon East London and wider Thames Gateway was closely linked with the achievement of a successful London 2012 Games (Poynter, 2009). Land had to be acquired by purchasing the existing homes and businesses on the site, which meant clearance and demolition (Horne and Whannel, 2011; Poynter, 2009) as well as constructing new facilities, venues and related infrastructure. In order to achieve all these outcomes, various new delivery agencies and new units in the existing institutions were required.

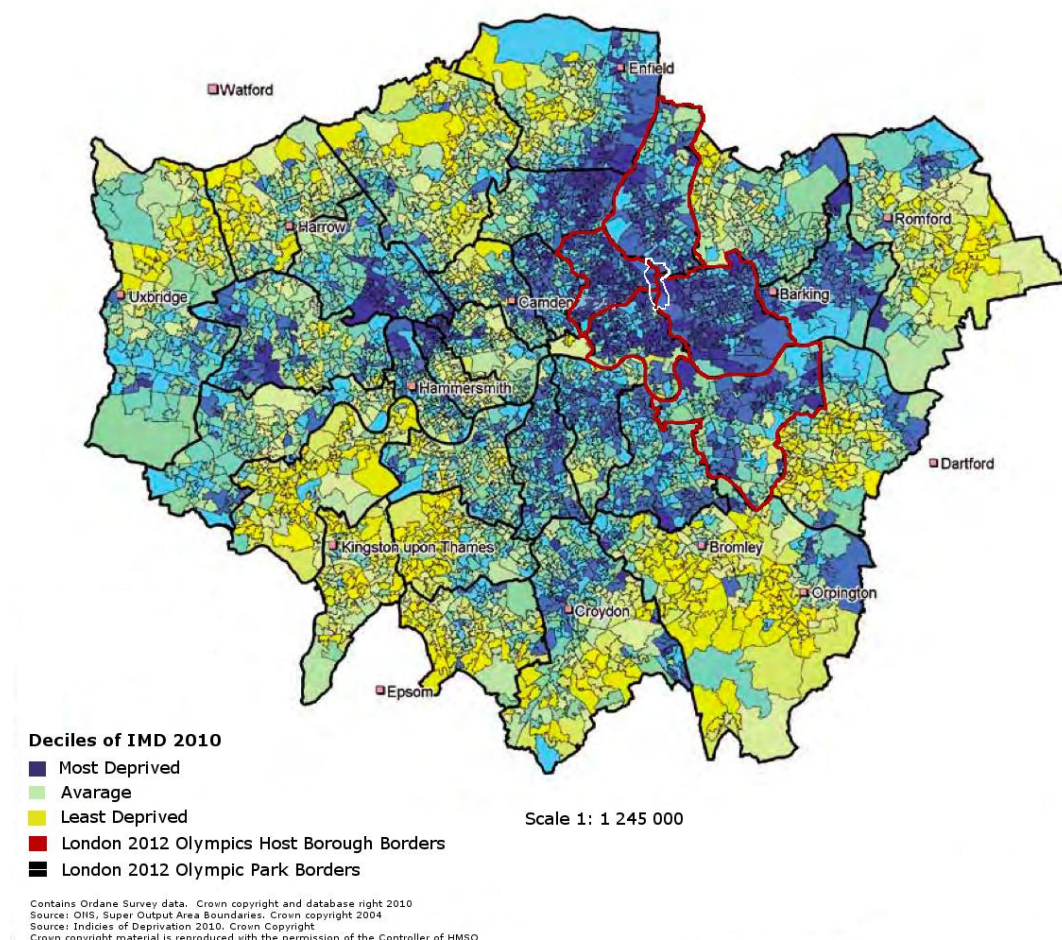


Figure 6.5: Index of Multiple Deprivation in the five Olympic Boroughs (source: adapted from Ordnance Survey Data)

The regeneration legacy was not only dependent upon the Games; in fact having a regeneration legacy of the Games “would be the icing on the cake and provide an international cachet, even to an established world city and cultural capital” (Evans, 2011, p. 372). Besides physical legacy, the legacy of the East London communities, especially the Olympic Host Boroughs, was very important. East London boroughs were socially deprived with poor transport links and extensive derelict sites. The five host boroughs - with the population of Greenwich 255,000, Hackney 246,000, Newham 308,000, Tower Hamlets 254,000 and Waltham Forest 258,000 - had a combined population of 1.32 million people in total, which represents almost a sixth of London’s total population. According to the English Indices of Deprivation 2010, three of the Host Boroughs still contain the seventh, eighth and the sixteenth most deprived wards in the country respectively in Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Newham.⁹ (Figure 6.5).

East London also experiences significant levels of unemployment, roughly twice the English average: with Hackney 16.4 per cent, Newham 13.5 per cent, and Tower Hamlets at 11.8 per cent in 2002¹⁰. The area also has one of the highest levels of black and ethnic minority populations in London. The changes in deprivation levels may start to reflect displacements however, since as the higher income residents move in, the rankings may fall which does not necessarily mean the regeneration has reached those on lower incomes (Evans, 2011).

6.4.2 Displacements and Compulsory Purchase Order

Land acquisition through compulsory purchase order (CPO) had been the first major step to start the preparations for the Games. For the past two hundred years the East London site had been used by range of industries who left toxic legacies so the soil had to be cleaned as well as the River Lea itself (Horne and Whannel, 2011). Moreover, electricity pylons had to be taken underground to have a clear site. More than 30 bridges had been built on the river to increase the accessibility and also, extensive transportation improvements were undertaken. LDA had the statutory power to compulsorily purchase land for the purposes linked to economic development, urban regeneration and sustainable development, which led them to acquire the entire Olympic site with the creation of a CPO. The process of acquiring land through Compulsory Purchase in the Olympic site started two years before the Olympic bid was won, in a way proving that the site would have been regenerated even if London did not win the bid.

There are two main groups of residents that had been displaced from the London 2012 site: The residents of Clays Lane, located north of the Stratford City site and comprised 450 social housing units, within which there were 425 residents who needed re-housing, and

⁹ The English Indices of Deprivation 2010:
<http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/statistics/pdf/1871208.pdf>

¹⁰ London Divided Income inequality and poverty in the capital, 2002:
static.london.gov.uk/mayor/economy/docs/london_divided_all.rtf

travellers who lived within the designated Olympic Park Zone (Figure 5.4). Tessa Jowell MP mentioned that the relocation had been undertaken considering the requirements of the tenants:

“Working closely with a wide partnership of social housing providers over a period of 18 months, the LDA established a range of options from which tenants could choose to relocate. All tenants were offered the opportunity to relocate to an assured tenancy or equivalent and the vast majority of tenants relocated to properties that they themselves had selected as best matching their requirements.” (Jowell, 2008)

On the other hand, local residents who had to be displaced, conveyed disappointment that more could have been done to facilitate a community move (Porter et al., 2009). Olympic Games organisers tend to diminish local forms of accountability that leads to regeneration for the local community rather than being influenced by them (London East Research Institute, 2007). Similarly, Armstrong et al. (2011) suggest that it is only possible to accomplish change in the ‘community’ by mobilising a significant proportion of a population and keep the community spirit which have not been the case in Clays Lane.

6.4.3 London 2012 Stakeholders ¹¹

The London 2012 regeneration involved several stakeholders responsible for different parts (Table 6.3). Central government, the Mayor and the BOA had oversight of the Games, with LOCOG acting on behalf of them, and whose composition reflects this coalition and the delivery by ODA through a private sector consortium (Poynter, 2009). The key government department responsible for the Games was the Cultural Ministry, DCMS, and the GOE in the DCMS was responsible for providing cross-government coordination for the Games. The land required for the use of London 2102 was compulsory purchased by the LDA on behalf of the Mayor.

Table 6.2: Stakeholders involved in Games-led regeneration of East London and their roles

Key Stakeholders	Role
GOE-DCMS	Oversees the London 2012 project on behalf of the government, ensuring that it is delivered on time and within budget.
The Olympic Board	Coordinating the delivery of the Games and its legacy
DCLG	Represented on the Olympic Regeneration Steering Group; co-owns the Olympic Park Legacy Company; oversees the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation
LOCOG	Staging the London 2012 Games, reports to IOC and IPC
ODA	Leads the construction of the Olympic Park and its transformation after the Games; responsible for the sale of the Olympic Village.
The Mayor of London	Leads on delivering the legacy of the London 2012 Games for London
OPLC-LLDC	Long-term planning, development, management and maintenance of the Olympic Park and its facilities after the Games

¹¹ This section is explored in detail in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8

Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group	Group bringing together the Mayor, Ministers and host boroughs; meets quarterly to oversee regeneration work in relation to the Olympic Park; oversees the East London Legacy Board; agrees the Strategic Regeneration Framework
East London Legacy Board	Brings together 31 local, regional and national agencies; supports the implementation of the Strategic Regeneration Framework
LVRPA	Owns the Lee Valley Regional Park; owns part of the Olympic Park and several of the venues
LDA	Regional development agency for London; funds socio-economic programmes in East London.
LTGDC	Lead regeneration area for two areas of East London: the Lower Lee Valley (not including the Olympic Park) and London Riverside
Host Borough Unit	Co-ordinates the work and positions of the five host boroughs
CLM	ODA's delivery partner; consortium of three construction and programme management companies responsible for managing design teams and contractors on the Olympic Park.

(source: adapted from Girginov (2012, p. 3) and Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee Members (2010, p. 20))

The Olympic Board was established to bring together the key stakeholders and oversee the delivery of the Games. The Board included the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, the Mayor of London, and the Chairs of the BOA and LOCOG (Figure 6.6). The Chair of the ODA also attended Board meetings as a non-voting member. As the House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts mentioned, “no one individual has overall responsibility for delivering the Games” (House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2007, p. 10). This demonstrated a much more top-down management approach and the risk of not being able address the necessity for wider social engagement with the legacy related process of urban regeneration.

On 1st April 2012, the LLDC took over the work of the OPLC, and was founded as a Mayoral Development Corporation that would be responsible for the regeneration legacy from the London 2012 Games. LLDC was directly accountable to Londoners through the Mayor. It also had greater powers over the Olympic Park and by October 2012, the LLDC also took over the planning powers from LTGDC and the ODA. The purpose of the LLDC was stated as:

“To promote and deliver physical, social, economic and environmental regeneration of the Olympic Park and its surrounding area, in particular by maximising the legacy of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, by securing high-quality sustainable development and investment, ensuring the long-term success of the facilities and assets within its direct control and supporting and promoting the aim of convergence.”¹²

¹² LLDC: <http://www.londonlegacy.co.uk/about-us/what-we-aim-to-achieve/>

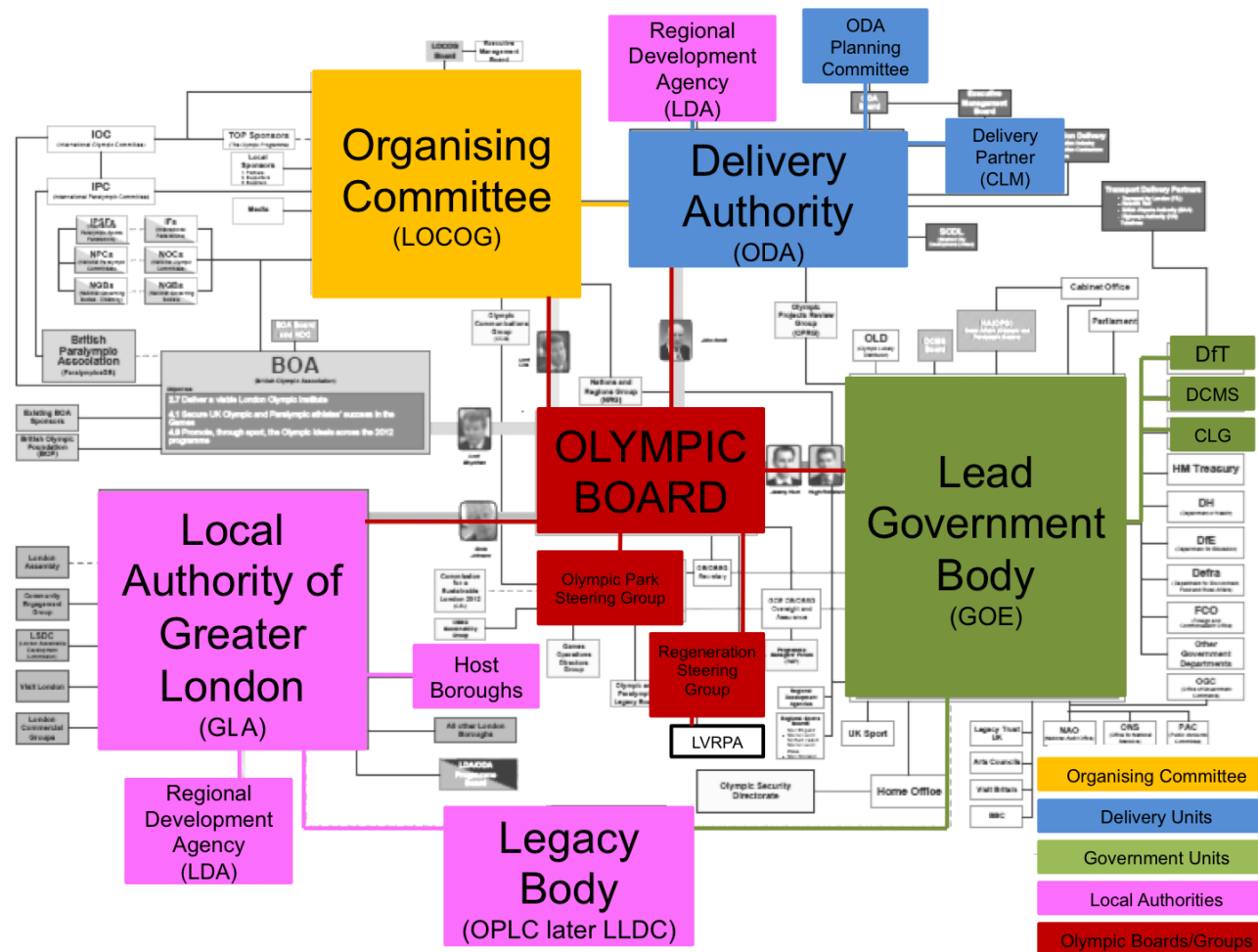


Figure 6.6: London 2012 Governance Structure (source: author)

6.4.4 Vision and Objectives

The vision for London 2012 is on hosting “an inspirational, safe and inclusive Olympic Games and Paralympic Games and leave a sustainable legacy for London and the UK” which are further defined in four objectives (CSL2012, 2011, p 7):

1. To stage an inspirational Olympic Games and Paralympic Games for the athletes, the Olympic Family and the viewing public.
2. To deliver the Olympic Park and all venues on time, within agreed budget and to specification, minimising the call on public funds and providing for a sustainable legacy.
3. To maximise the economic, social, health and environmental benefits of the Games for the UK, particularly through regeneration and sustainable development in East London.
4. To achieve a sustained improvement in UK sport before, during and after the Games, in both elite performance – particularly in the Olympic and Paralympic sports – and grassroots participation.

Sustainable communities and regeneration of East London was always at the heart of London 2012 legacy promises (Table 6.3). London 2012 stakeholders wanted to inspire change in many different ways. They aimed to demonstrate that the London 2012 Games are about more than sport by including culture and education programmes with wider benefits like the Cultural Olympiad and beyond London, where the benefits and excitement was felt across the UK and around the world, and being fully accessible to everyone via tickets to watch the Olympic competitions, watching on TV or attending other Olympic related events (festivals, cultural events).

Table 6.3: London 2012 Olympics legacy commitments

	Sustainable Living/ Communities	Economy	Sport	Physical Regeneration
London2012 Olympic Objectives and Legacy (DCMS, 2007)	'Green', sustainable games, Lower Lea Valley regeneration <i>Making the Olympic Park a blueprint for sustainable living</i>	Cultural Legacy, Olympic festivals, Creative Hub. <i>Demonstrating that the UK is a creative, inclusive and welcoming place to live in, visit and for business</i>	Participation in Sport and Culture <i>Making the UK a world leading sporting nation; inspiring a generation of young people to take part in volunteering, cultural and physical activity</i>	Park, environmental and transport improvements, Olympic Institute and Media Centre <i>Transforming the heart of East London</i>
UK Government Legacy Commitments (DCMS 2010)	Sustainable communities: Promoting community engagement and achieving participation across all groups in society through the Games	Tourism and Business opportunities: Exploiting to the full the opportunities for economic growth offered by hosting the Games	Harnessing the UK's passion for sport to increase grass roots participation, particularly by young people	Ensuring that the Olympic Park can be developed after the Games as one of the principal drivers of regeneration in East London
London Mayor Olympic Legacy Commitments	Delivering a sustainable Games and developing sustainable communities	Showcasing London as a diverse, inclusive, creative and welcoming city	Increasing opportunities for Londoners to become involved in sport	Ensuring Londoners benefit from new jobs, business and volunteering opportunities; Transforming the heart of East London
London2012 Olympic Legacy Programmes (LDA, 2009)	Communities/ Social benefits	Culture; Tourism & Business; London Employment & Skills Taskforce (LEST)	Sports participation (including Healthy & Active Workplace)	Olympic Park & Land delivery
London 2012 Host Borough Legacy Framework	Nexus with physical regeneration; Developing successful neighbourhoods	Visitor economy	Sporting legacy; Culture; Supporting Healthier Lifestyles	Nexus with physical regeneration; Creating Wealth and Reducing Poverty

Source: adapted from Evans (2011)

The Mayor of London was responsible for co-ordinating the London 2012 City Operations Programme which was about ensuring safe and efficient organisation to support the Games, to keep London moving and working, creating an outstanding experience across the whole of the city, to showcase the strengths of the capital, to create long lasting memories of London as host city, and to derive sustained benefits. From a local perspective, London 2012 Olympic host boroughs set out a principal objective that "within 20 years, the communities which host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games will enjoy the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London" (Host Borough Unit, 2009). The creation of the Host Borough Unit and the motivation of the host boroughs to support it coalesced with the Strategic Regeneration Framework. Host boroughs showed their

“determination to use the 2012 Games as a catalyst to create wealth, reduce poverty, support healthier lifestyles and develop successful neighbourhoods is a strong example of the steps being taken to ensure that the opportunity of hosting the 2012 Games is not lost” (Grant Thornton et al., 2012, p 202).

The vision of London 2012 therefore highlighted that the Games are more than just a six-week event but the strategies leading up to the Games since 2005 and the legacy of the Games are just as important as the Games itself. The regeneration of East London and addressing social inequalities in the host boroughs had been a key legacy target.

6.5 OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY RELATED PLANS

The planning for legacy began even before the Games had been awarded to London with the 2004 Olympic and Legacy Planning Application. Planning permission was granted in October 2004 for both the Games facilities and the legacy developments and this was a vital part of the success of the London bid (CSL2012, 2012). Starting with the Legacy Planning Application, the Olympic Park had passed through several stages and plans, which influenced the target of achieving sustainable legacies, explained in a chronological order below.

6.5.1 Lower Lea Valley Regeneration Strategy

The 2004 permissions required the submission and approval of a Lower Lea Valley Regeneration Strategy (LLV RS) to demonstrate how the implementation of the Games could regenerate a wider area in the Lea Valley beyond the Olympic site itself. The LLV RS included two core documents: the LLV Opportunity Area Planning Framework (LLV OAPF) and the LLV Vision. The LLV Vision put together the goals of the LTGDC and its partners for regeneration and change in the LLV and explained the core outputs of the LLV RS under a series of key themes. The LLV OAPF and LLV Vision were informed by five technical documents that provide evidence and supporting detail for the OAPF and the strategies set out in the LLV Vision (ODA, 2007).

The LLV OAPF was the Mayor of London’s strategic planning guidance for the Lower Lea Valley, and a material planning consideration for the LLV Boroughs, the LTGDC and the ODA. In the foreword of the document, Livingstone, the Mayor at the time, stated that the Framework displayed his vision for the Valley and added:

“The Valley will host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games and is one of the most exciting and challenging urban regeneration opportunities in Britain, with the potential to accommodate up to 40,000 new homes and provide 50,000 new jobs. The Opportunity Area Planning Framework forms part of a suite of documents that together make up a comprehensive regeneration strategy for the Valley.” (GLA and LDA, 2007)

The LLV OAPF presented a vision of comprehensive social, economic and environmental change in the Valley for all who live, work and visit there now and in the future. It comprised a vision document, the Lower Lea Valley Vision, and the Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework, being Supplementary Planning Guidance under the London Plan. It sustained the basis of the strategic planning policies set out in 2004 London Plan for an area of nearly 1450 hectares, extending from the Thames in the south to Leyton in the north, straddling the borders of Newham, Tower Hamlets, Hackney and Waltham Forest. Moreover, the framework determined 15 sub-areas in 4 boroughs and explored sub-area issues, opportunities and land use scenarios (Figure 6.7).

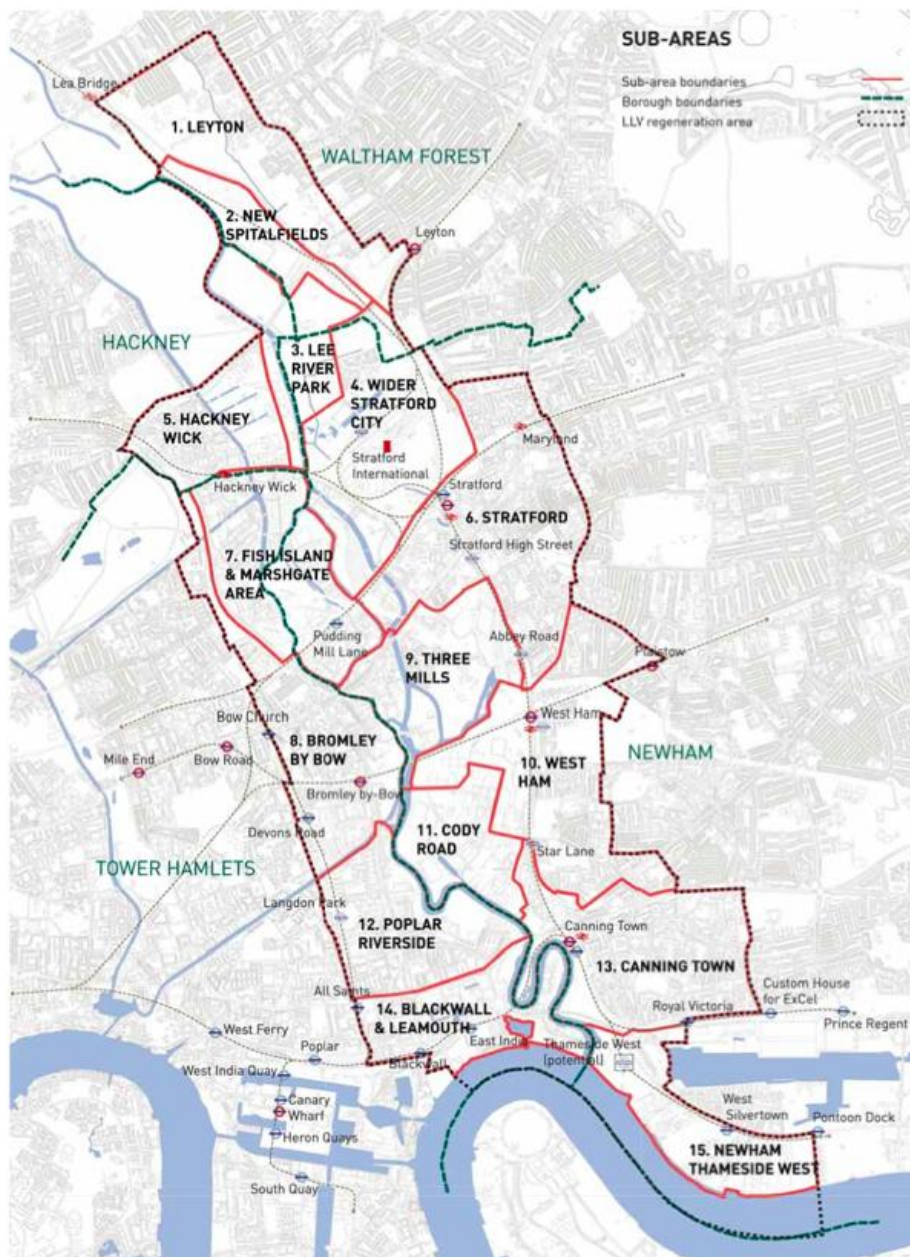


Figure 6.7: LLV regeneration area and sub-area boundaries (GLA and LDA, 2007)

In February 2005, a major planning application for the site of the former Stratford Rail Lands was approved. This is now known as the Stratford City Development. The first phase, including the Westfield shopping centre, opened in September 2011.

6.5.2 Legacy Masterplan Framework

In the Commitment to Sustainable Regeneration document (ODA and LDA, 2007), the ODA and LDA committed to preparing a Legacy Masterplan Framework (LMF) for the Olympic Park which was committed to form the basis of legacy and future planning policy. In February 2008, the process started and “the task was to develop a framework for a new piece of London with the key agencies and the Host Boroughs” (CSL2012, 2012, p. 56). The LMF included strategies relating to social infrastructure, housing, employment, leisure and culture, transport, water, waste, strategic sustainability, infrastructure, energy and climate change as well as generating six Area Plans within the Olympic Park in legacy which were Stratford Waterfront, Olympic Quarter, Old Ford, Hackney Wick East, Stratford Village, and Pudding Mill Lane (CSL2012, 2012). The Framework was targeted to (ODA, 2007, p. 22):

- Support the development of the emerging ‘Legacy Communities’ proposal and their future planning applications, which will ultimately seek permission for the development of a series of new communities across the Olympic Park.
- Act as a steer for future and local planning policy in the Olympic Park and the Lower Lea Valley.
- Provide a structure to guide the future spending decisions of regeneration agencies in the area and, in doing so, promote confidence in the long-term regeneration of the area

In 2009, the LDA revealed the LMF and this plan had been revised by the OPLC, which aimed to develop the plans for the physical and social legacy of the Olympic Park. Tom Russell, LDA group director of Olympic Legacy, said: “The legacy masterplan will be part of a wider economic, social and physical regeneration strategy which looks at the future development of the areas around the Olympic site.”¹³

6.5.3 Strategic Regeneration Framework

Host Boroughs introduced the Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) to spread the benefits of the Games through wider East London, not only limited to the area by the Olympic Park. SRF’s main aim was to “bring together the regeneration of the physical area of the host boroughs and the socio-economic regeneration of the communities who live within it” (Host Borough Unit, 2009, p. 6). The SRF’s vision was termed the principle of convergence: “within 20 years, the communities who host the 2012 Games will enjoy the same social and economic changes as their neighbours across London” (Host Borough Unit,

¹³ <http://www.building.co.uk/news/olympic-legacy-masterplan-revealed/3133652.article>

2009, p. 1). This was translated into a series of specific outcome objectives to be achieved by 2015, for instance, 120,000 more residents with jobs and 99,000 fewer residents having no qualifications. The SRF was backed by a Multi Area Agreement between the Host Boroughs to enable stronger partnership working as well as demonstrating their commitment to other tiers of Government.

6.5.4 London Plan

The GLA Act (1999) obliges the Mayor to produce a Spatial Development Strategy for London and keep it under review. This is called the London Plan. The London Plan was first published in 2004. It subsequently went through two alteration processes and from 22 July 2011, London Plan (consolidated with alterations since 2004), which was published in February 2008, was replaced by the London Plan 2011.¹⁴ The Plan has six objectives: (1) meet the challenge of growth; (2) support a competitive economy; (3) support the neighbourhoods; (4) delight the senses; (5) improve the environment and (6) improve access/transport.

London Plan 2011 highlighted the fact that it is very important to leave a legacy and secure the benefits of the Games. The Plan promised the continuity of the regeneration in East London after the Games and adds that regeneration of the Olympic Park and surrounding areas is the Mayor's highest regeneration priority:

“This presents a unique opportunity to secure and accelerate the delivery of many elements of the Mayor's strategies, and for this reason it is the Mayor's highest regeneration priority for this period. The unique status of east London, and the recognition arising from association with the Games, will be used to effect a positive, sustainable and fully accessible economic, social and environmental transformation for one of the most diverse - yet deprived - parts of London.” (GLA, 2011a, p. 28)

The London Plan 2011 set out spatial development policies for the 2012 Games and described the Olympic Park and surrounding areas as “London's single most important regeneration project for the next 25 years” (Policy 2.4A). The London Plan stated that the Mayor's priorities would be mentioned in the Olympic Supplementary Planning Guidance, which had been prepared in conjunction with the four affected Boroughs, the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation and the ODA.

6.5.5 Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance

The main purpose of Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance (OLSPG) was to “supplement and apply London Plan policy to the OLSPG area by setting out the Mayor of London's strategic priorities and long term vision for the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and its surrounding areas in a single spatial planning document” (GLA, 2012, p. 7). The OLSPG built on and aimed to take forward the principles set out in the 2007 LLV OAPF. The OLSPG

¹⁴ GLA: <http://www.london.gov.uk/priorities/planning/london-plan>

outlined post-event development envisaged for the Olympic Park and its fringes and provided the bridge between local development plans and the statutory London Plan (Smith, 2013). The guidance offered a strategic town planning framework for (GLA, 2012):

- the investment plans and decisions of individual landowners and developers whose actions will help realise much of the change this guidance promotes.
- local development plans produced by Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest councils and the London Legacy Development Corporation, particularly how they should evolve and relate to the emerging metropolitan centre at Stratford and the opportunities presented by the legacy of the 2012 Games
- the development and investment priorities of other public sector bodies and agencies, such as Transport for London, British Waterways and the LVRPA, each of which has a major part to play in delivering the vision it proposes.
- a framework for the decisions and planning priorities of the LLDC that it is envisaged will have plan making and planning decisions powers for the core area the guidance covers.

The OLSPG identified five-sub areas (Olympic Park, Stratford, Southern Olympic Fringe, Hackney Wick and Fish Island and Northern Olympic Fringe) and aimed to reach convergence by focusing on five overarching development principles: 1) homes and communities, 2) business and employment, 3) connectivity and transport, 4) urban form, and 5) open space and sustainable development (Figure 6.8).

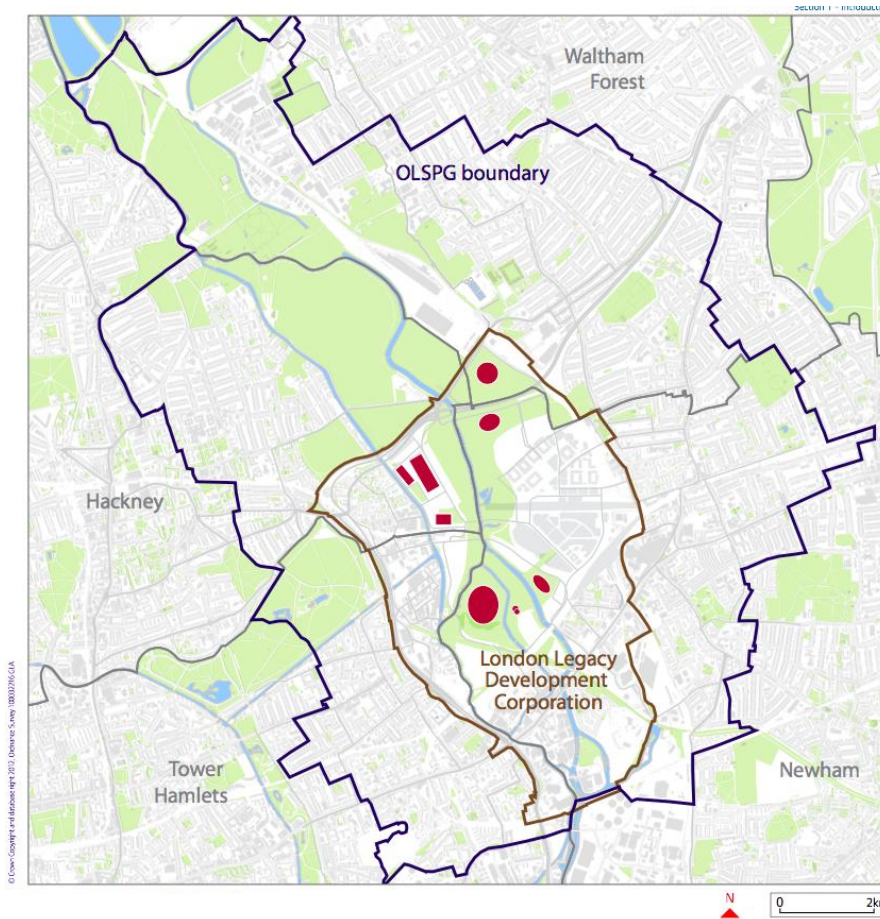


Figure 6.8: OLSPG and LLDC boundaries (source: (GLA, 2012))

6.5.6 Legacy Communities Scheme and Section 106 Agreements

OPLC developed its proposed Legacy Communities Scheme (LCS) to refer to the developments following the post-Games Transformation phase and it was submitted in September 2011 to the ODA Planning Decisions Team. The LCS sought permission for the long-term development of five new neighbourhoods within the future London Olympic Park which is named as the Queen Elizabeth Park after the Games. During October and November 2011, the ODA considered and consulted on the LCS planning application and the post-application consultation was carried out by the Planning Decisions Team, as the local planning authority, including briefings for local community groups and public ‘drop-in’ sessions. Transformation involved the modification of Games-time venues, infrastructure and Parklands to enable subsequent legacy development through the LCS. The planning application for the LCS has been submitted to the Planning Decisions Team of the ODA. The application comprised several documents including a sustainability statement, environment statement, energy statement, interim uses statement and health impact assessment.¹⁵

Other planning mechanisms were also used to secure the legacy of the Games. LLDC had approved Section 106 agreements which are referred as ‘planning gain’ since funding from

¹⁵ LLDC webpage: <http://www.londonlegacy.co.uk>

developers secured by local authorities required to deliver added public benefits to gain development permission and intended to mitigate negative impacts of the proposed development (Smith, 2013). The agreement represents a strong package of measures and secured benefits for the Legacy Olympic Park. The Section 106 commitments of Queen Elizabeth Park include (Geoghegan, 2012):

- £17 million towards transport improvements, including an upgrade of Hackney Wick Station and extended bus and cycle networks through the park
- Three new schools, nine nurseries, and three health centres
- Employment and training programmes for local people, community centres and a library
- A site-wide target of 35 per cent affordable housing with a minimum provision of 20 per cent, alongside a target of 42 per cent family housing
- Creating an independent quality review panel to ensure a high standard of design during the park's 18-year development

Nevertheless, these requirements eventually raised the budget of the Games based on public money, rather than drawing from the private sector; e.g. £110 million government grant was given to Triathlon Homes - the housing consortium who bought the units to deliver the "affordable housing" in the Athletes Villages (Smith, 2013) after the private sector investors pulled out. However, Triathlon will not convert any of its social rented properties to affordable rents of up to %80 of market rates as it was not registered as an affordable homes provider with the Tenant Services Authority, which regulated the social housing sector at the time. Although Section 106 has made an important contribution to supporting the provision of affordable housing in London, the affordability of the Olympic housing and the financing arrangements have become complicated and lost its priority when the focus shifted from meeting the needs of Olympic brief rather than the longer term needs of London (Bowie, 2010). There are also questions over the provision of future affordable housing in East Village.

6.6 LONDON 2012 LEGACY

Starting from the bidding period, the concept of legacy had been an important part of the London 2012 regeneration plans since the white elephants, "under-utilised facilities that are expensive to maintain" (Smith, 2012, p. 68), and the integration of the event site with the rest of the city had been one of the main concerns of the mega-event host cities after the show had 'left town'.

The OPLC was formed in 2009 to take over the lead responsibility of the Olympic Park legacy from the LDA. The founder members were the Mayor of London, the Minister for the

Olympics, and the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government. The whole Park was given a new identity as the OPLC, who announced that from 2013 it would be called the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

Changes in the political leadership effected the legacy coordination after the Games and “a new national administration announced shortly after taking office that the LDA and the LTGDC would be wound down in 2012 and 2013, respectively” (Smith, 2013, p. 12). Finally, on 1st April 2012, the LLDC took over the work of the OPLC with broader remit, greater powers and an expanded physical boundary. LLDC’s priority themes were promoting convergence and community participation, championing equalities and inclusion, ensuring high quality design and ensuring environmental sustainability. In April 2012, LLDC published ‘Your Sustainability Guide to Queen Elizabeth Park 2030’ and demonstrated its commitment to sustainable legacies in and around the Olympic Park and determined sustainability commitments in water management & conservation, energy conservation & carbon reduction, materials selection, waste management, transport & connectivity, biodiversity & open space and facilitating sustainable lifestyles (LLDC, 2012). However, Smith (2013) suggests that the delay setting up the LLDC meant that some opportunities to capitalise on the Games were lost, since marketing, business and tourism planning arrangements were also delayed.

The transformation phase of the Olympic Park had started after the LLDC took complete ownership of the Park in November 2012. LLDC announced that around £300m would be spent on transforming the Olympic site into a new piece of London after the Games by the project called ‘Clear, Connect, Complete’.¹⁶ The Park was planned to be a new destination for a wide range of local, regional and national visitors highlighting the ‘big six’ attractions: Stadium, Aquatics Centre, Lee Valley VeloPark, Multi-Use Arena, Lee Valley Tennis and Hockey Centres, and the Arcelor Mittal Orbit. By 2014, the Park will have doubled in size, completing this end of the Lea Valley corridor and fulfilling its place within the East London Green Grid and the regeneration phase will start in 2015 aiming to turn the Park into a so-called pioneering neighbourhood that is a catalyst for ‘sustainable living’ (LLDC, 2012).

The ODA was responsible for the design and construction, and the post-Games deconstruction of the new permanent venues associated with the London 2012 Games, and for permanent works at existing venues. The Olympic Park held nine venues: Olympic Stadium, Aquatics Centre, Velodrome, Water Polo Arena (temporary), Handball Arena (Copper Box), Basketball Arena (temporary), Hockey Centre, Eton Manor and BMX Circuit as well as non-competition venues such as the International Broadcast Centre and Main Press Centre (IBC/MPC) (Figure 6.9).

¹⁶ See LLDC webpage for detail on ‘Clear, Connect, Complete’ project: <http://www.londonlegacy.co.uk>



Figure 6.9: Indicative Map of the Olympic Park at the Games time (LOCOG, 2011a)

The legacy plans confirmed the downsizing of some of the permanent venues and removal of the temporary facilities after the Games. The Olympic stadium will be downsized from 80,000 to 60,000 seats and the legacy use of it is already scheduled as the new home of West Ham United FC from 2016. Besides, the Stadium is set to provide the stage for a series of sports fixtures starting with the Rugby World Cup in 2015 and the IAAF World

Athletics Championships in 2017. The London2012 Aquatics centre will also be downsized from 17,500 to 2,500 seats for community use with the handball arena and velopark also remaining (Evans, 2011). The Copper Box, which hosted the Handball, Modern Pentathlon Fencing and Paralympic Goalball during the Games time, was one of London's most flexible indoor venues, with retractable seating for up to 7,500 spectators, allowing for a wide range of different sports and activities.¹⁷ After the Games, it will be the home of the London Lions basketball team and a major new venue for everything from premiership basketball to pop concerts and daily activities.

LLDC's regeneration strategy is "to make the most of Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park's redevelopment as a visitor destination and thriving urban district, to form the springboard for and driving force behind a programme of managed urban change that will both support convergence locally, and further London's success on a global stage" (LLDC, 2013, p. 10). Therefore, LLDC focuses on five priorities: jobs, growth, place making, community and connections.

6.6.1 New Neighbourhoods of London 2012 Olympic Park

Five new neighbourhoods - Chobham Manor, East Wick, Sweetwater, Marshgate Wharf and Pudding Mill - are planned in the Olympic Park area under four sub-areas that LLDC defined. The sub-areas are planned to be established around the Park, each with its own distinct character, which will involve up to 11,000 new homes where 35% will be affordable and 40% will be family homes.¹⁸ These sub-areas are defined to support delivery and planning, and to enable integration and connection of areas that have been separated, without undermining the integrity of existing places: Chobham, Stratford, Bromley by Bow & Pudding Mill, and Hackney Wick Fish Island¹⁹ (Figure 6.10).

¹⁷ LLDC webpage: <http://www.londonlegacy.co.uk>

¹⁸ LLDC: <http://www.londonlegacy.co.uk/the-park/homes/>

¹⁹ The legacy of the LLDC sub-areas and new neighborhoods of the Park are drawn from the LLDC webpage and Regeneration Delivery Programme (LLDC, 2013)

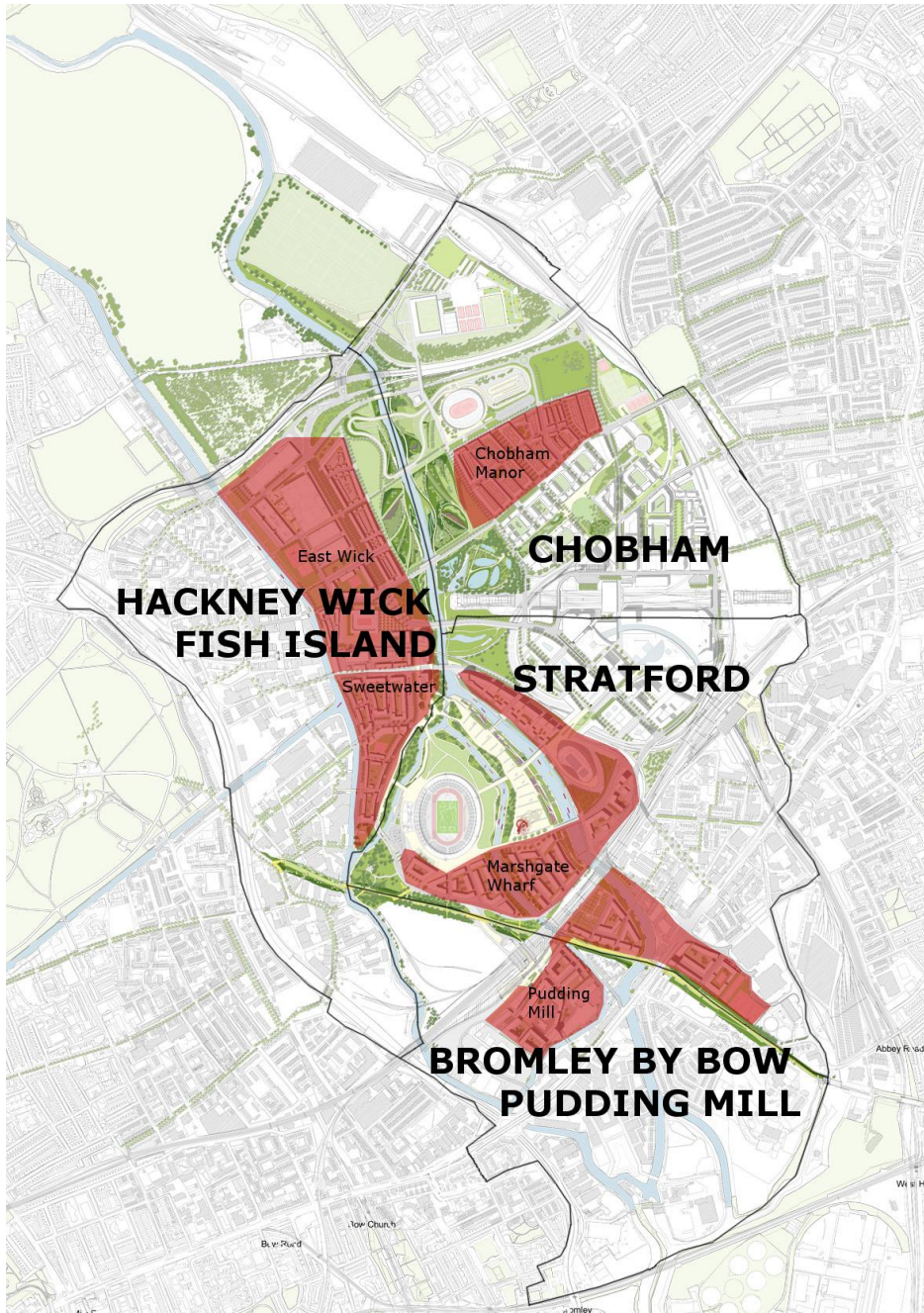


Figure 6.10: LLDC sub-areas and five new neighbourhoods of the Olympic Park (source: adapted from LLDC)

Chobham: This sub-area is part of LBN and LBWF. It includes mid-rise blocks of East Village as well as family housing in Chobham Manor and Chobham Farm. Chobham Manor is the area where the Basketball Arena was based as a temporary venue and it will be one of the five new neighbourhoods of the Olympic Park with its most 'village-like' architecture. Athletes' Village provided accommodation for 17,000 athletes and officials during the Games. East Village will be managed by Qatari Diar Delancey and Triathlon homes and after the Games and it is promised to be transformed into a mixed tenure residential neighbourhood, incorporating a range of affordable housing options, which is called East

Village from September 2013. However, Triathlon will not convert any of its social rented properties to affordable rents, which blurs the long-term future of the housing in this area. The London 2012 Athletes' Village had left a legacy of 2,818 new homes, complete with a school, Chobham Academy, for 3-18-year-olds, cafes and bars, 27 acres of parkland and 30 shops right on the doorstep of Westfield Stratford City.²⁰ This transformation formed the first phase of a far wider regeneration and development of the whole Olympic Park.

Besides residential units, there will be a range of sporting facilities and park area. Eton Manor will provide sport and leisure facilities and the North Park is designed to be more family-oriented with amenities and active leisure facilities since it hosts the Velopark.

Stratford: The sub-area in LBN brings together the core of metropolitan Stratford, the South Park Plaza and Marshgate Wharf. The redevelopment of the Carpenters Estate had been one of the most controversial regeneration projects in the Park and several protests were staged by its residents and supporters. Although, UCL's new campus project in the area had fallen through, the LBN is still dedicated to redevelop most of the estate on a phased basis, to create a better integrated neighbourhood and better housing for local people and re-house tenants, leaseholders and freeholders using a resident's Charter as the basis for its work.²¹

Stratford City is one of the largest mixed-use developments in Europe and includes Westfield Stratford Shopping Centre, the commercial International Quarter and a new residential community. Besides, the South Park Plaza is planned to be a major sporting and cultural events zone and the heart of East London, hosting festivals, community events, street performances. Two London 2012 venues will remain in this zone -the Olympic Stadium and Aquatics Centre- and ArcelorMittal Orbit – the Park's new visitor attraction and UK's tallest sculpture- is located between these venues. The Water Polo arena will be dismantled after the Games. Located next to the Stratford City, Marshgate Wharf is planned to be a metropolitan neighbourhood with medium- to high-density blocks mixed with leisure facilities.

Bromley-by-Bow and Pudding Mill: The sub-area in LBN is mainly occupied by industrial and commercial uses, but new high density, high-rise residential development is planned in the area as well. Pudding Mill was home to the athletes' warm-up track and some other facilities for the athletes during the 2012 Games. The area is one of the future employment zones in the Park and also will be a mix of residential, light industrial and business uses, reflecting its historical significance as an industrial centre for the region. Similarly, Bromley-by-Bow is characterised by low-level industrial units and a mixed-use local centre with up to 1,200 residential units planned in the area. Sugar House Lane will remain purely industrial

²⁰ East Village: <http://www.eastvillagelondon.co.uk/>

²¹ LBN Council Webpage: <http://www.newham.gov.uk>

since it is one of the few areas in Stratford that retains a fine industrial character with waterside access.

Hackney Wick and Fish Island: The sub-area is part of LBH and LBTH. Hackney Wick mixes housing and industrial uses and the area has become recognised as an important area for art production, with a high concentration of studio spaces recently. Hackney Wick has the potential to become a cultural and creative quarter in the region (London Borough of Hackney, 2010). Fish Island is mainly industrial but the future plan for the area aims to create a balanced approach to regeneration that will deliver up to 2,800 new homes - including affordable and family housing as well as community centre and new school.

Sweetwater in the LBN, one of the five new neighbourhoods in the Park, is the highest natural point of the Olympic Park area and it will have studios, flats and family homes with private gardens and communal green space alongside the Lea Navigation canal. The neighbourhood will also have retail and commercial space, a primary care centre, a nursery, a primary school and a library. Finally, East Wick had been home to the Press and Broadcast Centres and the Multi-Use Arena (Handball Arena). Post-event economic impacts of the Olympics rely on maintaining increased tourism flows and employment opportunities especially through the post-event usage of International Broadcast Centre and Main Press Centre (IBC/MPC) (Evans, 2011). IBC/MPC will be named as iCITY transforming into a high-tech digital centre that extends the East End's thriving Tech City business community (House of Lords, 2013). iCITY is planned as the main employment hub of the Park and surrounding for 4,500-plus people.

In terms of housing, this area is planned to be a family housing neighbourhood with a primary school and community centre at its heart. The Press and Broadcast Centre will form the primary employment hub of the Park. East Wick is planned in a way to extend the mix of uses and creative strength of Hackney Wick to create a central point for jobs and growth within the Park.

6.7 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter analyses the changes in the land use and built environment of the LLV through London 2012 addressing **RQ3: How have the sustainable development principles been implemented in London 2012 event-led regeneration from stakeholder and local community perspectives?**). The process of event-led regeneration usually starts with the bidding period but its roots reaches even before the bid. In London 2012 case, regeneration strategies for East London such as the development of the Docklands, Thames Gateway scheme, Stratford Master Plan and London Plan, and the issue of London-wide regional authority are significant factors in analysing the success of the bid. Once the bid was successful, the next

stage was delivering the Games successfully. The chapter introduced the socio-economic and physical structure of LLV and analysed the change in the land use as a result of hosting the Olympic Games, and the related displacements, as well as introducing the Olympic regeneration related stakeholders, their roles, and their vision for the Games. The decisions about the regeneration of the area are effected by several local and regional plans and a range of institutions involved in these plans. Finally, the legacy plan of London 2012 is discussed and the future of the Park and its neighbourhood is presented.

Based on the analysis it is importance to stress that the London 2012 project has a convincing sustainable development strategy and legacy vision in terms of the built environment. The next chapters provide the basis for analysing the reasons behind decisions taken by the stakeholders (Chapter 7) and the comments of local residents (Chapter 8).

CHAPTER 7 EVALUATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE LONDON 2012 GOVERNANCE: STAKEHOLDER PERSPECTIVES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of sustainable development is to optimise the achievements both within and across the social, economic and physical systems through an adaptive process of integration. It is not possible to achieve sustainable development by only focusing on the outcomes of social, economic or physical dimensions individually since all these dimensions feedback each other and governance is the framework that integrates these dimensions (Getz, 2009; Pacione, 2007). In the events field, Richards and Palmer (2010, p. 136) define governance as “a collective term that applies to the combination of different layers of promoting, presenting and developing events in cities”. Hence, in order to have sustainable event-led regeneration, the governance has to be sustainable as well.

The epistemological framework of this study (see Figure 5.1) highlights the importance of understanding the organisation structure of an event-led regeneration project to evaluate its sustainability. Therefore, this chapter analyses the stakeholder approach with respect to the London 2012 Olympic Games regeneration under the following four headings: Governance of the Regeneration, Social Regeneration, Economic Regeneration and Physical Regeneration. The themes under each of four headings in this chapter are drawn from literature (see Chapter 4.4) and stakeholder interviews undertaken with London 2012 officials (see Chapter 3 for more information on the methodology). 24 interviews that have been conducted with 20 institutions and 11 feedback forms (questionnaires about the London 2012 that are given to the interviewed stakeholders) are analysed by using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software called NVivo, which is an easy way of coding under related themes with regard to the research questions and objectives. Through iterating between the data and concepts, key theoretical constructs are recognized and data is interpreted in this frame (Yin, 1994). It is important to make clear that this research analyses sustainable development from a governance perspective. Hence, when analysing the social, economic and physical aspects of sustainable development, the analysis focuses on the governance dimension other than the actual field itself.

7.2 GOVERNANCE OF THE REGENERATION

Whilst effective working relationships between a city and event stakeholders are one of the most crucial elements of successful event hosting, it is seemingly difficult to create the environment and objectives for the stakeholders to make them work in harmony.

Governance can work effectively only if the interdependent resources possessed by different actors combine (Jessop, 1997). These diverse interests can be drawn together by considering different components of event governance. When approached from a regeneration perspective, governance can be approached from different perspectives including power structures and modes of decision-making. This section will thus analyse the power shifts during the process of the London 2012 Olympic and related regeneration. The main themes of the event-led regeneration governance in the literature (see 4.4.1 Sustainable Governance) and stakeholder interviews are evaluated together to determine the following themes of analysis: *leadership, representativeness, power relations and conflicts and knowledge transfer and networks.*

7.2.1 Leadership

In a mega-event context, leadership is highly important since several event stakeholders have to be coordinated to deliver the event and overcome the internal and external challenges (Richards and Palmer, 2010). The leader may not be the same before, during and after the event. This can be as a result of political changes or the requirements and the shifts in the focus of the event in different phases. Before, during and after periods of an event have different concerns, imperatives and objectives. Therefore, the leader or leading institution may change during each of these periods in question, however it is important to have continuity in the objectives and long-term vision of the regeneration process.

Event leaders should also empower other leaders and communicate a clear vision that can inspire the city's main stakeholders (Allen, 2005). When the stakeholder feedback forms are analysed, LOCOG has been determined to be the most influential stakeholder in decision-making, followed by GLA. However, LOCOG has been an influential unit only in terms of delivering the Games. The regeneration decisions in and around the Olympic Park have been taken by the Regeneration Steering Board which is chaired by the London Mayor.

After the Cabinet decided that London should bid for the 2012 Olympic Games on 15 May 2003, a team to lead the bid was appointed. In line with IOC rules, a private bid company named 'London 2012' led this, chaired by Barbara Cassani, an American businesswoman who was the founder under British Airways of budget airline Go Fly; Keith Mills, a British businessman and sports enthusiast as the Chief Executive; and Sebastian Coe, a British former politician and Olympic athlete as the Vice-Chair. The lobbying campaign was managed by Keith Mills and Sebastian Coe, who had the lobbying skills needed to liaise with the IOC. Although Cassani was good at her team building work, she was not too enthusiastic or skilful enough about the necessary lobbying work (Horne and Whannel, 2011).

In May 2004, London was selected as one of the formal candidate cities and this triggered a change of leadership of the bid. Barbara Cassani decided to step down as Chair of the bid

company in favour of Vice-Chair Sebastian Coe. 'Cassani felt that Coe's networking skills and sports knowledge would be more valuable than her technical and managerial skills, which had been relevant during the initial bid master-planning' (Norris et al., 2013, p. 15). Sebastian Coe has become the face of the London 2012 Olympics since then. After London has been selected to host the 2012 Games, the London 2012 bid company transformed into LOCOG and continued to be chaired by Sebastian Coe who stayed at the top of LOCOG throughout. This provided the continuity and leadership needed for community and political support.

Besides the engaging role of the organising committees, the leadership and support of city authorities are highly important to provide a sustainable process for the event hosting. Lever (2001) highlights that the main characteristic of good mayors is their ability to secure and use the mega-events strategically. It was not much different for London 2012 since as a manager at GLA emphasises:

"It [GLA's contribution] is about additionality really, it's not 'let's just duplicate what somebody else is doing', it's like saying where can London regional government add something! And generally that tends to be around sort of strategic co-ordination and strong leadership and facilitation, working with bringing together partners. Obviously we've got some resources and we've got influence!"

After the success of the Barcelona Games, especially in terms of the governance model promoted by the city mayor to regenerate Barcelona through the Games (Monclus, 2011), other cities started to get more and more interested in event-led regeneration. According to both Smith (2012) and Newman (2007), although Ken Livingstone came into power in 2000, he did not have a significant influence on large-scale regeneration until 2005 when the city won the bid for hosting London 2012. However, Boris Johnson, Conservative candidate, was elected Mayor in 2008 by defeating the incumbent Labour candidate Ken Livingstone. This change in politics has led to some important modifications in the Olympic regeneration policies. Housing strategies are a particular example as a former manager at ODA observed:

"When it was the last Mayor [Ken Livingstone], it was very clear that every development had to have a proportion of affordable housing, and it varied a lot, it was always going up. It got up as high as fifty percent. Now this Mayor [Boris Johnson] had a completely different view and is not pushing the fifty percent or the thirty five percent, so councils are a bit 'Well, where do we go on with this? How is it gonna work?'"

On the other hand, a third of Londoners are satisfied with Boris Johnson's performance as mayor, according to GLA's 2011 Annual London survey (GLA, 2011b). The 32% score is the highest level of satisfaction since he took office three years ago, compared with 26% in 2010 which shows that his policies are supported, albeit still by a minority.

In terms of legacy, a manager at GLA emphasizes that "...one of the criticisms that's been levelled at the Games is that, there's been lack of leadership for Legacy and so one of the things I guess that the GLA can do is provide that leadership for Legacy". GLA can provide this leadership through the OPLC. Also, the Mayor does that through a governance structure called the Olympic Partner Regeneration Steering Group. This Group is chaired by the Mayor with the Minister of Sport and the Olympics and the DCLG minister and elected mayors of the host boroughs, which coordinates the strategy towards the wider East London legacy. GLA has a strong role to play in terms of working very closely with stakeholders around all elements of regeneration, and that includes not just physical legacy, transport legacy and the socio-economic legacy, but it also includes working with stakeholders to coordinate future strategies regarding the area. The promotion of East London as a place of opportunity, investment and countering the negative perceptions of East London, was one of the key concerns of the host boroughs. Therefore, under the auspices of the Legacy Development Corporation, GLA is working closely with host boroughs in the post-Games period. The head of LVRPA states,

"Considering the complexity of the structure and the different stakeholder voices that need to be heard within all of this it's been remarkably successful. I think the Olympic Delivery Authority needs to take most of that credit for its leadership in delivering the venues and the infrastructure required. Now LOCOG's job, they get the Olympic Park in January to make sure it works for the Games next year, and so, you know, despite the complexity I think it's been remarkably successful."

It is clear that not all political leaders are as good at sharing the lead with stakeholders as might be desired. The collective strength of skilled event stakeholders can often overcome the weaknesses or instability of the city's political leadership (Richards and Palmer, 2010). In the event context, leaders having a clear vision and legacy responsibility are therefore important.

7.2.2 Representativeness

Representation discourse particularly focuses on social difference and power relations in urban research (Martin et al., 2003). Representation of local communities and the influence of different stakeholders on the decision-making structure are also important in event-led regeneration in order for policy to have sustainable outcomes (Richards and Palmer, 2010; Smith, 2012).

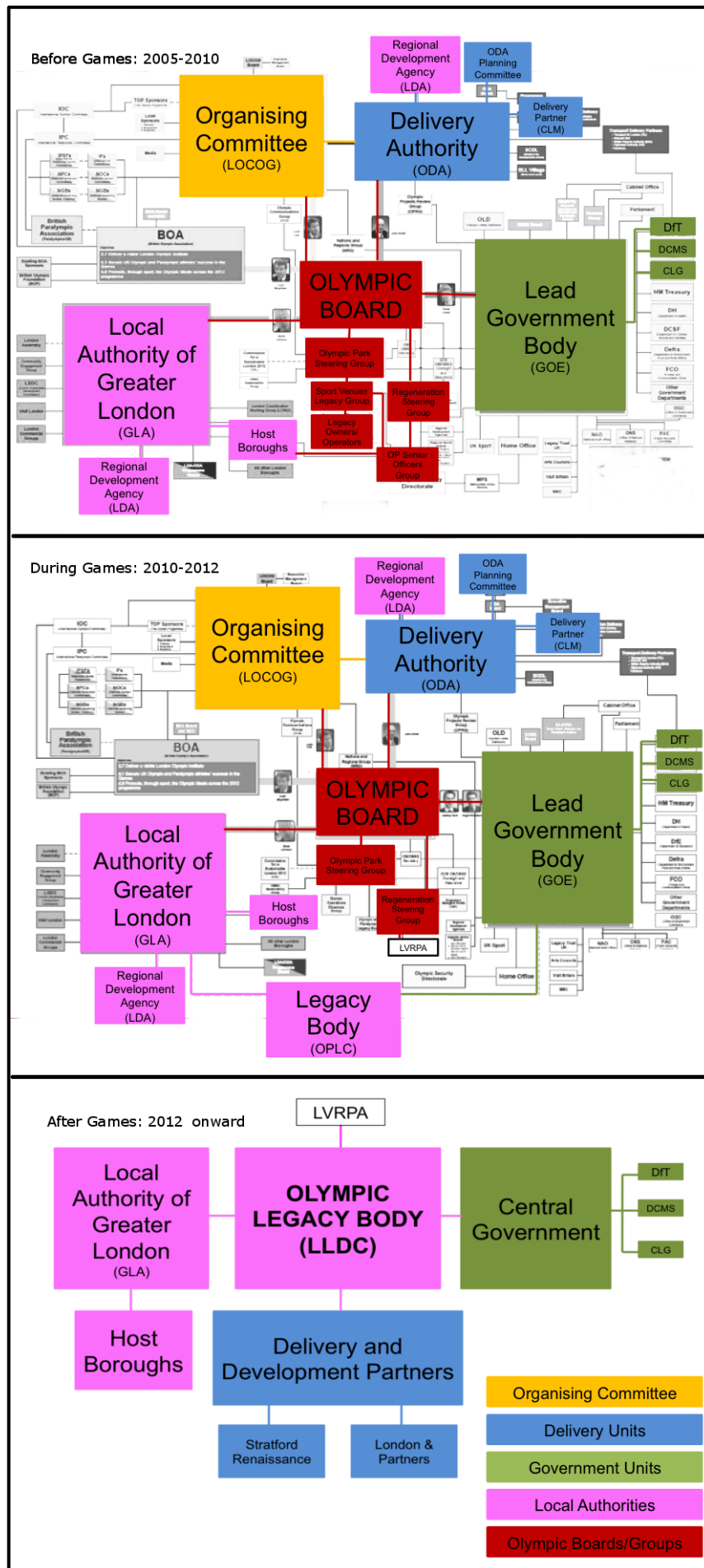


Figure 7.1: Regeneration Organisation Structure of London 2005-2013 (Source: author)

By the nature of mega event-led regeneration, the stakeholders involved change over time, which was also observed in London 2012 regeneration case (see Figure 7.1). From 2005 to 2012, the most important change in the organisation structure has been the foundation of an Olympic legacy body - the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC) in 2009, which was subsequently changed to be the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) in 2012. Also, after the completion of land acquisition and venues, delivery related authorities started to gradually wind down, notably the London Development Agency (LDA) (all RDAs were abolished in England in 2010, independent of the Olympics) (See Section 3.3.5 for further information) and the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA).

The representativeness of the Olympic Board has always been one of the most important criteria for delivering a sustainable Games and legacy. London was awarded the 2012 Olympic Games in 2005. The ODA and LDA secured host boroughs approval for the Olympic Park area regeneration during the bidding period between 2003 and 2005. Once the bid was approved by the IOC, the government then produced an Act of Parliament to recruit the powers to build the Games, and they invested those powers in the ODA.

The core of London Olympics regeneration is the five East London host boroughs which are Newham, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Waltham Forest and Greenwich and a sixth, Barking and Dagenham joined later on. They have rising populations, high percentage of young people compared to the rest of England and relatively high levels of social deprivation. These host boroughs aimed to get the maximum benefit out of the Olympic Games and the legacy is the most important component of the Games policy since they will be the ones benefiting most from the Olympic Park after the Games. However, Sinclair (2011, 387) criticises the Olympic Park and its legacy as follows: "The Olympic Park, that corrupted legacy, is like mid-period Fellini: kite flyers, moody urbanists in long coats, white cars parked in unlikely places, a glitter of sea you can never quite reach."

The Host Borough Unit had an important Olympic legacy target as stated in the Strategic Framework Report (2009): "within 20 years the communities who host the 2012 Games will have the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London". The Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group approved this document and target. The London Borough of Hackney brought the host boroughs together towards the very end of the bidding process and encouraged the other host boroughs to work and collaborate together as one, so that the host boroughs came about as an entity. As a LBH Councillor mentions: "I would suggest to you that actually by collaborating together the host boroughs have punched well above their weight". Host boroughs were not represented on the main board of the ODA, but they were represented on the Planning Committee of the ODA where decisions on regeneration were taken subject to board approval. A LBN Councillor for example believed in the representativeness of the organisation structure of London 2012, stating:

“...and so since 2005, whatever, I think, maybe 2006... since it [Planning Committee of the Olympic Delivery Authority] was established anyway, I've sat on it representing Newham, and there's been a representative there from Waltham Forest, from Hackney, from Tower Hamlets, the boroughs that surround the Olympic Park, and a number of independent planning experts as well. And we have approved, or seen, or had cause to read, all the plans for all the individual component parts of the Olympic Park as well as the plan for the whole park itself. The planning decisions that are relating to Westfield and Stratford City, which is from our nearest perspective, our biggest priority, they were delegated back to Newham to approve.”

An Officer at LBH also maintained that they have been influential in decision-making on the regeneration of the Olympic Park area and he gives the example of the replacement of the cycling circuit to support his point:

“We are particularly involved closely on the things that affects us so an example, which is recent is the previous master plan for our part of the park included a cycle racing circuit that went through a piece of park land that we will own after the Games. We were not happy with that! That was a piece of planning by the ODA got permission for so we talked to the OPLC which draw up another plan which take the cycle circuit round the Velodrome to the other side of the river. The cyclist weren't very happy with it in fact they were absolutely furious. But we worked through something which ended up with a compromise as we wanted most to have most of space as parkland, as example.”

A manager at ODA also confirms: ‘everything we do is consulted upon and stakeholders can express their opinions and then we have to respond’ and adds the decision making structure worked efficiently since everything is delivered by the host boroughs:

“I think it's worked very well in terms of the Games because although we, ODA and LOCOG have helped to fund it, it's actually been delivered through the boroughs, so it's like a host borough alliance of all boroughs working together. So it's not us, it's really the borough officers. They know their people, they know how to make the connections.”

However, an LBTH Councillor thinks that they haven't been involved in the decision-making process as much as they should be. They are only asked to implement the decisions already taken and adds: “We don't feel that connection with the Olympics, I mean, in terms of decision-making. Because they don't need our decision because they're above, and this is why we've actually had to fight them in many occasions to get as much as we can”. Most importantly LBTH London 2012 Unit officer says “it's a top down approach rather than a bottom up’ and adds they haven't been to the community meetings LOCOG organised ‘cause they didn't consider LBTH's suggestions, ideas, concerns when making decisions on the Olympic Park so they did not want to be in the same picture with LOCOG in the eyes of our local residents”.

In terms of decisions on the delivery of the venues, a LDA manager says, “We work with the host boroughs. The host boroughs were involved in the deliberation around funding. We established an Operations Group which the boroughs were actually involved with.” When it comes to the legacy decisions about the Olympic Venues, the LBH London 2012 representative says:

“With the other boroughs, we’ve done a lot of talking to the OPLC about how the big venues are gonna be used after the Games and set the principles that they won’t be more expensive to use than any other leisure centres and they’ve got a plan for the use of the venues and sports development which we broadly happy with.”

A manager in the Host Boroughs Unit believes that more public participation during the planning of the regeneration of the Olympic Park and consultation into a more sustainable framework with feedback from local people should have been addressed in more detail to make the London 2012 planning process more sustainable. When a director at LTGDC was asked whether he thinks that the host boroughs are involved enough in the decision-making structure of the regeneration of the Olympic Park area, he replied:

“No that is historic, in all Olympics! I think that is a big problem but they are getting together now. I think there is some good work coming around on convergence. I think they are getting their act together more. It created a focus at once. What worries the most is probably the Tower Hamlets! Hackey definitely got it, Newham has, Waltham Forest is difficult ‘cause Olympic Park is just on the edge of their boundary. It is always difficult to get boroughs to look at cross connections, this north-south thing! And I think that is where we as a Development Corporation will be doing well.”

It is easy to follow from Figure 7.1 that there are a large number of different bodies responsible for the legacy of London2012 in East London. When stakeholders were asked the way they define the London 2012 organisational structure, the most common answer has turned out to be ‘complex’. The complexity is inevitable given the broad legacy goals and the layers of government involved. This complexity is not a problem as long as it is clear who is leading delivery of particular legacy goals and who they are accountable to (Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee Members, 2010).

There were two Olympic bodies in London that have an overarching role in the regeneration of East London until 2012: the Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group and East London Legacy Board. The Mayor chairs Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group. It also includes the Olympics Minister, Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, the mayors and leaders of the host boroughs and the Chair of the Olympic Park Legacy Company. This group reviewed legacy plans and progress, and is the main body for co-ordinating the political oversight of the regeneration legacy in East London. East London Legacy Board reports to the Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group. It aims to support the implementation of the key regeneration plans, in particular the Strategic Regeneration

Framework and the Legacy Masterplan Framework. The East London Legacy Board includes officers from central and regional government, host boroughs and a range of other partner organisations. In total, around 30 institutions are represented on the East London Legacy Board. Since the Coalition has come into force and they have been promoting localism and whilst the East London Legacy Board used to be chaired by DCLG that responsibility has been transferred to the GLA, and GLA refined that structure and created the East London Legacy Group. A manager at GLA states:

“East London Legacy Board is a senior officers group, involves organisations such as the host boroughs, the six host boroughs, the UDC, the development corporation, Lea Valley Regional Park Association, it involves NHS and PCT representatives, it includes sports representatives, obviously includes GLA and, and others, but it’s a much wider stakeholder group of people that are involved in delivering aspects of the regeneration Legacy in East London, so it’s not true to say that delivery structure is complete, and again, that group is an officer group, and the whole point of that, that group is to just coordinate the activities of partners around East London, East London regeneration, making sure that we’re doing all we can, to make sure that one our work’s aligned and we’re not duplicating that we’re developing things complementary.”

Also, the head of Legacy at DCMS (GOE) supports this position, saying: “There is a level below that GLA runs the East London Legacy Group. That is where you bring together all of those with an interest in East London regeneration so ranging from Boroughs to OPLC to business. So you have got a whole range being represented there and I think it is important because the coalition government has made a commitment to devolve responsibility down to the most local level it can”.

Therefore, the stakeholders primarily believe that the Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group and East London Legacy Board sustain the representativeness of the regeneration organisation structure of London 2102, which supports a bottom-up approach. As a manager at DCMS (GOE) says: “I mean, it is where you got the sort of top-down, what Government is doing but also you got the bottom-up so the host boroughs have been developing their strategic regeneration framework and this is boroughs working together to make the best they can of the fact that they have the park on the door step and got all the Olympic impact around the infrastructure. So that’s bottom-up. We don’t interfere in that. We focused on what it is the Government is doing”.

The majority of the interviewees believe that the management and decision-making structure of London 2012 Olympic Games represented all related stakeholders. However, one of the most common criticisms is that local communities should have been more involved in the decision-making structure. Stakeholder interviews demonstrate that local authorities think that local community groups are underrepresented in London 2012 organisation structure and government units and other institutions agree on this. Besides this, one of the organising

committee interviewee thinks that universities and colleges should have been more involved in the decision-making.

When a director at DCLG is asked whether he thinks that public participation²², involvement of universities and NGOs was enough during the decision-making period of the planning of the Olympic Park, he reflects:

“Probably not! I mean there was quite a lot of local consultation that took place on the planning of the Park and what was going and what was actually happening. And I think it’s probably fair to say that quite a lot of people, local people, were maybe expecting to be consulted on bigger and broader things... So I think, you know, there’s been quite a lot of work done on consultation with the local population. Could we have done more? Probably, yes. Was it, you know, could the boroughs have done quite a lot more? Some people would say yes, they would do. I would say that we tried to talk to academics and other people in the field and learn lessons and do things. But you could always do more. There’ll always be people thinking they should have been consulted.”

It is a challenge to decide which groups to involve in the decision-making structure since “... the larger the group, the less it will further its common interests” (Olson 1971, 36). Stakeholders should have a forum in which their voices can be heard and also feel that they have influence over the decisions taken. One of the key problems with representation in event governance structures is the issue of communication between stakeholders. This is increasingly difficult to achieve in constantly shifting and overlapping communities and networks where the edges are fuzzy and representation linkages are difficult to understand. In the event-led regeneration case, local representation is highly important since hosting a mega-event is already a top-down approach most of the time. The collective strength of stakeholders can also overcome the weaknesses or instabilities in the political structure of the city (Richards and Palmer, 2010).

7.2.3 Power Relations and Conflicts

It is not realistic to think that all stakeholders should agree on every decision taken when so many diverse stakeholders are involved. Hence, conflict is most of the time inevitable and it does not necessarily have a negative impact on the decision-making structure. However, they start to harm the governance if not approached through effective ways of negotiation and mediation (Richards and Palmer, 2010).

There are a large number of organisations involved in the delivery and legacy of London 2012. This includes political leaderships at national, city and borough levels, organisations founded for the Olympics and other regeneration bodies of East London. Starting from the bid until the immediate legacy period of the Games, there have been many changes in the dominant Olympic policies, which relates to the change of people in certain key positions, as

²² The involvement of locals in decision-making is further discussed in Section 7.3 and Chapter 8.

well as a change of institutions and change of policy complexion. Neale Coleman, the Vice Chair of LLDC, describes the London 2012 organisation structure as “ultimate forum for dispute resolution” but it is also acknowledged that several things could have been handled in a more effective way.

Therefore, this section will primarily explore the effects of the change of the Mayor of London and the Government during the Olympic period and how these changes were reflected in Olympic regeneration policies. Later, it will analyse how changing power and responsibility dynamics were reflected in the broader vision of the London Olympics, and finally the change of institutions and transfer of responsibilities between different institutions will be investigated.

Change of Mayor: Ken Livingstone was the first elected mayor of London, holding his position from 2000 to 2008. After failing to become the Labour candidate in 2000, he left the party and contested successfully as an independent (Owen, 2008). During his first term, he led a major upgrade of London's transport system, introducing the congestion charge and Oyster card. He re-joined the Labour party later and won the next election for Labour in 2004 and continued his transport policies including mandatory bus and cycling lanes. Livingstone and his team won the bid to host the 2012 Summer Olympics in London and kick-started a further redevelopment of East London. In his speech in 2008, Ken Livingstone said: “I didn't bid for the Olympics because I wanted three weeks of sport. I bid for the Olympics because it's the only way to get the billions of pounds out of the Government to develop the East End” (“Mayor Ken in Olympics bid revelation,” 2008). Tessa Jowell and Ken Livingstone offered critical leadership for the Olympic project by “building coalitions, persuading colleagues and participating in marketing and promotional campaigns to keep the public on board” (Making Games Report, p5). In the 2008 elections, Livingstone was defeated by the Conservative candidate Boris Johnson. Although the Mayor of London changed, there was considerable continuity in the Mayor's Office. Neale Coleman was a former Labour councillor who specialised in housing policy and originally appointed as a political adviser to Ken Livingstone in 2001 and became his lead adviser on the Olympics and continued as Boris Johnson's Olympics adviser from 2008 onwards (Norris et al., 2013). The Olympics were a good example of cross-party support and the continuity of political personnel during the two changes of administration, but there had also been some significant policy changes. A manager at LDA describes the effect of this mayoral change in Olympic policies with the following comment:

“Unfortunately, we then hit politics, and the politics changed. We then got a Conservative Mayor, a Conservative Mayor who doesn't believe in economic development. The Conservatives don't believe in economic development. However, they do believe in the general regeneration, and they believed in the model that was set up around the LDDC.”

According to the LDA manager the model that Boris Johnson promoted did not merge the social and physical aspects of regeneration and the staff who were in the social regeneration side of the organisation structure had become voiceless and even excluded: “There has been some small relationship around part of the Opportunities Team moving into the OPLC, part of the team moved in, but not all. And the idea was all of us would have gone there and the physical regeneration and the social regeneration would have merged together”.

Change of Government: The Labour Party won the 1997 general election with the largest Labour majority ever. Labour went on to win the 2001 election with a similar majority. In 2003, London had submitted its bid to host London 2012 during Tony Blair’s term in Government. Blair describes the start of London’s Olympic journey with the following:

“It is incredible to think that it began as a conversation between Tessa [Jowell] and myself. It was the summer of 2003, because we were outside in the Downing Street garden. Tessa was saying that we should bid and I was saying, 'Well look, Tessa, it's all very well but it's going to be such a lot of work. What happens if we lose, we're going to get slaughtered. I don't want to be humiliated by the French.' She said - and she knew exactly how to put this to me, 'You know this is not the Tony Blair I know, cautious and timid'. So I said, 'Oh all right, let's give it a go then’” (Bose, 2011).

In the General elections of 2005, the Labour Party under Tony Blair won its third consecutive victory and it was under Tony Blair’s Labour government that Britain won the right to stage the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2005. Tony Blair played a leading role in securing the Olympics by flying to Singapore on the evening of the 2012 bid decision to help persuade IOC members to vote for London (Walker, 2012).

In 2007, Tony Blair resigned as Prime Minister and was replaced by his Chancellor, Gordon Brown. After leaving office, Blair became an adviser on Olympic legacy and set up a small-scale sports foundation in the North-East of England to train coaches and volunteers. In the 2010 general election, Labour under Gordon Brown won the second largest number of seats. The Conservatives with 36.5% of the vote won the largest number of seats but no party had an overall majority, meaning that Labour could still remain in power if they managed to form a coalition with at least one smaller party (Rogers, 2010). After the coalition attempts with the Liberal Democrats broke down, Gordon Brown resigned as both Prime Minister and party leader. David Cameron, leader of the Conservative Party, formed a coalition government following the resignation of Gordon Brown, on 11 May 2010. It is a coalition government composed of members of both the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats.

In LOCOG’s Annual Report 2009–10, Sebastian Coe said that “in the run up to the General Election in May 2010, cross-party political support for the Games remained positive. This level of support has been maintained since the change in Government, and we continue to engage and consult on a cross-party basis at all stages of planning” (LOCOG, 2010, p. 5) and in LOCOG’s Annual Report 2010-11, he mentioned that “LOCOG has continued to enjoy

strong relations with all levels of the UK Government and with Parliament since the General Election in May 2010” (LOCOG, 2011b, p. 7) meaning that the political change has not affected the Olympic policies. Coe also said a “‘consensual’ approach was critical to maximise the long term benefits of the Games and the event had never been ‘party political property’” (“Coe thanks Labour over Olympics,” 2012).

To sum up, Tessa Jowell and Prime Minister Tony Blair saw the Games as an opportunity to promote the UK as an attractive and exciting destination. Ken Livingstone cared more about starting regeneration in East London and bringing tourism to London. And others, like Sebastian Coe, were driven by personal aspiration and experience. All these different motivations of the leaders brought a different dimension to the priorities of the Games which sometimes led to power conflicts.

Managing Powers and Responsibilities

One of the constraints of governance is the different time horizons and coordination mechanisms involved in organising the Games and their legacy (Girginov, 2012b). The establishment of new delivery bodies was required following the bidding phase of the Olympic Games. LDA and ODA were the main bodies responsible for the land acquisition and transformation of the Olympic Park area along with delivery partners. LOCOG took the main role in 2012 prior to the Games as it was responsible for staging the Games and eventually LLDC with the Olympic and Paralympic Legacy Unit in the Cabinet Office became the main body responsible for the legacy of London 2012. Clearly, the leaders of these institutions influenced the way the strategies are directed.

The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) as a public body was responsible for the construction of the Olympic Park and its transformation after the Games including the sale of the Olympic Village. David Higgins, an Australian businessman, became Chief Executive of the shadow ODA in December 2005. He was the managing director and chief executive of the Lend Lease Corporation when the corporations’ developments included the Sydney Olympics and ran the regeneration agency, English Partnerships. Originally, Lend Lease Corporation was chosen by the Labour Government through competitive bidding to finance and construct both the Olympic Village and part of the London Olympics Media Centre. However, after the property crash of the 2008, Lend Lease struggled to raise funds for the construction of the village on the commercial markets, the single largest project in the 2012 Summer Olympic scheme and eventually the government via the ODA hence agreed to underwrite a greater part of the required sum, and pick up the cost of the development. Meanwhile, David Higgins who was the chief executive of the Lend Lease Corporation became the Chief Executive of the shadow ODA.

Construction of the London Olympic Park began on schedule in May 2008. The construction process was run by the ODA and its delivery partner, CLM (see Figure 7.2). CLM was a consortium of three construction and programme management companies which is responsible for managing design teams and contractors on the Olympic Park, providing additional assurance to both ODA and government. The ODA Delivery Partner approach has been mutually successful, allowing the ODA to deliver on its objectives and the Delivery Partner seen to achieve financial success and an enhanced reputation as a result (Jacobson, 2011).

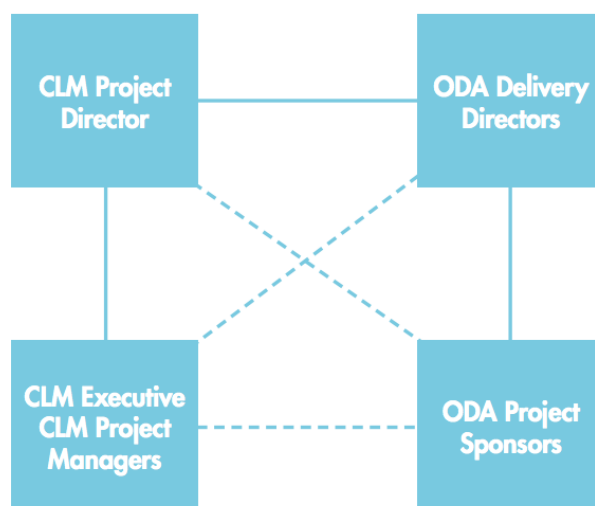


Figure 7.2: ODA’s delivery management (Source: Jacobson (2011))

However the consortium with CLM has been controversial and raises the issue of ‘state-led privatisation’ (Raco 2013) since CLM had a broad scale of responsibilities from managing budget to controlling costs and from designing to constructing. Therefore, CLM became responsible for engaging with the partners involved in the delivery of the Games with ODA taking on a facilitating role, which blurs the boundaries between decision-making and delivery (Raco 2013).

The Olympic stadium construction was completed on schedule in March 2011. After the completion of the venues in the Olympic Park, ODA turned into a much smaller unit where OPLC and GLA took over their responsibilities. As the manager at LDA reflects “It’s very difficult to break those [responsibilities] down, particularly with the ODA being wound up last year. So it’s very difficult to put in place mechanisms that mirrored what the ODA had, which were very successful”. According to the director at LTGDC, the transition between the Olympic stakeholders would have been easier if they had been run together for a while:

“I think now the OPLC is about putting the whole thing in place to make it work post-Olympic Games. I think it is probably the right thing. I think it would, if you had two organisations overlapping for a very much longer period, so if you let the ODA to do the transition work, take the wings of the aquatic centre, stadium and so on.”

Lessons learned from the experience of the ODA during the construction of the site; the targets set and enforced by the Olympic Park Legacy Company have to be ambitious enough to ensure real gains are made. One of the lessons learned from ODA's construction management was that the targets for the construction phase do not specifically focus on previously unemployed local residents, or the number of apprentices (Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee Members, 2010). Despite this, the ODA manager reflects: "everything we do is consulted upon and stakeholders can express their opinions and then we have to respond".

The LDA also played an important role in laying the foundations of a successful London 2012 by supporting the bid and putting in the initial site plans, prior to the foundation of the ODA. First, the LDA bought the land needed for the Olympic Park and helped businesses, jobs and residents that were on the Olympic Park land to relocate. Then, it worked to make sure that all Londoners get the most from the Games: "supporting training and employment schemes linked to the Games and devising the procurement tool that helped open up contracts to competition for London's small and medium businesses" (LDA, 2012).

The LDA appointed Tom Russell to head its new Olympic Legacy Directorate from January 2008. The Olympic Legacy Directorate aimed to bring together the existing Olympic Land and Olympic Opportunities teams to maximise the physical, social and economic benefits of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games both now and in planning the largest physical regeneration opportunity in London. Tom Russell had worked at the centre of three large metropolitan local authorities, with a consistent focus on urban regeneration. Having started his career working at the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, his most recent roles before LDA included Chief Executive of New East Manchester Urban Regeneration Company (NEMURC) and Deputy Chief Executive of Manchester City Council. As the manager at LDA comments about Tom Russell:

"His [Tom Russell's] view was that the model for Manchester was a good model and that, whilst there needed to be something needed to be linked in to the local government a lot better, because, in Manchester, it was linked in very closely. There were some mistakes made around the stadium, the City of Manchester Stadium, but the general model was ok. And he believed there needed to have the physical integration and social integration together. One of the problems we've always faced in London is we've had physical integration – Docklands being one of them – and the social integration wasn't there, so this was to bring them together."

However, this policy changed when Boris Johnson came into power as the Mayor of London. He and his team pursued a policy around general regeneration not considering the physical and social relations and ways of merging them, and he set up the OPLC and then LLDC to deliver this mission. OPLC was saddled with two debts even before they started - the debt towards paying for the Games and the debt to buy the land in the first place. This became

very problematic since there was no further resource to pay for it all. Therefore, they went for cuts in social provision as explained by this manager at LDA as follows:

“And what’s happening now is the amount of money that’s going towards the social side is squeezing, the amount of land that goes to development to pay for everything else is increasing, so you’re not likely to get the same sort of development that was envisaged in the first place, and that’s a big problem.”

The OPLC also built up its team with professionals from all over the world (e.g. CEO Andrew Altman).

“The Chief Executive [of the OPLC] comes from America. Actually is everything about how development happens around America. ...there is an American model and it fits America. It doesn’t fit here! Their structure and funding, the structure of what’s available, the way the banks work, private funding was coming though the social ..., with the requirement that banks put the money into social agenda doesn’t happen here. It’s one, the whole thing, it doesn’t quite work.” (manager at LDA)

In May 2009, the OPLC was established by the Mayor of London and Government as the company responsible for the long-term planning, development, management and maintenance of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The head of LVRPA thinks that OPLC should have been founded right after London was awarded the 2012 Games: “Those take the big decisions in the beginning don’t have accountability for the legacy now. Legacy Company [OPLC] has been ahead of its time in 2009, 3 years before the Games, but I’d suggest it should have founded in 2005 when we won the bid”.

Under the powers of the Localism Act the OPLC was reformed as a Mayoral Development Corporation from April 2012 and extended its activity to the surrounding fringe areas as well as acting as the planning authority for the Park. The new body is called the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) and is directly accountable to Londoners through the Mayor. A manager at ODA defines LLDC as a legacy body with planning powers on a broader area compared to the OPLC:

“So the OPLC are set up and then what the next plan is that they’re going to set up, there’s a bill passing through Parliament called the Localism Bill, and if that gets approved then Mayor will be able to declare their own development corporation, development vehicle, and the Mayor said that he’s going to expand the OPLC to include these areas [Olympic fringe areas]. So then you’ll have one body who will be the planning authority and development agency, with money to develop and enhance these areas that will be called an MDC: Mayor’s Development Corporation [London Legacy Development Corporation].”

The LLDC took over the responsibilities of the Olympic Park Legacy Company, as well as managing some of the assets and responsibilities of existing regeneration agencies in the area, such as the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTGDC). It has greater powers over the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and in October 2012, the Legacy

Corporation also took over planning powers from LTGDC and the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA). LLDC has a formal control of legacy devolved to Mayor and has planning authority as well, whereas OPLC did not. A manager at GLA states that “Legacy’s not a given, even if you start thinking about it early. You actually have to make concerted efforts to work with stakeholders to deliver it, deliver specific policies to do that, you can’t just assume that the Games coming means you’ll get the Legacy”.

Therefore, LLDC is responsible from both the long-term planning and development of the Olympic Park. It is granted the full range of planning functions which a local planning authority would normally have responsibility for, including those of plan making. Stakeholders believe that LLDC having the planning powers instead of the Host Boroughs will help the regeneration process run more smoothly since having too many voices makes it more difficult to find a compromise. Manager at LDA states: “the Games are a political football and have been used by all parties to pursue a political agenda, both big and small parties. In particular, the Host Boroughs were often at odds with each other, Central Government, GLA and LDA. Too much time had to be spent massaging egos”. However, having both powers in one single unit might create conflicts of interest which is believed to be overcome through advisory boards and engaging all stakeholders on the Legacy Board.

7.2.4 Knowledge Transfer and Networks

Since the late 1990s, the governance of the Olympics had an institutional structure for the transfer of knowledge, and the moving of some experts and supplier firms between the Games reinforces the process of knowledge transfer and diffusion of organisational practice (Jennings, 2012). A potential problem in such multi-stakeholder coalitions is that communication barriers may exist due to diverse backgrounds and task divisions. Knowledge created during a coalition can be used in different stages of the process. Even the coalition comes to an end; the experience gained by this collaboration should be transferred. However, in most cases the knowledge stays embedded in the individuals.

When the London 2012 regeneration process is considered, it is important to acknowledge the complexity of delivering all physical, social and economic aspects of the Games. One of the main challenges was to sustain the network between different decision-makers. Different stakeholders were responsible for delivering different parts of the Games hence they had to be in communication to manage the whole process efficiently. Related to this, the other challenge was to keep the knowledge flow after some institutions such as ODA and LDA had disappeared from the organisation structure (Figure 7.1).

GOE and GLA can be defined as the main units, which sustained the communication between different stakeholders. The GOE was a unit within the DCMS, which managed the London 2012 project on behalf of the Government, ensuring that it is delivered on time,

within budget, represents value for public money and benefits the whole of the UK. This is done across the project by identifying and solving problems, delivering the public sector effort and being accountable to Parliament and the public. Therefore, GOE was also responsible to oversee the whole process and manage the links between stakeholders that were responsible from different parts of the Olympic project. GLA also had a similar responsibility during and after the Games. Besides leading the legacy to ensure sustainable outcomes from the Games, GLA was also responsible for maximising the communication and participation between stakeholders.

“We’re also responsible for Legacy and Games delivery, so the part of the team that I’m in is responsible for managing the OPLC, but it’s also about managing the relationships with the ODA and LOCOG in terms of the interface and making sure that the Games delivery, Games activities that LOCOG and the ODA are involved in that, you know, there’s obviously key interfaces with the city so we’ll make sure that those work effectively.” (Manager at GLA)

Most of the time stakeholders either build new networks or strengthen the existing ones during the preparation to staging a mega-event. For London 2012, the majority of the interviewees believe that hosting the Olympic Games will strengthen the relationship between stakeholders. Throughout the Olympic delivery process from the bid to the legacy, the weight on the stakeholders has shifted. Legacy Team Member at GOE (DCMS) reflects:

“Lead by multiple stakeholders not just LOCOG and ODA, with each organisation’s importance shifting throughout the course of the Olympic project, from winning the bid through to operational delivery. For example the ODA has played a central part of the Games so far, won’t in future months as it starts to close in Autumn 2011, as their responsibility for the build programme will be complete. LOCOG will increasingly take centre-stage.”

LOCOG took over the major responsibility for the Olympic Park from the ODA when the infrastructure was completed in January 2012, and then undertook many of the necessary finalisation works. A manager at ODA thinks that this system worked, saying: “I think that’s worked very well, it [ODA] only focused on the construction stage. The question is going to be to what extent you can carry that on into the Legacy”.

The pressure was on different stakeholders during different periods of the Olympic process. During 2005 and 2011, ODA and LDA were under the spotlight to deliver the venues and infrastructure on time for the Games. Although LOCOG was active during the preparation period, its role has increased by 2012 since it was responsible for staging the Games successfully. In 2011, a number of teams became venue-based as the ODA handed facilities over. Although the OPLC had been set up in 2010, its main responsibility started after the Games. One of the suggestions that came up during the interviews is that instead of having 3 different bodies such as LOCOG, ODA and OPLC, they could have been merged in one or two bodies. For example, the manager at ODA thinks that they should have been a single

unit, both responsible for delivery and legacy since the ODA had made all decisions having the legacy in mind. Delivering the vision of “hosting an inspirational, safe and inclusive event” requires the collaboration between diverse stakeholders and in this frame, “new standards of transparency and accountability has been set” (Girginov, 2012b, p. 142). As a GLA manager states:

“LOCOG and the ODA’s functions should be combined in one organisation and that organisation should be a public sector organisation accountable to Parliament and taxpayers – it should be required to be more transparent. It would also avoid some of the organisational conflicts that have arisen and ensure economies of scale.”

On the other hand, when a director at LTGDC is asked about ODA and OLPC being a single unit from the start of the project, they state:

“I think it is a different activity. It was building and now running. People have done their job. I think now the OPLC is about putting the all thing in place to make it work post-Olympic Games. I think it is probably the right thing. I think if you had two organisations overlapping for a very much longer period, it wouldn’t work efficiently! I think they would got really messy.”

The risk of having too many institutions is the possibility of losing the knowledge as the institutions’ tasks finish. Although they seem like they are engaged with different parts of the Games, all stages should be connected and planned as a whole to have sustainability in the process. As a manager at LDA says:

“Well, a lot of the people who have gone over to the Legacy Company were part of the LDA and they were involved in local authorities. They were involved in putting together the strategic planning and they were involved in the master plan process. So they were there!”

7.3 SOCIAL REGENERATION

Urban regeneration has traditionally been related to physical and economic improvements, as the precursor to social improvement. However, in the recent decade or so, more attention has started to be given on social outcomes of event strategies and regeneration where people become the focus of intervention rather than only places and business (Smith, 2012). The opinions of stakeholders were skewed towards positive when they are asked about the success of social regeneration through London 2012, however, the majority stay neutral on this topic.

The social reflections from London 2012 will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 but this section will discuss the social regeneration aspect of London 2012 regeneration from the official stakeholder perspective. Event organisers can involve communities in different ways: consultation on key decisions, delivery roles such as workers/volunteers and attending events or subsidiary events (Smith, 2012). Social dimension of event-led regeneration also

includes discussions on sustaining the community cohesion and addressing the displacements in the favour of locals when the mega-event comes to the neighbourhood. Therefore, this section will analyse the social regeneration of London 2012 under three headings: local consultation in decision-making, engaging locals in different stages of the event and addressing community cohesion and displacement.

7.3.1 Community Consultation

The level of involvement, especially of local residents, optimises the social impacts of event-led regeneration in a positive way. Smith (2012, p. 147) states that “community-based initiatives can integrate local people with the planning, delivery and impacts of projects - depending on the approach of event organisers and level of interest and capabilities of community members”. The opinion of stakeholders on the public participation during the preparation period for London 2012 is almost equally distributed between positive and negative. Stakeholders mainly think that people were in support of the Games however they did not feel included much in the Games.

In terms of consultation in decision-making, a manager at LOCOG reflects “As a lessons learned, locals should have been more included in the decisions taken in and around the Park”. On the other hand, the Head of the LVRPA completely disagrees:

“I think it’s fair to say that any project of this magnitude and complexity and political importance will naturally bring its own level of bureaucracy. With the best intentions what one is trying to do from the highest political level here is to be as inclusive as possible and to make sure that, whether it’s the host boroughs, local communities, the governing bodies for sport and so many others are represented, are involved and do have a voice. And I think that has been certainly one of the great successes for the project, that the structures have been put in place to make sure those voices are heard and have an input. There’s no way on earth you’ll ever make this structure perfect, it’s just impossible!”

7.3.2 Engagement

Mega-events can be a good way to inspire people to take part in their communities. Volunteering encourages the sense of community as well as contributing to the experience of participants and public image of the event. Moreover, volunteering for events gives people the chance of training and work experience and a sense of contributing positively to their society (Smith, 2012).

LOCOG had run an Olympic volunteer scheme called ‘Games Makers’. From more than 120,000 applications, around 70,000 Games Makers held a wide variety of roles from welcoming visitors; to transporting athletes; to helping out behind scene activities (Nichols, 2012). The legacy of the volunteering scheme is very important to ensure sustainable social regeneration. According to a BBC article published during the Games time, “volunteers are one of the factors that have so far made the Games a success” (“How volunteers made the

Games,” 2012). As a LBN Councillor says: “I believe volunteering for the Games is a wonderful experience. It is definitely a hard work but also rewarding. Being a part of this once in a lifetime event is a great opportunity and we are gonna make sure that there will be a lasting legacy for the volunteers”.

Similarly, educational programmes and training can give people access to develop their skills and have more employment opportunities. As a manager at LDA says:

“Like all government schemes there’s that social side to achieve. People were given training opportunities and support for the various minority groups, either gender or BEM – black or ethnic minority – through skills development programmes which would potentially help them to have employment.”

A GLA manager agrees, saying:

“We’ve been involved in activities and interventions around maximising the socio-economic benefits of the Games and obviously that’s involved developing both funding programmes with communities, so, for example, with the cultural side. When I was involved at the LDA one of the programmes that we developed was a sort of grant programme to enable small groups, small cultural organisations, community-based organisations to develop cultural activities to support the Games and to support the Cultural Olympiad, but also through those activities enable people to develop skills and training progression routes into the work. Those were funded by the LDA.”

LDA funded around £5 million worth of programmes to make people engage in sports Schemes like ‘Play Sport London’ which was about offering taster sessions and getting people, particularly inactive people, involved in experiencing different types of sporting events. After 2011, GLA has taken over the role of leading the sports legacy within the development of the London Legacy Plan for Sport, which does not only focus around the Games but targets the Games as a catalyst to stimulate grassroots sporting participation. As a part of this strategy, the LDA contributed £15.5 million towards the sports legacy, with match funding increasing the overall total to over £30 million in programmes around maximising the opportunities for people to develop skills in terms of the sports economy and supporting grassroots sports participation programmes (LDA, 2010). Therefore, either directly through the GLA or through its functional bodies (such as LDA), GLA supported a number of community-based activities.

Moreover, LOCOG was responsible for the ‘Inspire’ programme. The Inspire mark was a non-commercial brand that LOCOG were able to obtain from the IOC for the first time, so that over 2,700 projects which had been inspired by the Games to do something special in their local communities were awarded the Inspire mark and were part of the London 2012 Inspire programme. GLA assisted a wide range of community organisations to promote activities which have been inspired by Olympic values or have a link to the Games, enabling

them to get the Inspire mark to promote their activity, and also work up their programme and showcasing the activities of those programmes (manager at GLA).

Another scheme was the 'Create' programme, which was launched in 2008 and covered a wide range of projects, events, art installations and workshops. It was organised as an annual festival across the five boroughs which aimed to "build enthusiasm and engagement in the run up to and after the 2012 Games" (Stevenson, 2012, p. 142). A LBH Councillor mentions Create Festival:

"Last year alone over a million people joined in and became part of Create in the summer. The key thing at its heart is about joining in. So it's about connecting world class artists and designers, in whatever field it is that they're practitioners, with local communities and bringing the two together through experience, through a moment in time, through participation. So not just as a passive spectator to an event, to a moment, but actually an active participant, an active spectator in that moment, in that event, and that has been the challenge for the Cultural Olympiad."

The evidence from the *London 2012 Cultural Olympiad Evaluation Report* (Garcia, 2013) indicates that the UK population were motivated to extend their engagement in culture as a result of their London 2012 experiences and this motivation was higher for people that took part in the Cultural Olympiad and the London 2012 Festival. The report (Garcia, 2013) also claims that Cultural Olympiad encouraged new partnerships between stakeholders and strengthen the existing ones since over half of projects and new partnerships established during the Cultural Olympiad are expected to continue, providing a solid foundation on which to capitalise on the achievements thus far. As a result, all these schemes are believed to have a positive influence on the communities and encourage the community spirit in the Lower Lea Valley area by the stakeholders interviewed and the research on the area supports this approach.

7.3.3 Community Cohesion and Displacements

By the nature of global cities, they are usually quite diverse and mega-events can also be used to assist community cohesion and tackle socio-economic divides. The Olympic Host Boroughs are some of the most diverse neighbourhoods in the UK, whilst social regeneration in East London is symbolically and economically associated with the Canary Wharf and Docklands regeneration areas. Canary Wharf represents an ambitious scheme to extend the city's financial centre eastwards and has been criticized for not integrating the incumbent community (Poynter, 2008). As a manager at LBWF says:

"We often talked about Canary Wharf being fantastic model, almost a new city being built, but it's a new city which doesn't integrate with its community and we've been very strong and talked to Waltham Forest and all the boroughs to say "Well, the Olympic Park can't be like that, it must feel part of East London". And I think that's why it's been very key that we were involved, so it does feel integrated."

According to Evans (2011) and Evans and Shaw (2004) one of the main reasons for locating the Olympics in the Lower Lea Valley area is the disadvantaged profile of the incumbent in Olympic host boroughs, another being the availability of brownfield land and existing transport extensions (Jubilee Line, Docklands Light Railway and East London Line). In 30 years time, when the next phase of the regeneration of East London will be completed, there will be new communities who have moved to the area, partly because of the new transport infrastructure and facilities. Stratford and the surrounding area will be one of the most connected parts of London. A manager at GLA thinks: "with all of these new developments where there's large-scale physical renewal, there's always the danger of gentrification, where it's a question of in commuters or new communities coming in, potentially existing communities being displaced and I think that remains as a challenge".

However, there has to be concerted efforts to make sure that it is not the local people, particularly unemployed or low-income people, who are forced out and displaced. The LLDC is responsible to ensure there is local ownership. They will analyse community asset models and address that potential for gentrification. One of the main challenges in East London is people traditionally move there when they first arrive to London and then many move out when they can afford to live somewhere else (LBH Councillor). A manager at GLA agrees and thinks people should be encouraged to stay in the area when they become prosperous, as well having a mixed community:

"I think in order to develop a sustainable community, which is what the aspirations are for the Olympic Park, then you certainly do need to have new communities coming in, and certainly new communities with resources. The problem that has been identified by the boroughs themselves is: one, the considerable amount of churn and lack of stability; and two, there's lots of low-income neighbourhoods. In order for the whole area to become prosperous you actually need to have much more of a mix of communities and communities who will stay, or you need to make sure that you encourage the people who are already here that when they become more prosperous they don't just leave."

In terms of new housing in the Olympic Park, the Host Borough's approach differs. LBN do not want any more social housing because they feel that they have too much social housing already and there is an unhealthy balance in that direction, whereas LBTH wants to build more social housing. These two boroughs, side by side, have directly opposed views about the level of social housing that should be in the Park. A DCLG officer thinks: "it's an interesting dilemma because for some people in some parts of East London you might say that gentrification is the answer, because you're bringing in people who've got a greater economic capacity... They're going to change the structure... Some gentrification I think is inevitable".

Therefore, as proposed in EDAW's masterplan for London's 2012 Olympic bid (2003), "the park should be 'stitched in', not something separate" (Head of Legacy at DCMS-GOE).

Therefore, the LLDC has planning powers beyond the Olympic Park to make sure the fringe project (See 6.5.5 for more information) and stitching the park to the surrounding communities are delivered. An officer at LBTH however criticises the social involvement aspects of Olympic policies:

“It’s a top down approach rather than a bottom up. Local people have been largely excluded. The Mayor here has made a number of challenges to how that’s been taken forward. You could look at the number of local people who have managed to get contracts or businesses with contracts or local people who’ve got employment right across all the host boroughs. It’s been pretty poor! And when we’ve worked with ODA, for example, or challenged ODA, the ODA were refusing to give the information on local people because there’s a way and a means around national legislation.”

Clays Lane has been one of the most controversial regeneration areas of the London 2012. Clays Lane Housing Co-operative was the only housing in the Olympic Park Land. It was a fully mutual housing co-operative that was established in 1977 hosting 450 tenants in the houses and flats (Audit Commission, 2005). All of the co-operative’s properties were located on one site in the London Borough of Newham. It was located within the Lower Lea Valley Regeneration Zone. The plans for the 2012 Olympic Games envisaged the demolition of the estate which created lots of controversy. The entire estate was the subject of a compulsory purchase order by the LDA to make way for the athlete's village for London 2012. Therefore, the inhabitants cleared from the Olympic site were the students at the adjacent UEL halls of residence and Clays Lane residents. As a LBN Councillor says:

“It [Clays Lane Housing Cooperative] was a housing cooperative that was dysfunctional! There were all kinds of problems with how it was managed as well, so it was difficult, knocking it down and removing it, but it had to happen. It was based on single people living together, so it was literally an odd mix of people. If you had children you were evicted, which is bizarre, and so, again, not really a natural community, and so we were happy to see it disperse, you know. And that was demolished and people were dispersed across the area. They live more or less, well still in Newham, so still in East London now.”

An LDA manager says the one of the biggest problems of regeneration is the social side of it where local people are pushed out and cannot take any advantage of the regeneration:

“What happens, unfortunately, with that is some of the local people get pushed out. And that’s one of the problems with regeneration: the people that are local don’t pick up the skills and have the aspirations and wanting to work around there, but then they get dislocated from it and then they’ve got to soak up social problems.”

7.4 ECONOMIC REGENERATION

Event-led regeneration is usually associated with new employment and business opportunities as well as attracting more investment in the event site. Events can have significant economic impacts but sustaining those impacts may be problematic. Moreover,

the events can contribute the tourism agenda of the host cities in different ways. Stakeholder perspectives on the overall economic regeneration success of the Games are quite scattered but still mainly positive.

7.4.1 Employment

Event-led regeneration provides new employment and business opportunities during the construction phase, deconstruction and within the legacy uses of the site. Controversially, it might damage “pre-existing socioeconomic practices and paradoxically erode employment opportunities and the quality of life for existing residents” (Raco and Tunney, 2010, p. 2). Organising committees usually seek to work with partners to create new employment and business opportunities, particularly for communities surrounding the event site, to facilitate the achievement of overall regeneration aspirations.

Delivering the event infrastructure and staging the event generates evident employment (Barton, 2004), but long-term, permanent employment opportunities are the ones always under discussion by event organisers. LDA and ODA did work towards getting local people into work during the construction period of the Olympic Park. LDA managed the five borough local authority training framework, which was £9.6 million worth of LDA funding for training and employment. A manager at LDA goes on to say that they have counted local employment as a secondary output:

“At the start, the LDA targets were not about getting people into work. We counted those as secondary outputs. Although they were the most important part of what we did, they weren’t what the LDA at that time was counting. So whilst we supported a whole range of brokerage and training opportunities - particularly around construction, it very much counted on the interventions in terms of training weeks, the number of people who went into training, qualifications gained, the various minority groups that we targeted, rather than actual jobs. However, we worked very closely with the ODA, Jobcentre Plus and others, which actually counted people into work. So as I say, whilst that wasn’t our first aim that wasn’t what the LDA was seeking to do with its money directly, indirectly it was very much about how many people we could get into work and how we could help the ODA and subsequently local routes of employment.”

LDA and GLA developed the LEST, the London Employment Skills Taskforce, which was a platform for coordinating partners around the employment and the skills legacy which had been based on making sure local people benefit from the development opportunities that come forward. It was the LDA’s primary role -on behalf of the Mayor – to work very closely with the ODA and LOCOG to develop an employment skills strategy to engage and enable local people to get access to the Games-time roles, which can be in construction or other related roles, but primarily it was in construction. Through Olympic LEST programmes costing over £70 million: “any Olympic-deprived impacts would not be ‘additional’, but the new public investment is being used to meet existing government policy targets” (Evans, 2011, p. 386). This task continued with the LOCOG around local people’s Games-time roles,

which again can be construction, but a lot of it was around hospitality and Games-time services. A LBH officer believes that having the Media and Broadcast Centre will bring significant employment opportunities for locals since it will iCITY in legacy mode transforming into a high-tech digital centre that hopes to extend the East End's successful Tech City business community:

“In terms of regeneration, we got our own plans for the place before the Olympics, 10 years before the Olympics arrive. What we eventually got is this land. It is the biggest piece of land that potentially can generate jobs, employment in the borough. Because we got the Press and Media Centre, the biggest single thing within the borough and Olympic Park. That'd been kind of our single biggest aspiration. Because the Media Centre gonna be the best places where 150 broadcasters in the building using the site. They got a power station next door which make sure the building is powered up even is the whole national group can stand. It is an amazing capacity and with the government decision of Hackney being the heart of the high-tech digital companies focusing and clustering in the borough, that potentially targeting one end of in Hackney other end in Shoreditch depending who uses the media centre. We don't own the media centre, OPLC does but we are highly involved in it.” (LBH officer)

LBH councillor supports this, saying:

“That press and media centre, I fought for that to come into the Hackney section of the Park, into Hackney Wick. It was going to go into other places and all sorts of things. And I remember, they said ‘Oh, look, we might get the Olympic Stadium’ and I said ‘We don't want the Olympic Stadium, we don't want it anywhere near Hackney’ because stadiums are stadiums. Stadiums dominate an urban neighbourhood, not necessarily for the complete worst, but they dominate it. That's not what we're into. We want something like a broadcast centre because what that leaves behind is connectivity. It leaves behind it what, in effect, is enough communications capacity to be able to transmit twenty five thousand television channels per second... And yet, here we are, this part of London in Hackney is what the Prime Minister calls Tech City. This part of Hackney and its double digit economic growth over the past twelve months is powered by this new digital creative world. That's what's giving that growth, not sports or supermarket in Westfield.”

LBN Councillor thinks the convergence and local employment are the most important targets of delivering the Olympic Games. It is very important to increase the employment and education levels in the borough in order to have sustainable communities: “As for in terms of convergence, for us employment is very crucial. You can have a flat but if you've got no job it's no good. We already had education and training programmes going in the borough. The Olympic Games just brought the employment in”. A manager at LBWF criticised that only 15% of the overall employment was targeted for locals and said the workers mainly come from outside the UK since contractors are international companies:

“The big thing is about job creation and tackling the worklessness agenda, and I think the ODA, in the bill programme always report ‘Well, we had a target of 15% but we often will reach 20% of local people’. I don't really know where the fifteen percent target came from and who agreed that, because someone obviously did somewhere. And should that be higher, lower, or, you know...? It probably isn't for me to say. One thing I do know; there's still been criticism of those figures that say the challenge is

overseas workers, always been that, and, obviously, being part of the European Union, when we say local actually you're talking Europe, and as, there has been a lot of criticism about other workers coming from overseas, out of the UK and working."

Organisers tend to let contracts to multinational companies, as they are the ones capable of completing large-scale projects (Smith, 2012). Therefore, even labour-intensive jobs for events are drawn from a wider labour pool. Waltham Forest decided to found a Construction Training Centre to give the young people more than just laying bricks but also a whole range of skills were involved, including training from designers, architects and specialists. The National Construction College ran this centre for the LBWF. A manager at LBWF thinks even the organisers wanted to hire more locals for construction, young locals prefer working in the high-tech sector than infrastructure or construction:

"... we didn't have the workforce anyway, so even if they did want to recruit 50% of this, then the take-up of, particularly young people, into the construction industry had dropped dramatically. They wanted to build computers for the next dot com millionaire; they don't wanna be outside in the rain, in the cold, putting on roofs and stuff. So the actual, the glamour of construction wasn't really there. So I think that was recognised."

An officer at LBTH states that people who had no links and history with the borough moved in and more put down in LOCOG and ODA's checklist as local residents. So it is very difficult to actually unpick how many 'local' people have been employed. LTGLC director states that employment opportunities that came with the Olympics to East London had been a great opportunity for young people:

"The East London youngsters are leaving school and education that they don't want to work and I think the type of jobs in East London are not great. John Lewis opened their store in Westfield and they offer good quality jobs, I think, that is the point John Lewis offer. Reasonably well-paid. They are not the best payers in the world but obviously they offer kind of organisational things: they care about employees. People actually will then take the jobs... I think before they offered jobs to East London very low level kind of jobs, poorly paid. And the benefit system doesn't help. Is it functional? You have youngsters who 16-17, on unemployment benefit. Why wouldn't they taken the jobs? So I think, there is that issue and that is why you got to break that. Hopefully, the things like Olympics, starts to create opportunity."

A manager at ODA states that the target of 20-25% local employment is quite reasonable and the focus should be on how these figures can be taken forward with sustainable jobs in the future:

"Twenty five percent is a lot more, so is that good? I would say it's good, and that's what people wanted, so we've made that happen. Then we've got training, then we've got apprenticeships, on top of that, and then, I think people who were previously unemployed, again are much higher proportion. Because I think we set benchmarks, you know, like what's a reasonable target? And I think we've exceeded those. So I would say that's good, but then I would, but the really, the question is how can you take this forward into the future? Because I suppose what we've got

here is benefits of scale. It's so big, so massive, so huge that you've got the scale to do that, whereas if it was just that on its own, how? But the boroughs will want, the boroughs will want to try and see similar arrangements."

For example, Westfield -jointly with OPLC- had set up- a retail academy which enables people who live locally to be trained up and apply for jobs. OPLC had polices around to work with local brokers, Job Centre Plus locally, to make sure that the local people do benefit from the Games because they end up getting training to apply for the jobs in the Park. The other thing to remember is OPLC (LLDC from 2012 onwards) will be doing a lot of construction work after the Games. There will still be construction going on in the Park up until 2017. What they want to do is follow what the ODA had done in terms of setting targets for the employment of local people and also making sure the subcontractors follow that.

The majority of work was therefore around construction, and LDA worked very closely with Construction Skills, Skills Funding Agency, the LSC (Learning and Skills Council) and also Jobcentre Plus. So LDA established the Training Centre, originally on the Olympic Park itself. LDA also recognised that people needed training in just basic groundwork for general operatives, and helped with construction skills training through the National Construction College, with funding from itself and from the LSC. A manager at LDA says that Newham had a special agreement with project manager of Lend Lease to have priority for their residents in terms of employment:

"One of the problems is Lend Lease, who are the main contractor, had an agreement signed with Newham, that their residents will get first pick in the jobs created on site. What that led to was: one, a use of agencies on there, which then led to a significant amount of local people being employed from Newham. Whereas in the ODA side, in the Park side, it was very much about training up people that lived, that actually had their main residence in the borough. That wasn't with the Village. The ODA would not employ anyone via a labour agency, whereas the Lend Lease, all their subcontractors use labour agencies, and if they got someone in to work and he had a Newham post code, then that was fine. So in terms of actually local people on there, yes they were local but for how long were they local? and would they, would they stay on? The ODA was different. That changed towards the end, when the ODA had more control of the process, but there was still that use of labour agencies which caused it."

A LBTH officer thinks local people did not get enough employment opportunities and ODA refused to give them exact numbers of local employment:

"You could look at the number of local people who have managed to get contracts or businesses with contracts or local people who have got employment right across all the host boroughs. It's been pretty poor. And when we've worked with ODA, for example, or challenged ODA, the ODA was refusing to give the information on local people because there's a way and a means around national legislation."

7.4.2 Investment

Mega-event sites are potential investment areas since the regeneration starts before the event and continues afterwards. With the changing environment, the site becomes more and more attractive for new investors, which can create employment opportunities and better quality of life for residents. The role of high-profile investors and 'creative-sector' firms contributing to the success and sustainability of urban economies is highly visible especially in event-led regeneration (Raco and Tunney, 2010).

LBH Councillor thinks if cities manage to use the Olympics not only as a sporting event but also as a catalyst to regenerate the city then: "You will see a flow of investment in all of its different shapes and forms. It may be people's time, it may be people's money! It may be people's production, goods, produce. It doesn't matter, it's all of those things. There will be an investment flow to the city". He adds:

"It is a great opportunity, because not only are they building out an Olympic Park and a future at the bottom of the road here, it's changing this place, Hackney Central, it's changing Dalston, it's changing Shoreditch, it's changing the half of Hackney Wick that is adjacent to the Olympic Park. All of these places are changing and they're changing because they are receiving vast amounts of investment, even in this recessionary time. Investment is flowing into Hackney. It seems that in Shoreditch at the moment we could be experiencing double digit economic growth over the past twelve months." (LBH Councillor)

The LBN Councillor agrees: "investments that would not have happened without a catalyst. And, yes, it probably would have taken me twice as long to unlock the investment for the London overground if those games had not been part of that picture".

In 2010, the LTGDC was asked by the Government to start investing more money into the Lower Lea Valley area, in support of the overall Olympic legacy. Therefore, LTGDC's primary goal was to invest in the Olympic Park area as a regeneration body. Subsequently, the OLPC was responsible for delivering a return on investment to pay back the public money that has gone into the Olympic Project. Head of LVRPA states:

"there is that pressure on the Olympic Park Company, and it's how you balance that, you've got to create the attractive environment, you've got to develop housing of a value that attracts investment, and that investment goes back into the public purse, but at the same time it doesn't become the preserve of the middle classes."

A manager at GOE also says: "there has been a lot of investment in the East End of London over very many years. So, you can't expect the park on its own to have huge benefit after in its immediate surrounding area. But it does act as a catalyst which will then sort of build the regeneration projects that build on and happen around the park." As an example, Westfield shopping centre was not delivered by the Government because the Olympics are coming. The Westfield company thought it was worth investing in East London and building that

massive shopping centre. Similarly, London Intercontinental Railways have got land between Westfield and the Olympic Park and they built an office block. A manager at GOE states: “Think of all the transport changes that have been in East London, DLR extensions, upgrade in all stations. Lot of that is about the Olympics but also it is the sort of thing that probably would have happened not as quickly.” Similarly, an ODA manager mentions: “Around Olympic Park area is going to change slowly... So that’s more like the rest of London, but clearly with such value here created, and with new connectivity, accessibility to the station and so on, this is a much more attractive area now for the developers to come”.

7.4.3 Tourism

Events have assisted urban tourism in different ways, such as increase in visiting demand, encouraging new tourism facilities and investment and enhancing the image of the host city (Smith, 2012). According to the stakeholders consulted, hosting London 2012 in the Lower Lea Valley will bring more tourists to the area as well as generate employment and investment.

The critical issue for mega-events in terms of tourism is that visitors might avoid host cities especially during the event year due to fears of over-pricing, overcrowding and an unwelcoming atmosphere. In 2011, Oxford Economic Forecasting estimated that the main threat in the pre-Games period could result in 268,000 lost visitors worth £141m. However, the government data showed that the UK welcomed 590,000 visits either for the Olympics or Paralympics, or attendance at a ticketed event and who spent an average of £1,290 during their visit, compared with £650 by other visitors (ONS, 2012). VisitBritain research (2013) found that that 99 per cent of departing overseas visitors during July to September 2012 said they had felt welcome in Britain, with 83 per cent ‘very’ or ‘extremely’ welcomed’ (versus 79 per cent a year before). However, retail, theatres and attractions saw dramatic decreases in attendance, as visitors who came to see the Games did exactly that and based themselves around the sports venues (Wells, 2012).

In terms of legacy, director in LOCOG mentions: “people would want to see East London after the Games because of its reputation so tourism will increase. The Games will have a significant impact on tourism”. Similarly, according to LBH Councillor: “London will get a massive boost to its reputation. We need to make sure that we capitalise this in long-term”. Director at DCLG adds: “people will come from all around the world to enjoy this once in a life time event, even the non-ticket holders because it is also an extreme experience to be in this atmosphere”.

7.5 PHYSICAL REGENERATION

Mega-events have become ever-more associated with urban development continuing 'city of renewal' trend observed since the 1980s (Hall, 1992). Olympics can bring a considerable amount of infrastructure to the host cities, besides unique venues and facilities. However, the ecological impact of event-led regeneration should be considered carefully while evaluating their environmental sustainability at all stages. Therefore, stakeholders had started to put more attention on the physical sustainability of the event.

7.5.1 Infrastructure and Venues

Event infrastructure includes high quality information, accommodation, transport, visitor services and also venues and infrastructure for the event itself (Richards and Palmer, 2010). Lower Lea Valley, where the Olympic Park is located, has always been highlighted for regeneration, investment and improvement, because it has traditionally very low-grade land uses, dereliction, contamination and very poor connectivity. LBN Councillor states 'Olympics has allowed a huge amount of investment to come in very quickly'. A manager at ODA agrees:

"I am confident that very little would have happened in this area for many years if the Olympics hadn't come along, because there are much easier sites to develop around, but now that you've done this on this scale you can foresee it. I mean, for instance, the Carpenter's estate, if you go down there it's a very poor environment, big high-rise blocks, that, I think, will be completely redeveloped in five to ten years and I think, really, that scale of development would not have happened without all this."

The stakeholders interviewed believed that the Olympics were an important catalyst for the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley and the process would have proceeded in a much slower way if there had been no Games. However, the regeneration in the Lower Lea Valley has been piecemeal and selective (area-based) for more than 20 years and may have continued in the same way without the Olympic effect (Evans, 2011). LBN Councillor mentions: "this has been so comprehensive. It's total transformation, in terms of its back to the drawing board completely, but on the other hand that's what makes it so unusual, it's not representative, you could only have done this with the Olympics". The Head of LVRPA agrees: "We would have had Stratford as a major public transport node. Would Westfield Shopping Centre be there? Question mark. Don't know. But I think it's fair to say, there wouldn't have been 9.3 billion to spend on the Lower Lea Valley. So it would be a very different place". However, Sinclair (2011, 57) opposes the idea of assuming all these changes and new development as positive:

"The urban landscape of boroughs anywhere within the dust of cloud of the Olympic Park has been devastated with a beat-the-clock impatience unrivalled in London since the beginnings of the railway age. Every civic decency, every sentimental

attachment, is swept aside for that primary strategic objective, the big bang of starter's pistol".

One physical change that happened through the Olympic Games was the removal of the overhead power lines that ran across the Stratford site. The investors were losing their interest in the site because of these pylons (LBN Councillor). It was expensive to relocate the pylons under the ground so: "you need a big project to justify doing that, and the Olympic Games was that big project because the power lines ran right through the middle of the stadium, so they had to be removed and tunnelled, so that happened. It might have happened sometime in the future; it happened for the Games!" (LBN Councillor).

Besides already noted, avoiding white elephants is one of the main concerns of event-led regeneration by using existing venues, using temporary venues and converting venues where applicable. LBN Councillor states: "there's been a lot of effort to ensure that this park doesn't end up as a white elephant, doesn't end up with empty facilities. I think they will be quite successful at ensuring that doesn't happen". The most controversial discussion has been around the use of the Stadium after the Games. In March 2013, the long-term future of the stadium has been given to West Ham United Football Club which confirms the Premier League club as the Stadium's long-term anchor tenant.²³ Besides, the venues will continue to host international sport championships, concerts and cultural events. The venue is already attracting world class events following the London 2012 Games. In November 2011, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) announced that it had selected the London Olympic Stadium as the venue for the 2017 World Athletics Championships, further cementing the lasting athletics legacy that will remain in the Stadium long after the 2012 Games are over (LLDC webpage). LBH Councillor supports having a long-term tenant of the Stadium, "it will be open as a soccer stadium with all other things taking place as well, and that's good. So you've got a tenant moving in after the Games, rather than locking the door on the stadium and walking away from it, which has happened in other places" such as the Athens 2004 Games which is considered as the most significant example of 'white elephants' (Gold, 2011; Smith, 2012).

Both the Stadium and Aquatics centre will be downsized after the Games. The LBN councillor thinks the biggest risk is on the aquatic centre since "they're very expensive to maintain, aquatics centres, and I don't know if that's gonna make money. I don't think it will! I think it'll need subsidy from somewhere. Not from us". Another permanent venue that will remain after the Games is the Velodrome, which is a world-class venue, and cycling is an important sport in the UK. The Lea Valley Park Authority will manage the Velodrome after the Games. Head of LVRPA says that there would have been Velodrome on the Eton Manor

²³ LLDC, 2013, <http://www.londonlegacy.co.uk/investment-and-venues/stadium-plus-opportunity/> (accessed 18.7.2013)

site with a road circuit and mountain biking but there would not have been the tennis or the hockey arenas if there was no Games.

Before the Olympics, LVRPA was already involved with the British Canoe Union, around the Canoe Slalom Centre and with British Cycling National Governing Authority to develop a velodrome in the Lower Lea Valley. Head of LVRPA says “what happened was that our vision for major sports venues coupled with the Olympic opportunity and has delivered these wonderful venues which will host the Games next year, but more importantly for us will deliver positive legacy in the long term”. LVRPA owns 20% of the northern end of the Olympic Park, which housed the hockey and tennis legacy venues, and the velopark with the velodrome, the BMX, the road circuit and mountain biking. This provided the bid with added strength that those legacy venues were taken care of and there was confidence behind those venues going forward. The head of LVRPA adds:

“Our vision before the Olympics was to establish Lea Valley as a centre of sporting excellence. And our vision now, on the back of the Olympics – because the Olympics has lifted the valley – is to establish a world class sports and leisure destination by 2020. So that’s how we got involved in the process, it was a happy coming together of our vision and the Olympic opportunity to deliver these wonderful venues. It’s fair to say there would have been a velodrome here anyway, regardless of the Olympic Games.”

Therefore, even if London had lost the bid there would have been a velodrome in the Lower Lea Valley. It would not have been 6000 seats, but it was planned to be a good-sized one. Similarly, a director at TGDC reflects:

“in an ideal world, Olympic venues are planned because they’re needed and then they cater for the Games as well. But they’re designed with the long term in mind and then you factor in the requirement for the biggest event they’ll ever host: the Olympic Games. Now that’s precisely what we’ve done with the White Water Centre just a few miles down the road to here, which has been open since April this year.”

The stakeholders think that there would definitely be less sports facilities and transport infrastructure in the area if it had been regenerated without London 2012. On the other hand, some also think that there would be more social and family housing in the area if the regeneration had been undertaken without the Games.

In terms of the sports facility legacy plan, the LVRPA had a Venue Use Agreement arrangement with LOCOG for the White Water Centre. LVRPA did not own the venues until after the Games. LVRPA also has been involved with the host boroughs. They chaired the steering group for hockey, tennis and cycling to make sure again that Legacy is being planned. The Head of LVRPA criticizes the situation in not having a legacy owner for the venues from day one:

“The biggest lesson that can come out of an Olympic project is that ideally you want the Legacy owner/operator involved in the decision making from day one. The stadium didn’t have that, the Aquatics Centre didn’t have that, the Indoor Arena didn’t have that. Velopark had that, tennis had that, the White Water Centre had that, so it was by good fortune that we existed and we had plans for those venues, so we could be involved from day one, so really there’s no excuse really for those venues not being successful in Legacy because they’ve had the advantage of having the Legacy, the body with the long term accountability involved from the day one.”

The Copper Box, multipurpose the handball arena, is a permanent venue which hosted the Handball and Modern Pentathlon Fencing during the Olympic Games and Goalball during the Paralympic Games. It has 6000 spectator capacity which can be extended to 7,500 seats. The basketball arena will be dismantled after the Games and removed from the site. The only big scale Olympic venues that will stay after the Games are the multipurpose venue, the stadium, the aquatics centre and the velodrome. “... and of those four I think the one that has that problem is the aquatics centre. I think the rest of them will sustain themselves quite nicely” (LBN Councillor). A LBH planner reflects on the use of venues after the Games to ensure that they are all in community use:

“With the other boroughs, we’ve done a lot of talking to the OPLC about how the big venues are gonna be used after the Games and set the principles that they won’t be more expensive to use than any other leisure centres and they’ve got a plan for the use of the venues and sports development which we broadly happy with. I mean, there are lots of bits in it that we like base in different ways but the basic concept is that most of the venues will community based used. So for us, in Hackney, the big venue that will remain is the handball arena, 6000 seat potential. And within that encourage community use of sport facility but also potentially make it a performance and events base which would be another way of I suppose promoting and bringing people into the area, generating jobs around the venue.”

The problem with the stadium, the Aquatics Centre and the Indoor Arena is that they were designed and constructed by organisations with no long-term interest. ODA’s job was to build these venues for the Games, of course with legacy in mind, but not with long-term ownership for those venues (Head of LVRPA). Head of Legacy at DCMS-GOE challenges this view saying: “certainly, all the permanent venues are designed with legacy in mind. In other words, it wasn’t like we need something for the Games, we build something for the Games. It was like we need something for the Games that will leave a legacy”. A LBTH officer also notes:

“I’ve asked officers to think about how the residents can get involved. For example, the Aquatics Centre: We need to be ensured that we get right in, we need to encourage local residents to use their swimming facilities. Especially young people! And, you know, the thing is because the decisions are sort of mainly made by LOCOG, and I don’t feel that the local authorities feel as much ownership about the Olympics.”

Improved sport facilities and interventions to engage locals more actively is targeted by the Olympic-supported programmes, however, how far these venues will be accessible to locals in practice is still questionable (Evans, 2011). An officer at LBTH for example observes:

“Much of the Olympic infrastructure is imposed on the borough. We have no choice! The Park and the regeneration of that is a separate development organisation. There obviously has to be discussions with council and local people but the issue is that it’s pretty much driven by the Olympics to deliver more than the needs of local people.”

7.5.2 Ecology

Events have significant impacts on the environment, as a result of the extent of physical regeneration and urbanisation associated with them. Staging ‘carbon neutral’ events has thus started to become highly recognised around the world (Richards and Palmer, 2010).

For example, for many generations raw sewage has been the major problem of the River Lea. A LBN Councillor states: “with the Olympic Games we had to stop that, and so a tunnel’s been built across the site to Beckton, so we will stop discharging sewage into that river. Again, it would have happened eventually but the Games gave it a deadline. So it gave us deadlines for lots of things to happen”. A LBN Councillor adds: “the waterways have been unwrapped. They were surrounded by derelict factories and old buildings and so on; they’ve been removed. And in parts of the Olympic Park it’ll be green, it’ll be meadows, it’ll be water areas, it’ll be really rather spectacular. None of that would have happened but for the Games”. Environmental sustainability does not only relate to ecological issues, but also to physical legacies, such as the life cycle costs and sustainable operation of facilities. It is considered as “a means of achieving other goals such as developing new target markets and attracting media attention, improving stakeholder relations and expanding organisational capacity” (Richards and Palmer, 2010, p. 394).

The London 2012 environmental sustainability was covered in detail during the bidding period (London 2012, 2005) and then a revisited version (London 2012, 2012) in the ‘Towards a one planet Olympics’ which is derived from the WWF/BioRegional concept of One Planet Living. This document sets out how sustainability is being incorporated into the design and construction of venues and infrastructure, the planning of 2012 Games operations, and a legacy which maximises the economic, social and environmental benefits of the 2012 Games to Londoners and the UK (London 2012, 2012). Relatedly, the Olympic Board agreed a Sustainability Policy in June 2006 which identifies five priority themes where London 2012 and the London 2012 stakeholders believe they can have the most impact and best contribute to achieving legacy aims. These themes mentioned in the document are: climate change, waste, biodiversity, inclusion and healthy living. It is suggested that Ecological Footprint Model would be adapted to assess the resource use involved in staging this specific event in comparison to those available globally (Collins et al., 2009). Supporting

this model, a director at OPLC notes: “the environmental impacts of the Games and the ways to improve the environmental conditions in and around the fringe of the Olympic Park area is analysed in detail in partnership with specialised institutions on these issues”.

7.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter analysed the stakeholder perspectives on the London 2012 related regeneration. The interviews of 24 stakeholders who are officials, organisers and employees of related institutions in the decision-making of London 2012 regeneration are analysed using the dimensions of sustainable development. The findings contributed in exploring sustainability of the governance of London 2012 event-led regeneration through stakeholder interviews addressing **RQ 3: How have the sustainable development principles been implemented in London 2012 event-led regeneration from stakeholder and local community perspectives?** Also, a number of potential transferable sustainable event-led regeneration governance indicators along with constraints are identified, based on the analysis of the interviews undertaken with representatives of the organisations that participated in this study. Although the research focuses on London 2012 as a case study, these findings could also apply to Olympic Games and may help policy makers in developing strategies and plans for the sustainable event-led regeneration strategies.

The chapter showed that the diversity and complexity of the organisation structure of London 2012 led to changing roles and importance of stakeholders as well as dominant policies throughout (Figure 7.3). During the bidding period, Host Boroughs were consulted on the decisions about the venues especially during the bidding period and worked closely with LDA but the broader concerns, needs and ideas were not addressed genuinely. By the nature of the top-down structure, Host Boroughs were not involved in the decision-making at later stages as much as they should.

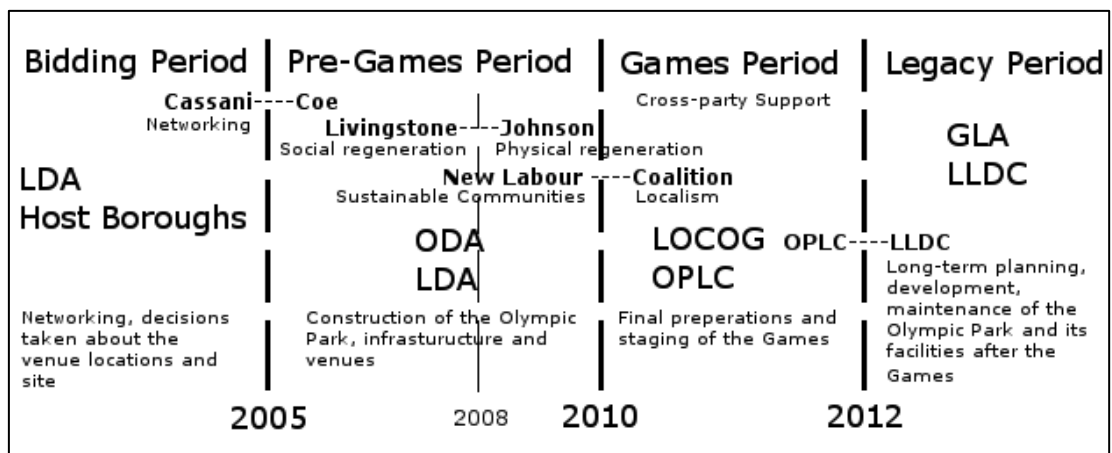


Figure 7.3: Evolution of the regeneration structure through London 2012 and change of leadership (source: author)

Change of leadership throughout time was one of the reasons of change in the Olympic policies. Following the successful bid for hosting 2012 Olympic Games, Barbara Cassani was replaced by Sebastian Coe as the chair of LOCOG and Coe provided the leadership until the end. The stakeholders explained the reason for this change as Coe's better networking skills and sport knowledge. Networking skills are very important especially in Olympic leadership since the event leader should empower other stakeholders and communicate a clear vision (Allen, 2005) and Coe had been a successful leader in this frame. Interviews demonstrated that LOCOG had been the most influential stakeholder in decision-making, however when the regeneration decisions are considered, it is clear that the Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group (OPRSG) chaired by the Mayor lead the process from start till the end.

Political support is also very important for delivering sustainable Games. Newman (2007) mentions the prime ministers and mayors as the leaders of the Olympic projects and both of these actors changed throughout the London 2012 Olympic journey. The bid for London to host 2012 Olympic Games had been placed and won while Ken Livingstone from the Labour Party was the mayor of London. Livingstone highlighted the importance of regenerating East London through the Olympic Games. In 2008 elections, Boris Johnson, Conservative candidate, defeated Ken Livingstone and has been the Mayor of London since then. The change in Mayor had led to some important changes in the Olympic policy; the most significant of all being the social aspects of regeneration being neglected after Johnson became the Mayor. However, the change of mayor did not affect the continuity in the Mayor's Office which means cross-party support has been sustained.

Finally, the Labour Party government under Tony Blair changed in the 2010 elections and a coalition government formed between Conservative Party and Liberal Democrats with David Cameron, Conservative Party leader as the Prime Minister. There has not been a significant change in the Olympic policies but the overall regeneration policies in the UK have changed with the Coalition government getting into power. As demonstrated in the Figure 7.3, some major policies had changed with the change of government, which had direct influence on Olympic policies, such as sustainable communities. Sustainable communities was introduced by the New Labour Government and the Coalition Government did not follow up in this policy when they came into power, instead Localism has been introduced which lead to the shift from OPLC to LLDC. The legacy period is directed by the LLDC as the legacy body of GLA.

As discussed above and throughout the chapter, changing institutions and power shifts led to changes in the Olympic related regeneration policies. Another issue in the sustainable event-led regeneration governance is the relation between stakeholders. It is difficult to make sure that stakeholders work in harmony in such complex and diverse organisation structures.

However, conflicts can trigger creativity and the quality of decision-making process beside negative impacts. The city authorities and organisations purely created for the Games mostly have conflicts during the event delivery process since their priorities are different. While the city and local authorities usually focus on long-term benefits of the event to the city, delivery organisations consider the options for the best staging of the event. Increasing investment in the area and changing the features of East London through the Games are considered as important indicators for potential employment opportunities. In order to reach a more stable community in the host boroughs, providing long-term employment to locals is very important (Smith, 2012). Stakeholders expected iCITY to bring employment in the area and also, they acknowledge the fact that young people living in the host boroughs do not want to engage with construction jobs, they prefer high-tech and service jobs which are long-term most of the time. It is important to put forward future plans to take the local employment levels beyond 20% which was the target of the Olympic Games. Also, interviewed stakeholders of London 2012 believed that hosting the Olympics will increase the interest in East London even after the Games but they are questioning ways of capitalising this interest in the long-term.

However, in London 2012, the main channel of conflicts was not the priorities of different stakeholders since the legacy was an important component of the Games from early stages for all stakeholders. GOE and GLA have been the main units to sustain the communication between the stakeholders and transfer the knowledge. Although some delivery organisations had been wound down after the Games (ODA and LDA), the knowledge transfer had been successful since related staff had transferred to the legacy units. The main conflicts were about the responsibilities of the delivery institutions as well as the models they have adopted. The stakeholders interviewed criticised the leaders of ODA, LDA and OPLC for mainly the delivery models they had adopted. The stakeholders believed that the models these leaders wanted to follow were not suitable for the London case. These leaders had experience in other successful projects in their background and they wanted to operate similar models in London such as the chair of LDA adopting the Manchester model (2002 Commonwealth Games) or the chief executive of OPLC who is from USA thinking that the American model of delivery would be successful in London 2012. However, the success of mega-event led regeneration lies in a more inclusive approach, which considers the needs of the 'local'. In practice however, many cities bidding for mega-events do not adopt or consider the local approach and limit their efforts to the event site, external visitors and to short term branding exercise (Evans, 2011). A policy being successful in one case does not mean that it will be successful in every similar case since the local dynamics are very important for the success of sustainable governance and regeneration processes. Considering the local needs and delivering towards it has been a big challenge in terms of venue delivery since the Olympic Games requires certain venues that have to be provided whether needed by the locals or not. The possibility of ending up with white elephants had been the biggest concern of the stakeholders. The most successful venue planning was the Velodrome since it was

the only venue designed with legacy in mind. It is important that local communities will use the facilities after the Games which will increase the feeling of ownership. However, the biggest criticism comes at the point that the venues and facilities are being driven by the Olympics, not local needs.

The public participation in decision-making has always been complicated since hosting mega-events is mainly a top-down policy. A majority of the interviewees believed that local residents had supported the Games and felt excited about the Games coming to their neighbourhood, but still not everyone feel included. Some stakeholders explained this situation with the complexity of giving voice to everyone, and the bureaucracy; however the majority thought that London 2012 had been successful in terms of involving locals and delivering social outcomes through hosting the Olympic Games. The Olympic volunteering scheme and training and educational programmes had been a success according to the interviewees. The majority of the interviewees mentioned that all groups of people are encouraged to take part in their communities and secure long-term employment through several different London2012 programmes. Being one of the most diverse and deprived neighbourhoods in the UK, the host boroughs integrating with the Olympic Park was very important for stakeholders. The danger of gentrification has remained as the biggest challenge of the London 2012 Games (MacRury, 2012). Although there had not been a huge number of displacements (around 1000 people displaced) through the Olympic Park development, the biggest concern came as locals being 'priced out' as a result of increasing high demand for housing in the area. In order to have a sustainable community, the stability of the people is very important and the stakeholders hope that the Olympics will become a catalyst to change the current nature of a transient population in East London, to stay in their neighbourhood when they become more prosperous. However, it is very important to question the success of public participation in London 2012 from the eyes of local residents since interviewed stakeholders mostly prefer to mention the success of the Games other than weaknesses. Therefore, in order to make sure that whether the training, and programmes reached locals effectively, direct information from locals is discussed in Chapter 8, which was based on focus group meetings and the analysis of survey data conducted in the host boroughs.

CHAPTER 8 EVALUATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE LONDON 2012 GOVERNANCE: LOCAL COMMUNITY APPROACH

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, local community responses arising from the approach to London 2012 Olympic regeneration have been analysed using the data from focus group meetings and secondary survey data analysis (see Chapter 5). The focus group meetings with local residents living in the four Host Boroughs bordering the Olympic Park (Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest) gave the researcher the opportunity to have more realistic and in-depth results on what people think about the London 2012 related regeneration and their involvement in the decision-making process compared to questionnaire-based surveys. The data from focus groups are analysed together with the London 2012 Taking Part Survey data, which reached to a higher number of participants in the Host Boroughs. Total number of respondents from the survey for the purpose of this research is 918 (Hackney: 219 (%23.8), Newham: 230 (%25.0), Tower Hamlets: 244 (%26.5), Waltham Forest: 226 (%24.6)). These two data sets (focus groups and survey data) are collected around the same time periods and targeted to understand similar issues; therefore they were easily integrated under relevant sections. Using a mixed method made it possible to have a profound understanding of the community approach.

The epistemological framework of this study (Figure 5.1) highlights the importance of understanding the community/social structure of an event-led regeneration project to evaluate its sustainability. The local community approach towards the London 2012 Games related regeneration and to what extent and how the local communities are involved in the organisation structure of the regeneration projects are analysed using sustainable development principles under the following four headings: Governance of the Regeneration, Social Regeneration, Economic Regeneration and Physical Regeneration. The themes in this chapter are drawn from the literature (see Chapter 4.4) as well as the focus group meetings and London 2012 Taking Part Survey data (see Chapter 3 for more information on the methodology).

8.2 GOVERNANCE OF THE REGENERATION AND LOCAL CONSULTATION

Participation of the local residents can take place in different stages of mega-event planning. Most importantly, local communities should be able to get involved during the decision-making of the event-led regeneration. This section will start with demonstrating the extent that local residents knew about the Olympic legacy plans, followed by their satisfaction with

the community consultation during the decision-making process for the regeneration of the Olympic Park and its surroundings.

8.2.1 Knowledge About Plans

As Smith (2012, p. 147) notes “community-based initiatives can integrate local people within the planning, delivery and impacts of projects”. In London 2012 Olympic regeneration, 19% of the respondents had heard 'nothing at all' about the plans to improve the Olympic Park and the surrounding area and 73% 'haven't seen' the plans to improve the Olympic Park area. In terms of where the respondents had seen the plans, 15% had seen them in a community brief and 16% had seen them in local exhibition which are where the majority were expected to see them. More than third of the respondents (38%) had seen the legacy plans in an 'other' format which may be online resources, community meetings or more (see Figure 8.1).

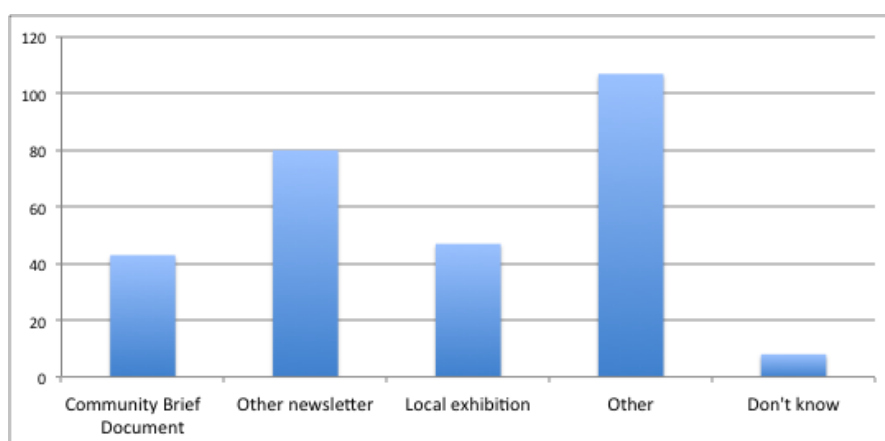


Figure 8.1: The place that the participants had seen the Olympic legacy plans (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

A larger proportion of respondents in Newham (33%) had seen the plans to improve the Olympic Park area than those who lived in Waltham Forest (15%) or Tower Hamlets (22%). However, the participants discussed that seeing the plans or going to the meetings did not mean 'inclusion'. During LBN focus group meetings when respondents were asked whether they felt included in London 2012 Games and were well represented by the London 2012 organisations about the regeneration decisions, the majority said 'no'. For example, LBWF focus group:

- Respondent 2: No, I don't think you feel included at all, do you, where it's all already decided...
- Respondent 5: There's always an Olympic store, and you can get leaflets and see what's going on and so on, but it's information – it's not actually asking.

During LBTH Focus Group, a resident said: 'They have been holding meetings, but whether the meetings are effective is a different thing... 'Cause they are holding meetings to tick the boxes, obviously, I don't think they actually impart any information to us' (Respondent 3). Also, a LBH resident mentioned 'Having a meeting is one thing, having people actively participating in what's being, the decisions being made is something totally different. I mean, we can hold, anybody can hold a meeting, but are they really involving groups locally?' (Respondent 4). An ideal type of community-based model integrates top-down community services which involve providing leisure opportunities, facilities and activities; bottom-up community development which gives the communities the opportunity to define their own needs and make provisions for those needs; community action; multi-agency coordination and an action research approach which provides a reflexive tool to enhance practice (Blackshaw, 2010). In London 2012, the bottom-up community development was clearly neglected which caused an important break in the chain.

8.2.2 Community Consultation

Only a quarter (26%) of the respondents were satisfied with the community consultation process on the plans for the Olympic Park and surrounding area, and the opportunity to input their views revealed that 18% were dissatisfied. The proportion of satisfied respondents rises to 40% for those who live in Newham and falls to 19% for those who live in Waltham Forest [$\chi^2=47.99$; $df=15$; $p= 0.0001$] (see Figure 8.2). However, the results show that more than half (56%) of the respondents either replied 'don't know' (20%) or 'neutral' (either satisfied nor dissatisfied) (35%). During the LBWF focus group meeting, participants complained that they haven't heard about the meetings and were not involved:

Respondent 4:	Never heard about any meetings before, while these planning decisions are taking? 'Cause these meetings were much more informative than participative, no?
Respondents:	[Expressing agreement to Respondent 4]

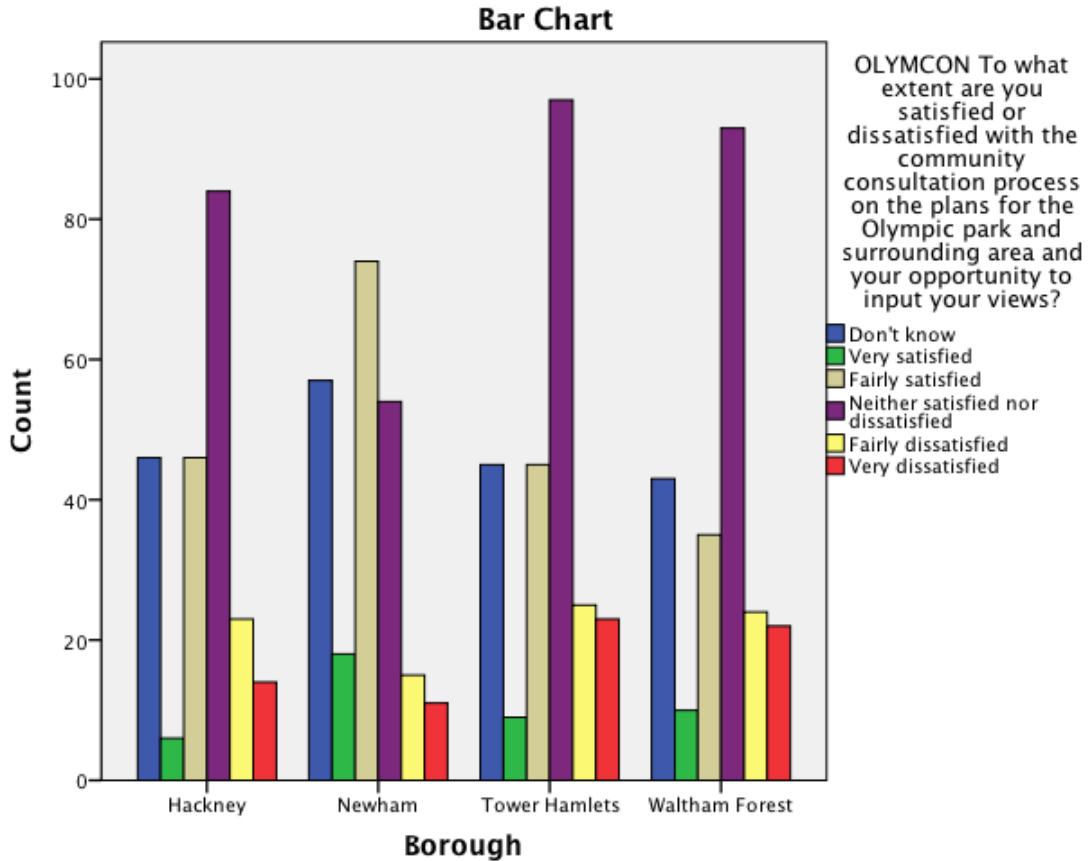


Figure 8.2: Satisfaction with the consultation process on the plans of Olympic Park and surrounding area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

Combining communication and collaboration within a single model of community planning is the key to communicative planning and this is practical as much as theoretical where “communication is about meaning and collaboration is about action” (Heywood, 2011, p. 16). Communication does not mean collaboration and the residents usually complained about this shortfall of organisers approaching them only to give information, but not involve them in the decision-making process. During the LBN focus group meeting, participants discussed to what extent they felt involved in the decision-making of Olympic regeneration:

Respondent 3: My answer’s no. ‘Cause even though I live in the area and I see all of that, it’s not connecting with me on a personal level. Like, I’ve been waiting to see if anything did connect with me, but so far there hasn’t really been anything apart from this meeting today. The thing is information doesn’t mean inclusion!

Respondent 6: Ultimately, they’ve come with a menu that’s already decided. They didn’t let us pick the menu, the menu itself was already decided, and then, as the time’s gone by, you’ll see that a lot of dishes on the menu aren’t available any more. And there’s a few left that the local community has a say on. So the other day we did a consultation, most of us were there, it wasn’t a consultation it was “This is what’s happening, like it or lump it”.

Involving community in the governance is not only representation of local wards by elected councillors, but individual and group participation and voluntary organisations are also key (Heywood, 2011). Evidently, in the most successful and self-sustaining communities, many activities are being performed in parallel and support each other (Putnam and Leonardi, 1993). A LBTH resident (Respondent 3) stressed: ‘the consultation was not extensive enough. They did consult, but just with pockets of groups. They didn’t really reach out extensively to all the groups. Because if you look at East London itself there are lots of different groups, and if they did that consultation properly’.

When participants were asked about specific issues related to the Olympic plans, the majority were satisfied with the plans (see Figure 8.3). The highest degree of satisfaction was observed in transport infrastructure and services (70%) followed by retail and shopping facilities (69%) and the Olympic Park and green spaces (68%). A LBWF resident (Respondent 4) mentioned about the improvements in retail and transport: ‘there has been quite a lot of improvement in the transport system. This area was inaccessible before the Games came here. Lots of money but worth it! Also, the shopping centre [Westfield] changed the atmosphere completely’. Whereas, ‘education, health and community facilities’ (39%) and ‘the housing plans’ (43%) had the lowest level of satisfaction from respondents.



Figure 8.3: The extent to which the residents are satisfied with the plans for the Olympic Park and surrounding area after the Games (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

8.3 SOCIAL REGENERATION

In 2004, Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General of the UN at the time, launched the UN’s Year of Sport stating ‘sport is a universal language. At its best, sport can bring people together, no matter what their origin, background, religious beliefs or economic status. And when young

people participate in sports or have access to physical education, they can experience real exhilaration even as they learn the ideals of teamwork and tolerance' (Annan, 2004). Social dimensions of Games related regeneration is one of the most important challenges to tackle for stakeholders. Respondents were asked to comment on the extent to which they agreed with a series of indicators about their neighbourhood (see Figure 8.4). On the whole, respondents were generally positive with over 50% 'agreeing' with all indicators but two: only 39% agreed that 'there is less discrimination on the basis of race or ethnic origin' in their neighbourhood; and 45% agreed that their 'neighbourhood has good activities for young people'.



Figure 8.4: Respondent satisfaction with their neighbourhood (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

The next section will start with the local resident reflections on supporting the London Games and the level of their engagement, followed by understanding the issues around community cohesion and changing communities in the host boroughs and finally, residents engagement with Olympic related training and volunteering programmes.

8.3.1 Engagement and Support

Support of people towards the Games helps to provide the opportunity for wider effects. Several longitudinal studies (Ritchie and Lyons, 1990; Waitt, 2003) suggest that the resident's attitudes tend to be more positive as the event approaches and the pre-event

period (called as 'pregacy' by Gold) is when positive impacts can occur (Smith, 2012) which was also similar in London 2012. 65% of total respondents were supportive of the UK hosting the 2012 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games in London, 41% of whom were 'strongly supportive'. Only 8% of respondents were against with only 1% of whom were 'strongly against'. The attitudes towards the Games may vary among different groups as well as different geographical locations (Smith, 2012). Waitt's (2003) research on Sydney Olympics shows that the closer the residents are to the event site, the more positive their attitude is. In London 2012 case, this can be interpreted in a different way since Newham residents appear as the most supportive borough since 70% of the respondents who live in Newham said they strongly/slightly support the UK hosting the Games whereas Hackney has the highest level of residents who are against. Among all people who were against the UK hosting the Games, Hackney residents constituted more than half (64%) (see Figure 8.5). Since LBN has a higher proportion of the Olympic Park compared to other boroughs, they might be more enthusiastic and supportive of the Games than other host borough residents. However, there is no significant evidence that borough of residence has an effect on the Olympic support [$\chi^2=20.00$; $df=15$; $p= 0.172$]. A LBH resident mentioned about the benefits of the Games and demonstrated his support as follows, 'As a resident in Hackney, I completely support the Games happening here. Me and millions of other people are going to benefit in the long term, but people shouldn't kind of look for things to happen in the first three months and expect miracles. I think it will just take a bit of time'.

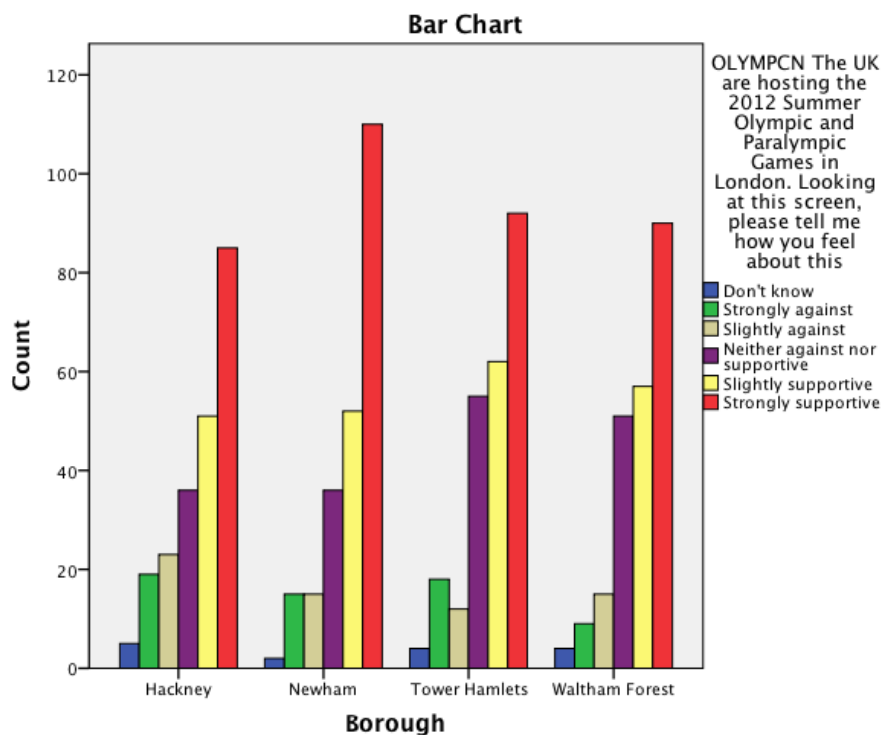


Figure 8.5: Proportion of resident support towards the UK hosting the 2012 Games in London (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

88% of the total sample did not plan to attend a ticketed event and 81% did not plan to attend a free event. While there is no statistical significant evidence in terms of the effect of the borough of residence in attending ticketed events, there is statistical significant evidence that borough of residence makes a difference in the intention to attend free events [$\chi^2 = 32.25$; $df=3$; $p= 0.0001$]. LBTH residents (29%) displayed more interest to attend free events than the others, however still the majority stated that they did not plan to attend any Games related free event. A LBTH resident (Respondent 1) stated how she grew more interested in the Games after she attended a practice event.

“I was so cynical when we got it [the right to host the 2012 Olympics] and I've grown more enthusiastic about it as time's gone on, and despite what I've been saying. The actual Olympic element of it I've grown more enthusiastic about, 'cause I think that will gain in momentum and I've just got tickets for the practice Games which I think will be more enjoyable because there won't be the hustle and bustle getting to the venue. I am so excited about attending an Olympic-related event and that, and they were cheap prices for the boroughs, you know, adjacent boroughs.”

Statistics show that the ones who did not have any active engagement with the Games tend to have higher degree of 'against' or 'neither against nor supportive' responses (43%) to the UK hosting the Games in London than the engaged ones (14%). There is also statistical significant evidence that the level of engagement has an impact on the support for the Games, which is not a surprising result [$\chi^2 = 83.29$; $df=3$; $p= 0.0001$]. A LBWF resident expressed interest in attending free events so that they can enjoy the atmosphere during the Games time and feel like a part of it.

“I don't know if they're doing it, was maybe for those of local people who couldn't afford the tickets – 'cause I couldn't – who didn't get their tickets either, it'd actually be quite nice to use some of the open spaces to make yourself a big screen so you can at least see the opening ceremony in the park. I think it would be nice to have that. Hopefully they'll do that soon. If it's a day like today we could just go out into the park, put your blanket down, watch it and just be a part of it”. (Respondent 4)

8.3.2 Community Cohesion

Extending the event initiatives to a broader scope than only sport 'allow host cities to address a more diverse range of policy objectives including those related to health, education, crime prevention, community development and social justice' (Smith, 2012, p. 135). Community cohesion is one of the key elements to be addressed when event-led regeneration is considered.

One of the visions of the Olympic host boroughs has been to tackle the deprivation through preventing the cycle of residents who prosper and move out of the area and attract well off people to move in (Evans, 2011). There is statically significant evidence that the borough of residence has an influence on the extent the preparations for the Games has increased numbers of people moving in and out in the local area [$\chi^2 = 72.57$; $df=15$; $p= 0.0001$]. Those respondents who lived in Newham generally agreed more that the Games has increased

numbers of people moving in and out in the local area (63%) (see Figure 8.6). A LBH resident (Respondent 11) mentioned the new accommodation in the Park and said: “if they’re gonna regenerate the flats into super duper flats we’re not gonna get the same sort of atmosphere that we have if they’re ordinary people living in them. They’re gonna send us away since normal people won’t be able to afford them”.

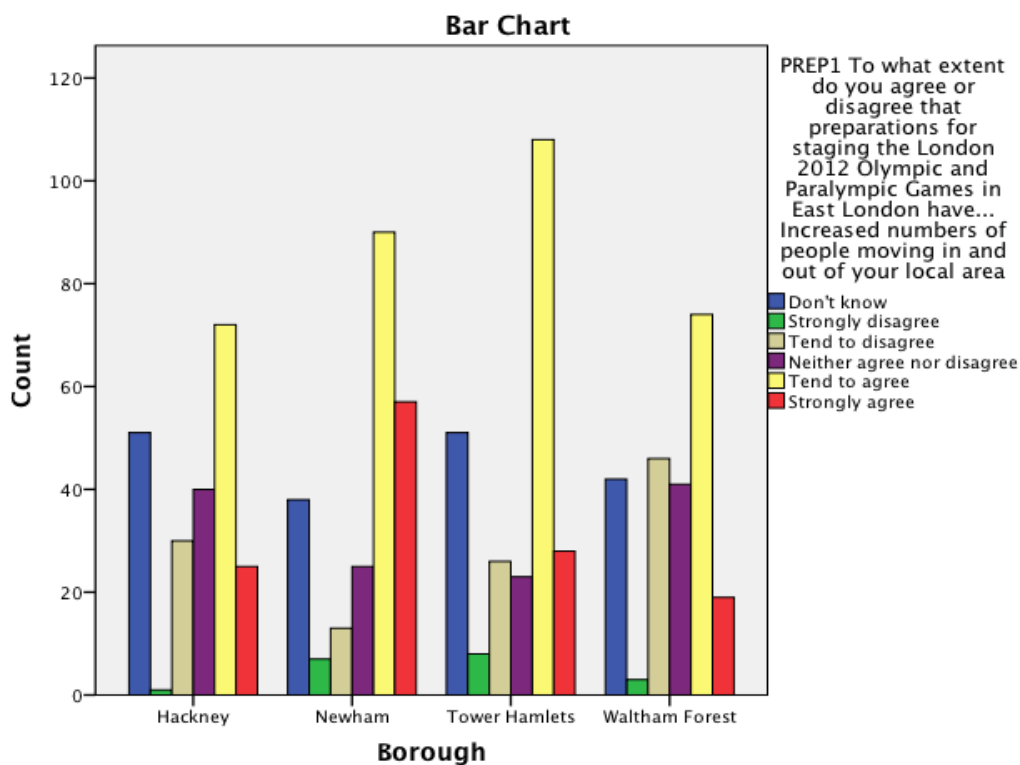


Figure 8.6: The extent to which the preparations for staging the 2012 Games have increased numbers of people moving in and out impact of Games on the local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

These future residents bring the risk of displacing both established and new lower income settlers since the housing and accessible jobs are priced out of their reach (Evans, 2011). LBN resident (Respondent 6) supported this view: “there’s other people who’ve lived here their whole lives... Who haven’t just moved here because of the Olympics, have roots and ties here, and they are being priced out”. On the other hand, another LBN resident mentioned the neighbourhood having a transient population and the difficulty to relate the changing residents with the Games.

“And another thing is, we talked earlier, about the transient population: it was never the same population here to have a set of values, because it’s just constantly changing. One week you have somebody, the next... It’s changed so much down our street. How many people have moved in and out? And whether that’s an Olympics thing or just an inner city thing is hard to tell. But what are our cultural values and group? It’s hard to know, because I don’t think there’s enough bringing communities together to establish those”. (Respondent 5)

Increased mobility of people and the decline in the amount of time people spend in their neighbourhood have been the main challenges of the cohesion of place-based communities (Smith, 2012). Since mega-events trigger the mobility in the host neighbourhoods, it comes across as a key issue to be addressed by policy-makers.

It is a misjudgement to claim that there is a problem with the community spirit in deprived communities (Smith, 2012) since 72% of respondents felt that they 'belonged' to their local area and across the four host boroughs the figures ranged from 75% in Hackney to 69% in Tower Hamlets (see Figure 8.7).

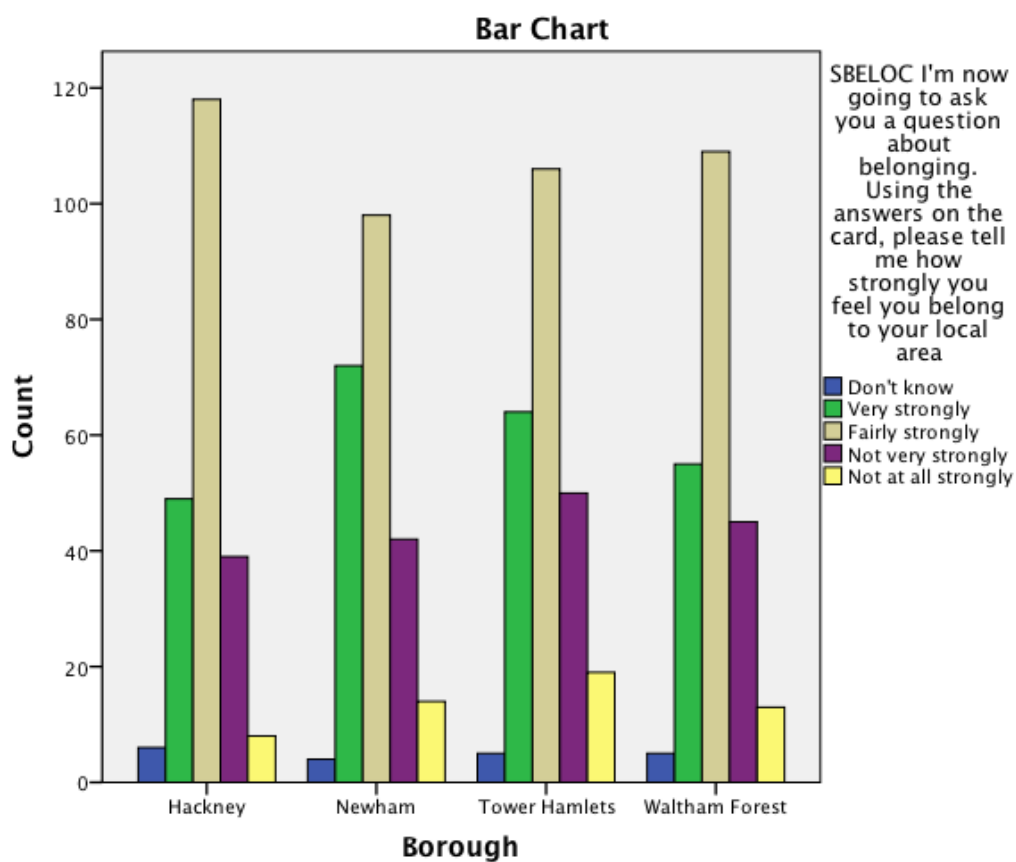


Figure 8.7: The extent to which the respondents agree that they 'belong' to the local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

There are different views on the impact of mega-events in creating community cohesion. Newman (1999) suggests that major events break social networks and create distrust as in the Atlanta 1996 Centennial Olympic Games, whereas Misener and Mason (2006) argue that events can generate social capital by increased participation and trust. Here, 84% of respondents agreed that their local area was a place where people from different backgrounds 'get on well together'. There was significant variation between the host boroughs [$\chi^2 = 46.26$; $df = 18$; $p = 0.0001$] with Hackney – the highest at 88% – and Newham –

the lowest at 80%. LBH resident (Respondent 13) said: “this is a multicultural community. Probably, the most diverse one that you can see in London and everybody lives peacefully”.

Over a third (41%) of respondents agree that the Games has made people from different backgrounds in their local area get on better; while the similar proportion disagree (33%). Again, there is a disparity of views across the host boroughs [$\chi^2=30.62$; $df=12$; $p=0.002$] with respondents living in Newham more likely to agree (51%) and less likely to disagree (27%), as opposed to respondents living in Hackney less likely to agree (35%) and more likely to disagree (41%). LBH resident (Respondent 5) mentioned: “I can’t see any community spirit generated from hosting the Olympic Games”. Whereas, LBTH (Respondent 3) resident believed that the Games would strengthen the community spirit: “I think the Olympics have brought the positive side to the East End of London, because it’s a once in a lifetime event that is happening in the East End of London. So I don’t want to knock the Olympics down in that sense, and I think yes, it will encourage community spirit”. The residents are asked the extent they agree or disagree that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together and then the extent they agree or disagree that the UK hosting the Games has made people from different backgrounds in your local area get on better. When the results are compared, they demonstrated that people already had the sense of community cohesion in their neighbourhood and the Games did not contribute to it much (see Figure 8.8).

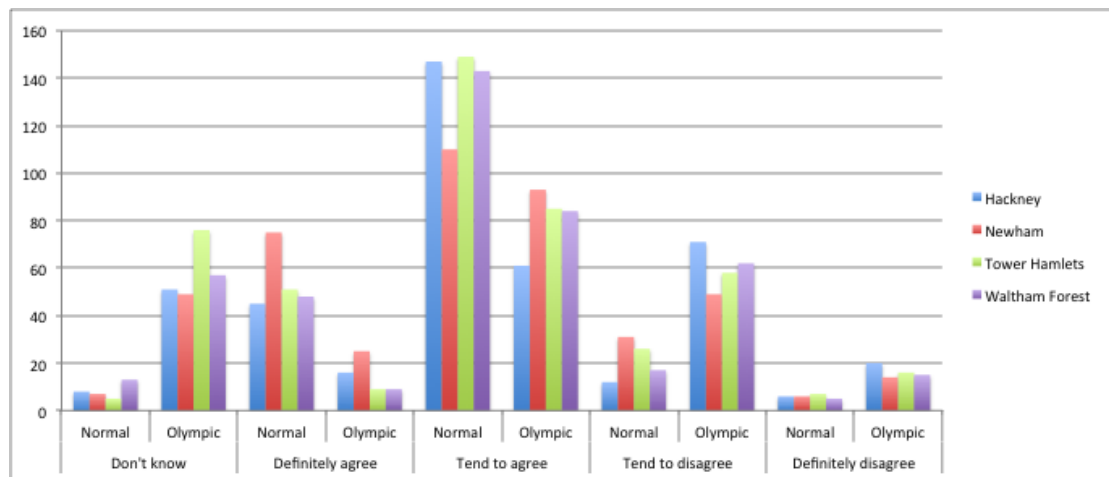


Figure 8.8: The extent to which that the UK hosting the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games has made people from different backgrounds get on better in your local compared to normal (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

Often, large-scale land is required to stage mega-events, which can result in displacement and eviction of people living or working on that land. Glynn (2008) mentions that 2 million people have been estimated to be displaced by the Olympic Games in the last 20 years. Displacements should be done with utmost care since people define themselves with where they live. One of the main problems in the displacement process is the “insufficient time for

stakeholders to propose and discuss alternatives, inadequate plans for relocation and the very limited compensation offered to the affected communities” (Smith, 2012, p. 121). One of the early legacies of London 2012 was the compulsory purchase and subsequent eviction of a number of social housing and local businesses (Coaffee and Fussey, 2012; Raco and Tunney, 2010). A LBN resident (Respondent 6) complained about how the organisers handled the displacements in his case:

“I think there are big losers! Because people lose once they’re moved out of their area, or priced out, that’s what they know from birth. You can give them a nicer, bigger house in the seaside, be wherever these temporary places are, but they’re gonna lose the rock. And why we are saying that with such passion is because I separated from my son’s Mum, she’s a teacher, she went away, I wasn’t working, my son was very sick. I didn’t want to ask a Mum for child support, and we were trying to do a fifty-fifty arrangement. So that’s enough about my situation. However, I was that vulnerable person. They did try to move me to Barking side, they didn’t care that all my local services – GP, school, my friends, aunty and that – were here. They don’t care. So I do feel that, in this world now, if you are articulate, have money and power you will get what you want.”

Armstrong et al. (2011, p. 3177) discuss that the displacements delivered in a fragmented way in London 2012 Olympics and, “with a complete lack of secondary support from outside their immediate vicinity, were unable to resonate within the wider (i.e. non-resident) community and were therefore doomed to fail”. The stories from people who are displaced to make way for large-scale urban redevelopment to host major sporting events, is a powerful reminder to administrators, public officials and citizens, of ‘the dark side of events’ (Porter et al., 2009; Smith, 2012).

8.3.3 Volunteering and Training

Event organisers develop various initiatives to involve people in different stages of the Games. Volunteering is one of the most popular strategies used by organisers. Event volunteers need to become regular volunteers and should be inspired to get involved in their community in the future to achieve long-term benefits. However, 84% of the total respondents did not think that the UK hosting the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games has motivated them to do more voluntary work. A LBTH resident (Respondent 2) said that the Games encouraged people to do voluntary work but did not make them get new skills: “I’ve got a friend who’s sewing costumes for the opening ceremony. She can already sew and she’s got a job, so it’s voluntary”. Also, a LBN resident (Respondent 3) was cynical about the voluntary opportunities: “I always read the Newham mags, see what’s going on: it’s, like, asking people for community art, they’re advertising. Anybody? Any community groups on doing the art? It just seems like they’re trying to get people to work for free”. Nichols (2012) mentions that volunteer enthusiasm is expected to contribute to the atmosphere of the event, the quality of the experience, and enables the event to run more cheaply. However, if the volunteers do not have the feeling of being valued and instead feel like they are part of the

Games because they are cheap labour; then they cannot effectively contribute the overall Olympic experience in a positive way.

Mega-events are also associated with the employment and training opportunities in the host boroughs. Sport-for-development initiatives should deal with issues of human and social capital, as well as the strengthening of civil society organisations such as getting the young people into education and training (Coalter, 2010). Survey results show that 96% of the total sample did not plan to get involved in any Games related employment and training. There is statistical significant evidence that age has an influence on getting involved in Games related employment and training activities [$\chi^2=19.90$; $df=4$; $p= 0.001$]. The 16 and 24 age group tend to be more willing to get engaged in Olympic related employment and training activities than other age groups. LBH resident (Respondent 13) believed that the Olympic related employment opportunities were only a 'show off': "only in the newspapers it looks good, that's all. Happy locals waving!" Also, a LBN (Respondent 6) thought that the opportunities did not reach to locals: "so actually a lot of the opportunities don't quite reach the people as they should do".

8.4 ECONOMIC REGENERATION

One of the most common justifications of hosting mega-events is the potential positive impact on the local economy and host communities in turn. Besides increased tourism and leisure activities in the host boroughs, event organisers target generating new jobs for the local communities and to benefit local businesses by hosting the mega-events.

8.4.1 Employment

It is important to relate the event with local people in terms of providing training and jobs so that the event contributes to the prospering of host boroughs. Smith (2012) observes that past research shows that employment levels rise prior to the event and then fall again when the event is over. In London 2012, there is statistically significant evidence that the borough of residence has an influence on the extent the preparations for the Games has increased the job opportunities [$\chi^2=90.79$; $df=15$; $p= 0.0001$]. Those respondents who lived in Newham were generally agreed that the Games has increased the job opportunities in their local area (59%) (see Figure 8.9). A LBN resident (Respondent 2) supported this: "there's gonna be so much work for the young people and not so much for me – I'm semi-retired and all the rest of it – but probably for young there's gonna be a lot more work ...a lot more opportunities for our children".

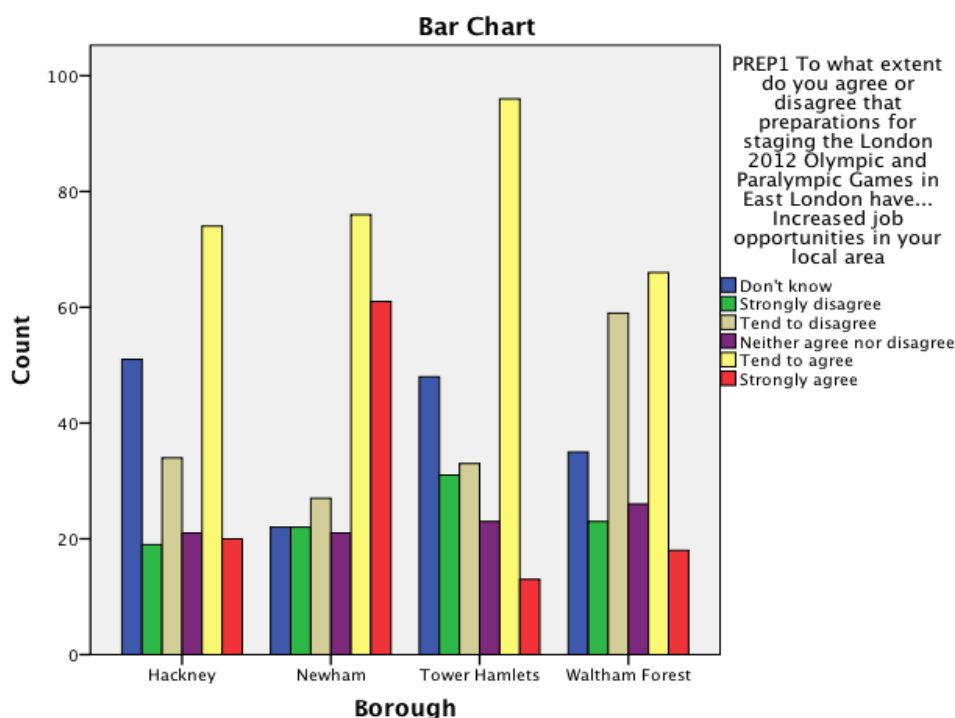


Figure 8.9: The extent to which the respondents agree that the preparations for staging the London 2012 Games in East London have increase job opportunities in the local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

Since Olympic host boroughs have some of the highest unemployment rates in the UK and the economic activity rates are some 10% lower than the London average (Evans, 2011), one of the main visions for the host boroughs was to increase the local employment levels. Half (50%) of the respondents agreed that hosting the 2012 Games in East London had increased the number of jobs available to local residents; 24% disagreed and 12% neither agreed. There is a statistically significant difference across the host boroughs [$\chi^2 = 78.79$; $df = 15$; $p = 0.0001$] while those respondents who lived in Newham and Tower Hamlets were also more likely to agree (64% and 51% respectively) than those in Hackney (43%) and Waltham Forest (41%) (see Figure 8.10).

One of the long-term benefits of hosting events can be putting young people into training and finally employment. It is important to sustain opportunities for young locals and encourage them to be an active part of their community. In the London 2012 case, those respondents aged 16-24 were notably more likely to agree (61%) that hosting the 2012 Games in East London had increased the number of jobs available to local residents than those respondents in other age groups [$\chi^2 = 61.009$; $df = 20$; $p = 0.0001$].

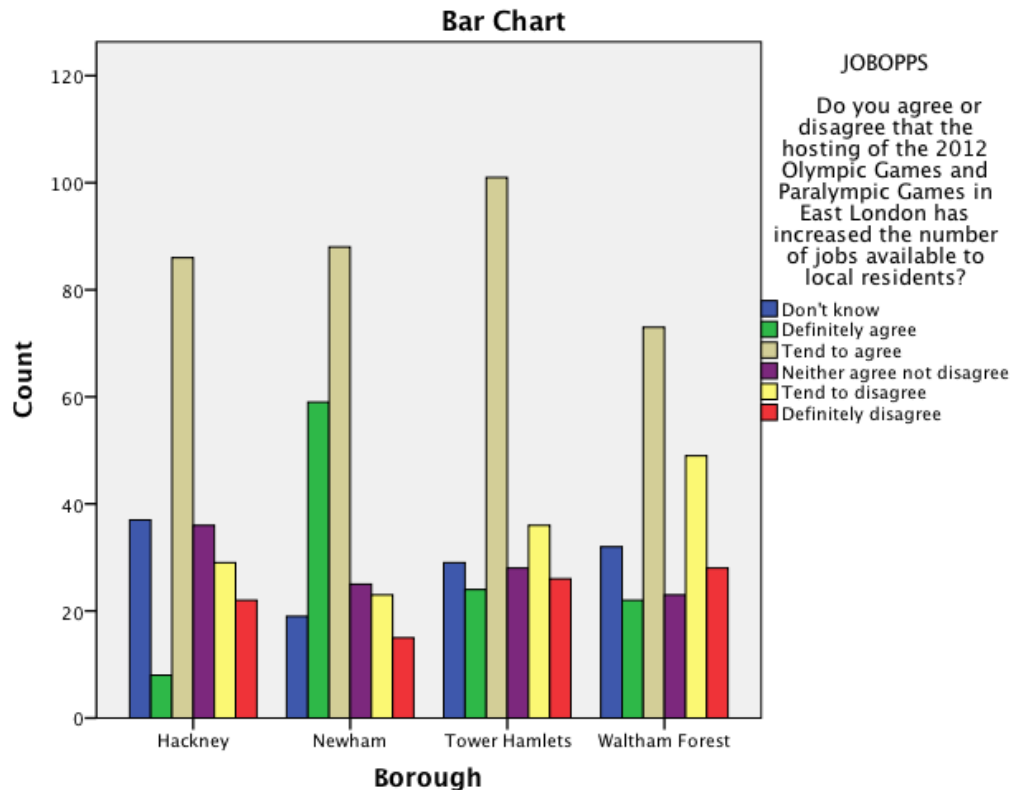


Figure 8.10: The extent to which the hosting of the 2012 Games in East London has increased the number of jobs available to local residents (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

One of the main discussions centres on whether the Olympic related employment schemes reach locals or not. LBN resident (Respondent 2) claimed that people who are employed were not locals, “because every day Newham Magazine turns round and tells you the number of people that has been employed in this area and all the rest of it. These are not people from this area, they have come in to do the job at a cheaper rate than I would”. However another LBN resident disagreed:

Respondent 2: The people working in Olympic related jobs: well they're not local, and that is what has angered an awful lot of local people, hasn't it? At the end of the day. It's sad, just because you've got an address. ...Not many of them were local, I can tell you. And it'll be the same after the Olympics. It's the same now. The new shopping centre how many locals are employed in that? Very few.

Respondent 3: I have to disagree with that one. I do agree that everyone thinks there was gonna be all these jobs and blah blah blah, but I do know quite a few people who work there.

Although the staging of a mega- sporting event generates new jobs, the attention should be focused on the quality and duration of these jobs since “the economic contribution of such

events might lie in a single impulse of increased demand during the period of the event, and consequently it might lose its effect in a short period of time” (Malfas et al., 2004, p. 213).

8.4.2 Local Businesses

The organisers of mega-events also consider the ways events can help local businesses and create a well-off economic environment. 40% of the respondents agreed that the preparations for hosting of the 2012 Games and 49% of the respondents agreed that the long-term impacts of the Games has benefited businesses in the local area. In terms of the preparations, there is a statistically significant difference across the host boroughs [$\chi^2 = 83.39$; $df=15$; $p= 0.0001$] since more than half of Newham residents showed more of a positive approach (57%) and Waltham Forest (31%) residents had the highest negative response across the boroughs (see Figure 8.11).

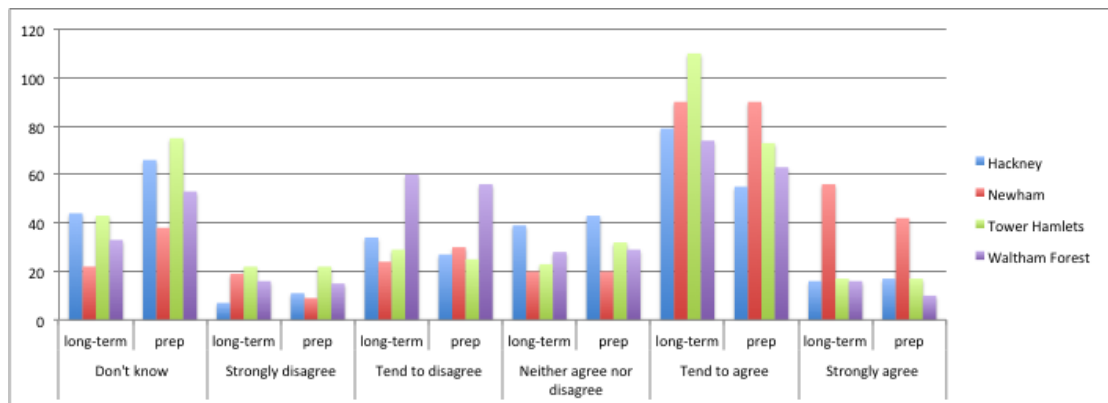


Figure 8.11: The extent to which the preparations for hosting of the 2012 Games and long-term impacts in East London has benefited businesses in your local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

In terms of the long-term impacts, there is also significant difference across the host boroughs [$\chi^2 = 97.81$; $df=15$; $p= 0.0001$]. The proportion of Newham residents who agreed that the long-term impacts of hosting the Games has benefited businesses in their local area increased to 63% followed by Tower Hamlets residents with 52%. However during LBTH focus group meeting, a resident criticised the lack of Olympic strategies to support local businesses:

“When we won the bid in 2005, Ken Livingstone was the Mayor, and then he gave assurances for the local businesses, for the small to medium sized businesses and the local residents that they will obviously have a share of the pie. Over the years that hasn't happened. This area, Tower Hamlets – nothing has happened. And of course you can hardly blame the government at that time because there was money, but in the last eighteen to twenty four months there are no money. and they couldn't actually fund the project, Olympics project. So what had happened was that the private sector came in with lots of money, of course, to buy out everything. So all the promises, all the assurances given in 2005 are just gone, gone. Completely gone. So what you might have is that: yes, Olympic is good, everything has money it looks so nice and rosy, but the concerns that we have as a local person lives around

Stratford area, and as a businessman, is that we are gonna be edged out if you're not careful." (Respondent 3)

201 businesses had been subject to compulsory purchase orders by relocating or removing them from the Olympic Park by July 2007 and the tendency was to "keep the difficulties associated with SME clearances relatively invisible and to use the politics of 'legacy-building' as a vehicle for overcoming local opposition" (Raco and Tunney, 2010, p. 19).

8.5 PHYSICAL REGENERATION

One of the four objectives of the Games was "to maximise the economic, social, health and environmental benefits of the Games for the UK, particularly through regeneration and sustainable development in East London" (CSL2012, 2011, p. 7). Therefore, regeneration and the economic, social, and physical benefits following regeneration had been at the heart of London 2012 from the start. Since hosting the Olympic Games brings a large-scale change in the urban environment of the host boroughs, the satisfaction and the expectations of the residents are key in order to maintain a sustainable legacy. This section will start by providing the results of the local resident satisfaction survey with their local area and how the Games influenced it, followed by the regeneration impact of the Games on the host boroughs and the reflections of the local residents on their changing environment.

8.5.1 Local Neighbourhood

The four Olympic host boroughs (Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest) have rising populations with a high percentage of young people and high levels of social deprivation. The improvements in infrastructure and regeneration of the Docklands had also increased the social polarisation in the Olympic host boroughs by creating pockets of relative wealth within an area that has a high concentration of poverty and deprivation (Poynter and MacRury, 2009). However, against this backdrop, more than three quarters (80%) of the respondents were satisfied with their local area as a place to live, a third of whom (31%) were 'very satisfied'. Across the host boroughs, there is statistically significant evidence that the borough of residence has an influence on the level of satisfaction with the neighbourhood [$\chi^2=32.13$; $df=15$; $p= 0.006$]. Those respondents who lived in Hackney were generally more satisfied (87%) (see Figure 8.12).

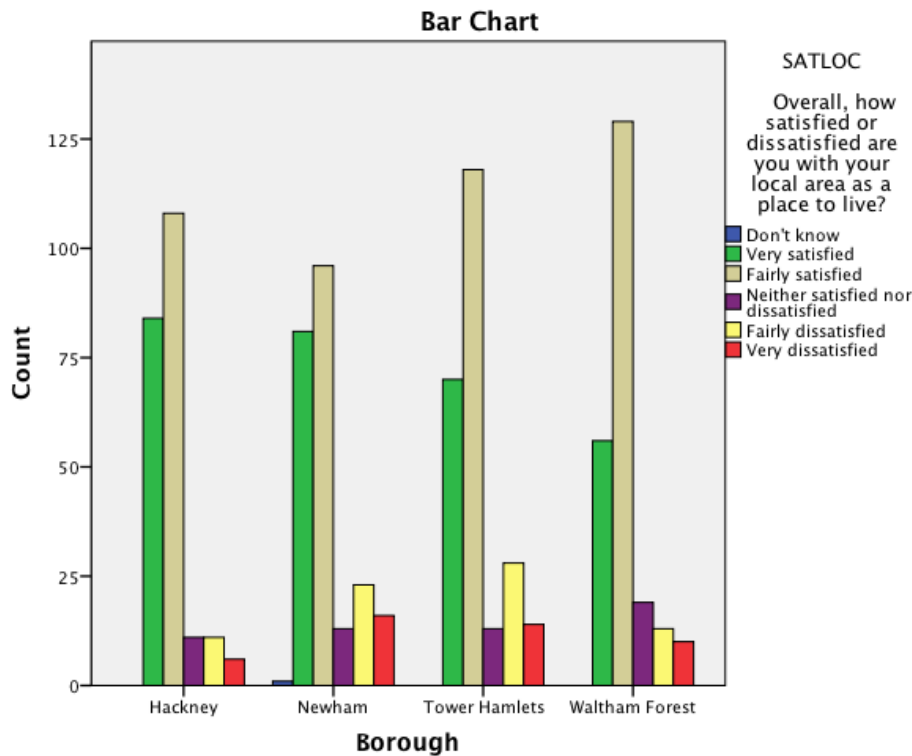


Figure 8.12: Respondent satisfaction with their local area as a place to live (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

'Neighbourhood' is described as "promoting a welcome sense of familiarity, trust and commonality in a certain modern world that provides its members with security, ownership and safety" (Blackshaw, 2010, p. 97). All these components bring the feeling of belonging with them and the satisfaction of being a resident in certain neighbourhood. Big-scale projects (in this case hosting the Olympics) might affect these components in an unexpected way since the external factors may cause sudden economic, social and physical uncertainties that effect residents. However according to the survey, in London 2012 , a third (31%) of the respondents felt that hosting the Games had made them more satisfied with their area as a place to live, 10% felt that it had made them less satisfied and the majority (57%) felt that it had made no difference (See Figure 8.13). A LBTH resident (Respondent 3) supported this saying:

"Whether the Olympics was there or not, wouldn't have made any difference, because the same people would have had a share in the pie. I don't think a lot of people like myself would care anyway about how much they spent, 'cause it didn't make much difference to my life, didn't make much difference to people that we knew in and around the area."

A LBN resident (Respondent 5) agreed with this statement: "the Olympics, like the World Cup, is a business. I'm cynical because there's a great deal of people making lots of money and it's not the local residents".

And would you say that London hosting the 2012 Olympics and Paralympic Games has made you more or less satisfied with your local area as a place to live, or has it made no difference?

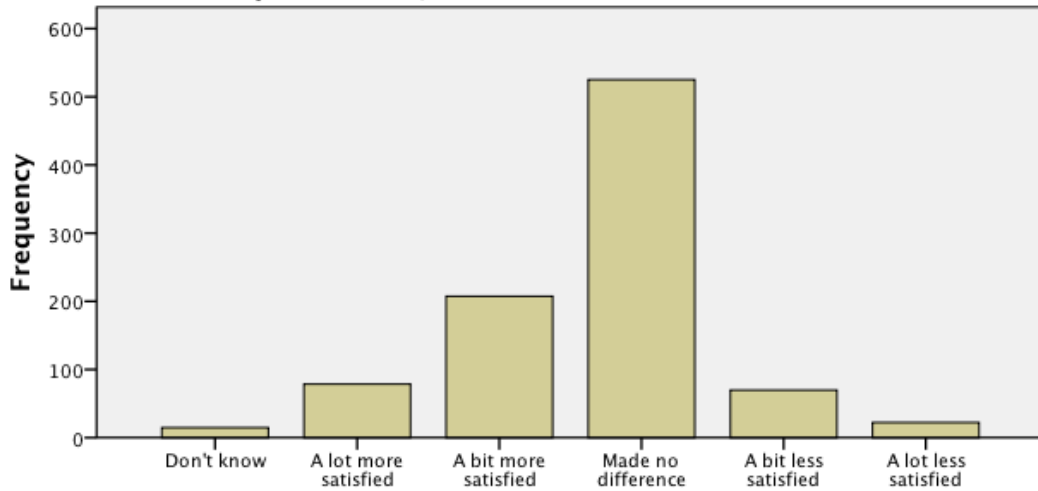


Figure 8.13: Extent to which hosting the Games has made respondents more satisfied with their area as a place to live (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

There is also statistically significant evidence that the borough of residence has an influence on the Games making a difference on the satisfaction level from the local area [$\chi^2=42.40$; $df=15$; $p=0.0001$]. Respondents who lived in Newham were more positive than the other host borough residents with 38% stating that hosting the Games had made them more satisfied with their area as a place to live (See Figure 8.14). A LBN resident (Respondent 4) thought the Games turned the local area into a much more better place to live:

“When I moved to Leyton in 1985 I used to use the sports centre that’s now part of the Olympic site, the East Ways Sports Centre, I used to use that. And the area behind it, the cycle track, and the area behind it was all that dead land, wasteland back to Stratford. It was horrible, absolutely awful! The canal used to stink. It was just horrible, really, really horrible.... The whole of Stratford wasn’t that brilliant, I mean, there was a feeling that it’s East London, nobody cares about it, why bother... and it’s actually quite nice to see something being done, and certainly just out in the borough I can see an improvement anyway.”

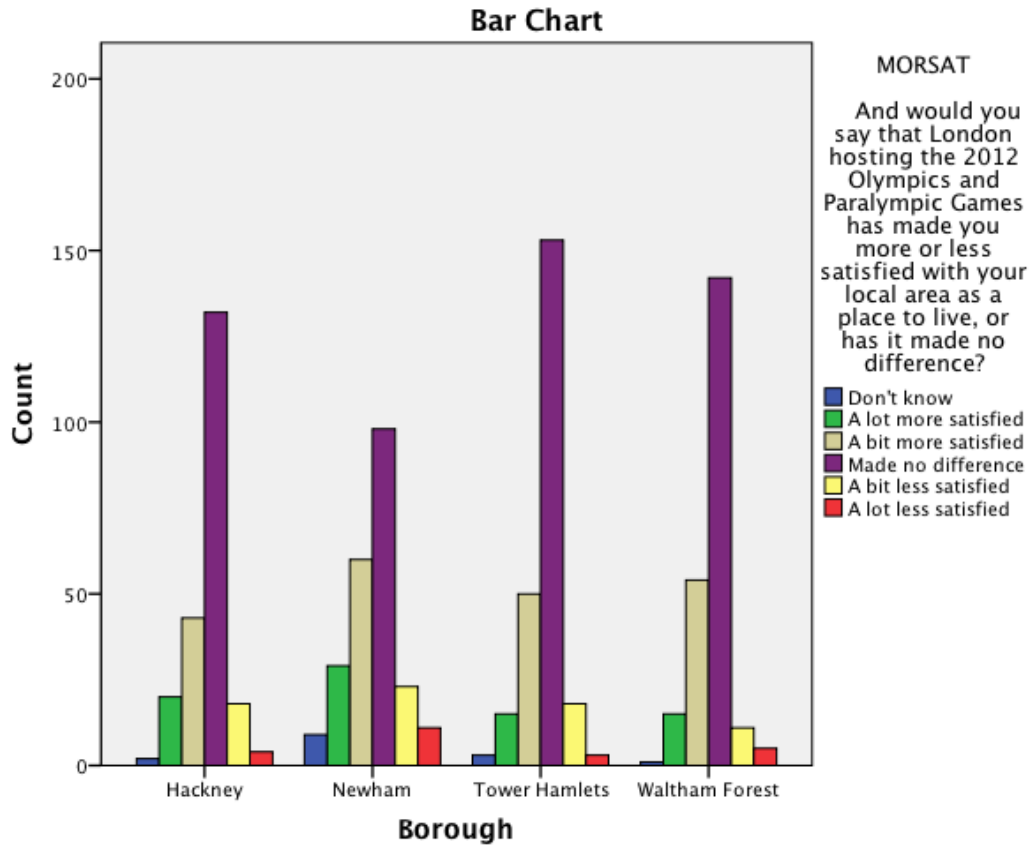


Figure 8.14: The extent to which hosting the Games has made respondents more satisfied with their area as a place to live (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

When asked whether they thought that the 2012 Games would be good for London as a whole – based on what they had seen or heard – 71% of respondents felt that it had with 39% 'strongly agreeing'. Not surprisingly the ones with any active engagement tend to be more positive that the Games will be good for London as whole than the ones with no engagement with the Games [$\chi^2=49.31$; $df=6$; $p= 0.0001$] (see Figure 8.15).

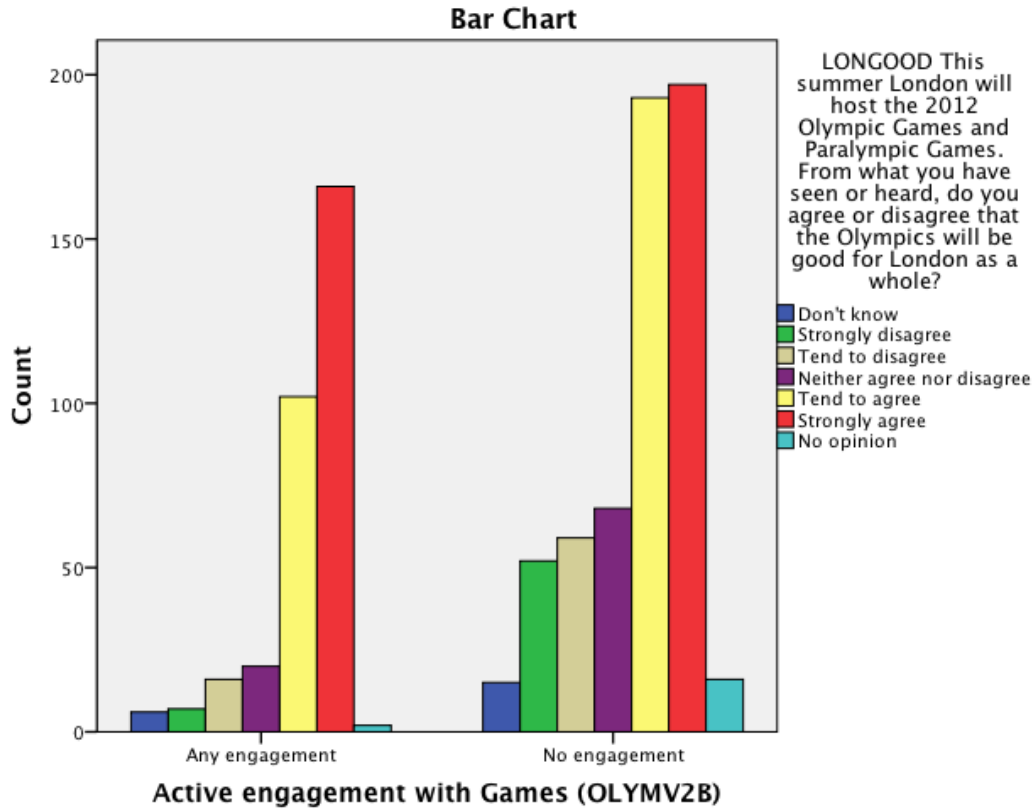


Figure 8.15: Engagement level of the respondents crosstab with their opinion on hosting the Games would be good for London as a whole (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

8.5.2 Games Related Regeneration

Across the host boroughs, there is significant evidence that the borough of residence has an influence on the extent the preparations for the Games has regenerated the local area [$\chi^2=90.78$; $df=15$; $p= 0.0001$]. Those respondents who lived in Newham were generally agreed more that their local area has been regenerated through the Games (64%) whereas Waltham Forest residents had a relatively higher ratio of disagreement (36%) (see Figure 8.16). The reflections of residents usually differ even across the local residents of the same borough and the main concern was around whether all this regeneration would benefit the local residents or not. During the focus group meeting in LBTH, the residents had opposing perspectives on the benefits of the Games:

Respondent 5: I lived in Tower Hamlets all my life, sixty years, and I have seen changes. ...All I'm trying to say is I've lived in this area all my life and when I was growing up there were rats, rat infestations. It was a dump. And now that a lot of money has gone into regeneration...

Respondent 3: They're not doing it for us, darling, they're doing it for the Olympic people!

Respondent 5: No, they're doing it for us, we're gonna benefit once the Olympics are over.

Respondent 13: We'll still be here and benefit from it.

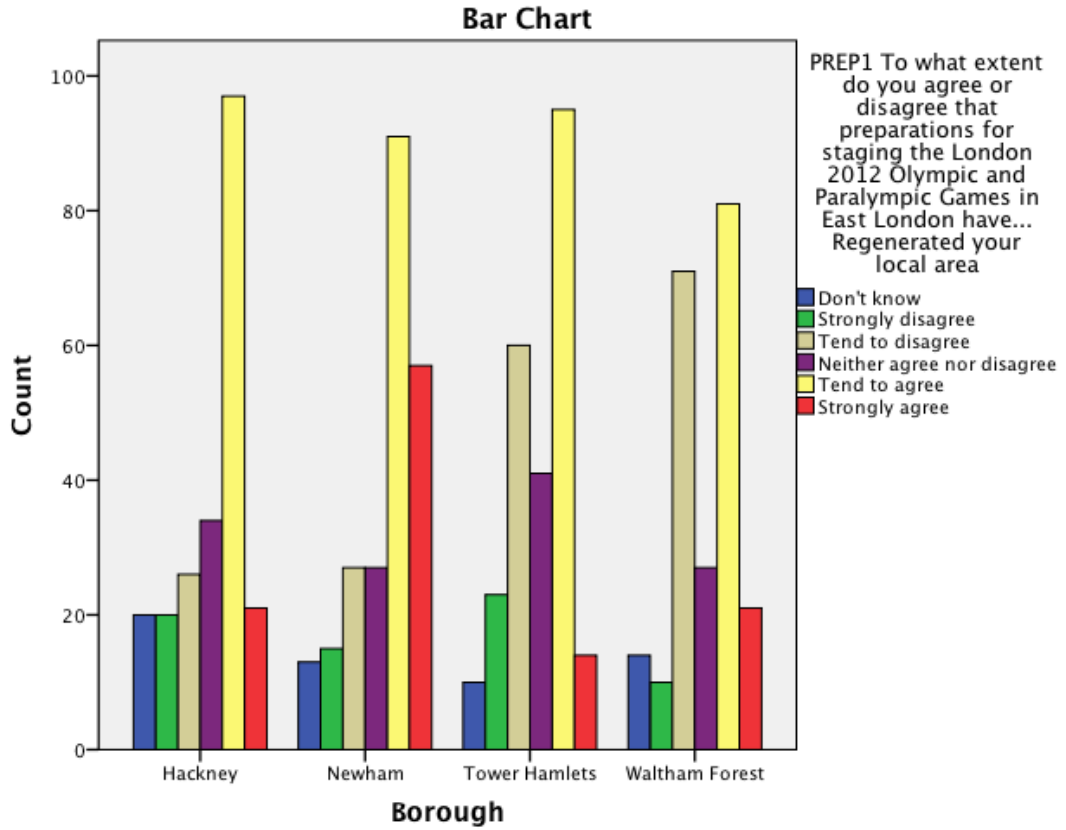


Figure 8.16: Extent to which the preparations for staging the Games in East London have regenerated the local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

The respondents who had moved into the borough within the last 5 years were asked how important the regeneration of the area as a result of the 2012 Games was in making them decide to move to the borough. Although only based on a small sample of responses, only 20% felt that it was 'important' with 54% saying that it was 'unimportant'. This pattern was broadly reflected across the host boroughs with the exception of Newham where 42% of respondents felt that the regeneration resulting from the Games was 'important' in their decision to move into the area (see Figure 8.17).

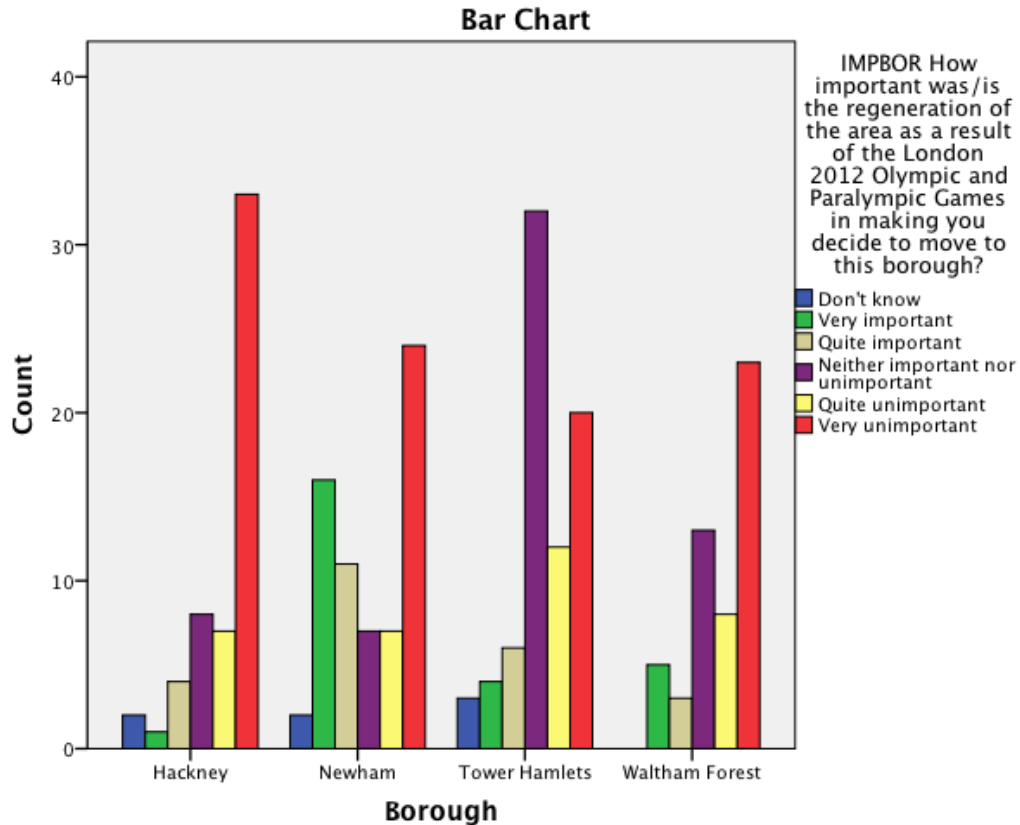


Figure 8.17: Extent to which the importance of the regeneration of the area as a result of the 2012 Games make respondents to move to the borough (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

In order to understand whether residents noticed a difference in their local area that is related to the Games, they were also asked to comment on the extent to which the 2012 Games 'have' already and 'will', over the longer term, have both positive and negative impacts on their neighbourhood.

When the positive impacts are considered, the respondents tend to show a slightly more positive approach for the future than the current impacts (see Figure 8.18). According to the respondents the three most significant impacts of the Games in their local area to date were the 'improvement to retail and shopping facilities' (with 58% of respondents agree/strongly agree), followed by the 'improvement to the image of the local area' (56%) and the 'regeneration of the local area' (51%). A LBTH (Respondent 3) resident pointed to the improvements in the retail and shopping facilities and transport, but also raised some concerns for the future:

"I was at Westfield yesterday, spent the whole afternoon and the evening there, and obviously it's exciting to go round to that area and see all the different shops and hotels and things like that somewhat go for the youth especially, because they compete in those areas. ...These shops are nice, I mean, the improvement to road network is fantastic, and we've had an additional two or three train stations around

the area because of the Olympics, so everything is fantastic, but for good for the right reasons. But then the future for the locals after the Olympics, the Games is kind of unknown!”

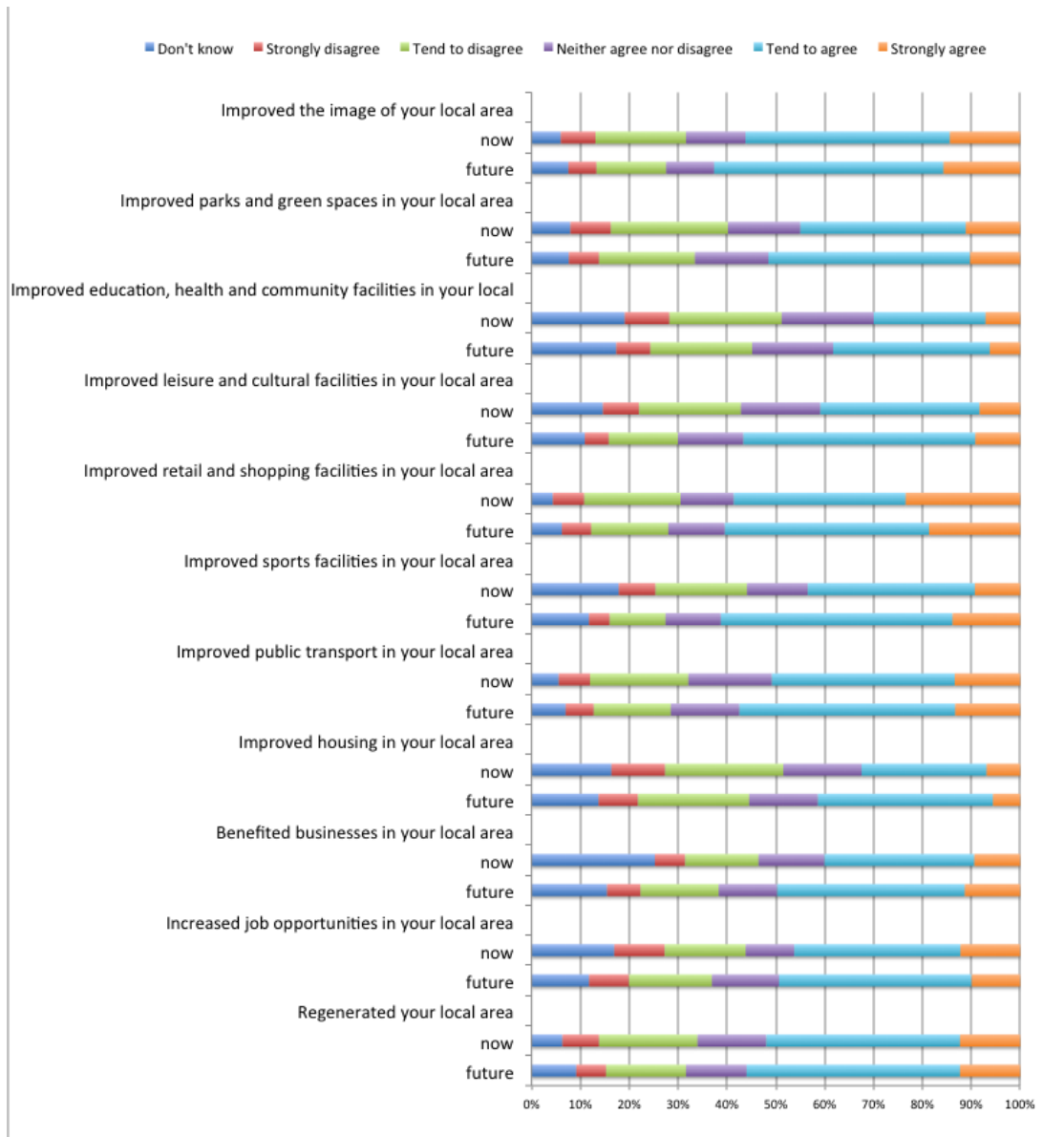


Figure 8.18: The extent to which the preparations for staging the 2012 Games ‘have’ and ‘will’ positively impact the local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

‘Improved education, health and community facilities in the local area’ had the lowest degree of agreement with 29%, followed by improved housing 32%. This ranking slightly changed when the respondents were asked the long-term impacts of the Games on their local area. Over half of the respondents ‘agreed’ that the long-term impacts of the 2012 Games will improve the image of the local area (62%); improve sports facilities in the local area (61%); and improve retail and shopping facilities in the local area (60%). The most significant change was observed in the improved sport facilities in the area, followed by improved

leisure and cultural facilities which both increased by 17% and 15% respectively when respondents were asked about the long-term impacts of the Games.

Events can be used as a tool to develop new facilities for locals living close to the event site. When Olympics are considered, new sport facilities are the most questioned ones in terms of sustainable legacies. In terms of the sports facilities there were different views across the boroughs. LBN (Respondent 3) resident thought that the sport facilities for locals were not enough “they’ve just put gym equipment in the local parks, that’s what they’ve done. That’s one of the main things they’ve done. Get yourself fit for the Olympics, ‘cause we ain’t gonna do it for you!”.

While some stakeholders aim to leave new facilities and opportunities for local residents, some others are more concerned about legacies for individual organisations (Smith, 2012). Therefore, it is hoped that these new venues will encourage local communities, especially young people, to get more involved in sports, however the extent to which these venues are accessible to local people is questionable considering the experience of previous Games (Evans, 2011). Relatedly, a LBH resident (Respondent 5) stated that the American team would be using the Mile End Leisure Centre for Olympic training and it was renewed for them, and continued:

“... and so after they’ve gone the local people will have all those new tracks and stuff to use. The benefit will be there for local people as well. Also, lots of people can go along and perhaps see them train, so for young people, it’ll be nice to see some of these athletes training. Who knows, perhaps they might be inspired.”

On the other hand, one of the criticisms about the new sport facilities is the danger of having potential ‘white elephants’. Use of existing venues and temporary structures are the most common alternatives to new event facilities (Gold and Gold, 2011). LBTH resident (Respondent 1) said: “why have they had to dig up Greenwich to do the equestrian centre, there are other places. Why not make use of venues that exist?” and another respondent (Respondent 3) agreed “you can do a lot of things in different parts of the country, that are already there”.

Although the respondents tend to be generally positive or neutral about the impacts of the Games, when they are asked about the negative dimensions some indicators had also high agreement (see Figure 8.19). Besides displacement of people, temporary problems such as inconvenience, extra traffic and noise and more social problems such as crime, prostitution or personal safety are the most highlighted negative impacts of mega-events (Smith, 2012). In London 2012 a similar result came out of the survey since increased transport congestion (56%) and increased numbers of people moving in and out of the area (51%) remained the two most common longer-term concerns. Increased pressure on housing was also one of the long-term concerns of locals (43%).

As a result of improved transportation links of the host boroughs to central London, Canary Wharf and the suburbs, this had contributed the highest increases in average house prices in the UK at LBN (190 percent), Hackney (143 percent) and Tower Hamlets (146 percent) compared with the national average of 117 percent between 1999 and 2009 (Evans, 2011).

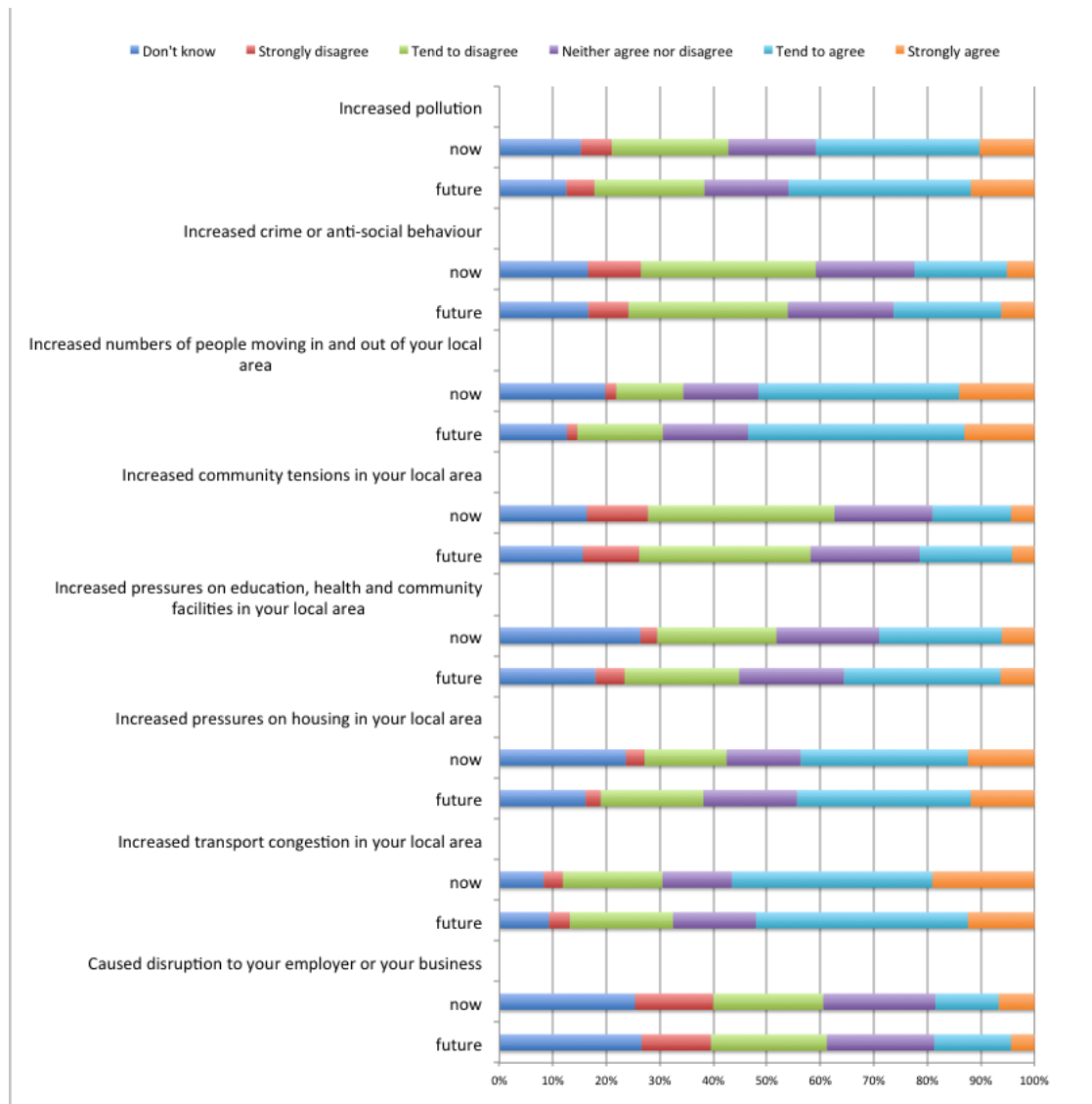


Figure 8.19: The extent to which the preparations for staging the 2012 Games 'have' and 'will' negatively impact the local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

LBH resident (Respondent 11) stated: "All those, the Olympics accommodation, they're just gonna get converted into luxury flats and they'll be sold off at astronomical prices. The local people won't get them". LBTH resident (Respondent 3) agreed: "What happens is that certain percentage of the locals residents get edged, and so the people who get edged out are the people who cannot really afford". There is also evidence that the borough of residence has an influence on the extent the preparations for the Games has increased pressures on housing in the local area [$\chi^2 = 49.37$; $df = 15$; $p = 0.0001$]. Those respondents

who lived in Newham generally agreed more that the Games has increased pressures on housing in the local area (52%) (see Figure 8.20). A LBN resident (Respondent 6) stated that: "I know people that lost their local tenancies because they couldn't keep up their rent even although they had a job".

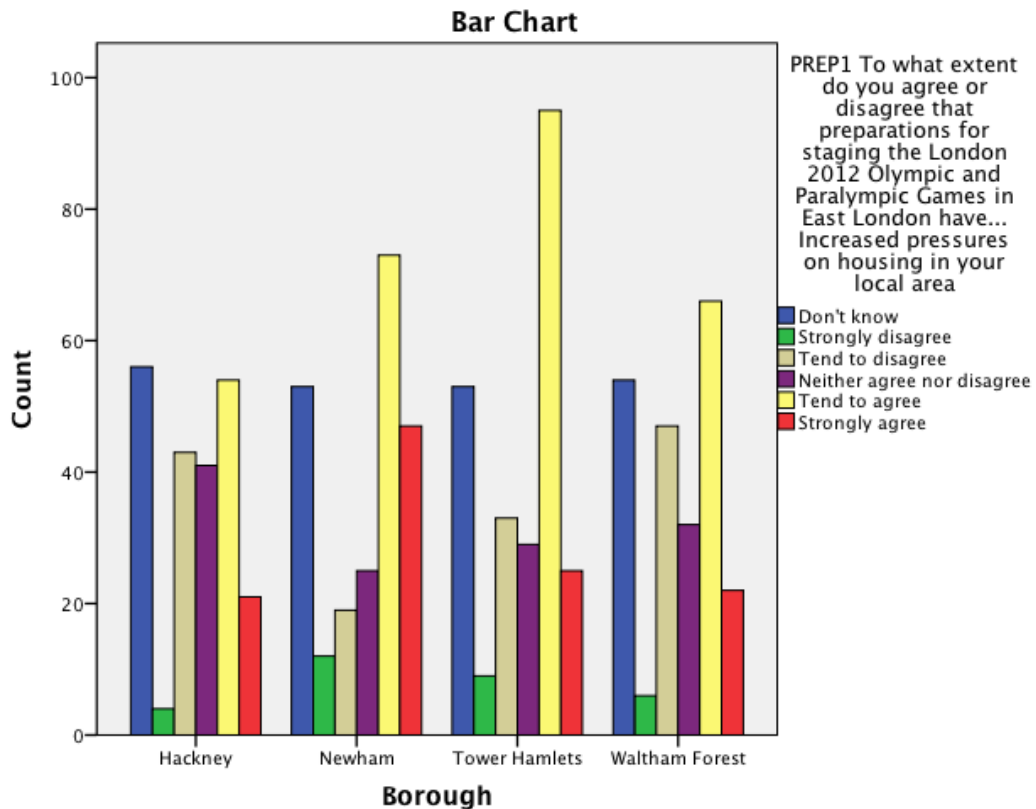


Figure 8.20: The extent to which the preparation for the Games has increased the pressures on housing on the local area (Source: The Host Borough Survey data)

8.6 CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapter focused on the stakeholder perspectives on London 2012 related regeneration and briefly discussed the social side of it from a stakeholder point of view. However, the stakeholder perspectives are not enough to have an in-depth understanding of the regeneration impacts and the local community perspective also needs to be analysed. Therefore, the researcher conducted focus group meetings with the residents of four Olympic host boroughs (Newham, Hackney, Waltham Forest and Tower Hamlets) bordering the London 2012 Olympic Park and accessed the raw data of Host Borough Resident Survey through the UKDA to understand the way locals engaged in the Games. The findings contributed in understanding different approaches towards London 2012 among the residents living in the host boroughs addressing **RQ 3: How have the sustainable development principles been implemented in London 2012 event-led regeneration from stakeholder and local community perspectives?**

The survey results showed that more than three quarters of the respondents were satisfied with their local area as a place to live, Hackney residents being the most satisfied and a third of the respondents felt that hosting the Games made them even more satisfied with their neighbourhood, Newham residents being more positive than others. However, their main concern was whether the regeneration was for the local residents or not, since they did not feel involved in the decision-making process.

In order to have strong, empowered and active communities, locals should be encouraged to get engaged in decision-making through government initiatives (ODPM, 2004). In the London 2012 case, although some mentioned that they have been to Olympic meetings, they complained that the meetings were more informative than participative and they believed that they were not involved in the decision-making. More than half of the respondents mentioned that they were not informed about any action or meeting towards community consultation and the ones that were engaged with these meetings mentioned that the plans were already set up and the officials were not genuinely asking for the residents' ideas. Arnstein (2007) in her citizen participation in urban decisions model describes this stage as informing and consultation which gives the presently excluded citizen a voice but they lack the power to make sure that their voice will be regarded by the powerful. This was the case especially about the venues and facilities which was a case of non-participation where the real objective is not to have people participate in planning, but to make citizens accept predetermined courses of action (Arnstein, 2007).

The literature often claims that hosting mega-events can increase community cohesion and a tendency to engage in voluntary work. Similarly, tackling deprivation and increasing community cohesion through Games were of high importance to the London 2012 host boroughs. However, Newham residents mainly thought that the Games had increased the numbers of people moving in and out in the local area. This was the result of increasing rent prices so locals are under the risk of being priced out. On the other hand, as a result of improvements in facilities and infrastructure, the area became more attractive for middle and high-income people. Therefore, community cohesion stayed as a challenge. A majority of surveyed host borough residents believed that they belong to their local area and people from different backgrounds get on well in their neighbourhood. However, the views differed when the effect of the Games was questioned on the feeling of belonging and community cohesion. It is fair to say that residents did not believe that hosting the Games contributed the community spirit. Similarly, the majority of respondents mentioned that UK hosting the Olympics did not motivate them to do more voluntary work. Residents did not think that volunteering would add them new skills and they believed that organisers were only trying to get them to work for free by introducing volunteering schemes.

Also, a majority of the residents surveyed mentioned that they did not plan to get involved in Olympic related training or employment activities. The survey results showed that the 16-24 age group tended to be more willing to get engaged with Olympic related training and employment. Locals were cynical about the people who were employed for the Games. Many mentioned that people employed were not locals. Beyond short-term construction jobs, the quality and duration of the jobs were the things that most matter to the locals. Newham residents thought that both the preparations and long-term impacts for the Games would benefit the local business in the area. However, there was an overall criticism about the lack of local business support strategies.

One of the most significant findings of the survey was that Newham respondents were more supportive and positive about the Games when compared to Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Waltham Forest residents. Almost half of the Newham respondents felt that the regeneration resulting from the Games was 'important' in their decision to move into the area and more than half of them mentioned that their area has been regenerated positively through the Games. Moreover, Newham residents tended to agree more that the Olympics increased the job opportunities for locals and hosting the Games in East London had increased the number of jobs available for locals. Also, more Newham residents had seen the plans compared to other host boroughs. This might be mainly because the LBN owns a significant part of the Olympic Park and some important facilities such as Stadium, Aquatic Centre, Stratford International Train Station and Westfield Shopping Centre are located in the borough. Being close to all these facilities and potential opportunities that would come through made Newham residents more supportive about the Games.

The legacy of mega-events has gained even more importance since the 2000s with organisers and hosts focusing on long-term impacts (Poynter and MacRury, 2009a; Smith, 2012). The local involvement in decision-making and delivering the needs of local residents is very important for having sustainable legacies of event-led regeneration. According to the London 2012 host borough survey respondents, the three most significant impacts of the Games in their local area to date were the improvement to retail and shopping facilities, image of the local area, and the regeneration of the local area. The main weakness was that the majority of the participants had not seen the plans to improve the Olympic Park area. On the other hand, the ones who had seen the plans were mainly satisfied and the highest degree of satisfaction was about transport and infrastructure followed by retail and open spaces. Housing plans had the lowest degree of satisfaction. Increases in housing prices were a big concern and locals thought that the new houses were not for them. Those respondents who lived in Newham generally agreed more that the Games had increased pressures on housing in the local area. In terms of positive expectations from the Games, over half of the respondents believed that the long-term impacts of the 2012 Games will

improve the image of the local area; improve sports facilities; and improve retail and shopping facilities in the local area.

The chapter demonstrated that although local residents were generally very excited and supportive about the Games coming to their neighbourhood, they did not feel part of it and they were not involved enough in the decision-making process. However, the involvement of communities in the decision-making is very important for sustainable event-led regeneration since it would more likely build strong, empowered and active communities (ODPM, 2004). Therefore, it is important to explore strategies and techniques that give people the opportunity to communicate what they think, especially when regeneration in highly diverse neighbourhoods is considered. By the top-down nature of event-led regeneration, resident consultation tends to be limited and not handled genuinely. However, the local residents are the ones who should be using the urban space after the events and the regeneration and the design should reflect their needs.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter synthesises the major findings of the study and introduces recommendations arising for policy-makers to contribute to a better understanding of sustainable event-led regeneration principles. It also suggests paths that could be taken in future research. The aim of the study is to contribute to a critical analysis of the governance of event-led regeneration and assess how organisers can enhance the sustainable development principles in event-led regeneration. In order to reach this aim, three research questions are determined in the beginning of the study:

RQ 1: What is the rationale for hosting mega-events and regenerating areas/cities that surrounds them?

RQ 2: How can host cities achieve sustainable development in event-led regeneration?

RQ 3: How have the sustainable development principles been implemented in London 2012 event-led regeneration from stakeholder and local community perspectives?

This research aimed to answer the above research questions through primary and secondary data analysis and each question was addressed in separate chapters. The following sections explore the main findings, which respond to the research questions and the contribution of the research to the body of knowledge and suggest potential paths for future research.

9.2 MAIN FINDINGS

In many respects, regeneration has become a major element and driver of urban policy since the late 1970s and is considered as a dynamic process of physical, social, environmental and economic transition. It is a normative process where policy makers and others agree on what an urban area should look like, how it should 'perform' and the practical process whereby visions for these places come into action (Raco and Tunney, 2010). Event-led regeneration has similar dynamics in terms of processes followed, but the stakeholders involved, their visions and timeframes can differ. This research focused on critical analysis of the governance of event-led regeneration and enhancing the sustainable development principles. In this frame, the main research findings are introduced in relation to the research questions in the following sections.

9.2.1 Rationale for Mega-events and Event-led Regeneration

In order to address the RQ 1: *What is the rationale for hosting mega-events and regenerating areas/cities that surrounds them*, literature review and document analysis were undertaken. Mega-events are defined as one-off, high profile festivals, sports competitions or trade fairs held for a limited time in which the built environment has global and symbolic significance and attracts national and international interest - investors, media, and tourists. While regarded as a mainly cultural or image development strategy, the urban dimension of mega-events has started to get more attention by both organisers and researchers, and impact of events impact on urban space has increased significantly since the 1990s. It is also around this period that cities have started to place high expectations on hosting mega-events. However, the research also highlights several criticisms about mega-event hosting such as high budgets, negative environmental impacts, neglecting social dimensions because of fast-track decisions, and under-utilised facilities after the events. Strategic planning from the start and having a participative decision-making structure is key to stimulate a local economy, regenerate run-down areas and attract investment and tourism.

Research findings showed that events have especially been used as a catalyst to achieve a wider range of urban objectives (Burbank et al., 2001; Evans, 2011; Smith, 2012). The urban dimension of mega-events relates to economic, social and governance of the host cities. These dimensions are all inter-related and hard to evaluate separately. Therefore, the concept of “event-led regeneration” links the urban regeneration and physical, social, economic and governance dimensions of mega-events.

Moreover, it is evident that event-led regeneration strategies embrace different models of regeneration. Mega-event-led regeneration, particularly, involves retail in and around the event site and housing as well as design and cultural programmes. The most significant difference between event-led regeneration and other types of regeneration model is the time frames, the stakeholders involved and high media pressure. Unlike most regeneration projects event-led regeneration has to be delivered at a certain time and the stakeholders involved in mega-events are often international. It was discussed that event-led urban regeneration should balance elements of the economic, social and cultural life of urban areas subject to change, with the collaboration of all related stakeholders in order to be comprehensive and sustainable. Ensuring political sustainability of the event programme is important, because without the necessary political support, event programmes and strategies are unlikely to be sustainable in the longer term. Fast track decisions taken because of time pressures and changing emphasis on the rationale for hosting mega-events (Gold and Gold, 2011; Smith, 2012) resulted in criticisms towards event-led regeneration. Events should, therefore, be conceived as a part of a dynamic, long-term process of cultural, social and economic development in order to reach sustainable development goals. Supporting this approach, the emphasis in the aims of event-led regeneration has changed

over time and after the 2000s, the legacy and sustainability period of mega-events has gained attention after failures in the after use of event-venues, their high budgets and lack of benefits to disadvantaged communities. This research demonstrated that the London 2012 is one of the few cities which considered the legacy before staging the Games and tried to integrate the event regeneration into wider planning objectives of the city.

9.2.2 Achieving Sustainable Development in Event-led Regeneration

The second research question, RQ2: *How can host cities achieve sustainable development in event-led regeneration?*, was delivered through a critical literature review and case study analysis. Research showed that evaluating mega-events with the sustainable development concept is a recent approach, whereas sustainable development and communities in urban regeneration has been introduced in the mid-2000s in the UK. The Sustainable Development Commission Report (2003) highlighted sustainable development principles as the core of regeneration policy in order to deliver social, economic and environmental/physical outcomes. Although sustainable development received several criticisms as being an ambiguous term (Robinson, 2004) and with the extensive scale and range of objectives (Dalal-Clayton and Bass, 2002), urban regeneration studies have started to give more attention to sustainable development principles since it is important to deliver development in a less resource intensive way, but still satisfy the current and future needs of the population (Smith, 2012). Also, mega-event agendas use the term “sustainability” frequently. In order to achieve sustainable event-led regeneration, the importance of governance to manage all economic, social and physical dimensions was highlighted in this research, supporting Getz (2009), Girginov (2012b) and Pacione (2007). Therefore, political sustainability is the core of sustainable development since governance regulates the performance of other dimensions (Pacione, 2007). The research showed that the sustainability of event-led regeneration lies in the governance of the process where understanding the way in which stakeholders interact and take decisions on different dimensions of sustainable development is more important than the actual field itself (social, economic, environmental/physical).

The epistemological framework of this research (see Figure 5.1) also presented the interaction between dimensions of sustainable development and suggested that the organisation structure, community structure and changes in built environment should be discussed individually and in relation to each other under the governance framework in order to analyse the sustainability of the event-led regeneration. This study identified two main groups of actors in the governance of event-led regeneration. The first is the ‘stakeholders’, which represents the organisers, officials and institutions who are involved or have an interest in event-led regeneration decisions. The second group is the ‘local community’, who live in/around the mega-event site and wider catchment/impact area. The involvement of these two groups differ in the decision-making process and the research suggests that equal representation of all different groups leads to sustainability of the event-led regeneration.

The epistemological framework has been undertaken by critically analysing the way local communities were involved in the governance structure of the regeneration projects, the way that the decision-making structure and power relations related to the changes in the built environment and the extent to which the changes in the built environment responded to the needs of local communities. The epistemological framework, therefore, highlighted governance as the key dimension of sustainable event-led regeneration rather than the social, economic and physical aspects of sustainable development.

The literature review and the case study research indicated that several sustainable development principles can be considered in order to achieve sustainable development of event-led regeneration. It was discussed that sustainable event-led regeneration governance should consider leadership, representativeness, power relations and conflicts and knowledge transfer and networks. In terms of social dimensions, local consultation, community engagement and addressing community cohesion is important. Attracting investment, helping local businesses and local employment and increasing tourism in the event area are the themes to achieve economic sustainability in event-led regeneration. Finally, physical sustainability can be analysed in terms of infrastructure, ecology and community satisfaction measures. All these principles should be evaluated deeply from both stakeholder and local community perspectives in order to enhance the sustainable development of event-led regeneration.

9.2.3 Sustainability of the London 2012 Event-led Regeneration

In order to address the third research question *-How have the sustainable development principles been implemented in London 2012 event-led regeneration from stakeholder and local community perspectives? (RQ3)* - the study used both primary and secondary data on stakeholder and local community perspectives about the sustainable event-led regeneration principles and their applications in London 2012. The findings of this research from London 2012 provided an understanding of the governance of a mega-event led regeneration project and lessons for future mega-events and mega projects in general.

Governance: During the preparation and the course of London 2012, a combination of strict deadlines and political motivations ensured that a complex network of organisations pulled together in the same direction to deliver outcomes within a set timeframe. By the nature of mega-event delivery, 22 Government departments and several regional and local authorities along with diverse organisations had to work in collaboration, which increased the complex network of relationships and delivery arrangements even more.

The diversity and complexity of the organisation structure of London 2012 led to changing roles and the importance of stakeholders as well as dominant policies throughout this time. Change of leadership was one of the reasons for change in the policies. Cross-party support and long-term commitment are needed for sustainable event-led regeneration. Having the

Olympics delivered by “specially created arm’s-length bodies, with clear objectives and responsibilities, acting in concert with a range of well-established organisations who were required to operate at a scale and intensity that most had not done before” (Norris et al., 2013, p. 70) helped in not getting affected by political changes. However, the social aspects of regeneration were largely neglected after Johnson became the Mayor of London in 2008. Similarly, whilst the Sustainable Communities policy was introduced by the New Labour Government, the Coalition Government did not follow up this policy when they came into power. Instead, the Localism Act was introduced in 2011, which led to the institutional shift from OPLC to LLDC. LLDC, as the first London Mayoral Development Corporation, took over planning powers for the site of the Olympic Park and surrounding areas. Therefore, LLDC has a responsibility for a greater area than the OPLC had, and has a formal control of legacy devolved to the Mayor, whereas OPLC did not have such power. It is granted the full range of planning functions which a local planning authority would normally have responsibility for, including those of plan making and control.

Having these arms-length bodies to deliver the Games means transferring some state capacities to these bodies, mostly in horizontal networks of power described as the “hollowing out” of the state (Jessop, 1994). In this kind of “heterarchic” governance system (Jessop, 1997) transparency and trust are very important for political cooperation. While ODA, operating as a government body, was very transparent with the government and easy to track, the relationships with LOCOG were more complex. In particular, the Host Boroughs had difficulty to communicate and establish relationships with LOCOG. LOCOG was not incorporated in the process because the company was not publicly accountable, and it was particularly distant from local stakeholders. Also, GOE could not acquire information from LOCOG like it did from the ODA. Ultimately, LOCOG should have been a transparent and accountable public institution in partnership with the private sector, similar to the structure of the ODA. The arms-length bodies helped the process to withstand political shifts and pressures. However, while the responsibilities of these bodies were very clear for the event itself, the wider regeneration ambitions were ambiguous. Although London had set up new forms of governance for legacy purposes such as OPRSG and ELLB, they did not establish any real contribution and stayed largely decorative.

Another issue in sustainable event-led regeneration governance is the relation between stakeholders. It is difficult to make sure that stakeholders work in harmony in such complex and diverse organisational structures. The city authorities and the arms-length organisations are often in conflict during the event delivery process since their priorities are mostly different. However, conflicts can be beneficial to the performance of groups by bringing creativity as a result of discussion, improving decision quality and communication between working groups. If approached with a problem-solving manner, it can produce more constructive interaction and greater mutual satisfaction (Dreu and Vliert, 1997). While the city

and local authorities usually focus on long-term benefits of the event to the city, delivery organisations focus on the short-term outcomes and undertake the option that suits best for the staging of the event. In London 2012, tensions between some of the host boroughs and the LLDC are still going on. However, it is evident that the integration of the new developments in the Olympic Park into the surrounding communities depends on a strong joint working relationship between the LLDC and the host boroughs. The success of mega-event led regeneration lies in a more inclusive approach, which considers the needs of the 'local'. In practice, however, many cities bidding for mega-events do not adopt or consider the local approach and limit their efforts to the event site, external visitors and to short term branding exercise (Evans, 2011). The LLDC should examine, therefore, its working practices and decision-making structures to take on board concerns raised by the host boroughs. Strong joint working will be essential to developing and delivering a clear vision for the future of East London.

Local stakeholders possessed little real power and key decisions were predetermined before consultation. Host Boroughs were not involved in the decision-making as much as they should. This is also reflected in the relationship between the organisers and local residents. Although local residents were generally very excited and supportive about the Games coming to their neighbourhood, they did not feel part of it and they were not involved enough in the decision-making process. Arnstein (1969) in her citizen participation in urban decisions model describes this stage as informing and consultation which gives the presently excluded citizen a voice but they lack the power to make sure that their voice will be regarded by the powerful. This was the case especially about the venues and facilities which was one of non-participation where the real objective is not to ensure people participate in planning but to make citizens accept predetermined courses of action (Arnstein, 1969).

Economic: Increasing investment in the area and changing the built environment in East London through the Games are considered as important factors for potential employment opportunities. Providing long-term employment to the locals is very important in order to reach a more established community in the host boroughs (Smith, 2012). Stakeholders expected iCITY, the post-event use of IBC/MPC as a high-tech digital centre that extends the East End's Tech City business community, to bring employment to the area and also, they acknowledged the fact that young people living in the host boroughs do not want to engage with construction jobs, preferring high-tech and service jobs which are long-term. Supporting these findings, a majority of the residents mentioned that they did not plan to get involved in Olympic related training or employment activities. The survey results however showed that 16-24 age group tended to be more willing to get engaged with Olympic related training and employment. Locals were nonetheless cynical about the people who were employed for the Games. Many mentioned that people employed were not locals. Beyond short-term

construction jobs, the quality and duration of the jobs were the things that most matter to the locals.

Social: The literature mainly suggests that hosting mega-events increases community cohesion and the tendency to engage in voluntary work (Misener and Mason, 2006; Nichols, 2012; Smith, 2012). Similarly, tackling deprivation and increasing community cohesion through the Games were of high importance to London 2012 host boroughs. However, Newham residents mainly thought that the Games had increased the number of people moving in and out in the local area. This was the result of increasing rents and property prices so locals are under the risk being 'crowded out'. On the other hand, as a result of improvements in facilities and infrastructure, the area became more attractive for middle and high-income people. Therefore, community cohesion stayed as a challenge. Survey results showed that the residents did not believe that hosting the Games contributed to the community spirit. Similarly, the majority of respondents mentioned that UK hosting the Olympics did not motivate them to do more voluntary work. Residents did not think that volunteering would provide them with new skills and they believed that organisers were only trying to get them to work for free by introducing volunteering schemes. However, the interviewees believed that the Olympic volunteering scheme and training and educational programmes had been a success.

The majority of the interviewees believed that local residents had supported the Games and felt excited about the Games coming to their neighbourhood, but still not everyone felt included. Some stakeholders explained this situation with the complexity of giving voice to everyone and the bureaucracy however, the majority thought that London 2012 had been successful in terms of involving locals and delivering social outcomes through hosting the Olympic Games.

Physical: Considering the local needs and delivering them has been a big challenge in terms of venue delivery since the Olympic Games create certain venues that have to be provided whether needed by the local residents or not. The possibility of ending up with white elephants had been the biggest concern of the stakeholders. The most successful venue planning was the Velodrome since it was the only one designed with legacy in mind. It is important that local communities will use the facilities after the Games which will increase the feeling of ownership. However, the biggest criticism comes at the point that the venues and facilities are being driven by the Olympics not local needs. The survey results showed that more than three quarters of the respondents were satisfied with their local area as a place to live, Hackney residents being the most satisfied and a third of the respondents felt that hosting the Games made them even more satisfied with their neighbourhood, Newham residents being more positive than others. However, their main concern was whether the

regeneration was for the local residents or not since they did not feel involved in the decision-making process.

One of the most significant findings of the survey was that the Newham respondents were being more supportive and positive about the Games when compared to Tower Hamlets, Hackney and Waltham Forest residents. Almost half of the Newham respondents felt that the regeneration resulting from the Games was 'important' in their decision to move into the area and more than half of them mentioned that their area has been regenerated positively through the Games. Moreover, Newham residents tended to agree more that the Olympics increased the job opportunities for locals and hosting the Games in East London had increased the number of jobs available for local residents. Also, more Newham residents had seen the plans compared to other host boroughs. Being close to all these facilities and the potential opportunities that would arise made Newham residents more supportive about the Games. These results can be explained with the spatial dimensions of the event-led regeneration area and ownership. LB of Newham has some of the main facilities of the Olympic Park such as Stadium, Aquatic Centre, Stratford International Train Station and Westfield Shopping Centre are located in the borough. Proximity to all these facilities and potential opportunities that would come through the Games might have affected Newham residents to be more supportive of the Games.

9.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

Although this research focused on London 2012 as a case study, the findings could also apply to a wider level of mega-events (e.g. future Olympic Games, EXPOs) and may help policy makers develop strategies and plans for sustainable event-led regeneration strategies. Therefore, assessing how organisers can enhance the sustainable development principles in event-led regeneration is the main contribution of this research to knowledge. This is articulated in three ways: theoretical implications about governance and sustainable development of mega-events, conceptual and methodological implications, and policy implications.

9.3.1 Theoretical Implications

Mega-event studies are dominated by economic, place-marketing and tourism related reflections (Fourie and Santana-Gallego, 2011; Stevenson, 2012), whereas the social/cultural and environmental considerations still remain undervalued. While most researchers focus on one dimension of mega-events such as economic (Baade and Matheson, 2003; Barton, 2004), new urban tourism (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Fainstein and Judd, 1999; Holcomb, 1999), social and cultural (Getz, 1991; Roche, 2000) effects, it is not possible to achieve comprehensive development through mega-events without considering all dimensions and analysing them in relation to each other. Getz (2009)

suggests that by adopting a comprehensive agenda of sustainable development principles; social, cultural and environmental benefits would be equal to the economic. This research demonstrated that developing a comprehensive agenda is only possible through governance that regulates all these dimensions.

Governance is a relatively neglected theme in mega-events and event-led regeneration literature. The findings of this research provided a sound base from which the planning of more sustainable mega-events can be undertaken in the future and the evaluation of their impact more fully measured across a wider stakeholder community. From the initial idea of bidding for an event through to delivery and its legacy, governance issues impact on the shape and success of the event. The study clearly highlighted that sustainable event-led regeneration can take a variety of forms and the diversity of key principles for sustainability, which are rooted in governance. These principles are closely related. Researchers have discussed different sustainable development principles for mega-events (Getz, 2009; Pitts and Liao, 2009; Roche, 2000) while this study provided an integrated approach where the social, economic and physical dimensions of event-led regeneration were discussed under the governance framework.

This research suggested that in order to enhance the sustainable development principles in event-led regeneration, organisers should provide a participative and representative organisation structure. Research shows that one of the most effective ways to deliver a participative and representative organisation structure is through a unit under the regional/local authority which provides a forum for the stakeholders to get involved in the regeneration related decisions in and around the event. Collaborative decision-making helps to create local Olympic legacies and these legacies should become more diverse to be able to deliver large-scale decisions as well as small-scale dialogues with specific interest groups and more focused on specific sites in order to harvest the interest of local groups with capacities to contribute to the planning, delivery and legacy of events. Burbank et al. (2001) discuss that the governance frameworks established for mega-events tend to mitigate against effective community involvement and communities often feel that the event, in all its phases, happens to them rather than involves them. However, host cities should consult with local people about the regeneration decisions even before the bidding period as the future users of the event area. Involvement with the wider process of urban regeneration can be sustained through ways that community representatives who may be directly involved in the governance structure of the event or are engaged with policy-makers via consultation.

One of the main problems of London 2012 related regeneration was the lack of planning outside the park area, which caused unconnected development. Having a strict deadline to complete the infrastructure and stage the event frequently results in only focusing the development of the event site and neglecting its surrounding connections (Smith, 2012). It is

important that event-led regeneration is planned as a part of the development of the local neighbourhoods around it from the outset. This can help to develop more sustainable communities in the long-term.

Finally, discussions of sustainability and legacy of a mega-event usually refer to similar issues. The researchers debate the changes in approaching the mega-event legacy, which has shifted from being an unknown outcome of the event to something that should be considered and planned in the early stages (Poynter and MacRury, 2009b; Smith, 2012). However, instead of several projects addressing different targets and outcomes of the event, this study underlines the importance of planning legacy period as a holistic programme from the early stages of mega-event process.

9.3.2 Conceptual and Methodological Implications

This research adopted a mixed methodology and triangulated the changes in the built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisation structure of event-led regeneration, which offered a unique approach in mega-events research. Since sustainability signifies a paradigm shift to construct a balance between social, economic and environmental/physical dimensions of decision-making (Boron and Murray, 2004), the stakeholder and local community attitudes towards these dimensions of the London 2012 regeneration were analysed in relation to each other.

The epistemological framework of this research (Figure 5.1) offered a new approach towards understanding sustainable event-led regeneration. The research showed that the governance is the key dimension of the sustainability of event-led regeneration where understanding the way in which stakeholders interact on social, economic and physical dimensions of sustainable development is more important than the actual field itself. Therefore, this research took Getz's paradigm (2009) a step further and considered the governance as a framework, which regulates all dimensions of sustainability. In his article promoting a new institutional paradigm for more sustainable and responsible events policy, Getz (2009) introduces the Triple Bottom Line Approach (TBL) to rebalance policy and performance measurement across the economic, cultural, social and environmental policy domains. Measures of evaluating policy and performance suggested by this approach are however somewhat general and require more methodological development, employing a range of quantitative and qualitative (including social impact, process based evaluation) techniques. Getz (2009, p. 74) introduces how this TBL paradigm can be institutionalised in terms of event policy and staged refinement (after Pumar 2005). Both Pumar (2005) and Getz (2009) suggest that currently, the process of institutionalisation of governance has strengthened in the sustainable events literature.

Although Getz (2009) introduces some characteristics of mega-event stages and suggests necessary transformations, this approach is hard to operationalize. Therefore, this research offers more robust principles to achieve sustainable event-led regeneration based on London 2012 related regeneration and literature in the field. The epistemological framework (Figure 5.1) introduced the sustainable event-led regeneration governance principles as *leadership, representativeness, power relations and conflicts and knowledge transfer and networks*, social dimensions as *local consultation, community engagement and addressing community cohesion*, economic dimensions as *attracting investment, helping local businesses and local employment and increasing tourism*, and physical dimensions as *infrastructure, ecology and community satisfaction*. These principles were derived from the literature and the case of London 2012, which demonstrate an overall reflection of the process and the key concerns in the event-led regeneration. The epistemological framework also provides a model for evaluating other event-led regeneration projects. While the indicators can be tailored in relation to the event under assessment, the triangulation and having the governance as a framework to evaluate social, economic and physical/environmental dimensions stay as the main foundation of sustainable event-led regeneration.

Adopting this epistemological framework (Figure 5.1), two different groups of actors were approached. While stakeholders were interviewed individually, the data from local residents was gathered through focus group meetings since it was also important to understand their interactions, agreements and disagreements with each other and as a community (Macnaghten and Jacobs, 1997). The findings from these meetings were supported with the use of secondary data (Host Borough Resident Survey) to reach more representable results. Moreover, numerous official reports and documents were analysed. Depending on the type of data, both qualitative and quantitative analysis was undertaken. The multi-method approach made triangulation possible and together with other components the validity and reliability of the research was sustained. Therefore, the research design, data collection and data analysis applied in this research provided a unique approach towards the understanding of sustainable event-led regeneration.

9.3.3 Policy Implications

The concept of sustainable development is subject to several criticisms as being a vague term and its extensive unclear scale and range of objectives (Dalal-Clayton and Bass, 2002; Robinson, 2004). While several researchers acknowledge the difficulties in achieving sustainability in mega-events policies, Hall (2012) recognises the importance of various elements of sustainability that affect the capacity of public policy-making to provide effective sustainable development outcomes.

Pitts and Liao (2009) also offer some good practice criteria for Olympic projects.²⁴ However, these criteria are more focused on the physical side of the events rather than social and governance dimensions. Following up on the literature and the findings of this thesis, a series of policy suggestions are developed.

To start with, embedding the event initiatives within wider future plans of the event area and understanding the local needs can ensure greater sustainable development. Event projects can be most successful when they are used to assist the pre-existing goals and policies. In order to achieve this, strong credible leadership is essential at national, regional and local level. Local authorities should have a strong voice in the leadership of the mega-event organisation from the start, which can give better opportunities to deliver the local needs in the long-term. This study highlights that local authorities related to the mega-event might have different approaches and policy objectives regarding the event. In London 2012, the ownership of the Olympics was stronger by the LB of Newham whereas LB of Tower Hamlets was the least involved borough. All host boroughs should be represented equally in the decision-making process and given the opportunity to bring their local priorities in the regeneration of the event area.

As discussed in Chapter 4, continuity of the lead organisation, stability in objectives and long-term vision are also required for sustainable event-led regeneration. Therefore, the need for clear, strong leadership and ownership within the government is vital. Such leadership needs to be supported with the appropriate resources to allow coordination of activity across a wide range of different arms-length bodies related to delivery and legacy of the events. The ultimate responsibility for the long-term, over-arching leadership and ownership for the legacy in the mega-event area should be under the regional government authority (in most cases the Mayor's office) and host borough(s) and the local communities should have a strong voice in decision-making process.

Continuity in the objectives and long-term vision of regeneration process are the main pillars of sustainable legacy after the Games. This thesis has shown that mega-events can provide an excellent focus point for actors from different arenas to work together on a common agenda, although they were interested in different dimensions of the mega-event. This was extensively discussed in Chapter 7 on London 2012 event-led regeneration. Changing institutions and power shifts leads to changes in the event-led regeneration policies. The organisations purely created for the events and the local authorities mostly have conflicts during the event delivery process since their priorities are different. While the city and local

²⁴ Pitts and Liao's (2009) evaluation principles for mega-events: supports urban containment, optimises urban density, rectifies dispersed urban form, defines community centres, encourages mixed-use development, brownfield development potential, promotes public transport, promotes tourist oriented development, generates inner city renaissance, promotes active urban realm, revitalises run-down urban areas, promotes energy efficiency, creates urban landmarks, coherence with IOC policy, implementation feasibility.

authorities usually focus on long-term benefits of the event to the city, delivery organisations consider the options for the best staging of the event. In London 2012 case, although some delivery organisations had been wound down after the Games (ODA and LDA), the knowledge transfer had been successful since related staff had transferred to the legacy units. Therefore, the continuity of main actors throughout the process helps to lead sustainable governance.

The main conflicts between stakeholders of London 2012 event-led regeneration was about the models different bodies have adopted for the regeneration. The question of transferability is very important in the event-led regeneration policies and the stakeholders involved in the decision-making of the regeneration policies usually have experiences in previous projects with similar scopes. In London 2012, leaders who had experience in other successful projects in their background wanted to operate similar models in London such as the chair of LDA adopting the Manchester model (2002 Commonwealth Games) or the chief executive of OPLC who is from USA thinking that the American model of delivery would be successful in London 2012. However, the success of mega-event led regeneration lies in a more inclusive approach, which considers the needs of the 'local'. Policy being successful in one case does not mean that it will be successful in every similar case since the local dynamics are very important for the success of sustainable governance and regeneration processes.

The importance of having the event-led regeneration driven by the existing plans rather than considering it as a new, separate plan is also highlighted in this research. As mentioned in Chapter 6 and 7, London 2012 event-led regeneration provided a good example with its Olympic site, Lower Lea Valley, being a part of long-term regeneration plans before the Games. Also, the importance of securing long-term users in advance (e.g. Velodrome), using temporary structures (e.g. Basketball Venue) and converting venues for different uses (e.g. IBC/MPC) are highlighted in this research for successful venue planning (Chapter 3). Therefore, the host cities should follow up on these creative venue strategies to avoid white elephants and have sustainable legacy planning. These strategies are introduced as using existing venues, flexibility in resizing venues, using temporary structures, converting venues and/or having long-term users in advance.

Unlike the event delivery period, there is no strict deadline to focus during the legacy, which might slow down the motivation or joint working and cooperation. Developing arms-length bodies for legacy from the early stages of mega-events would help to keep up the motivation in the post-event period. Although, London had set up new forms of governance for legacy purposes such as OPRSG and ELLB, they did not establish any real contribution and stayed marginal. The arms-length bodies should aim to get governments to adopt a comprehensive policy, which is based on the principles of sustainable development.

Moreover, representativeness and effective stakeholder network is very important for sustainable mega-event organisational structure (Richards and Palmer, 2010). Representation of different stakeholder groups in decision-making provides the ground for reaching sustainable outcomes. Stakeholders who have an interest in events either politically, economically, socially or environmentally should have a forum where they can share their ideas and influence the decisions taken (Chapter 8). A unit under the Mayor could provide this forum for the stakeholders to get involved in the regeneration related decisions in and around the Olympic Park. Collaborative decision-making helps to create local Olympic legacies and these legacies should become more diverse to be able to deliver large-scale decisions as well as small-scale dialogues with specific interest groups and more focused on specific sites in order to harvest the interest of local groups with capacities to contribute to the planning, delivery and legacy of events.

9.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the challenges of undertaking research focussed on something that is not completely finalised yet is to draw conclusions based on intermediate rather than posterior evidence. Although the London 2012 Olympics has been staged and most of the regeneration in the area has been completed, it is not possible make judgements on the long-term outcomes and results of the changes in the area. For example, the Meta-evaluation commissioned by the Grant Thornton consists of four phases (Grant Thornton et al., 2011):

- Phase 1: Inception (March 2010 - April 2011);
- Phase 2: Baseline and pre-Games interim evaluation (February 2011 - May 2012);
- Phase 3: Post-Games initial evaluation (June 2012 - March 2013);
- Phase 4: Longer-term evaluation of the impacts and legacy of the Games (to 2020).

Five reports have been produced during phases 1 to 3 of the Meta-evaluation: Scope, research questions and data strategy (Report 1), Methods (Report 2), Baseline and counterfactual report (Report 3), Interim evaluation (Report 4) and Post-Games initial evaluation (Report 5). Therefore, while the Meta-evaluation study has completed the first three phases and reported on the early impacts and legacy emerging from pre-Games activity and provides an assessment of the available evidence of the impacts and legacy up to the end of 2012, it is planned that Phase 4 of the work, looking at the longer-term impacts and legacy of the Games, will take place separately at a later date and cover the impacts up to 2020 (Grant Thornton et al., 2011), which is still tentative. The longitudinal impact study and the way it will be undertaken is not clear. The actual legacy plans for London 2012 targets the year 2030, hence it is important to conduct follow-up research on the implementation of the Olympic legacies in different periods, to understand and evaluate the actual impacts and benefits of them on both the city's medium and long-term development.

In line with the aims of this research, the approaches of different stakeholders and local communities about London 2012 regeneration prior to the staging of the Games are analysed. However, examining the long-term results of stakeholder strategies is beyond the objectives of this study. Therefore, further research can be undertaken to assess the long-term approaches and strategies in key places and eventually in a longitudinal frame. Conducting a similar empirical approach by interviewing different stakeholders related to the legacies, as well as the local communities, would help to understand if the approaches and expectations changed throughout the time and give an opportunity to make a before and after Games comparison in terms of legacy policies and impacts. Also, the findings of the community approach towards London 2012 regeneration have demonstrated that the distance of local residents to the Olympic Park and facilities along with ownership has an influence on their perceptions towards the Games. In London 2012 regeneration, LB of Newham respondents tended to have a more positive approach towards the Games. This might be mainly because the LB of Newham owns a significant part of the Olympic Park and the main facilities are more accessible. Therefore, it would be valuable to undertake research on the impact area effects of such mega-events on a spatial basis.

Finally, future research can be carried onto a cross-national comparative level. The theoretical contribution of this research highlights the importance of governance as the core dimension of sustainable development, which regulates social, economic and physical dimensions of event-led regeneration and introduces the sustainable development principles. In order to evaluate these sustainable development principles and their transferability, it will be important to compare the decision-making processes in other mega-event host cities and see how they work in different urban contexts and scenarios. The principles developed in this research, either individually or as a group, can be tested further to see if they apply to other of events. The methodological approach of this research can also be implemented to other event-led regeneration projects. This study adopts an integrative, which evaluates the changes in the built environment, social structure and stakeholder organisation structure ('triangulated') together in order to evaluate the sustainability of the event-led governance to understand the complex structure of the regeneration in a holistic way. This integrated approach can offer a comparative foundation for future research. Finally, the policy implication can be tested in future mega-events for more sustainable event-led regeneration and legacy planning.

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APPENDIX 1: LONDON 2012 STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEW LIST

(July 2011-May 2012)

	ORGANISATION	INTERVIEWEE	POSITION DETAIL	INTERVIEW DATE	FEEDBACK FORM
1	DCLG	Director at DCLG	Deputy Director, Olympics and Legacy	04-Nov-2011	x
2	LVRPA	Head of LVRPA	Chief Executive of LVRPA	02-Dec-2011	x
3	LOCOG	Town Planning Manager at LOCOG	Town Planning Manager Venues and Infrastructure	03-Nov-2011	x
		Manager at LOCOG	Head of London 2012 Forum	26-July-2011	x
		Community Relations Manager at LOCOG	Community Relations	20-Sept-2011	
4	LDA	Manager at LDA	Senior Olympic Opportunities Manager	17-Oct-2011	x
5	GOE-DCMS	Head of Legacy at DCMS (GOE)	Head of Olympic Park, East London, and Economic Growth Legacy	20-Oct-2011	
		Manager at DCMS (GOE)	2012 Games Legacy Programme Manager at DCMS	20-Oct-2011	
		Legacy Team Member at GOE	Legacy Team (Government Olympic Executive)	25-July-2011	x
6	GLA	Manager at GLA	Senior Policy Manager	17-Oct-2011	x
7	Host Borough Unit	Convergence Advisor at Host Boroughs Unit	SRF Performance and Review-Convergence Advisor	05-Oct-2011	x
8	OPLC	Director at OPLC	Director of Planning and Sustainability	26-July-2011	
9	City of London	Head of 2012 Unit at City of London	Head of 2012 Unit	20-Jan-2012	x
10	ODA	Manager at ODA	Head of Town Planning	20-Sept-2011	
11	LTGDC	Director at LTGDC	Director of Development	31-Oct-2011	
12	Cultural Olympiad Board	Director at Barbican Centre	Director of Programming at Barbican Centre-Member of Cultural Olympiad Board	10-Feb-2012	
		Chief Officer at Barbican Centre	Chief Operating & Financial Officer	01-Feb-2012	
13	LBN	LBN Councillor	Executive Member for Regeneration	19-Sept-2011	
		Director at LBN	Executive Director of Regeneration & Inward Investment	02-May-2012	

14	LBH	Officer at LBH	Chief Officer of 2012 Olympic & Paralympic Games Unit	16-Sept-2011	
		LBH Councillor	Cabinet member for Regeneration	13-Feb-2012	
15	LBTH	LBTH Councillor	Lead Member for Olympics	04-Apr-2012	
		Officer at LBTH	2012 Programme Manager	04-Apr-2012	
16	LBWF	Manager at LBWF	2012 Programme Manager	30-Nov-2011	x
17	LBG	Councillor at LBG	Cabinet Member for Culture & Olympics	29-Feb-2012	x
18	LCA	Managing Director of LCA	Managing Director	11-Nov-2011	
19	Grant Thornton	Manager at Grant Thornton	Manager-Government & Infrastructure Advisory	19-Aug-2011	

APPENDIX 2: LONDON 2012 STAKEHOLDER QUESTIONNAIRE

EVENT LED-REGENERATION&SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT SURVEY

LONDON 2012 OLYMPIC and PARALYMPIC GAMES

INTERVIEWS FOR DECISION MAKERS



Interview No:
Date:



A. GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENT

1) Name of the Institution

2) Position in the institution, job title

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mayor/deputy mayor (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> Council / Board Member (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> Head of Directorate/Department (3) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Administrative staff (4) | <input type="checkbox"/> Officer (5) | <input type="checkbox"/> Consultant (6) <input type="checkbox"/> Researcher (7) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chair / Head (8) | <input type="checkbox"/> Chief Executive (9) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (.....) (9) |

3) The Institution is in:

- | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public sector (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> Private sector (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> Non-profit/NGO | <input type="checkbox"/> National (3) |
| | | | <input type="checkbox"/> International (4) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Research Institute/University (5) | <input type="checkbox"/> International Institution (6) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other(.....) (7) | |

B. THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION IN LONDON 2012

4) What is the mission and scope of your institution with regard to staging London 2012?

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Decision making/Policy formulation (1) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Planning/ Regeneration within the Lower Lea Valley (2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Implementation/Management/ operational and staging aspects of the Games (3) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertising/ Marketing (4) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Consultancy (5) <i>please specify</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Funding and sponsorship (6) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Training and skills (7) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (8)..... |

5) Has hosting the Olympic Games led to any changes in your institution's policies or priorities?

- Yes (1) No (2) N/A (3)
If yes, please give information.....

6) Was your institution active during the bidding process of the Olympic Games?

- Yes (1) No (2) N/A (3)
If yes, please give information.....

7) Did your institution's role and strategy change after winning the bid for hosting the Olympic Games?

- Yes (1) No (2) N/A (3)
If yes, please say how.....

C. EXPECTATIONS FROM THE OLYMPIC GAMES

8) Following are the UK Government's legacy promises for London 2012 Olympic Games. To what extent do you think these goals have been achieved so far?

- (1) To make the UK a world-leading sporting nation
- (2) To regenerate East London
- (3) To inspire a new generation of young people to take part in local volunteering, cultural and physical activity
- (4) To make the Olympic Park a blueprint for sustainable living
- (5) To demonstrate that the UK is a diverse, creative and welcoming city

Nothing has been achieved (1)	Minor parts of it has been achieved (2)	Average achievements (3)	Major parts of it has been achieved (4)	Completely achieved (5)

9) Following are the UK Government's legacy promises for London 2012 Olympic Games. To what extent do you think these goals will have been achieved from the legacy of the London 2012?

- (1) To make the UK a world-leading sporting nation
- (2) To regenerate East London
- (3) To inspire a new generation of young people to take part in local volunteering, cultural and physical activity
- (4) To make the Olympic Park a blueprint for sustainable living
- (5) To demonstrate that the UK is a diverse, creative and welcoming city

Nothing will be achieved (1)	Minor parts of it will be achieved (2)	Average achievements (3)	Major parts of it will be achieved (4)	Completely will be achieved (5)

- 10) How long do you think it is going to take to fulfil the legacy of the Olympic Park area?
- Between 1-5 years after the Games finish (1) Between 10-15 years after the Games finish (3)
- Between 5-10 years after the Games finish (2) More than 15 years after the Games finish (4)

- 11) What benefits do you think hosting the Olympic Games will bring to your organization?
- Increase networking with other institutions (1)
 - Knowledge dissemination (2)
 - Increase the viability and profile of the organization (3)
 - Financial benefits (attract more customers/clients etc) (4)
 - Improved capacity and experience in the field (5)
 - Other (6) please specify

D. STRUCTURE OF OLYMPIC ORGANIZATION COMMITTEES (LOCOG/ODA)

12) How would you describe the nature of the organization structure of London 2012 Olympic Games?

.....

13) Which institutions are more influential in key decision making of London 2012?

Please rank Top 3 (from 1 to 3)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Department for Culture, Media and Sport (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> London Development Agency (7) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Greater London Authority (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> British Olympic Association (8) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> LOCOG (3) | <input type="checkbox"/> Olympic Lottery Distributor (9) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ODA (4) | <input type="checkbox"/> Councils of the Olympic Boroughs (10) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> IOC (5) | <input type="checkbox"/> Sponsors (11) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Olympic Park Legacy Company (6) | <input type="checkbox"/> Others (12) |

- 14) Do you think that LOCOG/ODA are able to incorporate Londoners' aspirations for London 2012?
- Yes (1) No (2)

15) Referring to the organization structure chart (see page 6) of London 2012, what other groups could be better reflected in the committee memberships?

- Universities/ Colleges (1)
- NGOs (2) please specify.....
- Other government departments/agencies (3)
- Representatives of local community groups (4)
- Business/Trade organizations (5)
- Other (6).....

16) With hindsight, do you see any weaknesses in the preparation period for London 2012?

.....

17) How could the organization structure be improved?

.....

18) Are there any conflicts within committee or with other institutions of London 2012?

- Yes (1) No (2)
 If yes, please give information.....

E. REGENERATION IN THE LOWER LEA VALLEY (OLYMPIC PARK AREA)

19) Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about regeneration policies in London using the scale:

- (1) Regeneration in the Olympic Park area consider the sustainable development principles
- (2) Hosting Olympic Games is one of the most affective place marketing strategies
- (3) Olympic Games will strengthen the relation between stakeholders
- (4) Hosting the Olympic Games will encourage the community spirit and participation in Lower Lea Valley
- (5) The cost and benefits of London 2012 are fairly distributed throughout London and UK

Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)

20) Which one of the social regeneration indicators do you think are applied in the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley? (tick any that apply)

- Increase in new community networks (1)
- Improved leisure facility options (2)
- Reduced social isolation (3)
- Increase in volunteering (4)
- More training opportunities (5)
- Other (6).....

21) What do you think about the overall success of social regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley?

1- very successful	2- successful with minor problems	3- both positive and negative	4- unsuccessful with minor positive aspects	5- very unsuccessful

22) Which one of the economic regeneration indicators do you think are applied in the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley? (tick any that apply)

- More employment opportunities (1)
- More investment in the area (2)
- Stronger public-private-voluntary-sector partnerships (3)
- More local spending (4)
- More tourism to the area (5)
- Other (6).....

23) What do you think about the overall success of economic regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley?

1- very successful	2- successful with minor problems	3- both positive and negative	4- unsuccessful with minor positive aspects	5- very unsuccessful

24) Which one of the physical regeneration indicators do you think are applied in the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley? (tick any that apply)

- Better Design Quality in Lower Lea Valley (1)
- Re-use of developed land (2)
- Increase in public sports facilities (3)
- Increase in cultural facilities (4)
- Increase accessibility (eg. public transport) (5)
- Environmental improvements (6)
- Other (7).....

25) What do you think about the overall success of physical regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley?

1- very successful	2- successful with minor problems	3- both positive and negative	4- unsuccessful with minor positive aspects	5- very unsuccessful

26) Who do you think will benefit most from the regeneration of the area?

- Local residents- Existing (1)
- Local residents- New comers (2)
- Small local enterprises (3)
- Sports clubs/organizations in the area (4)
- International commercial firms (5)
- National commercial firms (6)
- Others (7).....

27) Who may be negatively affected from the regeneration of the area?

- Local residents- Existing (1)
- Local residents- New comers (2)
- Small local enterprises (3)
- Sports clubs/organizations in the area (4)
- International commercial firms (5)
- National commercial firms (6)
- Others (7).....

28) What success factors are evident and might be transferable in the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley?

- Public training and participation models (1)
- Sustainable development approach (2)
- Use of social and cultural values in regeneration (3)
- Organization model of the project (4)
- Design initiatives (5)
- Housing models (6)
- Marketing policies (7)
- Others (8).....

29) What lessons have you learned from this process? What factors would you address if you are a part of such a project again?

- More public participation during the planning of the regeneration area (1)
- More technical consultants during the planning of the regeneration area (2)
- More sustainable development initiatives (3)
- Better networking of stakeholders (4)
- More inclusion of local culture and values (5)
- Better housing policies (6)
- Better marketing policies (7)
- Others (8).....

30) How do you think the regeneration of the Lea Valley might have proceeded if there was NO Olympic Games?

1-Much slower and less so than now	2- Slower and rather less than now	3- more or less the same as now	4- Faster and more so than now	5-Much faster and more so than now

31) How different might the regeneration have been without the Games?

It would have included (tick all that apply):

- less open spaces (1)
- less sports facilities (2)
- less shopping areas (3)
- less transportation/facilities and less access (4)
- ~~more~~ family housing (5)
- ~~more~~ social housing (6)
- ~~more~~ time to complete the regeneration process (7)
- others (8).....

32) Overall, do you think the legacy of London 2012 will be (tick one):

1-very successful and sustainable	2- successful with minor problems	3- both positive and negative	4- unsuccessful in general with minor positive aspects	5-very unsuccessful

Please indicate why (reasons).....

F. YOUR OPINION ABOUT PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN LONDON 2012

33) Do you think there was sufficient public participation in the preparation period for London 2012?

- Yes (1) No (2)

34) Do you think people are generally in support of hosting the Olympic Games?

- Yes (1) No (2)

35) Do you think other people living in the Lower Lea Valley feel included in London 2012?

- Yes (1) No (2)

36) If NO, how might this inclusion be improved?

.....

37) If you have any additional comments to make on this survey, please feel free to add your comments here:

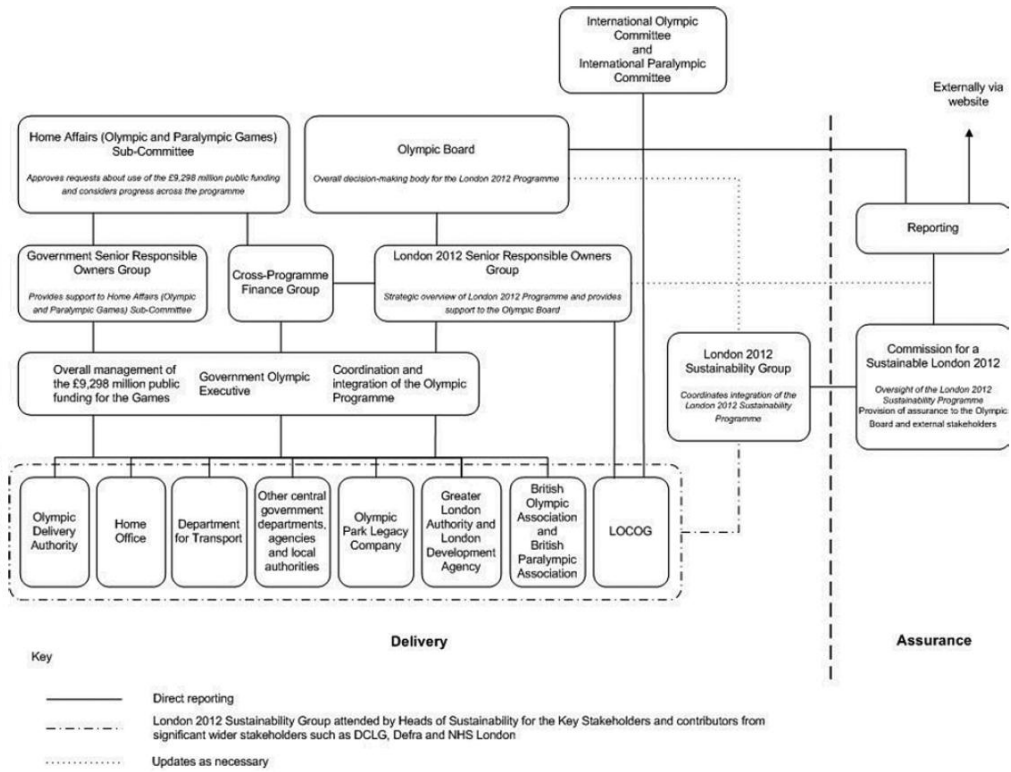
.....

Thank you for the time taken to complete this research survey. If you wish to make any further comments or if you wish to arrange a follow-up meeting to discuss the study further, please contact Ozlem Edizel (o.edizel@ondonmet.c.uk)

Please return the questionnaire to:

Ozlem Edizel
 Cities Institute
 LMBS- London Metropolitan University
 Stapleton House
 277-281 Holloway Road
 London N7 8HN

ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE OF LONDON 2012



Source: <http://www.cs london.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2011/04/CSL-Annual-Review-20102.pdf>

APPENDIX 3: FOCUS GROUP MEETING SCHEDULE

NEWHAM		
20 February 2012	Drop-in session and Community meeting	Chandos East Community Centre (90 Chandos Road, Stratford, E15 1TT)
21 February 2012	Drop-in session	The Royal Docks Community School (Prince Regent Lane, Custom House E162JQ)
23 February 2012	Drop-in session and Community meeting	Carpenters School (Friendship Way, Stratford, E15 2JQ)
05 March 2012	FOCUS GROUP MEETING	Chandos East Community Centre (90 Chandos Road, Stratford, E15 1TT)
HACKNEY		
06 March 2012	Drop-in session	Lauriston School (Rutland Road E9 7JS)
07 March 2012	Drop-in session	Millfields School (Hilsea Street E5 0SH)
20 March 2012	Drop-in session and Community meeting	Wally Foster Community Centre (Homerton Road, E9 5QB)
26 March 2012	FOCUS GROUP MEETING	Homerton Library-Main Hall (Homerton High Street London E5 6AS)
TOWER HAMLETS		
19 March 2012	Drop-in session and Community meeting	Stour Space (7 Roach Road, Fish Island E3 2PA)
22 March 2012	Drop-in session and Community meeting	Queen Mary, University of London (Queens Building, Mile End Road, E1 4NS)
28 March 2012	FOCUS GROUP MEETING	Idea Store-Library (1, Gladstone Place, Roman Road, E3 5ES)
WALTHAM FOREST		
08 March 2012	Drop-in session	Leyton Leisure Lagoon-Plum Tree Studio (763 High Road, Leyton, London, E10 5AB)
13 March 2012	Drop-in session	The Epicentre (41 West Street, Leytonstone, E11 4LJ)
14 March 2012	Drop-in session	Leytonstone Library (6 Church Lane, Leytonstone E11 1HG)
29 March 2012	FOCUS GROUP MEETING	The Epicentre (41 West Street, Leytonstone, E11 4LJ)

APPENDIX 4: FOCUS GROUP MEETING QUESTIONS/PHRASES

- 1) Are you planning to live in the area after London 2012? Why/Why not?
- 2) What benefits do you expect from hosting the Olympic Games and regeneration in the area?
- 3) Have you attended any of the Olympic-related information meetings? Why/ Why not?
- 4) Have you been involved in any Olympic related training, skills development, employment opportunity programmes? Why/ Why not?
- 5) Do you agree on the following statements? Why/Why not?
 1. Hosting the Olympic Games will encourage the community spirit and participation in the Lower Lea Valley
 2. There was sufficient public participation in the preparation and regeneration period for London 2012.
 3. LOCOG/ODA/OPLC are able to incorporate Londoners' aspirations for London2012
 4. I feel included in London 2012 Games and well represented by the London 2012 organisations about the regeneration decisions.
 5. Feeling of inclusion in London 2012 Olympic Games and opportunities you have access differs with the geographic location you live (Hackney, Newham, Greenwich, Tower Hamlets, and Waltham Forest).
 6. Local and cultural values of Lea Valley are well integrated in the regeneration plans of the Olympic Park/Lower Lea Valley.

APPENDIX 5: FOCUS GROUP MATERIAL



HAVE YOUR SAY

ABOUT THE

LONDON 2012 OLYMPIC GAMES AND REGENERATION OF THE LOWER LEA VALLEY

Are you interested to have the chance to **discuss your feelings and expectations about the London 2012 Games** with other community members?

How do I take part?



You are invited to take part in a Focus Group meeting

Date: Monday, 5th of March 2012

Time: 6.30pm

Venue: Chandos East Centre

90 Chandos Rd, Stratford, London E15 1TT

Contact o.edizel@londonmet.ac.uk or call 0207 133 4690 to take part



Researcher: Ozlem Edizel has a background of working in several projects for various national and international institutions. She is currently studying for a PhD at the Cities Institute of London Metropolitan University

**EVENT LED-REGENERATION & SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT SURVEY
LONDON 2012 OLYMPIC and PARALYMPIC GAMES**



**PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM
FOR FOCUS GROUP MEETINGS**



Title of the project: Event Led-Regeneration and Sustainable Urban Development: Creative Forms of Organizing Capacity, Governance and Planning

Name of the researcher: Ozlem Edizel

Researcher's contact details: o.edizel@londonmet.ac.uk

I agree to take part in the above research. I have read the Participant Information Sheet, which is attached to this form. I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without prejudice.

I have been informed that my name and any personal identifiable information will not be used in any part of the research and the information I provide will be safely kept by the researcher (Ozlem Edizel) and will only be used for research purpose.

I agree to the researcher's processing personal data that I have supplied and the audio recording of this meeting.

Name of participant (print).....Signed.....Date.....

Name of the researcher (print)..... Signed.....Date.....

**EVENT LED-REGENERATION & SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT SURVEY
LONDON 2012 OLYMPIC and PARALYMPIC GAMES**



**INFORMATION SHEET
FOR FOCUS GROUP MEETINGS**



This is a PhD study held by Cities Institute of London Metropolitan University looking at the interface between event-led regeneration and sustainable development

I would like you to take a few minutes to read this information sheet before making up your mind about whether or not you would like to contribute this research.

What is the purpose of the study?

Research aims to explore what success factors are evident and how these were articulated and measured, and the extent to which this experience and models are transferable from different mega event-led regeneration scenarios.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is voluntary. I would like you to consent to participate in this study as we believe that you can make an important contribution to the research. If you do not wish to participate you do not have to do anything in response to this request. I am asking you to take part in the research because you are a stakeholder in the regeneration area and I believe you can provide important information to us that may be relevant to the evaluation that we are undertaking. You can leave the study, or request a break, at any time. This study is conducted in accordance with London Metropolitan University Good Research Practice Documents. Your rights as a participant, including the right to withdraw at any point without any consequence, are ensured.

What will I do if I take part?

If you are happy to participate in the research, I will ask you some questions about the regeneration process of the area. Questions will be targeting to understand your feelings and expectations from London 2012 Olympic Games and regeneration in the Lower Lea Area/Olympic Park.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

All information provided by you will be kept confidential at all times. All responses to our questions and information provided by you will be anonymised. All data collection, storage and processing will comply with the principles of the Data Protection Act 1998 and the EU Directive 95/46 on Data Protection. Under no circumstances will identifiable responses be provided to any other third party. Only researcher will have access to the information you provide to us.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results from this analysis will be available in one or more of the following sources; scientific papers in peer reviewed academic journals; presentations at national and international conferences; local seminars. Whilst there may be no personal benefits to your participation in this study, the information you provide can contribute to the future development of the regeneration area.

Please contact for further information: Ozlem Edizel (PhD student)
Cities Institute
LMBS- London Metropolitan University
Stapleton House, 277-281 Holloway Road
London N7 8HN
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e-mail: o.edizel@londonmet.ac.uk

EVENT LED-REGENERATION&SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT SURVEY

LONDON 2012 OLYMPIC and PARALYMPIC GAMES



FOCUS GROUP MEETINGS

Focus Group No:

Date:



1) Age

- 16-24 25-44
 45-64 65 and upwards

2) Gender

- Male Female

3) Education

- No qualifications
 GCSEs or equivalent
 A-Level or equivalent
 Vocational education
 Bachelor's degree Higher Degree

4) Employment

- Employee
 Self-employed
 Unpaid family workers/carer
 Government supported training & employment programmes
 Retired
 Student or at school
 Unemployed
 Unable to work due to poor Health

5) How many people are in your household including yourself?

Number

6) How long have you been living in your current neighbourhood?

- Less than a year (1)
 1 to 5 years (2)
 6 to 10 years (3)
 More than 10 years (4)

7) What is your home

postcode:

8) Household's income level (approximate £ per year)

- Less than 10,000
 10,000-20,000
 20,000-30,000
 30,000-40,000
 40,000-50,000
 50,000-60,000
 60,000-70,000
 70,000-80,000
 More than 80,000

9) Ethnic background

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> White British | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> White Irish | <input type="checkbox"/> Black Caribbean |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other White | <input type="checkbox"/> Black African |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Black |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pakistani | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (.....) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bangladeshi | |

Thank you for the time taken to complete this research survey.

Ozlem Edizel
Cities Institute
LMBS- London Metropolitan University
Stapleton House
277-281 Holloway Road
London N7 8HN

APPENDIX 6: INFORMATION ABOUT FOCUS GROUP RESPONDENTS

Respondents	Age	Gender	Education	Employment	Years in the current neighbourhood	Number of people in household	Household income	Ethnic background
LBH 1	45-64	F	Higher Degree	Employee	More than 10 years		30.000-40.000	Black Caribbean
LBH 2	45-64	F	No qualifications	Unemployed	More than 10 years		Less than 10.000	White British
LBH 3	45-64	M	Bachelor's degree	Retired	More than 10 years		10.000-20.000	White British
LBH 4	45-64	M	GCSEs or equivalent	Employee	More than 10 years		20.000-30.000	White British
LBH 9	45-64	M	Bachelor's degree	Employee	More than 10 years		60.000-70.000	White British
LBN 2	25-44	M	Higher degree	Employee	1-5 years	2	50.000-60.000	White British
LBN 3	25-44	F	A-Level or equivalent	Unemployed	6-10 years	6	10.000-20.000	Black Caribbean
LBN 4	45-64	M	A-Level or equivalent	Employee	More than 10 years	5	50.000-60.000	Black Caribbean
LBN 5	45-64	F	GCSEs or equivalent	Retired	More than 10 years	2	10.000-20.000	White Irish
LBN 6	25-44	M	Bachelor's degree	Self-employed	6-10 years	2	Less than 10.000	Other White
LBN 7	45-64	F	A-Level or equivalent	Employee	More than 10 years	1	20.000-30.000	White British
LBTH 2	45-64	M	Higher degree	Self-employed	More than 10 years	4	50.000-60.000	Black African
LBTH 3	45-64	F	Bachelor's degree	Self-employed	More than 10 years	1	20.000-30.000	White British
LBTH 4	65 and upwards	F	Vocational Education	Retired	More than 10 years	1		Chinese
LBWF 1	45-64	F	Bachelor's degree	Employee	More than 10 years	1	40.000-50.000	Black Caribbean
LBWF 5	45-64	F	GCSEs or equivalent	Employee	More than 10 years	2	50.000-60.000	White British
LBWF 6	45-64	M	GCSEs or equivalent	Employee	More than 10 years	2	50.000-60.000	Other White
LBWF 7	45-64	F	A-Level or equivalent	Employee	More than 10 years	3	10.000-20.000	Other White
LBWF 8	65 and upwards	M	No qualifications	Retired		1	10.000-20.000	White British

