# 'The East End is the new West End': London 2012 and Resident Experiences of the Urban Changes in a post-Olympic Landscape

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# Copyright Statement

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# Abstract

Sociological inquiry into the management, hosting and subsequent legacies of the Olympic Games has provided a useful lens through which to examine the staging of sporting mega-events and their impact upon both tangible and intangible outcomes (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Preuss 2010). Whilst broad reviews of legacy provide an overarching insight into the socio-economic impacts of the Olympic Games (Minnaert 2012), it is to issues of urban regeneration, transformation, community engagement, and the (re)creation of space and place that was used as the foci of this study. The aim of this study was to understand how the urban regeneration from the Olympic Games in London influenced the daily lived experience of residents within this post-Olympic space. By exploring resident interactions and experiences with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (QEOP) and its surrounding urban and infrastructural developments; a greater understanding of the convergence across local communities and their 'lived' experience was developed.

By using an integrated methodological approach consisting of: walking ethnography (Pink et al. 2010; Yi'En 2014); an adapted version of Wang and Burris' (1997) Photovoice methodology using the photo-sharing social media platform Instagram; and follow up semi-structured interviews to discuss the collated digital data, I could comprehensively understand material regeneration and lived experience and evaluate community development in the QEOP. This study revealed how, through modes of gentrification and marginalisation, an authoritative government-corporate elite used urban mega-event policy to (re)shape the social and urban fabric to consolidate the creation of a neoliberal, productive and attractive space. By engaging with middle class bodies whom live within this space, this study was able to highlight the complexities of citizenry and everyday experiences in a post-Olympic landscape: unearthing the varied ascriptions of lived experiences formed by certain citizens and capturing how Olympic urbanism influences these daily negotiations.

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# 1. Introduction to Thesis

## 1.1 Introduction

When the 2012 Olympics were awarded to London in 2005, a host of positive social, economic and urban legacies were touted by those in control of delivering the Games (Kennelly and Watt 2013; Giulianotti et al. 2015). The 2012 Olympics were widely praised with delivering secure venues and providing a two-week sporting spectacular littered with historical athletic performances. However, there exist criticisms about the post-Games urban legacy that stemmed from hosting London 2012 (Stevenson 2012b; Allen and Cochrane 2014; Watt 2017). The promised regeneration of an entire area in the Lower Lea Valley in East London into the largest new urban development seen across Europe for over 150 years (Davis and Thornley 2010) was viewed as an opportunity to revitalise an area which powerful political and economic interests saw as being a 'problem' area within London (Silk 2014; Stevenson 2016). The subsequent mass urban redevelopments transformed this previously working-class, industrial site into a modernised space that matched that of areas such as West London and Canary Wharf. The working-class make up of areas such as Stratford and Hackney, where these redevelopments took place, meant that incumbent communities were always going to be affected by the attempted refashioning of East London to align with a clean, modern and developed city (Kennelly and Watt 2011; Kennelly 2017).

Indeed, the urban regeneration processes that emanated from London 2012 are arguably part of the wider ambitions of powerful political and economic interests to transform East London into a space aligned with the productive, beautified space endemic to the neoliberal city. Populated with 'desirable' citizens with the propensity to consume within and produce toward this newly formed zone of commodification and consumerism, those who do not align with this neoliberal body politic were subject to modes of social control and marginalisation (Houlihan and Giulianotti 2012; Silk 2014; Allen and Cochrane 2014; Fussey et al. 2016).

It is thus the purpose and aim of this study to understand how residents who are perceived as 'the creative, middle class' interact with these (re)developments and contribute to a greater understanding of how the changing urban environment, brought about by Olympic-led regeneration, influences the daily negotiations and 'lived'

experiences of residents within. This study develops a conceptual understanding of how wider urban policies direct Olympic-led regeneration and how this influences community cohesion and convergence within a post-Olympic space. This study looks to analyse the negotiation of this space by residents within and understand how the urban developments that emanated from the London 2012 Olympics have been 'lived', 'felt' and 'experienced' by middle class bodies. This study will use rich, qualitative visual and interview data to illuminate meaning from participants experience, contributing to a greater understanding of the relationships residents had with an externally constituted space and allow members of local communities to reflect on the features or concerns of a post-Olympic urban and spatial legacy. By engendering critical reflection on behalf of the residents, this study aimed to explicate what constitutes their daily ground-level lived experiences and provide an account which challenged the popular-dominant narrative.

Whilst there have been studies exploring the effects London 2012 has had on working class and socio-economically deprived communities (Kennelly and Watt 2013; Stevenson 2016), there is a need to delve deeper into the 'lived' experience of middle class bodies within spaces of Olympic-led urban regeneration to understand how these residents negotiate with the changes to their socio-urban environment (Silk 2014). This research utilises an integrated methodological approach and puts forward a conceptualisation for a new, social-media orientated photo-based research method: 'Instavoice'. The visual and textual data that emerged from the 'Instavoice' methodology, comprised with the information generated from the qualitative interviews provided a set of rich, empirical data which permitted a thorough and insightful exploration into the 'lived' experience of resident negotiations with the urban developments within post-Olympic East London.

## 1.2 The structure of the thesis

This introduction is followed by a literature review which is sub-divided into four main sections: neoliberal trajectories, the urban consequences of neoliberalism, Olympic urbanism and the specificities of Olympic-led regeneration as part of London 2012 and the consequences these had on the bodies within this space. The methodology chapter outlines the purpose, scope and aims and objectives of this project and explains the choice of methodology and research methods used to generate

data for this study. The thesis has a discussion which synthesises the visual, textual and interview data with the existing literature, developing existing scholarly work to contribute to the academic knowledge of resident 'lived' experience in a post-Olympic space.

# 2. Literature Review

## 2.1 Introduction

Sport mega events (SMEs), and specifically the Olympic Games, have received a considerable amount of academic attention which has contributed to a discursive scholarly understanding of how such events influence (and are influenced by) the societal contexts they function within (Malfas et al. 2004; Silk 2014; Muller 2015a; Fahlberg and Vicino 2016; Gaffney 2016; Talbot and Carter 2017). Importantly, scholars have been continuously studying the impacts the Olympics have on not only the built environment, but the implications these have for citizens within these spaces (Lenskyj 2002; Broudehoux 2007; Smith 2009; Muller 2012). Such research has acted as a foundation for scholars to engage in academic inquiry which engenders critical literature: helping us understand how the 'legacies' (see: Preuss 2010) of the Olympic Games begin to take shape and mediate the everyday experiences of local communities (Kennelly and Watt 2013; Giulianotti et al. 2015; Kim et al. 2015; Pappalepore and Duignan 2016).

It is thus the purpose of this literature review to: critically review the existing body of literature relating to urban and spatial legacies of SMEs, more specifically the Olympic Games, and identify gaps in current scholarly research that form the basis of this thesis. Firstly, it is necessary to understand the neoliberal trajectories within which SMEs operate, then analysing the consequences of neoliberal urbanisation within society. This is followed by an analysis of Olympic urbanism (Liao and Pitts 2006) and a focus on how these urbanisation processes begin to shape the social fabric and influence the experiences of the bodies therein. Finally, the chapter will conclude by discussing the specific urban and spatial legacies of the London 2012 Olympic Games and set the context of how this post-Olympic space is being experienced and lived-in by local communities.

This chapter of the thesis provides the context to understand the research aims to: examine how the Olympic Games have impacted upon community engagement and everyday experience; examine community development in the London 2012 post-Olympic space of transition and regeneration; and understand the legacies of sustainability that are auxiliary to the built environment and socio-spatial impact of the London 2012 Olympic Games. Thus, by synthesising the selected body of academic literatures, the context in which this thesis is grounded will be developed, acting as a foundation for the rationale and aims of this study to be effectively explored and developed.

## 2.2 Neoliberal Trajectories

From the late 1970s, the U.K and U.S under Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Raegan, respectively, were at the forefront of the neoliberal political thought which swept the globe and saw the domino effect of nations orientating their agendas to neoliberalism (Raco 2005). This way of thinking emanated from traditional classic liberal thought that markets were useful for producing and distributing goods and should be free from state involvement (Harvey 2007a). Neoliberalism goes beyond this, encouraging market forces to be applied to all aspects of life (society, technology, identity etc.) and not just the production and distribution of goods (Harvey 2007b; Prechel and Harms 2007). Neoliberalism, then, can be perceived as an economic doctrine that limits the role of the state and advocates that the implementation of open, competitive and unregulated markets will engender an optimal economic development environment (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Prechel and Harms 2007). Fiscal austerity, privatisation, state stabilisation and market liberalisation are all policies historically associated with neoliberalism in action (Duggan 2012). These policies, driven by economic agendas, aim to limit public, non-commercial powers: reducing profit hindering mechanisms, such as public expenditure, which can potentially hamper economic gain. Thus, the political and economic trajectories of neoliberalism are inseparable and result in a political ideology intent on the financialization and capital accumulation of social production and provision which, applied to varied modalities of governance within nations, is geared towards improving economic competitiveness and geopolitical standing (Hartman 2005; Fine and Saad-Filho 2017).

Harvey (2007a) discussed how neoliberal policies and practices have had pervasive effects within society and have become so ingrained within everyday lives that individuals have become accustomed to, and therefore believe that, a neoliberal society is the norm. Dean (2014) goes on, building on Harvey's (2007a) work and drawing on the critical analyses of neoliberalism, hegemony and power by Michel Foucault and Antonio Negri: stating that neoliberalism has transcended its origins as an economic doctrine and a political ideology, it has become human nature, a social reality (re)shaped by hegemonic discourses which suggests it already exists to create a competitive, productive, individualistic society (Lemke 2001; Lemke 2002). This social environment is fostered by the financialisaton and commodification of society and space (Lazzarato 2009) which, by attracting enterprise and businesses to operate within the societal sphere, the state hopes to turn individuals into 'human capital': that is, entrepreneurial citizens who are productive, independent and are free from reliance upon government social programmes (Gray and Lawrence 2001; Ong 2006; Connell et al. 2009).

While one of the more ostensible facets of neoliberalism is focused on cutting back state intervention in social issues, Levi-Faur (2005) and Braithwaite (2008) both highlight a paradox within neoliberal thinking: regulatory capitalism. They both assert that neoliberalism can be self-contradictory insofar that while state intervention is archetypally deregulated, the state is actively involved in regulating top-down control over the public sphere through private contractors and agencies (Levi-Faur 2005), achieved through means of capital accumulation such as Private Public Partnerships (PPPs) (Miraftab 2004). Green (2012) explicates this further, discussing the modes of political governance on neoliberalism which provokes the "autonomisation and responsibilitisation" (2010, p.39) of citizens within neoliberal settings. The rolling back of state support and reduction in state involvement in social welfarism and other social services is geared towards establishing the 'active citizen' who abides by and conforms to the ideal neoliberal body narrative of entrepreneurialism, individualism and the propensity to consumer of produce. The paradoxes of neoliberal thinking are extant insofar that explicit state support and welfare is reduced, yet bodies within the neoliberal society are implicitly shaped to abide by the preferred ascriptions of society, enabling ubiquitous forms of social control and adherence to crystallise (Green 2012; Manley and Silk 2013; Crossley 2015).

Harvey (2007a) reflects critically on this, asserting that private organisations and corporate-government forces (the state, upper classes, property tycoons etc.) have used neoliberal modes of societal control to shape their independent social, political and economic interests. By using their prominent standing in society, hegemonic powers have manufactured a deployment of neoliberal ideals to concomitantly sustain capitalist and financialised processes within society (Dumémil and Lévy 2001; Yeates 2002; Navarro 2007; Lazzarato 2009). Consequentially, this establishes a contemporary environment whereby regulatory companies act as a ruling power over the 'other' in the social domain due to the reduction in state assistance and the prioritised economic interests of private entities (Kotz 2002; Mirafatab 2004; Raco 2005; Lazzarato 2009; Bucerius et al. 2017).

This has led to an intensification of what Giroux termed the "politics of disposability" (2015, p.162), whereby individuals who are considered neither consumers nor producers within the consumerist environment within neoliberal societies are increasingly marginalised and consigned to zones on the borderlands of cities, or subject to increasing surveillance and control. The reduction of state support, and the increasing commodification of the social and the subsequent gentrification of space, incessantly polarizes certain demographics removing any viable opportunity for the development of social agency and progression (Giroux 2017). 'Certain' young people, poor minorities and immigrants and the homeless who do not embody the healthy, productive forms of citizenry aligned with the hoped-for neoliberal image are disenfranchised, pushed out to the degraded borderlands of neoliberal societies and banished from the epicentre of the hoped-for neoliberal utopia (Cook 2015; Giroux 2015). This seemingly 'natural' permeation of neoliberalism into society has thus allowed hegemonic economic and political interests (the state, corporate organisations, economic elites) to (in)directly and implicitly lead and control the daily lives of citizens within the local and regional scale (Lemke 2002; Williams et al. 2014). The reduction of state intervention on a social level has permitted responsibility to be shifted onto the individual and communities as they, as human capital, are expected to be accountable for social ills such as poverty, unemployment, sex work and other such 'dysfunctional' social behaviours within society and responsible (see Green 2012) for rectifying these antithetic behaviours (Davies and Bansel 2007; Harvey 2009; Crossley 2015).

## 2.3 Urban consequences of neoliberalism

Previous scholars have attempted to dissect the relationship between urban strategy, neoliberalism and the impacts neoliberal urbanisation has had on individuals within the urban domain (Hackworth and Smith 2000; Jessop 2002; Brenner and Theodore 2010; Ghertner 2011; Sager 2011). Neoliberal urbanism has invariably been geared towards the beautification of the city to help facilitate the attractive, neoliberal urban utopia desired by powerful corporate-government interests (Ghertner 2011). Concentrated on drawing in a 'favourable' middle-class, urban zones are established which adhere to these 'preferred' ascriptions of neoliberal citizenry based on consumption and production, where state and corporate actors alike attempt to attain capital investment into, and ultimately profit from, various urban projects (Lawler 2005; Raco 2012).

It is perhaps a paradox of the neoliberal ideal, as discerned by Hackworth and Smith (2000) and later Brenner and Theodore (2011), that despite state reductivity in wide-ranging social provision, there has been increased state involvement in the active facilitation of gentrification and (re)constitution of urban space. One example of this in the UK is the is the establishment of the "post-homeownership society" (Ronald and Kadi 2017, p.2) due to the state-endorsed Right to Buy scheme, selling off millions of social housing units and allowing private landlords to own multiple properties, controlling and increasing rental and property prices which consequently inflated the housing market and contributed to the housing crisis (Ronald and Kadi 2017). It is argued that such state involvement in urban policy has accelerated with urban space becoming more politically constituted, leading to a "spatial selectivity" (Jones 1997, p.891) that privileges hegemonic interests and capital accumulation property projects (Jones 1997; Gill 2007) whilst disadvantaging poorer, socio-economically disadvantaged areas and people (Uitermark et al. 2007; Scullion et al. 2015; Giroux 2017).

Giroux is influential on theorising the consequences of neoliberalism within the socio-urban context, stating that it "has insinuated itself into every social relationship" (2005, p.22) and has engendered the depoliticization of people by reinforcing the notion that they are individually responsible for the hardships they suffer (Giroux 2017). Indeed, this is accelerated by the privatisation and deregulation of everyday

social provision and services: causing the systematic disinvestment in basic social provision to ripple out from neoliberal epicentres to the hinterlands of the city, prioritising creative, wealthy, global classes (see Porter 2009) whilst polarizing "disposable populations" (Giroux and Giroux 2006, p.22) seen as antithetic to neoliberal thinking. This is explicated by Harvey (2003) who's scholarly work on the 'right to the city' revealed how powerful market interests exercise their 'inalienable' right to make a profit from the urban sphere: prompting the expansion of private property and privatisation of the social, resulting in deprivation of those who cannot contribute as either a 'producer' or 'consumer' in these commodified urban zones. Such 'unwanted' citizens are seen to be at odds with the preferred aesthetic of the neoliberal city, and in an era of fierce global competition to secure foreign investment and international enterprise, the projection of a favourable image of the neoliberal city is vital to the hegemonic interests that dictate the global-economic aspirations of cities (Springer 2008; Breslin 2013).

Building on this, this image-focused ambition results in a reclaiming of public and urban space which, through neoliberal urban policy, legitimises the modernisation and gentrification of the cityscape (Leitner et al. 2007; Lipman 2013). Gentrification quickly became a consequence of neoliberal urbanism as neoliberal states and powerful corporate entities began to shape the urban fabric through foreign investment and grandiose urban projects (Robinson 2006; Mowforth and Munt 2015). The resultant housing and rental prices increase in major cities such as London was manufactured to allow 'favourable' wealthier, middle classes to connect to these metropolitan areas (Smith 1996): disconnecting working classes who couldn't afford to stay in these increasingly expensive zones (Mckee and Muir 2013). Drawing from the work of Giroux (2015), the consequences of neoliberal urbanism were felt the worst by socio-economically marginalised communities. Seen as antithetic to the preferred vision of the contemporary neoliberal city, these 'unfavourable' classes have been consigned to zones of abandonment and disinvestment within the borderlands of neoliberal cities.

Smith (1996) and later Slater (2006) highlight this as being a quintessential example of the uneven socio-urban progress endemic to neoliberal, modern day capitalist societies. Sassen (2000) stressed that that whilst neoliberal urban policy within global cities can be universal in its intent, global urban strategy takes place through specific

social and economic complexities moored within specific places. Indeed, Brenner and Theodore identify how urban restructuring projects which have been directed by contemporary neoliberalisation processes have fostered a "creative destruction" (2002, p.351) within specific cities exposed to neoliberal modes of governance. Resulting in geographically unbalanced and socially regressive trajectories of spatial and urban change which have formed under specific conditions of neoliberal urbanisation. Smith (2002) asserted that the establishment of the 'revanchist city' (Smith 1996) – that is, the tactical, planned and controlled reclaiming of urban space by corporate-government interests in the name of financial marketization – has led to a discursive process of class-based bifurcation within global cities. Work by Paton et al. (2012) on the urban regeneration processes as part of Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games (CWGs) illuminates how sporting spectacles engender such processes. Paton and her colleagues asserted state-led urban interventions, such as the CWGs and the Olympics, are underpinned by market-driven processes which attempt to "transform 'problem people' and 'problem places' into sites of 'active' consumption and 'responsible citizenship" (2012, p.1470). Building on this, such (sport mega) event-led urbanism can be seen as a cultural and social technology whereby market-led interests (re)constitute urban space to regulate, control and manage specific 'unsavoury' populations within society (Cochrane 2007). Influenced by neoliberal motivations, powerful interests can direct (sport mega) event-led urbanism, engendering gentrification, reduction in social welfarism and privatisation of housing: contributing to the establishment of places of consumption and 'responsible' citizens with the propensity to consume (Silk 2014; Gray and Porter 2015).

Housing is a prominent facet of SMEs and the urban restructuring efforts associated with such events (Silk 2014; Paton et al. 2017). Indeed, the most recent SMEs within the U.K (London 2012 and Glasgow 2014) have seen concerted efforts on the (de)valorisation, (re)generation and (re)valorisation of zones of existing socio-economic deprivation (Silk 2011; Paton et al. 2012; Giulianotti et al. 2015). Disinvested areas such as those in in Glasgow and London have been depicted as 'problem' places and containers of all social ills by powerful interests to justify the evisceration of these spaces and those within (Kennelly and Watt 2011; Paton et al. 2012; Vijay 2015). To build on the work of Hill and Beasant, urban space is the "final

frontier" (1999, p.44) between ruling classes and marginalised groups with the commodification of space inherent to SMEs actively accelerating this process of financialization and regeneration of space, thus contributing to the gentrification and consequent marginalisation of existing places and 'unfavourable' or 'problematic' bodies who powerful interests perceive to be responsible for all societal ills (Paton et al. 2017). Urban space has increasingly become a domain whereby hegemonic interests assimilate urban policy to consolidate neoliberal typologies of society, contributing to the establishment of zones of exclusivity whilst subjugating marginalised groups to abandoned borderlands (Giroux 2017), examples of which can be clearly seen as part of the London Olympics (Kennelly and Watt 2013; Stevenson 2016).

## 2.4 Olympic Urbanism

When conducting research into SMEs, previous academic literature has been typically concentrated on a handful of events: the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup and the Commonwealth Games, with many scholars identifying that these events have long been associated with the (re)development of urban space (Lenskyj 2002; Cornelissen and Swart 2006; Harvey et al. 2009; Gaffney 2010; Grix 2012; Schausteck de Almeida et al. 2013; Grix and Houlihan 2014; Santos 2014; Talbot and Carter 2017). Work by Muller (2015a) conceptualised a working definition of SMEs as events that consist of: attracting enormous amounts of tourists; a global media reach; high financial costs; and directly impacting the environment and those who live within it. Events of this magnitude have serious social, economic, political and environmental implications for the host (Malfas et al. 2004; Fahlberg and Vicino 2016; Lauermann 2016; Boykoff and Mascarenhas 2016; Schausteck de Almeida et al. 2016) which are, in part, induced by the motivation to redevelop urban space and the consequent gentrification of this space, which Muller (2015b) describes as almost always being associated with hosting SMEs. Most notably, from the 1980s onwards, the impetus on the hyper-modernisation of the Olympic city and sporting facilities intensified as the hosting of the Games became a perceived opportunity to reshape the urban environment to remain competitive in an increasingly globalised political and economic environment (Davies 2012). It is thus the purpose of this section of the literature review to discuss what constitutes Olympic urban legacy and to examine the contemporary issues that have emerged because of Olympic-led regeneration.

### 2.4.1 Olympic urban legacy

The term 'legacy' is frequently touted to justify the use of sometimes scarce public resources and is widely used as rhetoric to convince local citizens that hosting the Games is beneficial for all (Gratton and Pruess 2008; Preuss 2010). Whilst there have been numerous attempts to define legacy, the definition conceptualised by Gratton and Preuss (2008) about SME legacy is something that is

> *"planned and unplanned, positive and negative, and both intangible and tangible structures created through a sporting event that remains after the event"* (Gratton and Preuss 2008, p.1924)

Despite Gratton and Preuss (2008) definition, they also admit that a fully comprehensive definition of legacy is difficult due to the variety of contingent factors and perspectives associated with the term. Perhaps then, to attempt to understand legacy better, it is wise to draw from the work of Cashman (2005) that produced classifications of SME legacy divided into five different categories: sporting legacy; social legacy; environmental legacy; urban legacy; and economic legacy. There has been extensive research on Olympic legacy (Hindson et al. 1994; Hall 2001; Gold and Gold 2008; Silk 2014; Weed 2014; Zimbalist 2015; Boykoff and Mascarenhas 2016) which has engendered a considerable body of literature on what Olympic legacy is and what its impacts are. It is important that before entering a discussion exploring Olympic urbanism and what it means and for whom, we must first highlight the complexity and nuances of the term 'urban legacy' which is synonymous with the Games. Legacy, as a concept, has several meanings (Lenskyj 2000) and can for many reasons, according to Cashman (2006), become a dangerous term to use when discussing the real-life outcomes of the Olympics. In the eyes of the 'coalition of beneficiaries' (Grix et al. 2017) legacy is assumed to be completely positive and directly beneficial for the citizens and the communities that are proximal to Olympic developments (Cashman 2005; Preuss 2010).

It is important to remember that Olympic urban legacies are promoted by the IOC, pro-Olympic organisations and hegemonic social actors as being positive and beneficial to the city and those who live within it (Cashman 2006). A host of scholars concerned with the 'dark side' (Thornley 2012) of the Olympic Games have fostered a substantial amount of critical research concerned with assessing the dark side of the

Olympics (Silk 2014; Muller 2015; Boykoff and Mascarenhas 2016; Talbot and Carter 2017). This research has raised issues including: unjust displacement of communities; gentrification of urban space; damage to the urban environment; economic ramifications for residents as a result of debts; unneeded infrastructure; and the diversion of funds from struggling social provision areas (Lensyj 2000; Preuss 2004; Hiller 2007; Smith and Fox 2007; Boykoff and Mascarenhas 2016). Previous work by Gratton and Preuss (2008) suggested that the IOC and pro-Olympic agencies want to ensure that legacy is unequivocally perceived as a positive event as it permits a favourable image of the Games to future bidders, thus increasing the power of the IOC and aiding in securing the future of the Olympics.

**2.4.2 Contemporary issues of Olympic urbanism**

The post-Games urban 'legacy' touted by pro-Olympic actors and the IOC has been used as a justification terminology for the reshaping of the host city, with the rhetoric used frequently asserting that Olympic developments will benefit all residents within the Olympic city (Essex and Chalkley 1998). However, as Zimbalist argues, the Olympic Games, under the regulatory control of the neoliberal state, offer an opportunity for "major private economic interests" (2015, p.5) such as construction magnates, real estate developers and investment organisations to fund and direct the urban restructuring of cities, and more specifically, dictate Olympic related developments (Chen et al. 2012; Lauermann 2014). In a world of inter-urban competition, corporate-government interests converge to curate and implement a mega-event urban strategy which emphasises consumption-based economic development, reimaging strategies and urban boosterism in cities (Andranovich et al. 2001). This desire to stay relevant has historically resulted in the prettification and 'glocalization' of the spatial aspects of the host city locality, to adhere to demands of modern westernisation, and to conform to global ideals (Robertson 1995; Essex and Chalkley 1998; Rowe 2003; Beriatos and Gospodini 2004; Gold and Gold 2008).

Expanding on 'glocalization', Kohler and Wissen (2003) explain it as the shaping of the local in the interest of the global: a deeply intertwined relationship which is not only influenced by the local and global contexts in which it sits, but equally the (re)production and (re)modification of these contextual urban living conditions by local state and authoritative actors and powerful interests (Swyngedouw 1997;

Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Kohler and Wissen 2003). Building on this, as urban architecture has increasingly been used as an ostentatious symbolic tool for social and economic development (Broudehoux 2007; Ren 2008), the development of space for the ostensibly 'glocalized' Olympics has naturally fallen in line with this desire for international pre-eminence (Rowe 2003; Roche 2006). Under the moniker of 'legacy', powerful interests promote the SME urban strategy as having positive tangible and intangible outcomes: boosted employment from construction projects; the creation of high-grade sporting facilities; attractive tourist hubs; and transport, infrastructure and housing improvements, are all commonly promoted by pro-Olympic agencies to justify the vast sums of expenditure from the public purse and the overhaul of the existing urban environment and are experienced in various ways by the social bodies therein (Gold and Gold 2008; Short 2008; Surborg et al. 2008).

This optimistic rhetoric, combined with the immediacy set out by the IOC to complete the Olympic city within unrealistic timeframes, breeds a unique situation whereby powerful beneficiaries are able to impose a 'revanchist' (Smith 1996) reclaiming of urban space which would usually be subject to usual planning barriers and public scrutiny, but is instead provided a 'fast-track' under the auspices of the Olympic Games (Hall 2006; Roche 2006; Broudehoux 2007; Silvestre and de Oliveira 2012; Hubbard and Wilkinson 2015). This de-democratisation allows powerful political and economic actors to bypass these barriers to accelerate the (re)development of urban space to conform to selective themes of the neoliberal city (Armstrong et al. 2011; Andranovich et al. 2011; Raco 2012). Indeed, as numerous scholars have discerned, Olympic urbanism is inherently driven by neoliberal market interests, resulting in extensive, ostentatious and expensive urban projects geared toward producing a selective 'clean' and 'sterile' aesthetic of the global city (Silk 2014) to an international audience, attracting a wealthy, global creative middle-class to these urban spaces (Cochrane et al. 1996; Porter 2009; Gold and Gold 2008; Broudehoux 2013).

As geopolitics is as prominent as ever, the Olympics is an opportunity for cities, such as London, (and the hegemonic interests which influence political and urban policy within these societies) to position themselves higher within the global politico-economic order (Ziakas 2015; Baade and Matheson 2016). When analysing urban policy of SMEs in global cities, Ren introduces the concept of "aspirational urbanism" (2017, p.895), referring to the comprehensive practices implemented by state and non-

state actors to reimagine and remodel their cities elite global aspirations, irrespective of the local realities effecting poorer citizens (such as: social inequalities; economic instability; and inadequate infrastructure). The (im-)perfect storm of international media and flocking tourists caused by hosting the Olympics motivates powerful interests, and their aspirations to achieve international recognition and financial accumulation, to exert their influence over the restructuring of the urban and spatial aspects of the Olympic city (Rocha and Grix 2017). This leads to Olympic regeneration plans characteristically favouring the visible spatial form at the cost of social development and progression of marginalised communities (Gold and Gold 2016). Sibley (1995) explains that, within globalised urban management, 'spatial purification' occurs through the 'cleansing' of social actors who are not aligned with the preferred image of the neo-liberal city, leading to a 'revanchist' (Smith 1996) reclaiming of space which is inherent to the Olympics: perpetually occurring within socio-economically disadvantaged urban zones inside the city (Kennelly and Watt 2011; Vijay 2015; Paton et al. 2017).

The resultant (re)development, gentrification and mass securitization of these spaces leads to the crystallisation of neoliberal enclaves tailored to fit the needs of the creative, entrepreneurial and middle-classes which city interests aspire to attract (Fussey et al. 2012; Sugden 2012; Silk 2014). Existing residents of these socio-economically challenged communities are deemed as 'unsavoury' individuals who do not fit the image of the neo-liberal city and are thus forcibly displaced by Olympic authorities (Fussey et al. 2012; Silvestre and de Oliveira 2012). The comprehensive work by Gold and Gold (2011; 2016) has provided a detailed understanding of how Olympic urban policy has been implemented in host cities and the consequences these urban mega-projects have for local communities. Forced relocations, pacification of socio-economically disadvantaged communities, the advancement of systemic repression of minority groups and common methods of superficial beautification in place of fundamental regeneration all contribute to the creation (and frequent exacerbation) of socio-spatial inequalities (Lenskyj 2000; Malfas et al. 2004; Minnaert 2012; Muller 2015b; Malhaldo and Araujo 2017).

The economic impacts of hosting the Olympic Games have been extensively researched (Kasamati 2003; Matheson and Baade 2004; Owen 2005; Barclay 2009; Zimbalist 2015). Indeed, for potential host cities the bidding process itself requires a

vast sum of money. Baade and Matheson (2016) suggest that the main expenses for hosting the Olympics are based on developing general infrastructure (housing, transport, hotels etc) within the host city and creating specialised sports infrastructure to accommodate the multi-sport event. The IOC sets out requirements for host cities to: have a minimum of 40,000 hotel rooms for tourists; an Olympic Village capable of housing 15,000 officials and athletes; and a comprehensive transport network to allow the effective transportation of tourists (Baade and Matheson 2016). These stringent requirements have contributed to the cost overruns inherently associated with the Games. Indeed, every edition from 1960 has exceeded the original budget "with an average cost overrun of 179 per cent" (Flyvbjerg and Stewart 2012, p.11). It is important to note that it is not just the initial financial outlay spent on urban infrastructure that contributes to economic problems amounting from Olympic spaces: it is the legacy costs to maintain such developments as well as the financial knock-on effects these urban developments have on the social domain through gentrification (Flyvbjerg 2011; Zimablist 2015).

'Trickle-down economics', as highlighted by Minnaert (2012), is what pro-Olympic interests refer to when justifying Olympic urbanisation and regeneration. This 'trickle-down effect' essentially assumes that the investment into urban restructuring projects will eventually distribute and benefit local communities as the redevelopment of urban locality engenders economic activity and attracts tourism and foreign investment (Minnaert 2012). Indeed, those who shape Olympic urban (re)developments do so on this assumption, using this as a justification for the huge sums of public money spent on hosting the Games and the financial legacy costs that are resultant of hosting the event (Baade and Matheson 2016). There has been a growing body of literature that has been focused on examining the economic effects Olympic urban projects have had on local communities and the wider society (Lenskyj 2002; Malfas et al. 2004; Broudehoux 2007; Smith 2009; Kennelly and Watt 2013). This scholarly work has helped contribute to a view at odds with the 'trickle-down' economics purported by pro-Olympic interests: the expanding gentrification of space through increased house and rental prices; increase cost of living and transport amenities; and an increase in taxation to cover public funds spent on urban restructuring projects for the Games are all examples of how the Olympics, and Olympic urbanism, foster negative economic ramifications for and exacerbate socio-economic struggles of deprived communities

(Waitt 2003). Concomitantly, Macrury and Poynter (2008) discuss how organising authorities, governmental actors and corporate agencies proffered 'trickle-down' economic effects as a justification for the costs of Olympic urbanisation and regeneration processes for London 2012.

For these 'problematic', working-class bodies who face socio-economic hardships, a key negative economic component of Olympic urbanism is the gentrification of public space, place and real estate (Kontokosta 2012). As the Olympics provides an opportunity to redevelop existing areas (that were seen by Olympic organisers as socio-economically deprived) to help adhere to global image and the importance is placed on ostentatious architecture and urban design, the socio-economic realities within these areas concurrently begin to reflect global trends (Sanchez and Essex 2017). An example can be seen in Sydney (2000) as the widespread eviction of low-income residents from social accommodation, and the subsequent upgrading of these properties to cater for middle-class professionals and appeal to potential investors (Ritchie 2000; Hall 2001; Lenskyj 2002). Moreover, as large sums of public money have been used to facilitate the Olympics, the citizens of host cities are economically impacted. This pattern is prevalent in post-Olympic space, with London being a key example. As the 2012 Olympics acted to accelerate the commodification, financialization and capital land accumulation of East London, real estate and property was increasingly put in the hands of the private sector, resulting in a dramatic increase in housing and rental prices (Kavestos 2011; Graham 2012; Watt 2013; Kennelly 2015). Indeed, 1400 homes in the Olympic village, which was promised by the Olympic Delivery Authority to be partially converted into 'affordable housing', was sold off to the Qatar royal family in 2010 for a deal around £557 million (Graham 2012). Pro-Olympic authorities allowed housing to be controlled by private interest's intent on profiteering from a lucrative housing market that presides within London: thus, resulting in rent and property increases within East London and therefore burdening economically challenged communities extant within this space (Bernstock 2014).

## 2.5 London 2012

It is the aim of this study to understand the 'lived' experience of East London residents in a post-Olympic space, analysing how the urban and spatial developments attached

to London 2012 have contributed to the everyday negotiation and experience of residents with these changes. It is thus the purpose of this section of the literature review to discuss how the transformation of the urban, under the guise of neoliberalism, has influenced the urban and spatial aspects of post-Olympic space in London: examining how these (re)developments socially and economically constitute towards the daily mediated experiences of residents within (Hiller 1999; Allen and Cochrane 2014). By synthesising a theoretical contextual understanding of London 2012, this section will provide a foundation for why this research is required, helping to understand the everyday contemporary issues that East London residents face as a result of Olympic-led regeneration.

### 2.5.1 The neoliberal state of play for London 2012

In 2005, when London was selected to host the 2012 Olympic Games, a wave of prosperity and opportunity was touted by a "coalition of beneficiaries" (Grix et al. 2017, p.204): that being a cohort of state and local polity, private business enterprises and transnational corporations (TNCs) (Cashman 2006). Hackney, Newham, Waltham Forest, Tower Hamlets and Greenwich were branded the five Olympic Boroughs for the 2012 Games. The spatial development plan for London, also known as the London Plan, was published in 2004, highlighting the regeneration opportunities within these boroughs and the coordinated plans for the urban regeneration and development in East London a year before the 2012 Games were officially awarded to London (Davis and Thornley 2010). The gentrification and commodification of London had been happening for decades: however, it is when the Games were awarded to London that politicians and development planners used the Olympic Games to accelerate the regeneration in the area (Bernstock 2009; Davies 2012; Allen and Cochrane 2014). To conform to the requirements implemented by the IOC (see Raco 2013 on strict regulations IOC placed on London to meet requirements on time), the Games allowed decision-making processes to become less democratic and less focused on the local community's needs and more concerned with 'glocalizing' (Berianos and Gospodini 2004) East London to align with the image of the global city (Stevenson 2012b; Grabher and Thiel 2014; Hubbard and Wilkinson 2015).

When looking at London, the existing politico-economic environment at the time of the Olympics was one of conservative austerity, welfare reductionism and widespread

privatisation and financialization (Hodkinson and Robins 2013; Watt and Bernstock 2017). Under the auspices of the Coalition Government (2011-2015), and now the Conservative administration, austerity cuts to social housing spending, welfare and housing reforms, the implementation of the housing benefit cap and the bedroom tax alongside wholesale changes to housing allocations, have fostered an untenable housing situation especially for socio-economically disadvantaged individuals (Hodkinson and Robbins 2013; Hodkinson et al. 2013). Using Peck's (2012) 'austerity urbanism' which has manifested itself within the U.K, the most severe impacts have been felt in socio-economically deprived urban areas such as East London, (Fitzgerald and Lupton 2015), its impacts being most visible in the housing crisis (Hodkinson and Robbins 2013) which is most extreme in London. Despite the excellent opportunity the Olympics has for housing development, those tasked with delivering extensive 'affordable housing' as a part of the urban legacy of the Games failed, with Bernstock (2014) suggesting that affordable housing numbers had actually gone down since the Games.

To draw from Graham's (2004) work on the 'post-mortem city', oppressive, hegemonic corporate-government forces in London have dictated the contemporary constitution of the social and the urban through measures of commodification and privatisation, which have consigned the feared, problematised 'other' in society to forms of marginalisation and control (Giroux 2005). Whilst it can be said that the political and economic trajectories of neoliberalism are hegemonic in nature and therefore permeate urban policy within London: it is important to note that these trajectories are inversely applied to, and therefore experienced differently by, various groups within certain societies (Birch 2015; Grzanka et al. 2016). Building on Deckard and Heslin (2016), the tenets of neoliberalism discussed in this chapter impact different people within the urban locality of London depending on the heterogenous social domain individuals are moored, as well as the modality of neoliberalism implemented within the city. Moreover, the invocation of a neoliberal project such as the Olympics within this social climate acts as an opportunistic motivation to align East London to a commodified, consumer-based and neoliberal utopia: rid of those perceived to contribute to all social ills and help establish a space which powerful interests hope to emblemise the capital (Allen and Cochrane 2014; Raco 2014).

Despite London being one of the largest economic hubs in the world, a centre for financial development and provision, East London has historically been antithetic to this financially prosperous image. As it has some of the highest areas of deprivation and poverty in the U.K, certain 'problem' groups existing within East London (socio-economically deprived, the homeless, disenfranchised Black and ethnic minorities) who were seen at odds with the neoliberal vision: state and corporate interests saw the 2012 Olympics as an opportunity to change the urban and ultimately social make-up of East London communities (Bernstock 2009). Raco and Tunney (2010) build on this, illuminating how urban regeneration agendas, under the remit of the Olympics, permits powerful actors to foster a rhetorical definition of East London as an existing problem area in London: a problem that only through Olympic-related regeneration, these interests say, has the potential to conform and reinforce the features of London to that of a successful global city.

Interestingly, Raco and Tunney (2010) go on to suggest that the focal point of the 2012 Olympic bid was to problematise Stratford so much that only an event the size of the Olympics could perceivably, or so they hoped people would think, rescue it from its existing situation.  This is explicated further by Marrero-Guillamon (2012) who's work on computer generated images produced by the London organising committee (of what the Olympic Park was planned to look like) before the urban regeneration processes took hold can be perceived as virtual acts of political imagination and social control, used to justify the urban overhaul of this part of East London. Preuss (2010) and Vijay (2015) discuss such modes of rhetorical justification by powerful corporate-government and market interests, identifying that these actors can embellish and control perceived realities of place. Although it is impossible to deny the socio-economic issues that East London faced and indeed still faces, it was possible for powerful actors to distort public knowledge that only the Olympics and its associated urban regeneration plans could successfully save East London from this social dilapidation (Davis 2011; Marrero-Guillamon 2012).

Building on the above, Raco (2014) illuminated how the London 2012 Games was emblematic of the age of regulatory capitalism and was a clear example of the paradoxical neoliberal dichotomy between the reduction in state intervention and increased state control through regulatory means (Nichols and Ralston 2015). Over 75,000 sub-contracts were awarded to private organisations (Girginov 2012) to help

facilitate the 2012 Olympics on time, some of which outlast the event itself and even governments, whilst protecting these private companies from liability or accountability (Nichols and Ralston 2015). Indeed, the Olympic (re)generation plans for East London such as the International Quarter, East Bank and Here East were based on consumer consumption, societal commodification and neoliberal modes of social control, and have resulted in the establishment of an artificial mega-event utopia tailored to secure a middle-class tourist aesthetic (and prices) (de Lisio et al. 2018) while intensifying social and structural class inequalities through gentrification and increased land costs (Silk 2014). For example, the median household income in Newham in 2015 was £29,000 per annum: whilst to be able to afford a two-bedroom unit minimum household income needed to be £48,000, which rose to £73,000 for a three-bedroom shared ownership property (Bernstock 2016). By shaping housing and public provision within disenfranchised zones, the resultant commodification of basic social entitlements due to the regulatory nature of the London Games resulted in this increase in house prices and sweeping gentrification: contributing toward the (re)constitution of middle-class spaces for 'desirable' populations in East London (Watt 2015; Watt and Bernstock 2017).

Organisations and actors from the 'coalition of beneficiaries' (Grix 2017) who were involved in the delivery of London 2012 were so intent on the event to be a (political) success that the Games, through the commissioning of extensive regulatory provision, contributed to the (re)constitution and commodification of the social milieu under the auspices of private agencies (Raco 2012). According to Smith the same can be said about the urbanisation processes associated with London 2012 which led to the "de-risking of East London" (2014, p.1919) for private investors and real-estate firms. To ensure London 2012 was a visible success, the U.K government, through the commissioning of regulatory capitalistic processes, permitted private interests to dictate the social, urban and the spatial (re)formation within East London (Stevenson 2012a; Smith 2014). To draw from Giroux's (2015; 2017) work, neoliberal, pro-Olympic interests (the IOC, state interests, delivery organisations and legacy organisations) used hegemonically formed technologies to polarise antithetic individuals from an active space of consumption and capitalism. Indeed, as pointed out by Graham (2012), one of the biggest influences on this marginalisation of poor communities was the processes of gentrification attached to Olympic spaces, forcing

'problem' citizens out of these spaces via means of unaffordability and high living costs.

**2.5.2 The specificities of London's Olympic-led regeneration**

In appeasing the IOCs hosting prerequisite of including a comprehensive outline of post-event legacy outcomes, the London Games was lauded as the first since Barcelona which placed legacy and regeneration so intently at the heart of the its bid (Girginov and Hills 2009; Stevenson 2012b; Thornley 2012). Among a host of other legacy promises, the London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG), the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) and later the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) were intent on ensuring that the Olympics, acting as a legitimizing force, helped accelerate the existing plans for the urban regeneration of East London (Bernstock 2009; Silk 2014). Subsequently engendering a plethora of development projects that would (re)materialize and (re)imagine areas of East London that are socio-economically deprived to conform with the rest of the capital and contribute to a successful sustainable urban and spatial legacy (Hayes and Horne 2011; Grabher and Thiel 2013). Grix et al. (2017) describe urban and spatial legacy, in an SME context, as the redevelopment of "waste land, neighbourhoods and transport systems" (2017, p.206) which is geared towards providing benefit and opportunities to the society in which these developments take place. While areas within East London have undergone accelerated processes of regeneration in part from hosting the Olympics, the concerns about such urban and spatial legacies are raised on the premise of who this regeneration is for as, like most SMEs, the urban developments which are regularly proffered to harmonise and converge communities, invariably achieve the opposite (Davis and Thornley 2010; Watt 2013; Alm et al. 2014).

The site of the proposed Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (QEOP) in Newham was home to a vibrant community of small businesses, a variety of landowners and residential communities such as the Clays Lane estate (Raco and Tunney 2010). Strikingly, the area had been commonly referred to as 'wasteland' and a 'polluted and contaminated area' in pro-Olympic discourse and literature when justifying the development of the QEOP (see Azzali 2017). With the 54,000-seater Olympic stadium as its centrepiece, the park is the flagship of London's Olympic urban developments. Within the park, the aesthetically pleasing walkways and green space provide an image

of modernity, which along with the establishment of modern housing and infrastructural developments contribute to the alignment of this post-Olympic space with the rest of middle-class London (Kennelly 2015). As part of the neoliberal urbanisation processes attached to London 2012, corporate-government interests who influenced the direction of the urban (re)generation deployed modalities of 'aspirational urbanism' (Ren 2017): concerned with filling this previously 'dilapidated' and 'forgotten' space with flamboyant, ostentatious and ostensibly aesthetic spatio-urban developments in a bid to prettify London's East End and make it attractive to foreign investors and wealthier classes (Silk 2011; Giulianotti et al. 2015).

The £18 million 'Orbit' designed by Amish Kapoor and Cecil Balmond is a 120-metre-tall steel sculpture in the Olympic Park, designed to be viewed across London's skyline and, by implication, return the gaze to the regenerated part of East London (Fussey et al. 2016). Other examples of ostentatious architectural urban development are Here East, a digital hub geared towards harbouring the most advanced digital infrastructure in Europe, the ongoing International Quarter which will be home to various international businesses and retailers in a bid to become a business-based institution in East London (LLDC 2016); and the new cultural quarter, East Bank, which will comprise of a number of cultural institutions such as University College London and the Victoria & Albert Museum (Gold & Gold 2017; Wainwright 2018). These developments are emblematic of the regenerative transformation East London is going through to conform to an image tailored to a consumerist, wealthier class and adhere to a sterile and sparkling aesthetic (Silk 2014). Thus, the QEOP is both the result and the symbol of an aggressive mega-event strategy which has allowed powerful interests in host cities to attach their agendas to the Olympic process: creating an ideal environment for neoliberal urban policy to be implemented under the semblance of hosting the Games (Andranovich et al. 2001; Silk 2014).

The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (QEOP) is symbolic of the wider (re)configuration of East London that was encouraged by the Olympic spectacle. A space within a space, the QEOP is befit with securitisation technologies and practices which permit the governance and social control of space (and those within it) and augment the effective process of subject formation to align with the ideal neoliberal citizen (Houlihan and Giulanotti 2012; Kennelly and Watt 2013; Manley and Silk 2013; Paton et al. 2017).

This (re-)formation of space is tacitly attached to image improvement of an otherwise 'unsavoury' part of London (in the eyes of the middle, creative and powerful classes). The Games invoked the beautification of the QEOP, the regeneration of the public spaces to please aesthetically and the 'tidying' up of an area that had been subject to years of neglect (Kennelly 2015). The comprehensive urban changes within post-Olympic East London contribute to the alteration of individual daily experiences within this space. This is expressed by participants within a study by Kennelly and Watt (2013), who explored how young individuals within Hackney Wick had been impacted by the London Games. They illuminated how these participants felt the urban (re)imagination of the QEOP and other urban developments was part of a decorative exercise intended to produce an ostentatiously (and superficial) performative formation and sanitization of space (Short 2008; Horne and Whannel 2011; Suzuki et al. 2017).

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the contemporary contexts in which social and urban policies are implemented are vitally important when analysing the impacts of Olympic urbanism on local communities (Garcia 2008). The London Games was arguably the first developed westernised nation to host the Olympics after the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks which initiated a seismic shift in global security measures and forever changed the material and symbolic worlds in which we live in (Silk 2013). Understandably, security was thrust as an increasingly vital component of delivering the Games, yet the securitisation legacies that amounted from the London Games began to transcend the basic security measures required for hosting the two-week event (Graham 2012; Hassan 2014). Extensive security practices were ingrained within the urban landscape as part of the (re)generation processes associated with East London, and as Graham illuminates, allowed powerful interests to push through "highly elitist, authoritarian" (2012, p.450) urban planning efforts in London's East End. As millions of pounds was spent on security and surveillance technologies as part of the hyper-militarised Olympic operation, the technologies that were integrated within the (re)formation of urban space outlasted the Olympic spectacle, crystallising within the social domain to engender a hyper-securitised and hyper-surveillance space whereby the 'lived' experience of individuals who were deemed as a threat to the preferred 'safe' image of the neoliberal city were altered due to modalities of social control and ban-optic surveillance (Manley and Silk 2013).

Sinclair (2011) and later Minton (2012) both identified that Olympic developments are predicated on the regeneration of East London and the commissioning of grand projects by planners, developers, and state and corporate interests, to transform Stratford and the surrounding areas to a space of active consumption and global appeal (Allen and Cochrane 2014). As a by-product of the London 2012 Games, issues of: displacement; hyper-securitised space; destruction of homes and communities; house price inflation; and increase in overall living costs, suggests that, be it explicit or implicit, or catalytic or auxiliary, the Olympics plays a vital role in not only the (re)shaping of urban space but the restructuring of the social experience for those who live within this space (Malfas et al. 2004; Kennelly 2013; Silk 2014; Gaffney 2016; de Lisio et al. 2018; Muller and Gaffney 2018).

**2.5.3 The consequences of Olympic regeneration in East London**

Applying the work of Paton et al. (2012) and their analysis of the processes of 'glocalization' as part of Glasgow's Commonwealth Games (CWG) in 2014: they asserted that urban restructuring from sporting spectacles (such as the CWG and the Olympics) are "born out of neoliberalism" (2012, p.3) and comprise of two key aspects of governance: market-led strategies advocated and implemented by the state and the development of citizenship via consumption. Concomitantly, the urbanisation processes as part of London 2012 weren't too dissimilar to that of Glasgow. Within areas such as Stratford and Hackney, corporate agencies, through state backed regulatory capitalism, could dictate aspects of the social: from housing and transport and securitisation and employment opportunities, global organisations and corporate-government coalitions attempted to (re)form and (re)constitute space within East London into a site of 'active' consumption: to engender an influx of a global creative class, with the ability to 'consume', into this space (Paton et al. 2012; Manley and Silk 2013). Indeed, as Silk (2014) explains, London 2012 engendered the reorganisation and reconstitution of urban space into a spectacular, neoliberal urban utopia, geared towards attracting 'desired' populations and the formation of 'desirable' spaces (Kennelly 2015).

These practices went together with widespread austerity cuts by the U.K Government, actively targeting housing welfare and benefits and produced an untenable living environment for certain ('unwanted') socio-economically challenge groups within

East London (Cashman 2006; Grix et al. 2017). Work by Watt (2013) and later Gillespie et al. (2018) contextualise this, examining 'austerity urbanism' (Peck 2012) within the context of post-Olympic London and have helped contribute to the academic cognizance of economic implications for working class groups within this post-Olympic space. It appears that what trickled down from the urban developments of London 2012 contrast with pro-Olympic authorities' rhetorical spin: rather, sweeping gentrification, rising costs of living, and socio-economically influenced polarization are the results of urban (re)generation processes from London 2012 (Waitt 2003; Barker 2013). Because of such hegemonic discourses, these excesses have subjugated individuals in East London, deemed antithetic to a productive, neoliberal body politic, to financially troubling times whereby they are not only struggling to live but are increasingly being forced to move to accommodation in cheaper areas within, or increasingly, outside of London (Powell 2015; Watt 2017).

Despite the prominence within the urban and spatial legacy rhetoric for the London Games being focused on assuring the Games would stimulate the creation of affordable housing in London's East End, the realities provide a different narrative (Hayes and Horne 2011). With frequent reductions in the target number of homes and the percentage of which were affordable (Watt 2013), Bernstock (2009) asserted that when examining pre-Games Olympic legacy housing plans, accounting for the removal of 425 existing affordable housing units from Clays Lane to make way for the Olympic Park, the net gain of affordable housing was "negligible" (2009, p.211), with the remaining properties being bought by private landlords and sold at increased prices (Graham 2010; Watt 2013). Bernstock (2016) identified that the Games had resulted in an evident increase in living and housing prices with Newham experiencing the largest property price increase of any London borough since 2012. Coupled with what Raco and Tunney (2010) called the largest legally enforced eviction programme in England, an alternative narrative of legacy to that espoused by pro-Olympic advocates reveals itself: a legacy of displaced communities and social cleansing of the 'undeserving' and 'unsavoury' poor from East London under the guises of neoliberal, hegemonic agencies and actors, focused on capital accumulation and the construction of the neoliberal cityscape (Davies 2014; Gillespie et al. 2018). These contemporary (re)formations of space concomitantly affected the bodies within these spaces. Either aligned with the 'desired' image or seen as the 'abject' other, the discursive changes

to the urban and spatial aspects of the city contribute to the daily constitution of individual lives and it is thus important to understand how these 'lived' experiences have been altered.

The Games has actively engendered the financialization and commodification of urban space in London's East End (Beswick et al. 2016). Setting in motion an influx of global corporate landlords, like the Qatar Royal Family who purchased housing within the Olympic Park (Graham 2012) and public-private housing organisations into the Olympic Boroughs, the Games acted as a catalyst for the co-constitution of finance and urban space (Beswick et al. 2016) and aligned this previously deprived part of London to the wider spatiality of power, inherent to the neoliberal capital (Cord 2017). By allowing private real-estate companies and capitalistic accumulation agencies to mediate the societal and temporal aspects of East London, this reconstitution of space, acquisition of land for financial gain and increase in housing prices permitted powerful political and economic actors to create an enclave, rid of 'unsavoury' individuals, that conforms with the ideal image of a neoliberal, prosperous, creative and productive city (Davies 2014; Raco 2014; Hubbard and Wilkinson 2015). This exacerbated unaffordability in East London: as private landlords were unwilling to accept tenants on low incomes due to high rental costs, large swathes of poorer citizens were being housed in temporary accommodation in cheaper areas within, or more increasingly, outside of London (Powell 2015; Watt 2017). Indeed, Watt and Bernstock (2017) suggest that the 2012 Olympics contributed to the social cleansing of East London. Building on this, issues of overcrowding and homelessness (societal problems the Olympics was explicitly planned to alleviate) have deteriorated in East London since hosting the Olympics, with the numbers of affordable housing showing no sign of marked improvement in the Olympic Boroughs (Bernstock 2016).

One of the key areas within East London that has been affected by Olympic-led regeneration is Hackney Wick and Fish Island within the boroughs of Hackney and Tower Hamlets, respectively. Both border the Olympic Park, only a short distance away from the Olympic Stadium, and are home to a diverse, artistic and cultural community which has fostered the establishment of studios and creative spaces: it has, like East London, been host to wide social, economic and class inequalities (Cochrane 2009; Davis and Thornley 2010) and has long been targeted with redevelopment initiatives (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009). Importantly, Stevenson (2016)

illuminated that since the incorporation of the 2012 Olympics as regeneration technology, the urban renewal processes in Hackney Wick have been refocused: shifting away from local and sub-regional employment and housing needs towards a process that complements the strategic (re)positioning of East London in an increasingly global city (Stevenson 2013). This example of 'glocalization' (Kohler and Wissen 2003) has seen Hackney Wick and East London (re)imagined as a space for visitors and global investment (Stevenson 2016): and due to the pressures created by hosting the SME, the establishment of a unique environment whereby powerful interests can implement urban planning processes quickly, and without the usual barriers to urban development, the communities right to oppose such practices was removed (Horne and Whannel 2012; Gray and Porter 2015).

As Hackney Wick has been (re)imagined as a cultural cluster within London, home to an evolving creative scene, it increasingly attracted what Porter termed a "global creative class" (2009, p,246). It appears that the diversity and multiculturality that presides within Hackney Wick runs parallel with East London's pluralistic history, and unsurprisingly, the (re)formation of space within the Wick is emblematic of the societal and cultural (re)constitution processes the Olympics has imposed upon London's East End (Watt and Bernstock 2017). The important study by Stevenson (2016) has provided a contextual veracity to academic understanding of 'glocalization' and reveals a genuine imposition of global ideals within a locality which has, through gentrification and commodification, resulted in residents who cannot sustainably live there to move out, in place of a global, consumer class. Stevenson's (2016) work succinctly synthesises the contextual changes within Hackney Wick and Fish Island, however a project such as is this is required to effectively understand the impacts these changes have had on the daily experiences of bodies within this space. Overall, this section of the literature review has provided a theoretical and contextual understanding of the urban developments that have resulted from London 2012, as well as discussing the discursive impact these changes have had on spaces and the people within. However, as this study and this paper has set out to achieve, it is necessary to understand how the daily 'lived' experience of individuals within this post-Olympic space have been constituted, revealing deep insights into the daily negotiations of East London residents with an externally constituted post-Olympic space.

## 2.6 Chapter summary

This review of literature has expanded upon how neoliberalism has permeated modern society and explicated the contemporary processes of social, cultural and urban living, revealing how these have been directed by neoliberal orientations. It provides a contextual backdrop for the hosting of an SME in London and expanded upon neoliberal urbanisation processes as a result of hosting the Games: unpacking the political motivations, social consequences and economic ramifications these urbanisation processes have had on the wider societal context. It has addressed how power relations direct and tailor sporting spectacles as a technology to pursue ulterior urban policy motives in a bid to (re)constitute spaces of dilapidation into zones of exclusivity and consumerism (Giroux 2005; Stevenson 2016). There has been a plethora of research about the contextual specificities of the London Games and the urban processes within, outlining how the (re)formation of spatial aspects of East London have impacted working class groups within this post-Olympic space. The literatures within this review have provided a contextual understanding of what changes to urban space have occurred and the wider societal issues that have emanated from these changes. However, there is limited research on how these changes are 'lived' and 'felt' by residents within post-Olympic communities. As there is limited research on how the daily 'lived' experiences of residents within East London: it is the purpose of this research project to adopt an integrated methodological approach to engender deep, meaningful and exploratory qualitative data which can contribute to the understanding of how residents perceive and experience urban (re)developments in an externally constituted post-Olympic space.

# 3. Methodology

## 3.1 Introduction

Having undertaken in the preceding chapter a review of the background issues that are relevant to this research, the purpose of this chapter is to elaborate upon the full description of the steps involved within the research process: varying from the construction of the research problem to the analysis and interpretation of the research data. This chapter begins by outlining the aims and objectives of the research project. The research philosophy is then identified, exploring the ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological underpinnings of this study. It then concentrates on the research design, explaining and justifying the choice of methods utilised for this research. A description of the sample method is then discussed, followed by an analysis of the integrated methodological procedure. Following this, the credibility, dependability and applicability of the methodological process is examined through critical reflection.

The aim of this research was to understand how residents who are perceived as 'the creative, middle class' interact with Olympic urban (re)developments in London and contribute to a greater understanding of how the changing urban environment, brought about by Olympic-led regeneration, influences the daily negotiations and 'lived' experiences these residents: examining the development of sustainable urban legacies in a space of transition and regeneration and how that can be attributed to the built environment and socio-spatial impact of the Games

The objectives for this investigation are as follows, to:

A) Examine how wider urban policies influence cohesion and convergence in a post-Olympic space
B) Analyse the use of post-Olympic space, and the urban developments within, by residents and communities within the locality
C) Critically discuss how the lives of residents have been influenced by an externally constituted space

The purpose of this study was to explore the post-Olympic spatial legacy and the impact this had on the everyday lives of residents from the creative, middle classes: how these individuals interacted with and experienced this space and understanding

how these interactions manifested and developed as the spatial environment oscillated and changed around them. The project aimed to interpret meaning from such experiences to understand the relationships social bodies had with a socio-politically constituted space, how the legacy of inclusion and convergence is being experienced by local communities and thereby allow members of these communities to raise concerns or features of this post-Olympic spatial legacy. Through visual and textual representations, it was hoped that information about what constitutes the ground level experience of this post-Olympic space could be unearthed and unpacked: contributing to an account that may challenge the popular-dominant narrative, made up of opinions, feelings and emotions of the everyday, real-life experiences of inhabitants existing within this space (Manning 1997; Denzin and Lincoln 2011a). Moreover, by giving these people an opportunity to reflect upon their experiences, it could potentially act as a place for increased cognizance and awareness of how their everyday-ness has been mediated by hierarchical interests (Hart 2006; Yi-En 2013). Before outlining the precise methodological practices of a research project, Cresswell (2017) pertains that researchers must discuss the research paradigm and philosophy in which the project and the researcher is positioned as the philosophical groundings of the researcher influence the research process (Ponterotto 2005; Saunders et al. 2011).

## 3.2 Paradigmatic framing

Research paradigms are as Guba (1990), and later Denzin and Lincoln (2011a), assert as a set of beliefs that shape research by guiding action and providing boundaries and constraints throughout the research process. They are human constructions which address the philosophical dimensions of social sciences (Wahyuni 2012) and define the world-view of the researcher, setting down the intent, motivation and expectations for research (Mackenzie and Knipe 2006; Gelo et al. 2008; Denzin and Lincoln 2011a). A research paradigm encompasses four terms: ontology (what is there that can be known?); epistemology (how do I know the world?); axiology/ethics (how will I be a moral person?); and methodology (how will I best gain knowledge about the world?) (Guba and Lincoln 1989; Denzin and Lincoln 2011b). The philosophical assumptions held by the researcher are woven into the research investigation and by self-reflexively discussing these paradigmatic orientations, the philosophical context in which this research project took place can be explored to identify how these beliefs shaped the research process (Guba 1990; Denzin and Lincoln 2011b). Building on the purpose of

this study to elicit critical thought from interlocutors about their everyday experiences within a socio-politico-historical constituted space: this study was grounded in a paradigmatic framework that permitted researcher interaction, participant reflection and dialogue and critical interrogation of negotiated experiences within an externally constituted space (Lincoln et al. 2011).

### 3.2.1 Interpretivist-humanism paradigm

As this project aimed to understand interactions and experiences people had with an urban space, the placement of the interactive, emic researcher within the research process and the establishment of a researcher-participant dialogue was vital: as only through this dynamic interaction can deeper meaning beneath wider social, political and historical contexts be revealed (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Ponterotto 2005). This unique dynamic allowed the subjective, situated researcher to understand and interpret these interactions and the participants subjective meanings of reality (Wahyuni 2012): which Lincoln et al. (2011) state necessitates a grounding within the interpretivist-humanist paradigm. Interpretivism, which is sometimes referred to as constructivism, abides by a relativist ontology (Manning 1997) and maintains that the placement of the self-reflexive researcher within research is imperative to interpreting these lived experiences, co-constructing knowledge with the participant (Ponterotto 2005; Denzin and Lincoln 2011a). This ontology assumes there are multiple realities extant in the world and seeks to understand "What is there that can be known?" (Guba and Lincoln 1989, p.88) about these constructions (Manning 1997). These subjective, perceptual realities are fashioned out of individual attempts to make sense of lived experiences based on prior knowledge, influenced by everyday social interactions (Guba and Lincoln 1989; Hansen 2004) with the external environment and participant-researcher interaction (Ponterotto 2010; Markula and Silk 2011).

This ontological standpoint is congruent with a subjectivist approach required for qualitative research - one that is centred on the participant-researcher relationship, permitting a transactional and subjective epistemological stance (Annels 2006; Lincoln et al. 2011). This positioning maintains that the dynamic between the researcher and the researched is trusting, interconnected and interactive: insofar that the researcher's questions and observations not only influence the actions of the participants, but the participant responses impact the meaning and interpretation

ascribed by the researcher (Markula and Silk 2011; Manning 1997). Therefore, a subjective epistemology is vital when conducting qualitative, researcher-emic studies as it allows an interactive dynamic between the researcher and the participants, alleviating possibilities of meaningless interpretations being co-created from the research (Manning 1997). Working within this paradigm is essential when attempting to interpret meaning from the lived experiences of research interlocutors: however, as this research was carried out within a systemically social and historically constituted spatial context, to fully explicate the experiences within this context they were constructed in, a more critical perspective was required (Markula and Silk 2011; Plummer 2011; Kincheloe et al. 2017).

### 3.2.2 Critical paradigm

Critical theory asserts that society is unfairly and unequally constructed and there is a need to challenge the status quo of socio-historically infused contexts; interrogating normalised notions of democracies, individual freedom and social justice to reveal ubiquitous power relations being exercised by a transnational capitalist elite and unravel the extant political structures which support them (Kincheloe et al. 2017). Indeed, the ontological positioning of the critical researcher in this research project is one of historical realism (Lincoln et al. 2011) – that is, that 'lived' experience and reality is shaped by external social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values, crystalized within society over time to form an externally constituted context, allowing the researcher to be cognizant of such external processes and the formation of subjective realities (Plummer 2011; Kincheloe et al. 2017). By immersing the 'self' (the researcher) within the 'others' (participants) 'lived' experience (Freire 1985; Kincheloe et al. 2017), the researcher could "work the hyphen" (Fine 1994, p.3) between the public and the private. By traversing this hyphenic Self-Other conjunction, the researcher could juxtapose themselves and the research interlocutors as objects and subjects within the research context: revealing more about the social structures that govern daily 'lived' experience and influence subjective constructions of reality in an externally constituted urban and societal context (Fine 1994; Lincoln 2009). As part of this research, the connection between individuals and an externally constituted space could be unpacked and was imperative to reveal subjective constructions of lived experience (Scotland 2012).

### 3.2.3 Combining interpretivist humanism & critical theory

Building on these explorations of two philosophical paradigms, to effectively fulfil the purpose, aims and objectives of this study, a blending of the two paradigmatic positions was required. Denzin and Lincoln (2011b; 2017) have long asserted that within research there has been a blurring of the lines between philosophical paradigms. Kincheloe et al. (2017) goes on discussing how, in a time when new technologies have allowed individuals to become more cognizant of the social and historical forces around them, that merging critical theory with a paradigm such as interpretivism, where lived experience is interpreted for meaning, can engender a new era of research which allows us to understand human experience under the auspices of a classist elite, and attempts to explain and transform such issues (Ponterroto 2010). Building on Lincoln (2009), both the interpretivist humanism and critical paradigms permeate one another as the similarities of each paradigms philosophical ontologies and epistemologies converge to establish a comprehensive grounding in which the aims of this project can successfully be achieved (Crotty 1998; Guba and Lincoln 2011). The 'bleeding' of these philosophical frameworks into one another is crucial for this project as it permitted the researcher to successfully understand individual interactions with an externally constituted space, explicating individual interpretations, meanings and lived experiences that have been influenced by this space.

Following this discussion of the ontological positions and epistemological standpoints of both interpretivist humanism and critical theory, this specific research project, while interpretivist in nature – that is, it was aimed at explicating meaning from the lived experience of individuals – there is a requirement for elements of critical theory, due to the highly externally-constituted context (post-Olympic space) which is being researched.

### 3.2.4 Axiological concerns

Due to the nature of working with human participants in a qualitative framework, the ethical issues within research are magnified and pose unique ethical challenges to the interpretivist investigator (Ponterroto 2010). The axiology of the interpretivist-humanist researcher maintains that their values and lived experiences cannot be detached from the research process (Haverkamp 2005; Ponterroto 2010). These ethical values should be acknowledged, discussed and bracketed, not eliminated (Ponterroto

2005), from the research: thus allowing the interpretivist researcher to associate themselves with the participants through their shared values and engender a positive, trusting researcher-participant relationship. Indeed, the interpretivist inquirers emic role within research is necessary when trying to understand lived experience within an externally constituted space, requiring trust and consent to be achieved to fully explicate such realities: thus, the self-reflexive researcher must be explicit in articulating their axiological values to ensure that both the participants and users of the research are aware of the context the project was conducted in (Manning 1997).

Fundamentally, the paradigmatic blending of the philosophical perspectives of the researcher enabled a narrower focus to be applied to the investigative process at hand. By self-reflexively discussing the philosophical underpinnings of this research, the positionality of the researcher's own values and the impacts these had on the research process could be explicitly outlined and addressed within the research process (Jennings et al. 2010; Lincoln et al. 2011). It permitted the researcher to ground oneself within the research context to better understand the subjective formations of lived experience within a post-Olympic urban space and engender deeper insights into how changes to the urban environment constituted toward the daily negotiation of residents.

## 3.3 Research approach

Building on the philosophical groundings of the interpretivist-humanist and critical paradigm outlined above, this research necessitated the situated researcher to elucidate meaning from resident's interactions and experiences with the socio-spatial legacy of the 2012 Olympics in London: unpacking their feelings, attitudes, emotions and experiences related to the urban redevelopments that emanated from hosting the Games (Kennelly and Watt 2013). To achieve this, Taylor et al. (2015) state that a qualitative methodology is best suited when conducting research that attempts to extract the words and feelings of participants and is integral in the attempt to understand social interactions with an external event, experience or phenomenon. Denzin and Lincoln (2011a) assert that qualitative research must include the following: a unique researcher-participant interaction, the application of multiple research practices and the eventual interpretation of the data outputs from the situated researcher. This allows research within a qualitative framework to permit the implementation of a set of research methods which can unearth, unpack and interpret

the values, emotions and opinions of individuals: amassing qualitative data which can provide a lens into what social actors think and feel and how they interact with various social, political and historical contexts (Schwandt 1998; Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Markula and Silk 2011).

To gather such exploratory data, Denzin and Lincoln (2011b) state that multiple material practices such as interviews, conversations, photographs, fieldnotes, recordings and memos needed to be utilised, allowing the responses to be interpreted by the researcher and synthesised with external social contexts, revealing the world to both researcher and researched (Markula and Silk 2011). Moreover, such methods are necessary to effectively challenge hierarchically ordered, existential phenomena which inherently attempt to legitimise neoliberal capitalist exploitation of public space: a critical investigation which is difficult to achieve with quantitative methodologies (Steinmetz 2005; Silk et al. 2010). Taking these considerations into account, a qualitative methodology was best suited for this project as it was commensurate with the overall purpose to explicate meaning from lived experience into (re)presented textual form (Flick 2009). Moreover, a qualitative framework permitted this study to unpack power relations that pervade the mutual social, political and historical constitution of bodies within a post-Olympic space (Markula and Silk 2011).

Indeed, due to the multi-layered nature of this research, therein the combination of lived experience of individuals with wider social contexts and the emic role of the researcher, the methodological practices have been chosen for their qualitative, interpretive, and subjectivist strengths, allowing the greatest opportunity to prize critical meaning from dialogic data. These methods combined to create an integrated methodological approach, which Denzin and Lincoln assert is frequently necessary in social science research to achieve a "better understanding of the subject matter at hand" (2011, p.4). By having a combination of methodological practices, a clearer picture of the world can be created as different methods make the world visible in different ways (Denzin and Lincoln 2011) and a more comprehensive interpretation of social phenomena can be ascribed by the researcher. This is also advocated by Pink (2008a) who suggested that researchers should capitalise on the non-prescriptive, eclectic nature of cultural studies research and draw upon a multitude of research practices, tethering in their own experience within research. Building on this, the

methods for this research were drawn from traditional anthropological and sociological disciplines: firstly, utilising walking ethnography to allow the researcher to become integrated within the research process and social context; second, an adapted version of the Photovoice methodology (Wang and Burris 1997) which promotes participant engagement to convey their interaction with space through visual representations; and finally semi-structured interviews were used to engender qualitative language data to be interpreted and ascribe meaning to such interactions and experiences (Markula and Silk 2011).

### 3.3.1 Walking ethnography

The first phase of the integrated methodology for this research involved the researcher undertaking a walking ethnography: visiting the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the surrounding landscape on multiple occasions, exploring and photographing socio-material and socio-spatial boundaries that constituted the post-Olympic urban space. This methodological practice permitted a lens into the everyday aspects of cities and communities experienced by individuals and allowed the researcher insight into the ordinary and banal experiences of social actors' lives that primarily constitute the ground level of cities (Yi'En 2013) alongside helping to achieve a better understanding of participants lived experiences (Vergunst 2010; Myers 2011). Yi'En (2013) argues that as bodies become so immersed within the everyday-ness of their surrounding urban environment, key social aspects that co-constitute urban lives are subconsciously suppressed. By integrating oneself within the socio-spatial context the researcher could observe the everyday, mundane, ordinary aspects of urban life, uncovering dormant elements that constitute social space, otherwise obfuscated from the critical eye due to their everyday integration in people's lives (O'Neil and Hubbard 2010), engendering critical reflection of these 'hidden' tenets of urban life.

Walking ethnography, as a performance praxis, is inherently committed to critical theory: that is, the researcher negotiating with a multi-sensory space and its habitants, understanding (self and other) experiences through spatial embodiment and articulating these with scholarly engagement through critical reflection (Jones et al. 2008; Madison 2011; Hamer 2017). The embodied researcher's narrative is influenced by broader cultural influences and mediated by the discursive forces of gender, sexuality, age, class, race and physical ability (Langellier and Peterson 2005). As these

forces contribute to the subjective construction of the researcher's reality, a performative bodily and spatial exercise such as this is open to differing insights of place-making that are mediated by these external forces. Pink (2008a) illuminates the importance of the reflexive ethnographer understanding both her/his emplacement within the space she/he plans to analyse: as well as how the subject's own emplacement within the spatial context is constituted, recognising the differences between these embodiments and how they contribute to the construction of place.

Ethnographic walking has gathered increased use amongst cultural studies researchers (Basset 2007; Pink 2008b; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010; Evans and Jones 2011) as the corporeal researcher embodiment, which is tethered to this ethno-mimetic practice, permits an imitable relationship between the researcher, the researched and the research subject (Pink 2008a). As an insightful spatial exercise, walking can elicit critical awareness of the urban environment, both mundane and extraordinary, to form the basis of individual relationships with a location (Wunderlich 2008); and, as explained in the work of Lee and Ingold, by exploring the multi-sensory environment to the fullest, the researcher can "claim to be close to whatever is happening" (2006, p.68) within the urban environment and intimately interact with the landscape, which can engender privileged insights into both urban space and the lived experiences of the participants (Evans and Jones 2011). Building on this academic work, this method was an invaluable access point in producing an interconnected, dynamic researcher-participant relationship: allowing the best research environment for adequate interpretation of participant perceptions and meaning to be formed, an imperative aspect for this research.

### 3.3.2 Photovoice

The second phase of the integrated methodological approach was conceptualised and developed from the photography based, participatory-action method, Photovoice (Wang and Burris 1997). Drawing from the academic health discipline, the Photovoice method adopts the use of photographs, videos and other visual media to identify, represent and augment the community, everyday space and lived experience of participants within a research project (Wang and Burris 1994; Wang and Burris 1997). Friere (1970) and later Wang (1999) recognised that images can engender critical reflection by individuals, not because of the physical structure within the image, but

rather by how these individuals interpret these images: creating a unique place whereby people who are accustomed to the urban space they inhabit can use photos to highlight the mundane and the inexplicit social tapestry within this space and evoke critical thought about it, so beginning to discuss political and social forces that influence their everyday lives (Wang et al. 2004). The resulting critical reflections can be used to elucidate symbolic meaning behind social phenomena within communities, communicating both assets and deficits of this social space with policy makers and agencies who regulate the urban landscape (Wang et al. 2004; Strack et al. 2004).

### 3.3.3 The adapted version of Photovoice using Instagram

Previous studies have merged Photovoice with modern, technocentric mediums, ranging from Dropbox (Young 2015), photo messaging through mobile phones (Woolford et al. 2010) and Facebook (Garner 2014). Yi-Frazier et al. (2015) built on such studies, recognising the potential of combining the Photovoice method with the burgeoning technocentric discipline of Social Media (Eyrich et al. 2008; Kaplan and Haenlein 2010) and specifically, the photo-sharing site, Instagram. Instagram is an online, photo-sharing, video sharing, and social network service that allows users to share photographic and video content through their mobile phones (Sheldon and Bryant 2016). Whiting and Williams (2013) identified that, as a social networking technology, Instagram permits its users to fulfil certain needs and gratifications such as: convenience, expression of opinion and knowledge about others. Manago et al. (2008) attribute the growing popularity of Instagram to the capacity of photographs and videos to reproduce a personal, intimate and controlled (re)presentation of self, which, as asserted by Holland and Tiggemann (2017), simultaneously renders users both information creators and information consumers. Thus, Instagram creates a unique online space whereby users can document their life moments instantaneously through a series of photographs, videos and accompanying text: allowing its purveyors to (re)create both the self and the associations oneself has with external visceral contexts, as well as contributing to the wider contexts of societal consumption (Schwartz and Halegoua 2015; Gunaseran and Khalid 2017).

In recent years, Instagram has attracted growing interest from the research community. Existing studies have explored Instagram to understand: types of users based on their Instagram posts (Hu et al. 2014); its impacts on psychosocial factors such as self-

esteem and anxiety (Paramboukis et al. 2016; Hawi and Samaha 2017); how it can be used to establish a personal brand (Davies and Mudrick 2017); its role in the perception of body image (Holland and Tiggemann 2017); and how it contributes to wider contexts of consumerism (Gunaseram and Khalid 2017). Interestingly, there has been a growing interest in the utilisation of Instagram to interpret how individuals interact with urban space and how social media contributes to the mediation of individual experiences within external urban contexts (Boy and Uitermark 2017; Utekhin 2017; Toscano 2017; Serafinelli 2017). The geotagging facility on Instagram allows users to associate their posts with an appropriate place, contributing to the place-making ability the social media site possesses. Indeed, the work by Boy and Uitermark (2017) illuminated that Instagram, and the social representations of its users therein, contributed to the 'aestheticisation' of everyday life and promotion of places of high-end consumption: giving users the ability to (re)assemble the city through their preferred ascriptions of place, stratifying certain (aesthetic) tenets of the cityscape whilst simultaneously subordinating the 'mundane' and the 'real' parts of cities.

Building on this existing scholarship, the natural affiliation of Instagram and photographs and its ability to utilise images, videos and text to gain insights into individual perceptions of place is particularly congruent with the aims of this research project.  Thus, it was decided that tenets of Wang and Burris' (1997) Photovoice method would be adapted and synergised with Instagram to gather meaning, experience and interpretation of place from the research participants. It is here where the concept of the 'Instavoice' method is put forward: combining Instagram with Photovoice (Wang and Burris 1997) methodology to form a modern-day research method whereby Instagram can be used as a tool to understand individual interpretations of reality through visual and textual contributions.

### 3.3.4 Qualitative interviews

The third and final phase of the integrated methodological approach involved utilising follow up interviews to discuss a selection of images generated by the participants. Qualitative based interviews are reciprocal in the sense that the researcher and the participant establish a fluid dialogue: using participant responses to guide the interview process (Rubin and Rubin 2011). Participants are viewed as meaning makers, with the interviews attempting to understand the meaning of lived experiences

and life worlds (Warren 2001). The work of Spradley (2016) addresses the harmonisation of ethnographic research and interviews: he suggests that interviews are a vital tool to engender conversation that evokes thick description of the social world. These are manifest from three sources: what is said, how they act and the artefacts they use (Spradley 2016; Warren 2002). This description of ethnographic interviews resonated with the methodology for this project: the use of photos to elicit critical thought and then conduct follow-up semi-structured interviews to discuss these meanings. Rubin and Rubin advocate the combination of interviews with documents such as photographs as it "allows you to discuss with their creators what they contain" (2011, p.27).  As explicated by Yi'En (2013) using images as part of the interview process can be used as a gateway into the imagination of the participants, acting as a stimulus to evoke comments, memories and insightful discussions that focused on participant experience of neighbourhood transformation (Liebenberg 2009).

Markula and Silk (2011) suggest that there are three types of interviews: structured (quantitative), semi-structured (qualitative) and unstructured (qualitative). Whilst structured interviews are led by an objective researcher asking closed questions in a controlled environment to attain adequate indicators for chosen variables: semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews are similar in the sense that they are both qualitative, concerned with explicating in depth information and include open-ended questions (Qu and Dumay 2011; Brinkman 2014). However, where they differ is in terms of their setting: whilst semi-structured interviews take place in a formal setting, with a controlling (subjective) leader directing the interview, unstructured interviews are informal in setting and are spontaneous in nature which usually occur as part of ethnographic fieldwork (Markula and Silk 2011). Semi-structured interviews are well suited for the exploration of subjective formations of meaning and reality as they enable the researcher to probe further the perceptions and opinions of complex issues based on responses within the interview (Barriball and While 1994). It is from this understanding of differing types of interviews that semi-structured interviews were chosen for this research project. As the study was focused on gathering in-depth meaning of subjective participants lived experiences, yet required these feelings, thoughts and opinions on a specific space: it was important to have an element of structure to the interviews whilst still allowing conversation to flow and permit the

researcher to flexibly prompt relevant questions based on participant responses (Markula and Silk 2011).

## 3.4 Sampling

It is imperative when gathering data that the selective process of whom the data is attained from is comprehensively considered, judged and justified (Etikan et al. 2016). Due to the multifaceted context of this study, it was necessary to adopt a sampling method which could facilitate the involvement of participants whom had an interest and/or level of knowledge about the context being investigated. Equally, due to the integrated methodological nature of this research, a sampling method which could cater for a variety of different research methods was necessary. Building on this, purposive sampling was chosen as the best suited sampling method for this research inquiry.

Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method whereby the participants are chosen by the lead researcher for their specific characteristics, interests and relationships with the research context (Kothari 2004). It is a non-random method that does not necessitate a set number of participants and is mostly used in qualitative inquiry to identify and explicate information-rich accounts from participants (Etikan et al. 2016). It allows the researcher to contact individuals who she/he deems appropriate for the investigation and who, in the researcher's judgement, could provide the best perspective on the phenomenon being investigated (Abrams 2010). Furthermore, the critical case sampling technique, as a practice within the purposive sampling method, was utilised for this research. This technique is particularly useful in exploratory qualitative research, and due to the individual insights it facilitates, permits a small number of cases to be decisive in elucidating the veracity of the contextual phenomenon of interest (Patton 2002; Suri 2011). Whilst studying a random sample may be best practice when attempting to generalise results based on the data generated from the sample, within a highly qualitative and exploratory study such as this, to understand the obfuscated and 'blurred' relationships and experiences of individuals with a highly constituted space, one must employ a sampling technique which best suits this research context. Thus, the decision to utilise a non-random, non-probability sampling method was based on the complexity of the research context and the non-linear nature of human interaction and behaviour.

Potential participants were approached via Instagram, using the bespoke Instagram account handle, and on Twitter, using the researcher's professional Twitter account, and were chosen based on their explicit affiliations with the urban legacy of London 2012, based on their social media posts. This was ascertained by searching for 'hashtags' on Instagram and Twitter for terms such as: #2012Olympics; #2012Legacy; #LondonOlympicLegacy; and #LondonOlympicPark as well as looking at posts that had reference to the Olympic Park. The potential participants' profiles were viewed to see the nature of the uploaded posts, and whether they referred to the developments that have emanated from the 2012 Games. This ranged from photographic uploads (Instagram) or posting of tweets (Twitter) and allowed the researcher to choose the potential sample based on the association of their posts with the research context. Once participants were identified, they were sent an introductory message on Instagram which briefly outlined the aim and nature of the project they were then asked to reply with their email address if they were interested so the researcher could send them the Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix 1) and the Participant Agreement Form (see Appendix 2) and a thorough breakdown of the research project, and what participation would involve. Once the potential participants responded with their statement of interest, the researcher then sent them the login details for the '2012oulp' (2012 Olympic Urban Legacy Project) project Instagram account and invited them to upload between 4-6 images and accompanying textual insights.

It is important here, especially within qualitative research, to self-reflexively discuss how the contributions within this study shouldn't be considered as sweeping, generalisable comments. Rather, it must be acknowledged that other gendered, raced, sexual and classed bodies within the research context may have different experiences than those that emerged from this study (Lefebvre 1991). Thus, the 'lived' experiences that were interpreted within this study are illustrative of specific bodies in specific social positions with specific experiences within post-Olympic space. Due to the purposive sampling method, these bodies all had 'lived' experiences within the research context and could thus explicate feelings, opinions and contemporary experience that could adequately fulfil the aims and objectives of the study.

## 3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethics is a branch of philosophical beliefs that focus on how people should act, the judgements surrounding these actions and subsequently developing rules for vindicating such actions (Haverkamp 2005). Within research, ethics is concerned with providing rigorous and comprehensive guidelines for researchers, ensuring that proposed research is reviewed and evaluated strictly and creating institutional ethical frameworks to ensure research is ethical (Agunis and Henle 2002). From the early stages of research, all the way through to the final reporting of results, ethics should be a comprehensively and thoroughly considered aspect of the research process: only through this meticulous attention to ethics can a researcher be satisfied that all has been done to ensure those involved with the project and the possible risks these people face, have been conscientiously and effectively addressed (Webster et al. 2014). The necessary establishment of participant-researcher relationships within qualitative research engender unique ethical issues (Ponterroto 2010). The qualitative inquirer must ensure reflexivity throughout to ensure the boundaries between the roles of the researcher and the researched are explicitly and actively discussed (Webster et al. 2014). Participant information sheets and consent forms can be conducive towards this: these documents explicitly address participant's right to privacy, to confidentiality, protection from deception and right to debriefing (Agunis and Henle 2002) and are integral when attempting to achieve ethical ratification.

### 3.5.1 Consideration for ethics in social media research

As social media proliferates within both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, the developing methodologies and procedures that accompany this burgeoning platform have engendered a few ethical issues that were previously not required to the ethical contextual discussion (Zimmer 2010; Boyd and Crawford 2012). The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) recognised this dearth in social media ethical guidelines (see Figure 1) and developed a framework: this document outlined four key areas of ethical concern within social media research: private vs public, informed consent, anonymity and risk of harm (Townsend and Wallace 2016). ESRC guidelines have been used as a foundation to discuss the ethical concerns related to this project.

**3.5.2 Private vs public**

Social media users agree to terms and conditions of each platform they use and how their posts may be used by third parties. However, within research, the lines become more blurred; although data on social media platforms is effectively made public, Boyd and Crawford (2012) stress that this does not mean such data should be consumed by just anyone; nor should it mean that research ethics should be ignored because the data is seemingly in the public domain. The researcher should do the utmost in their power to respect participant's desire for privacy. Relating to this study, a password protected Instagram account was set up by the researcher. Then acting as the administrator for the account, the researcher could accept or decline follower requests for the 2012oulp account.

**3.5.3 Informed consent**

When dealing with human participants, informed consent is a critical component of ethics in all research disciplines and must be obtained before research is carried out (Lewis 2003). With traditional research, informed consent is sutured into the research framework: distributing participant information sheets accordingly and allowing relevant boxes to be ticked on consent forms and other accompanying documents. Social media research poses different problems, especially when using data that is already in the public domain, as these users do not expect to be subjects in a research project (Eysenbach and Till 2001). To address this issue in this project, the researcher explained to the participants that agreeing to informed consent would permit access to the Instagram account. Only when the relevant consent forms were signed and returned to the lead researcher were the participants granted access to the account and thereby the images associated with the project. Building on Creighton et al. (2017) and a paper on the ethics of Photovoice in the social media age, the researcher decided that participants may change their minds on consent following the initial research process. At the completion of the Photovoice interview, participants were invited to revisit their consent and allowed to remove or limit the use of photographs/posts they provided.

**3.5.4 Anonymity**

Anonymity in research means the identity of those taking part not being disclosed outside of the team of researchers (Lewis 2003). Fairfield and Shtein (2014) state that ensuring anonymity is difficult within social media research due to the sheer

magnitude of data available on social media platforms: they go on; asserting that with such research the researcher-participant relationship must change, whilst also staying true to foundational ethical principles. Sometimes, absolute guarantees of participant anonymity cannot be given, and therefore the researcher must ensure they inform the participant of who could possibly know of their participation. As this project uses a private Instagram account, only those who have been allowed access to the account were able to see the posts. In publication of the data, all posts/photos remained anonymous to remove the possibility of data reproduction against the participants consent.

### 3.5.5 Risk of harm

Within any study, researchers must thoroughly consider any risks that could harm participants and explain these to those taking part in the project, ensuring all is done to avert these risks (Lewis 2003). The ESRC guidelines state that the greatest risk in social media research is breach of identity or anonymity: this can occur through retracing data that has been collated and published to its original source. This could lead to embarrassment, abuse, reputational damage of prosecution. Taking this into vital consideration, the researcher asserted that because the bespoke 2012oulp Instagram account is password protected and can only be accessed by those who have been granted authorisation by the administrator, that the risk of identity breach was minimalized. Once the data collection period of six weeks is completed, the lead researcher changed the account password so only they alone had password access to the account: whilst the participants were still able to view the account thereafter.
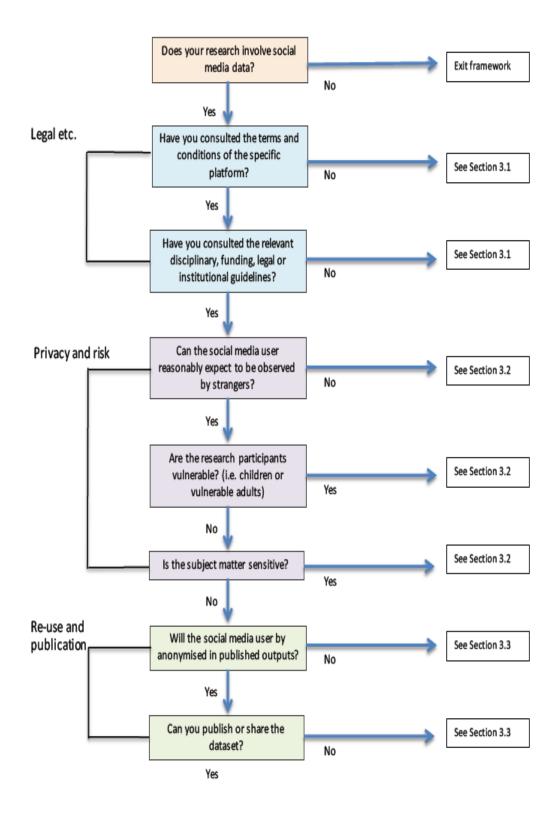
**Social Media Ethics Framework:**



**Figure 1:** ESRC *Social Media Ethics Framework (Townsend and Wallace 2016, p.8).*

**3.5.6 Ethical approval**

The ethical approval for this research was attained in December 2017 under the acceptance of the Bournemouth University Ethics Review Panel. The Ethical Approval Document can be seen in the appendices section of this thesis (see Appendix 3).

## 3.6 Research procedure

The following section will outline the research procedure carried out for this project. Outlining the process of the integrated methodological approach utilised for this study.

**3.6.1 Walking ethnography**

The researcher made six visits to the Olympic Park, the surrounding areas such as Hackney and Stratford, and spent one to two hours a time exploring, feeling, and sensing this space. The visits were spread over six months between September 2017 and February 2018 and were conducted within varied circumstances: weekends and weekdays, in the daytime and at night time and in Autumn and in Winter. For the context that is being analysed to be understood effectively, the ethnographic researcher must visit during different situations to establish a representative snapshot of the space in question (Legat 2008). The researcher took field notes as the space was explored, writing down the feelings and experiences that were evoked as certain aspects of the urban context became apparent. These notes, coupled with photographic images taken of this urban space, converge to create a set of documents which allow different types of multi-sensory and multi-modal experiences to be (re)presented and analysed (Pink 2008b). By undertaking this walking ethnographic practice, the researcher could familiarise and integrate oneself into the context being investigated: helping to engender a greater cognizance of the structural process occurring within this space and adequately preparing the researcher for greater interpretation of the subjective participants experiences and meanings (Lee and Ingold 2006; Evans and Jones 2011).

**3.6.2 Adapted Photovoice ('Instavoice' logistics)**

By using the ESRC guidelines (Figure 1) on ethical research in social media as a foundation and building on studies that have used Instagram to elucidate thought through photos (Yi-Frazier et al. 2015; Creighton et al. 2017; Utekhin 2017; Toscano 2017): the logistics for the 'Instavoice' method were developed. The procedure began

with creating a private Instagram account for the project named: 2012oulp. Once the relevant consent forms were signed and collected, the participants were given the login username and password to the account and asked to upload one image a week for six weeks. The participants were invited to upload photos that they felt represented their everyday interactions or experiences with the QEOP and surrounding spaces and asked to provide an excerpt of text that explained this interaction further. The participants were reminded that during any time of the study, they could withdraw their consent or limit the use of the posts they made. The participants were made aware that they could inform the researcher at any time which photos they wanted removed from the project account. Moreover, the participants, after the six-week data collection phase, were invited to revisit their consent and address any issues or concerns they may have. They were reminded that full anonymity would be upheld throughout the project and publication of the collated posts would not disclose names/identities of participants.

### 3.6.3 Qualitative interviews

The interviews were held in a venue of the participants choosing. These ranged from local cafés to staff rooms and allowed for a relaxed and informal atmosphere to be established. This was key when conducting the interview, as the participants felt comfortable in this space and allowed for a more natural conversation to flow. Participants were reminded of their consent for the photos and asked if they would like to withdraw any images from publication in this thesis. The participants were given the Phase Two Information Sheet (see Appendix 4) and Phase Two Participant Agreement Form (see Appendix 5) a week in advance and asked to read, sign and return at the beginning of the interview. The researcher then read out the interview introduction and then continued with the interview. The questions asked can be seen in the interview schedule (see Appendix 6) and were produced to adequately engender deep insightful meaning about the research context, and while there was a structure to these questions, if an interviewee gave an answer that prompted the researcher to deviate slightly from the interview schedule, that was acted upon. The interview was recorded by the researcher and then uploaded and saved onto the researcher's personal, password protected hard drive and once fully transcribed, deleted from all devices. All interviewees were asked prior to the interview whether they were happy to be audio recorded and were also reminded via the Participant Information Sheet and were able

to sign their consent to this on the Participant Agreement Form. The interviews were then transcribed for analysis by the researcher, with all transcriptions saved on the same secure, password protected hard drive.

Although interviews can be costly to undertake and time-consuming, they can provide rich, in-depth accounts of the experiences and meanings ascribed by the subjective participants and allow the interviewer to provide questioning and prompts that can allow participants to naturally describe their experiences in greater detail. By facilitating a more informal, conversational style to the interview, it permitted greater fluidity within the interview process. It is vital to be open minded within the interview at all times and to ensure that the interviewer is neither critical nor judgemental of the interviewee's responses. Moreover, this interview method allowed the researcher to draw upon what had previously been discussed if they felt it was relevant at a later point within the interview. It was integral to utilise descriptive questioning that focused on the "how?" and the "what?" and most importantly, the "why?" questions to engender deeper responses and insights into the inquiry at hand (Turner 2010). Questions that were clear, concise and simple were important when trying to engender insightful data, as it was important that the questions focused on single points and steered clear of complicating the questioning process with double questions. Both the walking ethnography and the literature review provided the researcher with a more than adequate level of knowledge of the context being discussed, which thus allowed appropriate and in-depth questions to be asked in response to participant answers.

By using photo-elicitation methods within the interview process, an interview environment was promoted which was conducive to longer, insightful interviews that enhanced the memory recollection of the participants, stimulating new thoughts and offered a unique way to understand and interpret lived experience in both the past and present (Liebenberg 2009; Matteucci 2013). As mentioned in previous sections within this chapter, this research acknowledges a relationship between the researcher and the participant and was necessary to sufficiently interpret meaning from participant images and reflection of experiences.

## 3.7 Data analysis

Due to the visual and textual data that was generated as a result of the integrated methodological procedure, the researcher chose to undertake a thematic analysis approach which focused on the participants' explanations and accounts of lived experience. Thematic analysis is an exploratory search for themes that emerge from a data set as being important to the description and understanding of the phenomenon of interest (Daly et al. 1997). Informed by the research aims and objectives as the central focus to this study, the thematic analysis used within this research was geared towards identifying similarities and exploring differences of individual lived experience within a post-Olympic space. Thematic analysis allowed the researcher, through careful reading and re-reading of the data, to group together specific ideas, statements and images that emerged from the dataset (Patton 2002). From the research documents, such as photographic material and interview transcriptions, the data was coded and sorted to reveal patterns, which were then classified into relational themes. Once these themes were identified, sub-themes can then be highlighted which allowed the researcher to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the information and inform the interpretation of participants accounts (Aronson 1995).

## 3.8 Credibility, dependability and transferability

Whilst Patton (2002) suggested that qualitative inquirers should be concerned with reliability, validity and applicability in research, Healy and Perry (2000) assert that the criterion for quality should be judged on the specific paradigm's terms. Due to the paradigmatic underpinning of this research, the conventional criterion that are stringently adhered to in quantitative studies, are not specifically relevant to a qualitative inquiry such as this: which assumes multiple realities as opposed to the positivistic 'one reality' associated with quantitative studies (Lincoln and Guba 1985). And whilst quality control criterion is certainly required in work within the interpretivist field, these must be specific to the inquiry due to the naturalistic, non-normative nature of qualitative research. Thus, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), instead of focusing specifically on terms such as reliability, validity and applicability, the qualitative researcher must instead concentrate on the credibility, dependability and transferability as the essential criteria for research quality.

Credibility, explained by Agar (1986) as the accuracy of the representation and/or the authority of the writer, is met by the accurate representations of the subjects lived experiences: insofar that these interpretations would be immediately recognised by the participants who provided the raw data that informed them. The walking ethnography phase of this research - and the immersion of the researcher within the research context - coupled with a comprehensive review of the literature surrounding the research context was thus integral when assessing credibility, as it allowed the researcher to become accustomed and knowledgeable of the context being investigated and which formed the basis of the participants accounts (Pink 2008b). Dependability, also known as trustworthiness, can be shown by what Krefting (1991) explained as increased insight on behalf of the researcher: this was achieved by including the audit trail of the research project within this thesis, such as information sheets given to the participants and consent forms, ensuring the participants are made fully aware of what the project is about and what their participation meant for them. This is also addressed when candidly discussing the ontological and epistemological standpoints of the researcher, which allow for a level of self-reflexivity and acknowledgement of potential researcher influence before the data gathering took place. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that as long as the researcher has effectively outlined the description of the research design to allow comparison, then the transferability of the study is sufficiently addressed. This is what has been done within the method chapter, outlining the research process and describing, step-by-step, what has been done within the research inquiry.

## 3.9 Chapter summary

This methodology chapter has outlined the philosophical underpinnings of this research project, discussing the paradigmatic framing of this study and how the researchers own beliefs and views have guided the research process (Guba 1990; Denzin and Lincoln 2011b). This chapter has revisited the aims and objectives of this research, providing a theoretical and practical understanding to how the research design and data collection methods used in this project were able to achieve these aims. The participation of just four residents could be argued as limiting. However, the resulting in-depth visual and interview data that was generated as a result of the methodology justified the use of an integrated methodological approach. The self-

reflexive discussion within this chapter engendered a critical reflection of the researchers own position and influence within the research procedure, allowing any possibilities of bias, whether implicit or explicit, to be overcome through a cognizant recognition of researcher influence. The data that was generated from this study covered only four individual ascriptions of community lived experience in post-Olympic East London. However, the depth and range of photographic and interview data generated from the methodology provided rich, insightful information which was more than sufficient to respond to the aims and objectives set at the outset of the project.

Methodologically speaking, the conceptualisation of the 'Instavoice' method was based on bringing Photovoice (Wang and Burris 1997) into the modern day by utilising the emerging discipline of social media. Thus, a new method has been put forward that harmonises this photo-based method with the modern photo-sharing social media site, Instagram. Due to the proliferating magnitude of social media as a research discipline, 'Instavoice' can be adopted for future studies that wish to utilise photos to stimulate critical reflection about the external environment.

# 4. Discussion & Interpretation

## 4.1 Introduction

The following chapter discusses, analyses and interprets the themes that have emerged from the empirical data collated for this study. The textual data collected as part of the in-depth interviews and the photographic contributions collated as part of the Instavoice practice will be synergised with the researcher's own images, gathered as part of the walking ethnography. This forms a comprehensive empirical data set that can be unpacked to shine a light on the lived experience of residents and how external urban processes constitute their daily negotiations within a post-Olympic space. From the thematic analysis utilised for this chapter, and in line with the aims and objectives of this research, four themes were identified which contributed to the overall interpretation of lived experience of the participants. I begin by focusing on how residents conceive the urban processes in East London and how these have contributed to the (re)imagination and (re)formation of urban space. Secondly, I will focus on how the growing impact of gentrification has begun to shape the social fabric and the daily lives of citizens within post-Olympic communities. Thirdly, the impact this has had on the cohesion and convergence of existing and new communities within these spaces will be explored, examining how the daily experiences of bodies within have been mediated by this societal shift. Finally, the resident's thoughts, experiences and feelings about the management, delivery and provision of urban legacy, on behalf of authoritative organisations such as the LLDC, will be discussed.

### 4.1.1 Participant Map

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the experiences and 'voices' within this study reflect different positionalities within the research context. These varied social positions provided a broad variety of 'lived' experience within the post-Olympic space and contributed to a wider discussion about how the urban changes from the Olympics influenced daily lives. Despite this, it is important to draw on the work of Lefebvre (1991) and his sociological analysis of everyday life that different gendered, raced, classed and sexual subjects within this externally constituted space will interact and experience changes to the post-Olympic urban environment on differing levels. The 'lived' experience of those within this study are real and genuine interactions with this space, but it is vital to understand that other subjective bodies may experience the same

tenets of the urban environment in different ways. To ensure greater clarity is given on the experiences of those involved in this study, below is a brief description of relevant information on the participants (in order of reference in this chapter).

**John:** A young mid-20s male who has lived in Hackney Wick since August 2017. He has lived in South East London with his family and is actively involved with the artistic community within Hackney and Tower Hamlets. He is currently working for a friend in a bar in Hackney and is finding it hard to get a job in his chosen industry: Film and TV.

**Paul:** A young professional male who has lived in Hackney since 2009. He lives in one of the shared housing blocks that were built in time for the Olympics. He is a lecturer in design at a leading London university and has an interest in urbanism and urban space.

**Jack:** A middle-aged male who has lived in Stratford since the late 1980s. He is a local activist and was part of the Clays Lane Housing Estate which was forcibly demolished to make way for the Olympic Park.

**Freddie:** A young professional male who was born in Brazil and moved to London several years ago. He moved to the East Village when it was converted from the Athletes' Village and has worked with the LLDC on commissioning photographs for various media and communication outputs.

## 4.2 The (re)imagination of urban space

The reformation of urban space has been a vital component of Olympic candidature, permitting host cities to draw up new or accelerate existing plans to redevelop the cityscape (Gold and Gold 2008; Davies 2012). Indeed, as identified by both Andranovich et al. (2001) and Beriatos and Gospodini (2004), these urban regeneration processes have been heavily sutured into wider ambitions of restructuring the urban aesthetic of space within Olympic cities. It is the growing influence of inter-urban global competitiveness which drives policy-making bodies to shape urban policy, facilitating the ostentatious and the grandiose, the Olympics provides a unique opportunity for these motivations to be realised and implemented (Swyngedouw et al. 2002). Indeed, the data suggests that the daily experiences, illustrative of specific bodies in London in this study, are no different.

*"I think they are trying to make the area more appealing, and therefore this redevelopment is benefitting both those who are being attracted to these buildings and the companies and leaseholders that are making lots of money out these new builds. If you really look at it, you've got Stratford and all these really nice buildings and houses and new developments there, you've got the old athlete's village on the far side and you've got this huge area of old warehouses which doesn't look as nice. So, I feel it is more of an aesthetic thing, so it's like they are thinking 'let's get rid of that, let's put loads of money into these spaces, it's an area that isn't needed anymore so let's develop new buildings and make loads of money for companies who are making them'". (John)*

John discusses how spaces such as Stratford and the old athletes' village (now called East Village and hereafter referred to as that) conform to a particular modernist aesthetic: one which Silk (2014) described as a sparkling, sanitised neoliberal space made up of safe spaces for commercial businesses and the middle classes it attracts are connected to these zones of urban commodification and financialization throughout the rest of the capital. As places such as Hackney Wick with its older post-industrial buildings do not align to this image, from John's experience, it appears that these spaces are being transformed to adhere to this future neoliberal vision of East London (see Figure 2).



*Figure 2: The Old vs New. Old canal boats on the river with a plethora of construction projects in the backdrop (Jordan Cotton, 2017).*

Indeed, with Andranovich et al. (2001), corporate-government interests gear Olympic urban policy to foster consumption based economic development for property developers and wealthier classes, identifying that reimaging strategies and urban boosterism in Olympic spaces are done so at the expense of the existing urban fabric and incumbent residents within (Ren 2017). Indeed, this statement also reveals an interesting insight into what constitutes the ground level perceptions toward the changing image of specific residents' urban locality. The reference to the already altered urban makeup of Stratford and East Village compared to the ongoing urban reformation processes extant within Hackney Wick is exemplary of the assertion by Silk (2011) that spaces in London that are seen as abject (Hackney Wick, Fish Island) to the preferred neoliberal aesthetic (Stratford City Developments, East Village) are exposed to aggressive modes of urban redevelopment in a bid to prettify part of London's East End: attracting wealthier classes and investors while deterring 'unsavoury' individuals.

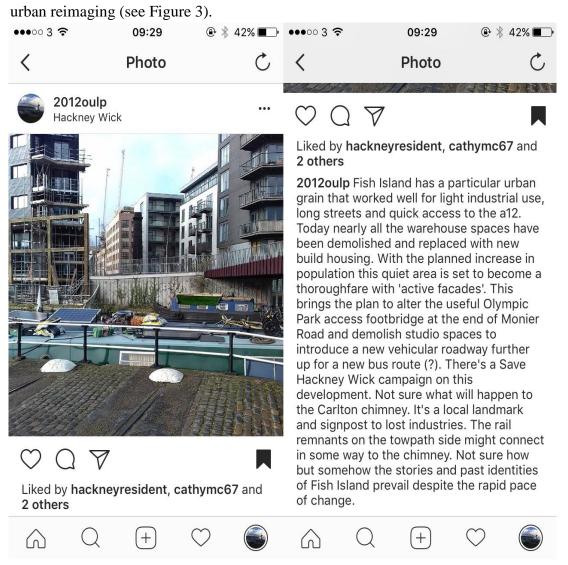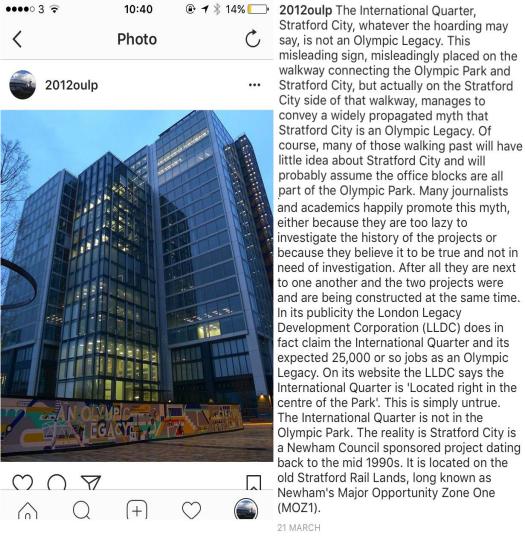This was further elaborated upon by another who shared his personal experiences of urban reimaging (see Figure 3).



*Figure 3: Fish Island – Instavoice contribution (Paul)*

*"Hackney Wick, because it is a thoroughfare to the Olympic Park and Stratford is thoroughfare, Stratford International and the Park and all the rest of it, it kind of feels as if there is this sort of corridor of active frontages, like they are trying to manage the public appearance of the place" (Paul)*

The data are suggestive that the places proximal to the Olympic Park are being conformed to the preferred public appearance via 'active frontages' or 'active facades'. The 'active frontage' is a term used to define a space or building which suggests life, vitality, interest and safety in the public realm (Heffernan et al. 2014). Indeed, it is useful here to draw from the architectural domain and apply the concept of 'Facadism' (Richards 1994) to the urban transformations that are ongoing in post-Olympic East London. In its literal form, the preservation of historical facades, that is

to maintain the historical exterior of buildings while revamping and (re)imaging the interior, divorces the architectural history of buildings and converts townscapes into performative stage-sets (Silk 2007). Facadism is thus concerned with the selective recollection and replication of the preferred past of buildings, while refashioning historical tenets of buildings which cannot be exploited or utilised for touristic appeal or capital gain (Richards 1994).

Emblematic of this is the reimagination and demolition of historical warehouse workspaces within Hackney Wick and Fish Island. These spaces serve as historical reminders of the working-class, artistic and creative culture synonymous with these areas and are now being exploited for their attractive historical heritage by being converted into real estate. By demolishing or renovating post-industrial warehouses in these areas historically associated with socio-economic hardship (Bernstock 2014), buildings and spaces that emit a certain type of image, one of sterility, safety and ostentatious profitability, are being developed, yet are capitalising on the historical facets of the buildings to promote the transformative vision of post-Olympic East London. With Paton et al. (2012), spaces of 'active consumption' in post-Olympic zones of socio-economic deprivation are part of the neoliberal urbanisation processes inherent to the Olympics (Manley and Silk 2011). And while Stratford and East Village are further along in the socio-urban (re)imagination plans for East London, people within Hackney Wick and Fish Island experience the effects these market-driven urbanisation motivations are having on these spaces, as frontages or facades of active consumption are introduced, shifting the societal and cultural dynamic of these spaces (Stevenson 2013; Stevenson 2016). These urban 'facades' become little more than emblems of the contemporary narratives of inclusion and exclusion, as urban developments are geared toward capitalising on the preferred historical aspects of space while (re)imagining the unfavourable interior. As these spaces of historical and cultural heritage become increasingly managed and marketed to outside populations, those incumbent to these historically socio-economically challenged spaces are deemed as the 'abject' other and are kept out through mechanisms of gentrification (Silk and Andrews 2008).

**2012oulp** The International Quarter, Stratford City, whatever the hoarding may say, is not an Olympic Legacy. This misleading sign, misleadingly placed on the walkway connecting the Olympic Park and Stratford City, but actually on the Stratford City side of that walkway, manages to convey a widely propagated myth that Stratford City is an Olympic Legacy. Of course, many of those walking past will have little idea about Stratford City and will probably assume the office blocks are all part of the Olympic Park. Many journalists and academics happily promote this myth, either because they are too lazy to investigate the history of the projects or because they believe it to be true and not in need of investigation. After all they are next to one another and the two projects were and are being constructed at the same time. In its publicity the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) does in fact claim the International Quarter and its expected 25,000 or so jobs as an Olympic Legacy. On its website the LLDC says the International Quarter is 'Located right in the centre of the Park'. This is simply untrue. The International Quarter is not in the Olympic Park. The reality is Stratford City is a Newham Council sponsored project dating back to the mid 1990s. It is located on the old Stratford Rail Lands, long known as Newham's Major Opportunity Zone One (MOZ1).

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*Figure 4: The International Quarter – Instavoice contribution (Jack)*

Figure 4 depicts the International Quarter as a legacy of the initial plans for Stratford City, not the Olympics, aligning with Allen and Cochrane (2014) insofar that the Olympics in London served to accelerate existing plans to change Stratford. Indeed, this contribution portrays a development which is emblematic of the image to which East London is becoming conformed. The International Quarter, Westfield, Here East, and East Village are urban developments which have been accelerated and legitimised by the Olympics and have acted as a blueprint for the future vision of East London and potential future investment. By 'de-risking' East London and making it an attractive place for large, international organisations to operate, it can be reimagined as a space of active consumption and consumerism (Paton et al. 2012; Smith 2014). This is identified in the account of Freddie.

*"I think the East End is the new West End, you know. I think it is connecting to Canary Wharf as well, you know. If you see from the area, you can see the two are connected. And if you go back in history, Canary Wharf, when they started it, everybody was saying "this is a waste of money, this is nonsense, it's too far from central London, it's a wasteland, blah blah blah" and now look. And it's the same thing here, people say "it's a waste of money, they spend billions" but the money is going to come back in the long term. Even in the next 5 years, once the international quarter is complete, how many people are going to be working there, how many big companies are going to have their big head offices there." (Freddie)*

This reflection compares what is happening in post-Olympics East London to the redevelopment of Canary Wharf as an economic hub to rival that of central London. Indeed, the assertion that "*the East End is the new West End*" is a succinct depiction of the transformation currently taking place within East London and is emblematic of Cord's (2017) assertion that deprived parts of London are being aggressively shaped to conform to the wider spatiality of power and manufactured neoliberal urbanisation extant within the rest of the capital. This was also alluded to by Paul who discussed the further changes planned for the social dynamic in East London.

*"I think the Here East development is really interesting, as that is something that is really out of the box, in terms of trying to propel a particular kind of regeneration, a type of knowledge culture, which Is great, I mean I go to lectures there now in the evening when I have time, so that's great. But with the V&A now coming in, and not being in one site, but two, I'm not sure if that is top secret or not but it could be, but that for me is a very interesting move in terms of legacy and in terms of how the area is going to change again beyond the young professionals and hipsters, because once you bring in knowledge culture and that sort of thing, I think it could change the whole dynamic once again, but that's a long way away." (Paul)*

This was also touched on by Freddie when discussing what changes were happening within the QEOP.

*"Once the Olympicopolis, all the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) and all those museums are coming here I think that's going to bring about a new change as well." (Freddie)*

These two accounts elaborate on the planned incorporation of knowledge and educational institutions into East London, adjacent to the Olympic Park itself. Indeed, Freddie's reference to Olympicopolis (which as recently as June 2018 has been renamed as East Bank due to a planning mishap (see Wainwright 2018)) - a planned educational quarter that will be home to the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A), University College London, London College of Fashion, Sadler Wells (contemporary dance theatre) and the Smithsonian Institution (Gold and Gold 2017) – is a clear example of the type of social and cultural changes planned for East London. These

reflections on the ambitions for a wider expansion of a 'knowledge culture' aligns to the work of Roche (2002) and Allen and Cochrane (2014) who suggest the Olympics are a mechanism whereby a new global culture of consumerism and tourism become sutured into post-Olympic space. Moreover, the establishment of these cultural and knowledge institutions, retail spaces and business centres are emblematic of 'glocalization' processes that are extant in areas of previous deprivation (Kohler and Wissen 2003). Indeed, with Paton et al. (2014; 2017) the urban (re)constitution of 'problem places' filled with 'problem people' is prompting the locality of East London to being conformed to a globalised culture of consumerism, business, knowledge and tourism and shaped in sites of 'active consumption' filled with 'responsible citizens'.

As these urban reshaping processes take hold in post-Olympic sites, concentrating on the hyper-modernisation and beautification of urban space, what Porter termed a "global creative class" (2009, p.246) are attracted to these new landscapes and the aesthetic homes and global employment opportunities they offer. John discussed residents who are connected to East Village, an area he perceives as 'wealthier'.

*"People who move there are much wealthier for sure, people who can afford to live there, you know. People who have done incredibly well in their careers, they could probably have a place in there from their mid-30s, it seems to be a more middle-aged area. I mean it's nice, all the small businesses that are there, if they put that into the Wick, that would be wonderful but there is a reason they are over there and not here and that's because all the wealthier, desirable people are over there."*
*(John)*

John's reference to the type of people in East Village is an interesting insight and is similar to what was said by Paul.

*"On the other side of the Olympic park where the Athletes Village was, you know that has changed quite a lot in the last couple of years, so a lot of the housing there is occupied by young professionals, which implies a particular kind of quietness. The shops and the retail spaces and eateries and stuff are very kind of chic in a way that is very targeted and it doesn't seem to be very authentic." (Paul)*

John and Paul's accounts shine a light on the type of people that they feel have been attracted to the new developments in the area. They resonate with the suggestions of Stevenson (2016) and Watt and Bernstock (2017) that East London has been (re)shaped since the Olympic Games to attract a middle-class demographic to the new societal, cultural and structural developments within this space. Indeed, it is perhaps useful to apply Lawler's (2005) work on the establishment of middle-class identities, by problematising working-class existence, to adequately form zones of a preferred
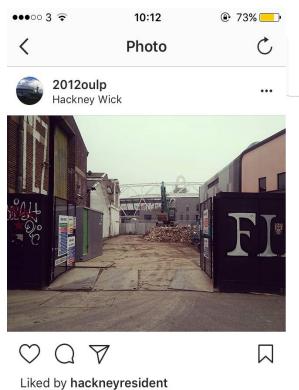
middle-class aesthetic. The data imply this formation of space comprised of 'targeted' and 'chic' businesses, shops and eateries and the consolidation of a 'particular kind of quietness'. This contributes to the creation of a habitus aligned to a distinct neoliberal aesthetic, constituted with preferred middle-class dispositions and devoid of working-class noise, existence and presence (Lawler 2005). These specific interpretations suggest the creation of enclaves filled with targeted spaces and places, attracting a 'desirable' demographic with desirable middle-class attributes, and are perceived to be more aligned to that of a productive, neoliberal citizen. Whilst modes of social control were implemented which marginalised 'problem' people (such as homeless people: see Figure 5) (Silk 2014; Gray and Porter 2015).



*Figure 5: Anti-sleeping bench. One of many in the Olympic Park (Jordan Cotton, 2017).*

*Figure 6: The Olympic Stadium – Instavoice contribution (John)*

The contribution submitted by John (Figure 6) provides an interesting elaboration on the perceived shifting socio-cultural processes within Hackney Wick. With the Olympic Stadium in the background, a prominent symbol of the urban (re)developments extant within this post-Olympic landscape, John mentions about how creative spaces have been demolished to improve public transport links for those who are moving into gentrified developments in the area. Developing the statements by John and Paul further, this specific contribution illuminates that East London is attracting a wealthier class, suggesting that spaces and places that are authentic to Hackney Wick are now being removed and developed into urban structures which cater for this incoming middle-class demographic who are moving into these new expensive, aesthetic spaces. Kennelly (2017) illuminated that, since the 2012 Olympics, the urban renewal processes in Hackney Wick have shifted away from focusing on local employment needs and affordable housing, towards processes that contribute to wider ambitions of reconfiguring the perception of East London into that of a productive, neoliberal landscape (Allen and Cochrane 2014). The urban restructuring of spaces consigned to post-Olympic regeneration involves the (re)imagination of historic and cultural tenets of the urban fabric, whereby methods of

rewriting urban history have been utilised to achieve an image of touristic appeal, capitalising on the profitability such facets of the incumbent urban makeup exude.

*"You can see that from the Bagel Factory building that has been built next to the station, because obviously at one point there was a Bagel Factory there, and now all of these warehouse style apartments are going up, and although it has got nothing to do with the Bagel Factory, other than it's built near the site of the old one which was demolished to make way for these new high rises. The new build is called the Bagel Factory but has nothing to do with it. They knocked it down and built all of these new buildings and marketed it as the Bagel Factory." (John)*

*"The rewriting of urban history is a fascinating one. So, a lot of the new developments have been labelled and branded by housing development companies. So, there was a place called Mr. Bagels which was a successful bagel shop and bagel factory, but there is now a development across the road which has been labelled the Old Bagel Factory even though it wasn't the Bagel Factory, it was just near it, so people would be coming in going 'oh this is where the old Bagel Factory was' sort of thing. So, in some way, the developers are rebranding and reshaping how the history of the place is being presented for the future, which I find really interesting. It's kind of creating and bringing the history and the narrative of the place, what makes the place the place, and sort of bringing that up and changing it for their own gain, to fit the narrative that they want it to fit. I find that troubling, but also fascinating. I think their ulterior motives are profit but equally, what does that do to the identity of the place?" (Paul)*

These ascribed meanings offer an interesting narrative to the modalities of urban (re)imagination being enacted in East London. Both residents are clear in their suggestions that the processes attached to the rewriting of urban history, or what Silk termed "historical revisionism" (2014, p.2), are capitalising on the name and image of a historical place and using this for commercial gain. With Nora, this process of 'presentism' – that is, (re)situating the "presence of the past in the present" (1989, p20) – is exemplary of how powerful actors can blur the lines between the history and the present: (re)configuring historical values of spaces and (re)shaping them within the present to consolidate dominant ascriptions of these spaces. Indeed, these accounts offer a unique visceral insight into a specific method of urban (re)imagination of space following the 2012 Olympics, developing upon the suggestion of Canales (2011) that the Olympics offers an opportunity to rewrite the social and urban history of aspects within the host city. It is perhaps appropriate here to draw from Smith's (1996) work on urban revanchism and the 'revanchist city', insofar that real estate developers are (re)narrating the history of places to conform to their preferred ascriptions of future space, this (re)claiming of urban spaces and the subsequent utilisation of their

historical and cultural value for saleability and profit, contributes to a removal of history and community in exchange for the "triumph of consumerism" (Silk 2014, p.6). While the Bagel Factory mentioned by both residents is a specific example, it represents wider processes of urban refashioning of areas with historical and cultural value and contributes to a greater understanding of the (re)imagination of urban space extant within and around the Olympic Park.

Indeed, a vital component in the (re)configuration of urban image is the implementation of securitization to appeal to the perception of safety concerns of businesses and wealthier classes. To use the work of Kern (2007), to consolidate the neoliberal urban agenda those in control of urban revitalisation policies institutionalise a culture of fear of the 'other' to validate the gentrification and redevelopment efforts. Exemplary of this is how the QEOP and its adjacent aesthetic and commoditised spaces are consolidated within the urban locality, as comprehensive modes of social control, surveillance and securitisation are crystallised within these newly formed spaces of 'sterility' and 'safety' (Hassan 2014; Silk 2014). Graham refers to the "omniscient surveillance" (2012, p.446) within the Olympic Park whilst Silk (2014) illuminated how surveillance, regulation and securitisation are ingrained within Olympic developments to control 'certain' bodies therein. Indeed, the issue of surveillance is emblematic of this neoliberal (re)constitution of urban space of which residents reflected on their lived experience of surveillance as well as their perceptions of securitisation technologies within differing communities.

*"I noticed a lot of cameras in the Olympic Park. Everywhere you walk there seem to be a load of cameras looking at you" (Paul)*

*"I would say there is a lot of surveillance in Stratford, that makes sense, it is built up, it's a city, there are lots of shops and lots of people and lots of businesses. I'd say surveillance and security for the Olympic buildings themselves would be high so nobody would break in. So, like the athlete's village, there is plenty of surveillance there." (John)*

And when speaking about Hackney Wick and Fish Island specifically, John reflected on increased levels of CCTV in the area.

*"Redgates had a load of security cameras installed and it's not 100% clear whether that is for security reasons or in order to keep an eye on the residents? And I know a lot of the Redgates residents weren't happy about that and each of the leaseholders have access to the camera footage through a live feed and an app now. So, essentially, they can tune in and access that at any time." (John)*

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To draw from and develop the work of Manley and Silk (2013), surveillance and securitisation is a form of social control whereby 'desirable' individuals are comforted by such technologies: whereas 'abject' and 'unsavoury' individuals are watched, observed and monitored which can contribute to a feeling of unease and unsettlement. These accounts align with that of Graham (2012) and Manley and Silk (2013) insofar that the spaces that have already been consigned to this sparkling and sanitised image are littered with surveillance technologies, contributing to the discursive policing and control of these spaces. It is indeed emblematic of the complex transformations of East London into a neoliberal space, tailored to wealthier, creative classes, that the spaces referred to by the participants (Olympic Park, Stratford, East Village) are those that are further along in the urban transformation to a preferred vision of East London.

Overall, as these spaces become entrenched in commoditisation, urban (re)fashioning, historical reinterpretation and widespread surveillance, the wider impacts of neoliberal urbanisation which are sutured into this (re)composition of the urban fabric result in the marginalisation and subjugation of certain 'inactive' (consumers) citizens in these commodified spaces. The (re)imagination of the cultural and social fabric of East London leads to the polarisation of existing communities and, through the governance of gentrification as a mode of social control, lead to the displacement and fracturing of communities whom are unable or unwilling to function in these newly formed zones of expense and consumption.

## 4.3 Relocation, relocation, relocation

As has been discussed elsewhere, extensive relocations and the forced displacement of existing residents from zones of Olympic upheaval have been endemically associated with the Games and its inherent urban regeneration efforts that occur leading up to and following the event (Lenskyj 2000; Minnaert 2012; Muller 2015b; Malhaldo and Araujo 2017). As consequences of Games-led regeneration, the displacement of existing communities has historically been exercised within areas of (in the eyes of an authoritative elite) socio-economic deprivation: acting as the prominent mode of social control which helps consolidate the market-led transformation of these urban spaces into zones of consumption (Allen and Cochrane 2014). The photographic contributions and associated accounts from the participants

in this study reveal visceral, ground level representations of resident displacement as a result of Olympic-led regeneration in East London.
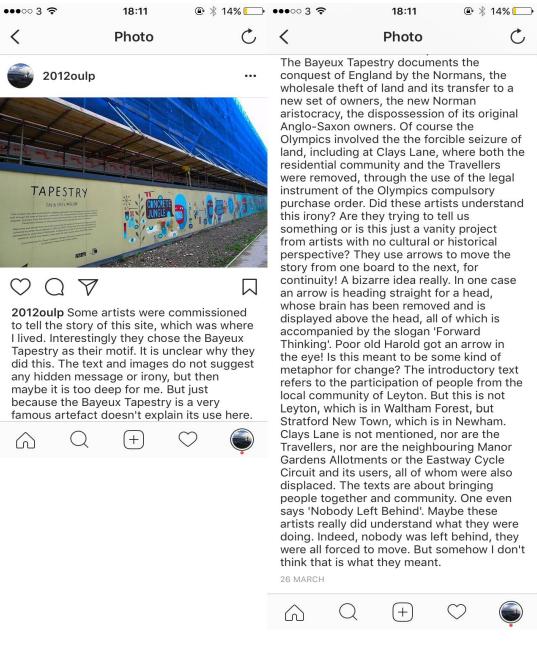


*Figure 7: Tapestry – Instavoice Contribution (Jack)*

> *"I was extremely depressed by the fact I was forced out of my home at the Clays Lane estate was demolished to make way for the Olympic Park. And I was more aggrieved at the fact it was to be for nothing, and I still feel like that, my initial feelings have been born out." (Jack)*

Jack offers a unique insight into what constitutes a displaced resident's sentiment towards the wider, discursive processes of forced relocation, of which he was subject to, outlining how he felt following his forced removal from his home as a result of the

Games, and intriguingly, how he feels it was for nothing (see Figure 7). Simultaneously, it highlights the 'historical revisionism' (Silk 2014) at play within the site where Clays Lane was as there is no mention of the demolished commune among the Tapestry. It reveals discursive actions of relocation and the attempted obscurantist 'silencing' of these events: de-amplifying parts of history which are inhibitive to the future narrative of East London, whilst (re)presenting certain histories to come to life in the present and assist in this formation of place (Silk 2014). Developing Kennelly's (2017) contextualisation of Bourdieu's 'symbolic violence' to London 2012, this working-class like community, antithetic to the preferred vision elite actors had for East London, were subject to harsh processes of subordination and land accumulation via Olympic compulsory purchase orders. Which, due to the strategic location of this space to this future vision, resulted in what Raco and Tunney (2010) described as the largest legally enforced eviction programme in England.



*Figure 8: Prince Edward Road – Instavoice Contribution (Paul)*

This 'Instavoice' contribution from Paul (Figure 8) reveals real, active processes of gentrification and urban reshaping at work. The introduction of 'anti-sleep benches' and 'anti-skateboarding bumps' suggests those who facilitate these plans are attempting to discourage and deter certain individuals in society (the homeless, young skateboarders) from these spaces in a bid to establish a clean and sterile middle-class habitus (Kennelly 2017). The image also alludes to the closure of a popular local pub (The Hackney Pearl), how the area has become more vacant due to the displacement of people who cannot afford to live there and references a new coffee shop whereby 'new residents in the new housing' can visit. This provides a specific 'lived' insight into what constitutes the (re)narration of the urban and social fabric within Hackney, revealing how the discursive processes of gentrification begin to take shape and influence spaces and the experiences of the bodies therein (Stevenson 2016; Gillespie et al. 2018). These issues of relocation and gentrification were also raised by John when asked about the impacts of Olympic related urban and spatial developments.

*"Erm, but yeah, it's almost like, I don't want to use the term divide and conquer, but it is almost like it has been quartered up and bit by bit being developed on. It has been replaced by the idea the Olympic Legacy authorities have for the area, and definitely, kind of what I was saying earlier, definitely cashing in on what is already there. Their idea is like "this is a hip and cool, trendy area, why not come and live here?" and it's a bit like ok, great but where are all the people that live here because they can't afford to live anywhere else going to live?" (John)*

These concerns were also voiced by Paul:

*"You can sort of see how everyone was scared of what was known as the 'Shoreditch Effect' – and that the Olympic Games coming and the investment would potentially end up moving all of the original, heartfelt, authentic, artistic communities, so to speak, from Hackney Wick, people wondered 'where else are we going to go?' and things like that and what has actually happened is it has actually come true." (Paul)*

John refers to how Hackney has been 'quartered up' and developed to align with 'the idea the Olympic Legacy authorities have for the area' and 'cashing in on' the cultural history of this area (Stevenson 2016): exemplified by the (re)ordering of the past within the present to benefit powerful organisations and their motivations of profitability and financialization (Silk 2014). This specific account reveals a ground-level example of Harvey's (2008) 'accumulation by dispossession' whereby, under contemporary strategies of neoliberalism, poorer habitants have been dispossessed of their homes through aggressive strategies of land accumulation, thus resulting in increasing land values and real-estate and, derivatively, rent prices and living costs

(Watt 2013; Bernstock 2014). They both alluded to the narrative of Hackney and East London becoming (re)imagined by authoritative organisations (Shoreditch effect), acting as a form of governance to polarise and displace those who cannot afford to remain in these now costly areas. This shines a light on how the urban (re)developments within Hackney and East London, through regulatory means (see Raco 2014), have been directed by corporate interests who shape these restructuring processes to align with a preferred neoliberal vision: rendering 'unsavoury' individuals whom are deemed antithetic to this newly formed space of 'active consumption' as dispensable, consequentially fostering displacement and forced relocation (Short 2008; Paton et a. 2012). Indeed, this is further explored by John.
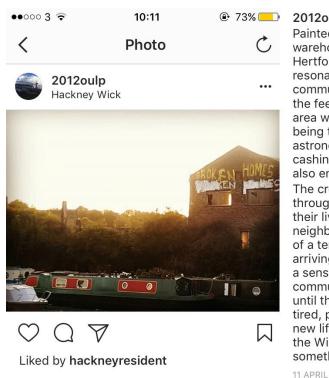
*"I know of a huge group of people who are moving to Berlin now, because they can't afford to live in London anymore. Because they are having to leave the country to go and work in a big city where they can afford rent, because the prices are so high here. I know a group of people who have had to move to Tottenham Hale, but that area is a bit more dodgy than here, so it is cheaper." (John)*

This is emblematic of what Peck (2012) termed 'austerity urbanism' whose work, despite being appropriated to the United States, is evident within the UK due to the extensive state-led housing 'reforms' and austerity cutbacks, leading to an untenable housing crisis within London due to inflated property costs. Residents within (historically) socio-economically deprived areas such as Hackney and Newham are being squeezed from both sides, as state subsidiaries to afford housing is being reduced and the prices of property are increasing dramatically (Hodkinson et al. 2013; Watt and Bernstock 2017). The redevelopments in East London have resulted in both reduced affordable housing (due to private construction companies facilitating housing developments through regulatory capitalism) and the inability for 'problem' individuals to afford rental and living costs (due to neoliberal strategies of financial and welfare cutbacks and reforms) (Powell 2015). This provides an authentic illumination of how specific individuals are being forcibly displaced to the peripheral hinterlands and spaces of disenfranchisement, away from the urban core of the neoliberal masterplan for East London (Watt 2018). Further, following the work of Giroux (2005), certain 'unsavoury' bodies who can't afford to actively contribute to the consumerist urban spaces that have been created in parts of East London are thus deemed as 'disposable populations', automatically consigned to peripheral zones of

invisibility, disenfranchisement and surveillance (Berlin, Tottenham Hale) from the manufactured, neoliberal space that is the Olympic Park.

Overall, these lived experiences exemplify the tactics of urban (re)constitution, spatial (re)fashioning and social (re)valorisation deployed as part of the wider governance of gentrification which tailors urban space for 'some' (wealthier, middle, creative classes) while fixing it to eviscerate the 'degenerate other' from these post-Olympic zones of consumption (Gray and Porter 2015). These experiences provide a contextual illumination of the politics of citizenship within post-Olympic East London, revealing those whom have the 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008) as wealthier, creative consumerist classes: while simultaneously polarizing and fragmenting the 'deserving poor' via gentrification, reduction in social housing resources and other modes of social control.

## 4.4 Communities: convergence or divergence?

As the urban redevelopment processes within Olympic spaces take hold, the communities that exist within these zones of regeneration become mediated by the externally constituted practices of Olympic-led urban policy (Giulianotti et al. 2015; Pappalepore and Duignan 2016). This is no different when expanding upon these processes and the impacts on residents in East London. One of the key agendas of London 2012's 'legacy' was that of 'convergence' – meaning, closing the gap in performance and prospects between the wealthiest and poorest communities. The proffered narrative was that of providing local East Londoners the opportunities to prosper socially, culturally and financially as a result of Olympic regeneration. However, the data from this project is rather suggestive of an alternative (opposing) narrative to 'convergence' of communities, referred to from this point as community 'divergence'.

2012oulp "Broken Homes"
Painted onto the side of a disused warehouse overlooking the canal leading to Hertford Union Lower Lock No.3, this piece resonates with the fleeting artistic community. Not only does it communicate the feeling of despair of those living in an area where housing and communities are being torn apart and replaced with astronomically expensive apartments cashing in on the areas artistic appeal. But also encapsulates something much deeper. The creatives drawn here have all been through hard, and often horrific times in their lives. Time and again you speak to neighbours, friends, housemates and learn of a terrible time they went through before arriving in the Wick. It draws them in, installs a sense of safety in those arriving with its community, and slowly but surely heals them until they feel human again. It takes on the tired, poor and damaged souls and breathes new life into them "Say what you want about the Wick, but they really have built something special here."
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*Figure 9: Broken Homes – Instavoice Contribution (John)*

Suggestive of the fractured and 'broken' communities that are now extant within areas such as Hackney Wick, this specific contribution (Figure 9) illuminates the social fragmentation processes that have been developing in the area as a result of the destruction of artistic communities and buildings and their subsequent replacement by 'astronomically expensive apartments'. 'Broken Homes' is a poignant symbol of the community divergence that John feels has been happening in Hackney Wick, adding to the work of Stevenson (2016) on the reconstitution of areas of East London through urban reimagination and community displacement. This is a vociferous explication which develops Mitchell's (2001) 'broken windows' in the urban domain. That is, in the newly revanchist, post-modern townscapes of East London, diversity is no longer preserved by protecting the rights of the most disadvantaged, instead policies are implemented which foster snowballing gentrification and create untenable living conditions for disadvantaged citizens, serving to push this 'other' out based on their inability to contribute to these newly formed neoliberal enclaves of consumption (Hubbard 2004). In each individual interview, John and Paul explained further about the processes of urban revisionism and social commoditisation.

*"It is cashing in on the area, it is building on top of a culture and in doing so it is snuffing it out and fragmenting it. These places are massively expensive now and there is no way you're going to get the same sort of people coming in" (John)*

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*"All of these new builds and cleaning up of old buildings has engendered the entrepreneurial types coming in and taking over those spaces. And, there price range is so dramatically different – but on a Friday night the one that is priced really high is super busy, and the one that has been there a long time and is cheaper, is absolutely dead. So there is a kind of shift in the demographic as well" (Paul)*
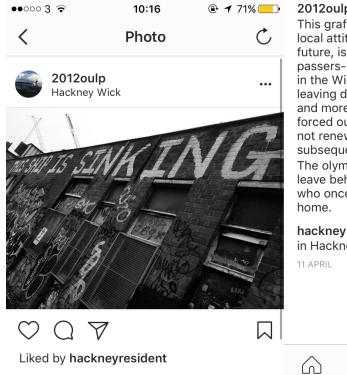
An account of this can also be seen within Stratford City, as discussed here by Jack.

*"And it's the same with the housing developments in Stratford, there is a massive level of turnover of people going in and out of these properties, so you have a very mobile population and a very fractured community feel. I mean, East London, historically had a very settled population. People have been here all their lives, yet now you have a greater degree of churn, with people coming and going." (Jack)*

These specific accounts point toward this alternative narrative of 'divergence' and begin to paint a stark picture of the social fragmentation occurring in communes proximal to the Olympic Park. It adds to the work of Watt (2013) in the sense that urban transformations in East London have contributed to a metamorphosis of space and place and how processes such as gentrification are implicated in such changes. It appears that the commodification and capital accumulation of land and property has contributed to a disjointed and temporary community culture in East London, polarizing those who cannot afford to live in these newly formed zones of middle-class aesthetic and wealth. It is thus important to understand why these differences are present within East London. It can be argued that since the end of the Games in 2012, East Village, with its aesthetic housing, shops, cafes and amenities, has been manufactured specifically for the types of people which policy makers, state actors and authoritative organisations wish to attract to East London. It appears that while East Village has already been transformed into the neoliberal space that is symbolic of post-Olympic urbanism: Stratford, Hackney Wick and Fish Island, spaces which are deemed as strategic to the wider expansion of East London as a neoliberal enclave (Watt 2013), are at different stages of the urban transition which is geared to transform them into scrubbed, sanitised and safe spaces (Silk 2014), much like East Village. These processes of urban transition were explicitly reflected upon by the residents.

*"I feel like it has fragmented this area (Hackney). So, Stratford has been kept its own little bubble, and Stratford is being developed all the time, so communities there not so much, and places like East Village is a brand-new development, and people there will probably be very happy. But places like the Wick and Fish Island have sort of been separated away and been left on its own and it's being built on top of with warehouses being knocked down and such." (John)*

*"It is a much more manufactured space. So, what you have is in Stratford, these huge office developments and shopping developments as well as the transport links, drawing people in. Now whether that just makes Stratford into a rather busy concrete wilderness, I don't know." (Jack)*

Whilst East Village has been fully aligned to this preferred image of modernism, financialisaton and commodification, Stratford is further along the urbanisation process with the International Quarter, Here East and other developments. However, Hackney Wick and Fish Island are currently at the earlier stages of urban transformation: that being, the demolition of workspaces and warehouses and the construction of houses and spaces that align to this neoliberal vision. With Watt (2015), processes of Olympic related gentrification ripple out from the financial and business epicentre of London, encompassing areas that were previously deprived and disenfranchised, transforming parts of London's East End by attempting to 'converge' it with the consumerist neoliberal playscape synonymous with the rest of London. As these processes take hold, and 'spectacular', market-driven urbanism crystallises within these areas, subsequent gentrification processes act as a modality to polarise and fragment bodies deemed as antithetic to the neoliberal image (Silk 2014).



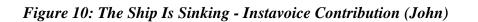*Figure 10: The Ship Is Sinking - Instavoice Contribution (John)*

Figure 10 is an illustration of the fractious social environment extant within Hackney Wick, illuminating the sentiment that John feels is not just his own, but also representative of the wider feeling of this community. This is also elaborated upon when was asked how he felt these urban processes have impacted the local community and the confliction of residents within.

*"Just implanting these new buildings and these new developments on top and bringing in people with, either a certain amount of money, or a huge mortgage, trying to start their lives here, and implanting themselves in an existing community is creating a slightly hostile and broken community"* *(John)*

This was echoed by Paul:

*"The new builds and new homes perpetuate this sort of rhythm, as the social landlords aren't really managing or able to manage the type of people that come into these homes. It's the same thing for the young professionals who, then get married and have kids and they have to move out, so you're left with these mixed-use homes and properties and it's actually all very very cyclical, so once you multiply that across all the new builds on the outskirts and within the Olympic Park it's going to lead to quite an unstable, disjointed, fragmented and hostile living environment. Again, I find it all very interesting, but for me living in it, you can't really make friends."* *(Paul)*

Who also went on to discuss how this community hostility has impacted him:

*"The influx of new, wealthier residents creates greater resentment between differing communities. I think that is part of the reason I got hit in the head, because I'm seen as part of the problem, you know, white, speccy bloke walking down the street."* *(Paul)*

What these specific accounts illuminate - especially within Hackney Wick and Fish Island, areas that have already been outlined in this thesis as being at the earlier stages of the wider urbanisation process - are that the relationships between existing communities and new communities are becoming hostile as the urban and social fabric shifts. People whom align with preferred ascriptions of citizenship through actions of consumption are moving into these areas of urban (re)fashioning, while existing bodies who do not have the (financial, social, cultural) means to participate in the incessant urban gentrification practices - which are transforming these areas into spaces of urban consumption - become fractured, polarized and disenfranchised (Silk 2014; Paton et al. 2017). Particularly in Paul's case, an example of how this community conflict has boiled over, resulting in him being attacked, due to what he feels is because he looks like the 'problem'.

Indeed, it develops upon Silk (2014) who outlined how before and during the Olympics in boroughs such as Hackney and Tower Hamlets, 'unwanted' social actors (the abject other) were subject to extremified variations of the penal code (as part of the 2003 Anti-Social Behaviour Act). However, Paul's experience represents a paradoxical shift whereby the 'haves' in this community are subject to distasteful treatment by the 'have nots' (Stevenson 2016) and is emblematic of how the (re)development and (re)imagining of the urban locality to 'diverge' these communities and the bodies therein. This extract unearths an interesting revelation in what is reflected as 'favourable' and 'unfavourable' bodies in post-Olympic space. Paul, a young, white, middle-class professional is deemed as the 'preferred' citizen in contemporary post-Olympic Hackney, yet his existence in Hackney, although in transition, is deemed as a 'problem' place, creating an interesting situation whereby he is subject to threats of violence from the incumbent 'other' within.

Despite being part of the middle-class demographic, Paul and John are both cognizant of the subjugation processes happening within post-Olympic East London, revealing subjective formations of 'lived' experience in these spaces are much more nuanced and complex. Whilst some studies have focused on experience of bodies on the urban margins (see Kennelly and Watt 2011, 2013; Kennelly 2015, 2017) this reveals a precious insight into 'lived' experience of members of those being prompted to fill these spaces

However, it is important to note here the account of Freddie when discussing the overall lived experiences of the specific residents within this study in post-Olympic communities. Below is an 'Instavoice' contribution from him as well as statements from the interview when discussing the urban changes in both Hackney Wick and his own community, East Village.



*Figure 11: East Village – Instavoice Contribution (Freddie)*

*"I feel the developments help connect people as well. People were a little bit worried about what was going to happen in Hackney Wick, but Hackney Wick is a creative hub that has been going on since the industrial revolution, and I don't think it is going to damage it at all." (Freddie)*

*"I think so, I think it has been very positive, from the people that I know and have spoken to, or work with or interact with, everybody thinks it is really positive." (Freddie)*

This contribution (Figure 11) and the associated extracts from the interview reveals the positive affinity Freddie has towards the developments within East London, especially East Village. Contrasting this to voices critical to this 'convergence' narrative, it highlights the dichotomy within social and cultural life in East London. It

can be said that due to the societal context in which Freddie is moored, his lived experiences have contributed to the construction of his belief that the urban changes are wholly positive: and perhaps more intriguingly, despite his knowledge of the regeneration efforts in Hackney Wick, Freddie's viewpoint differs entirely to that of the residents (Paul & John) whom live within this space. Indeed, this is typified in the following excerpt.

*"Here you feel more connected to everything, even the lifestyle change, you're connected to more sports, you can connect to more people. Like, the village where I live now, East Village which is the old athlete's village, basically I know all my neighbours, I know all their names, that's unlike anywhere else in London I feel."*
*(Freddie)*

Freddie's account provides an alternative insight to the more critical reflections, aligning with the 'convergence' agenda purported to be at the heart of the urban regeneration legacy in East London. Freddie discusses the 'connected' community feel of East Village in comparison to anywhere in London, with the collaborative nature of this modernised community, populated with a young, creative, professional demographic, offering a contrasting insight into everyday life in this particular space. To develop the work of Castells (1999), those who can afford to live in East Village are perceived as being a source of value to the wider consumer-orientated locality, not only connected to the discursive consumerist developments that have sprung up within post-Olympic space, but connected to one another to form a community of individuals deemed 'valuable' to the neoliberal trajectory of East London. Concomitantly, as these spaces of valued citizenry begin to crystallise, those who are not considered 'valuable' are increasingly excluded from such areas as they "offer little contribution as either producers or consumers" (Castells 1999, p.10), fostering spaces of stigmatization which are subject to aggressive processes of land accumulation to attract these 'valuable' citizens.

It is this social dichotomy that begins to reveal more complex processes at play within lived experience of Olympic related urbanism. As a resident of East Village, Freddie's account, so different to others in this study, reveals a complex layer of subjective formations of space and place: suggesting that post-Olympic spaces are complex zones of individualistic formations of lived reality and contested spatiality's of citizenship (Kallio 2018). Indeed, developing the work of Silk (2014), these urban regeneration processes appear to have contributed to the 'bifurcation' of citizens, as urban spaces

and urban populations are either servile to, or shunned by, the market-driven consumerist logics which motivates urban (re)development. This societal dualism reveals that the subjective formations of citizenship are constructed by the external facets which constitute daily experience and formation of social life: gender, race, ethnicity, sex, and socio-economic standing are all components which influence formations of social experience, suggesting that lived experience within post-Olympic space is non-linear and multi-faceted.

Developing upon Woodcraft and Smith (2017), these accounts reveal the social divide that has evolved within London's East End. What has resulted is a bifurcated East London: the preferred 'valuable' bodies who reside in the 'new East End' are embedded within and connected to this newly commoditised, sparkling and sanitised space while those who are tied to the 'old East End' and deemed as 'invaluable' are functionally disconnected by authoritative powers (Castells 2008) in control of the socio-urban reformation of this post-Olympic space. Those, like Freddie, are on the crest of the wave of urban reformation, while certain 'unsavoury' spaces and bodies have been and continue to be on the receiving end of these preferred versions of urban renewal and upheaval (Watt 2013; Stevenson 2016).

## 4.5 Resident experiences of authoritative organisations

As has previously been discussed, as part of the wider urban expansions associated with the Olympics, a cohort of regulatory bodies, agencies and organisations, with the remit of directing these regeneration plans inhabit this space (Grabber and Thiel 2014). As part of the legacy of the London 2012 Games, organisations such as the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC), the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) the Greater London Authority (GLA) and the Mayor's Office all have prominent roles in the decision-making processes surrounding the QEOP as well as the wider fringes and sub-regions. From the data, it emerged that resident's daily experiences have been influenced by what they perceive, explicitly, to be decisions from the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) and other authoritative organisations. One resident reflected on his experiences of the LLDC and their role in the decision-making process for urban redevelopments in Hackney.

*"Because when I first arrived I did try and reach out to the wider community, we invested a lot of energy in trying to establish a way artist and creative communities can engage in the regeneration all the rest of it, and I thought, actually, a lot of it*

*was hot air, rhetoric from different people funding I like the LLDC, to basically pacify us and prevent us from actually implementing change that was appropriate. It was to keep us all kind of calm and passive, rather than being what could've been and what probably was going to be a lot more, not aggressive, but far more democratised and provocative, like the what and how the regeneration was going to take place." (Paul)*

Paul's account illuminates the processes of pacification specific bodies within this study have experienced due to actions by the LLDC when discussing Olympic related urban planning decisions. Indeed, to develop upon the work of Armstrong et al. (2011), Paul's experience shines a light on the de-democratisation extant within urban decision making in communities under the Olympic remit, providing a visceral example of how the voices of those whom the changes will unequivocally effect are 'silenced' by these regulatory organisations. Drawing from Lawler's (2005) work again, the pacification of opposing voices to create a 'calm and passive' environment is exemplary of the formation of preferred ascriptions of place: whereby bodies whose dispositions are aligned with the future trajectory of these neoliberal spaces are appeased by silencing and disconnecting the working-class 'other'. Tasked with implementing widespread urban changes under the narrow timeframes set out by the IOC and the state, regulatory agencies are permitted to claim land using compulsory purchase orders and other means of land acquisition, fostering a fractious urban environment whereby working-class bodies within these spaces are marginalised (Raco 2012).

With Gray and Porter (2014), urbanisation processes related to SMEs have taken an authoritative turn, invoking widespread neoliberal processes of urban regeneration and urban governance. This fosters an exceptional state whereby what would usually be subject to greater processes of public scrutiny, urban and spatial developments are implemented with little consideration of local voices: permitting external stakeholders and agencies to implement changes how they see appropriate with little opposition, emblematic of the shift to authoritative urbanism in post-Olympic spaces. Despite claims from the LLDC and ODA that comprehensive consultations and partnerships were established with the existing artistic communities in places such as Hackney Wick and Fish Island, Paul's experiences reveal the obfuscated and 'real' nature of such relationships.

*"So, it is kind of in some ways promising, or funding local artists to do things and kind of enabling certain artists and certain creative communities to do things, and to*

*be paid to do so, which resulted in a number of voices and groups coming together to in some way legitimise the regeneration, and because they were local it was all seen as OK. But, they have all now moved away. So, actually, in some ways, they are all part of the problem. I don't know, at the time I didn't really realise it, but in retrospect you actually start thinking 'oh that was all a bit weird'." (Paul)*

Although authoritative delivery organisations did establish connections with these artistic communities, it is the nature of these relationships on which Paul's account sheds light (or shadows) (Smith 2014). Paul's insight reveals the presence of iniquitous methods of appeasement of pertinent voices in local communities which, in a bid to 'legitimise' and justify urban policy decisions, permits these organisations to dictate redevelopment plans with minimal public opposition. These voices which, as Paul alludes to, represented the local community, have vacated the area due to the knock-on effects of gentrification and cultural appropriation: leaving those who have remained subject to the consequential impacts of these urban developments (Watt and Bernstock 2017). It suggests that in the initial phases of the community regeneration, organisations such as the LLDC appeased and provided permission for some to speak: those who they perceived as representative of the wider sentiment of the area, and when initiating urban policy plans, acted as a legitimising entity to pacify the voices of the wider community. Indeed, John discusses his experiences of authoritative decision-making for urban regeneration policy within East London.

*"Also, a lot of people don't feel like they can do anything, that's a real big thing in the sense that the LLDC has the ability to be like "right this is what we are going to do, we are going to go ahead and do that" sort of thing, and I think that really makes people feel helpless and hopeless about it all. They know they are just going to be here until they can't be here no more. And then there are people who have been fighting to stand up against it, like the people who have been fighting to save Vittoria Wharf and Greengates and all that and saying no to the new bridge and all that. But it just seems to be going ahead anyway, no matter how much these groups opposing it have done, you know, and they have gone all out, getting legal teams involved and stuff. It seems to be that this business wants to do it, and therefore it is going to do it, no matter what anyone says." (John)*

With Kennelly (2017), these accounts are suggestive that communities within 'certain' spaces are subject to aggressive modes of urbanisation: whereby a lack of adequate consultation takes place, allowing authoritative organisations who dictate these urban regeneration plans to prioritise the future vision of East London over the current residents' interests within these spaces. Their experiences also offer an insight into a form of creative resistance within the community, with certain groups having to resort to employing 'legal teams' to help fight their case. This is exemplified by the 92

collective: a collection of artists and creatives within Hackney and Fish Island who are applying for cultural heritage status for workspaces within the area.

> *"But the '92 collective are one of the only things that can stop the LLDC in its tracks, as by attaining heritage status, there are so many more restrictions put on developing organisations, and they would have to respect these heritage spaces and artist studios." (John)*

While a group of collective resistance such as this offers the wider artistic and cultural community hope for protecting historical and cultural spaces and buildings in the future, the fact that the establishment of this group was necessary, and they had to apply for heritage status to prevent the LLDC from imposing changes, illuminates both wider community disdain within the area but also the autocratic power of the LLDC. These accounts reveal the de-democratised imposition of development plans intent on reconfiguring the urban fabric of 'certain' spaces to align with the future vision of East London (Bernstock 2016). The LLDC and affiliated corporate interests have been allowed to evolve into a hegemonic unit whereby they impose their own preferred politics of space, mainly functioning unopposed and unaccounted, transforming these 'problem' places into zones of economic opportunity for preferred (consumerist) bodies (Raco and Tunney 2010). The data reveals what specific residents within this post-Olympic space feel represents their 'lived' experience and community sentiment, aligning with Allen and Cochrane's (2014) assertion that authoritative interests shape urban developments based on political interests, ignoring the voices these processes will impact the most. It reveals the everyday experience of local individuals and their relationships with authoritative organisations as one of social injustice, imbalances of power and a socio-cultural dynamic of hegemonic autocracy.

## 4.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has examined how residents within post-Olympic East London have 'lived' the urban changes that have emanated from the London 2012 Olympics. It has analysed the empirical data collected from the walking ethnography, Instavoice and qualitative interviews and, with the synthetisation of existing scholarly work, contributed to a greater understanding of how urban regeneration processes within London's post-Olympic space has been conceived, experienced and felt by the bodies therein. It has highlighted how the changes to the urban make-up of the QEOP and bordering spaces, to one that attracts wealthier, middle-class consumers and large capitalist organisations, has influenced the daily experiences of the middle, creative classes moving into these areas as well as their experiences of how these changes have impacted the incumbent, predominantly working class, residents within this post-Olympic landscape. A greater understanding of how displacement and relocation as a result of Olympic urbanism has been developed, highlighting middle class lived experiences and perceptions of gentrification and how this has shaped the urban locality and 'certain' citizens within these spaces.

Moreover, knowledge has been produced which has illuminated daily hostilities within post-Olympic communities between existing residents and incoming residents, shining a light on the politics of citizenship and the bifurcation of communities due to the urban shift in and around the QEOP. This chapter has also illustrated resident interaction and experience with the LLDC and other authoritative organisations, revealing the de-democratised processes that are extant within working class artistic communities as these authoritative agencies push through their future urban vision for East London. Overall, this chapter has analysed the interpretations of resident lived experience within post-Olympic East London, revealing the ubiquitous processes of neoliberal urbanisation and the consequentiality of gentrification which has contributed to the bifurcation and marginalisation of particular bodies within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and bordering spaces.

# 5. Conclusion

## 5.1 Summary of thesis

This thesis has provided an extensive review and synthesis of existing scholarly literature relating to the research topic. A theoretical synthesis of the political and economic trajectories of neoliberalism and how these are integrated within the urban domain led to an analytical discussion on the external neoliberal contexts in which Olympic urbanism is situated. This provided the theoretical backdrop for the specificities of Olympic-led regeneration in London to be unpacked and reveal how daily experiences of middle class bodies within these spaces have been impacted by Olympic-related urban (re)generation. The philosophical groundings in which this research was carried out were discussed reflexively and extensively, providing the paradigmatic foundations for the chosen research methods and procedure. The integrated methodological approach was theoretically explored, leading to a discussion around the methodological procedure carried out for this project and how this facilitated the rich data set required to fulfil the aims of this project. The discussion chapter comprised of synthesising the rich, in-depth visual, textual and interview data set generated from this project with the external theoretical contexts of urban regeneration and the impacts on individual lives. By developing existing scholarly work, the thematic analysis utilised for the analysis and interpretation of the data provided a rich contribution to the academic literature on the 'lived' experience of residents in a post-Olympic space.

## 5.2 Contributions to knowledge

This study has provided novel insights into the ground-level experiences of middle class residents and how the redevelopment of the urban make-up in and around the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park has created differences between them and incumbent, working class communities. This study has developed upon the work of Allen and Cochrane (2014) and Silk (2014) insofar it has provided visceral insights into how the 'lived' experience of middle class citizens living in these spaces have been impacted by Olympic-led urban regeneration in East London. It has illuminated how middle-class bodies within these spaces have experienced an establishment of a 'preferred' middle-class habitus and image in traditionally working-class places. This research

has developed the work of Stevenson (2016) on marginalised bodies by illuminating the daily experiences of individuals who can arguably be considered the middle, creative classes these projects attempt to attract. The findings from this research challenge the assumption that the middle classes who move to post-Olympic spaces are a homogenous collective of people who all actively exacerbate and facilitate the displacement of working class residents to transform these spaces into a commodified, middle class habitus. Rather, the findings suggest that these middle classes are heterogenous insofar that they have different subjective formations of experience and reality and are cognizant of the negative impacts Olympic regeneration has on socio-economically deprived communities. It has developed the work of Kennelly and Watt (2013) and shone a light on 'lived' experience and interaction with authoritative organisations who dictated Olympic urban policy, revealing new insights into how these middle, creative classes perceived and experienced the obfuscated processes of possession by land accumulation, public pacification, and bifurcation and marginalisation of 'unfavourable' bodies within these spaces. The theoretical findings from this study have contributed to a lacuna within the literature, producing significant knowledge of how Olympic-led regeneration has influenced the daily 'lived' experience of middle class residents within these spaces, challenging popular academic assumptions about the demonization of middle classes in post-Olympic spaces as a homogenous collective of people who contribute to the marginalisation of poorer communities.

Despite the deep theoretical insights that were generated from the integrated methodology, critically speaking, if more participants were involved with the project a more comprehensive and discursive understanding of generalised lived experience of residents could have been obtained. Despite this, it can be argued that due to the comprehensive integrated methodology, a deep theorising of resident 'lived' experience of post-Olympic space was still developed, fulfilling the aims and objectives of this study. Overall, the deep, rich, insightful qualitative data that was generated from the integrated methodology has advanced understanding of post-Olympic space and how this space is 'lived' and 'felt' by middle class bodies within post-Olympic East London. This study has moved on from simply theorising the processes of urban regeneration and the wider impacts these have on contemporary society: instead, unearthing the everyday experiences of those who are living within

these zones of Olympic redevelopment. Future work on 'lived' experience of bodies within spaces of Olympic-led regeneration should look to increase sample sizes to attain a more discursive understanding of the daily negotiations of individuals with these spaces.

## 5.3 Methodological reflections

As part of the integrated methodology, the walking ethnography was an imperative tool to provide the researcher with greater understanding and context of the post-Olympic space. Over the six months in which the walking ethnographic visits took place, the researcher could explore the spaces, take pictures and garner an understanding of the contemporary contexts of Olympic-led regeneration. The walking ethnography set the foundations for the 'Instavoice' and interview phases of the integrated approach to flourish, generating the rich insights required to understand 'lived' experience in an externally constituted post-Olympic space (O'Neill and Hubbard 2010; Vergunst 2010). Reflecting on the 'Instavoice' method, the varied reflections elicited from the method might be regarded as posing a challenge to the credibility of the method, however, it can be argued that the credibility of the methods is gained by the 'thick descriptions' elicited from the participants (Cho and Trent 2006). Indeed, the use of Instagram, and the everyday presence of smartphones within contemporary society, permitted the unique opportunity of being able to take a picture without planning to, thus providing real, every day and mundane insights, contributing to a greater, more credible (re)presentation of 'lived' experience within the post-Olympic urban context (Serafinelli 2017; Toscano 2017).

*"I found Instagram a really useful way of doing it as if I found something when I was walking, I had my phone with me, I thought I could take a picture of that and on my way to work, I used to work in Waterloo, I could sit on the train into work and write the whole thing down" (John)*

To draw from the work of Wang et al. (2004), such images allow the participants to reflect critically on their place within this post-Olympic space and allowed a greater construction of experience to be formed due to the ability to capture the 'everyday-ness' of their daily experience. Another reflection that emerged from the interviews about the 'Instavoice' method was the implicit ability photographs had to 'contain' what the participants wanted to discuss.

*"It also made me think very carefully about which photographs illustrated a particular point. Because there is a number of different ways to take a photograph. It also made me think 'how do I do this whist being as concise as possible?'" (Jack)*

*"I think it is really useful, I think it contains how and what you can talk about. Because the thing about a lot of the issues around the legacy and ideas about legacy and everything else, it would be quite easy to talk about one thing which would lead to another and then leads to another. So, using photos meant you couldn't really go off on one, you couldn't go off on a tangent, it allows the image to focus the account of what is being spoken about. So yeah, that was useful, I really enjoyed that" (Paul)*

By 'containing' what the participants could say, it fostered deeper, more meaningful explorations into what the photograph was depicting by focusing the associated text with each image. This is imperative in a qualitative project such as this as it facilitated a 'thicker' understanding of the specific tenets of daily life that constitute 'lived' experience and interaction with the post-Olympic urban context. Developing on the work of Boy and Uitermark (2017), the participants were able to (re)assemble the urban environment as they perceive and experience it: revealing visceral insights into how certain politically, socially and culturally influenced decisions shape urban regeneration in East London and how these mediate their daily experiences.

Finally, the interview phase of the integrated methodology was guided by both an interview schedule, which was in part influenced by the 'Instavoice' contributions, as well as the visual insights given by the participants. The interviews and the photo-elicitation allowed the participants to expand further on the experiences they ascribed within the images (Liebenberg 2009; Matteucci 2013). Overall, it is concluded that visual forms of (re)presentation can produce rich data which can be comprised with more traditional methods of interviewing, thereby helping understand a more complete and complex picture of 'lived' experience (Guell and Ogilvie 2015). The 'Instavoice' phase of the integrated methodology as a participatory and exploratory method into everyday experience provide deep insights which guided the interview process and contributed to the 'thick' descriptions necessary for the scope of this study.

## 5.4 Theoretical and methodological progression for research

This study has provided both a theoretical and methodological grounding to develop and focus future scholarly research on 'lived' experience of individuals within post-Olympic spaces. With SMEs happening every two years (Olympics, FIFA World Cup, Commonwealth Games) it is important to understand how these events influence the

daily ground-level experiences of bodies within spaces affected and can be thus applied to cities and nations which have hosted, or plan to host, an SME. Moreover, a study with lesser time constraints and greater resources could feasibly have a much larger sample base and would thus be able to contribute a more thorough, representative understanding of 'lived' experience within urban spaces. Methodologically speaking, this study proposes the concept of 'Instavoice' as an ethnographically situated participatory and exploratory visual method which can be used in future research to elucidate reflections on subjective 'lived' experiences through the medium of images and text. It would be particularly useful when trying to understand the constructions of 'lived' experience of young people due to their affinity to social media and smartphones.

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# 7. Appendices

**Appendix 1 – Participant Information Sheet Phase 1**

**Participant Information Sheet**

You are invited to participate as a volunteer in the research entitled, **The Social, Cultural & Urban Legacy of London 2012: Evaluating Cohesion, Community & Convergence** lead by Jordan Cotton, a Postgraduate Research student from Bournemouth University. Before you decide if you would like to do this, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and talk about it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. You are free to take time to decide if you wish to take part.

**What is this research about?**

This research aims to understand how individuals from local communities interact with the infrastructure (such as new buildings and transport) that has resulted from the 2012 London Olympic Games. Your involvement in the project will help improve the understanding of Olympic legacies and the impacts they have on the people that live near the space where the Olympics is held, providing useful information that can aid policy/planning for future host cities.

**Why have I been chosen to take part?**

You have been invited given your interest in and experiences with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in London and the associated building and transport developments that were a result of the London 2012 Olympic Games. Your participation is not mandatory. You can withdraw your consent for the project at any time, up until the data that is collected for this research is made anonymous. Refusal, cancellation or withdrawal of consent will not impact upon you in any way.

- Participation in this project will involve taking photographs of aspects of the Olympic Park and accompanying developments that individuals feel impact their daily lives and experiences.
- Participants will be asked to take one photo per week for six weeks, writing a brief explanation of what the photographic image means to them. These photographs, with participant consent, will be uploaded by the participants to a password protected Instagram account.
- It is important that the photographs you take will not include other people or yourself.

- If you do not have Instagram, you will be invited to download it onto your smartphone and shown the relevant skills to upload your posts onto the private account.
- **If you decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a participant agreement form.**
-

**What happens after the 6 weeks?**

You may be asked to take part in a follow-up individual interview following the six-week period. Individuals will be randomly selected. The interview will be open ended and allow the randomly selected participants to discuss the photography phase of this research as well as discuss a random selection of the photographs. If you get randomly selected for the second phase, you will be provided with an additional participant information sheet, detailing further what is involved with the interview phase of the research.

Following this phase of the project, we aim to create a website where the photos and text that are uploaded as part of this project will be showcased on an online exhibition. This website will be made public and will contain a selection of photos from the Instagram account. The Instagram account will also be made public once the photographic collection phase is complete. At no point will the identities of the individuals be revealed as part of this website exhibition or on the Instagram account.

**Benefits**

While there are no immediate benefits for those who participate in this project, it is hoped that participation will allow new information to be developed and then inform policy for future developments.

**The risks of taking part**

As far as members of the research team know, participation in this study will not physically or psychologically risk or harm you, your colleagues or family. Were any issues to arise during the study there will be support available for you to voice any concerns you may have. As this project involves social media and posting photos onto a social media app, there is an element of risk that the data can be accessed by companies/individuals who participants have not given their consent to. However, the information will be stored on a password protected, secure Instagram account and only those who have given consent to take part in the project will be allowed to view the account. All data will be confidential and not be disclosed at any level to ensure the right of your confidentiality is honoured. Anonymity will be kept for participants throughout and no information that could be used to identify you, your home or your place of work will be disclosed.

**Confidentiality**

All information that will be collected will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with Data Protection regulations. At no point will your identity be revealed. All data related to this project will be kept for five years on a Bournemouth University password protected secure network.

- None of the personal information gathered as part of this research will be shared. Should you choose to participate in this project, all data from the research will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used once it has been anonymised. All personal data will be stored on a password protected BU secure server and will be kept until after completion of the research degree.The audio tapes from the second phase (interview phase) will be transcribed and anonymised. These audio files will then be deleted with the transcriptions of the interview stored on a password protected BU secure server for the maximum of 1 year following the completion of the research degree.
- Only authorised researchers will be allowed access to the transcripts.
- While other participants will be able to have access to posts on the Instagram account, these will not have any names referring them to the individual and will be completely anonymised.
- Should any data be used for publicity purposes or publication, your identity will not be revealed without your specific consent.
- The research team have looked at Instagram's privacy settings and these terms explain that information will not be shared with any third party without user consent. The website that will be used as an online exhibition to showcase the photos will reveal no identities and be completely anonymous.

**Access to Results**

All results of this research will be made available to you, staff and students of BU. The results can be obtained by contacting the lead researcher, Jordan Cotton. Contact details are on the Participant Agreement Form.

**Contact for further information**

If you have any questions regarding the project then please feel free to contact the lead researcher Jordan Cotton at jcotton@bournemouth.ac.uk.

**Complaints**

If you would like to make any complaint about the conduct of the research for this project please contact Professor Stephen Tee, the Executive Dean for the Faculty of Management at Bournemouth University at:
researchgovernance@bournemouth.ac.uk.

**If you decide to take part in the project, you will be given a copy of the information sheet and a signed Participant Agreement Form to keep.**

**Thank you for considering taking part in this research project.**

**Appendix 2 – Participant Agreement Form Phase 1**

**Participant Agreement Form**

**Full title of project: The Social, Cultural & Urban Legacy of London 2012: Evaluating Cohesion, Community & Convergence**

**Name, position and contact details of researcher: Jordan Cotton, Postgraduate Research Student. E: jcotton@bournemouth.ac.uk**

**Name, position and contact details of supervisor: Professor Michael Silk, Deputy Dean of Research and Professional Practice. E:** msilk@bournemouth.ac.uk **T: 0202 966705**

| | |
|---|---|
| I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above research project. | |
| I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions. | |
| I understand that my participation is voluntary. | |
| I understand that I am free to withdraw up to the point where the data is processed and become anonymous, so my identity cannot be determined. | |
| During data collection, I am free to withdraw without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences. | |
| Should I not wish to answer any particular question(s), I am free to decline. | |
| I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials and I will not be identified or identifiable in the outputs that result from the research. | |
| I understand taking part in the research will include being recorded (audio) but that these recordings will be deleted once transcribed. | |
| I understand that any photos produced by participants will not identify any individual. | |
| I agree to take part in the above research project. | |

_____                                _____

_____

Name of Participant                        Date                        Signature


_____                                _____

_____

Name of Researcher                        Date                        Signature

_A copy of the signed and dated participant agreement form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location._

**Appendix 3 – Ethics Checklist Document**

# Research Ethics Checklist

**Bournemouth University**

| Reference Id | 18032 |
|---|---|
| Status | Approved |
| Date Approved | 10/01/2018 |

## Researcher Details

| Name | Jordan Cotton |
|---|---|
| Faculty | Faculty of Management |
| Status | Postgraduate Research (MRes, MPhil, PhD, DProf, DEng) |
| Course | Postgraduate Research - Business |
| Have you received external funding to support this research project? | No |

## Project Details

| Title | The Social, Cultural & Urban Legacy of London 2012: Evaluating Cohesion, Community & Convergence |
|---|---|
| Proposed Start Date of Data Collection | 07/01/2018 |
| Proposed End Date of Project | 19/08/2018 |
| Original Supervisor | Michael Silk |
| Approver | Research Ethics Panel |

| Summary - no more than 500 words (including detail on background methodology, sample, outcomes, etc.) |
|---|

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The overall purpose of this study was to interpret resident interactions and experiences with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (QEOP) to provide insight and further understanding into the convergence across local communities, resident perceptions of sport and the Olympics, neighbourhood engagement and resident empowerment. By engaging those who live within this space with the project, academic outputs will be able to capture and evaluate both the urban and social transformations and key mechanisms that contribute towards creating positive sustainable legacies arising from planned urban renewal projects. By using an integrated methodological approach of walking ethnography, an adapted version of Wang and Burris (1997) Photovoice methodology using the photo-sharing social media platform Instagram and also utilising interviews to discuss the collated information: the researchers can comprehensively understand material regeneration and lived experience and evaluate community development in the QEOP. Drawing on 6 weeks of data collection whereby the participants were asked to upload photos and text to a private Instagram page that represented their daily lives and experiences with a post-Olympic space, we should be able to elucidate meaning from these photographic and text based reflections. The integrated methodology will permit rich visual data to be combined with textual (re)interpretations and discussion of these individual realities, allowing participants to critically reflect upon what is mediating their daily experiences. Framing this in a socio-politico-historically constituted spatial context, the researchers can reveal how Olympic developments, under the auspices of government, use urban mega-event policy to consolidate the neo-liberal city. By engendering critical reflection by local residents about how their daily lives are negotiated, we will be able to understand individual perceptions towards this space, and develop a greater understanding of how the spatial legacy of the Olympic Games is being experienced by those who it pledged to prosper.

## External Ethics Review

| | |
|---|---|
| Does your research require external review through the NHS National Research Ethics Service (NRES) or through another external Ethics Committee? | No |

## Research Literature

| | |
|---|---|
| Is your research solely literature based? | No |

## Human Participants

| | |
|---|---|
| Will your research project involve interaction with human participants as primary sources of data (e.g. interview, observation, original survey)? | Yes |
| Does your research specifically involve participants who are considered vulnerable (i.e. children, those with cognitive impairment, those in unequal relationships—such as your own students, prison inmates, etc.)? | No |
| Does the study involve participants age 16 or over who are unable to give informed consent (i.e. people with learning disabilities)? NOTE: All research that falls under the auspices of the Mental Capacity Act 2005 must be reviewed by NHS NRES. | No |
| Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (i.e. students at school, members of self-help group, residents of Nursing home?) | Yes |

| Question | Answer |
|---|---|
| Will it be necessary for participants to take part in your study without their knowledge and consent at the time (i.e. covert observation of people in non-public places)? | No |
| Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (i.e. sexual activity, drug use, criminal activity)? | No |
| Are drugs, placebos or other substances (i.e. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind? | No |
| Will tissue samples (including blood) be obtained from participants? Note: If the answer to this question is 'yes' you will need to be aware of obligations under the Human Tissue Act 2004. | No |
| Could your research induce psychological stress or anxiety, cause harm or have negative consequences for the participant or researcher (beyond the risks encountered in normal life)? | No |
| Will your research involve prolonged or repetitive testing? | No |
| Will the research involve the collection of audio materials? | Yes |
| Is this audio collection solely for the purposes of transcribing/summarising and will not be used in any outputs (publication, dissemination, etc.) and will not be made publicly available? | Yes |
| Will your research involve the collection of photographic or video materials? | Yes |
| Will financial or other inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? | No |

Please explain below why your research project involves the above mentioned criteria (be sure to explain why the sensitive criterion is essential to your project's success). Give a summary of the ethical issues and any action that will be taken to address these. Explain how you will obtain informed consent (and from whom) and how you will inform the participant(s) about the research project (i.e. participant information sheet). A sample consent form and participant information sheet can be found on the Research Ethics website.

see attached document(s)

## Final Review

| Question | Answer |
|---|---|
| Will you have access to personal data that allows you to identify individuals OR access to confidential corporate or company data (that is not covered by confidentiality terms within an agreement or by a separate confidentiality agreement)? | Yes |

Please explain below why your research requires the collection of personal data. Describe how you will

anonymize the personal data (if applicable). Describe how you will collect, manage and store the personal data (taking into consideration the Data Protection Act and the 8 Data Protection Principles). Explain how you will obtain informed consent (and from whom) and how you will inform the participant about the research project (i.e. participant information sheet).

As we are attempting to understand the everyday lives and experiences of individuals vie ethnographic, visual and interview methodologies, it is necessary to collect personal data of the participants. Once all personal data is gathered, it will be stored on a secure Bournemouth University network and anonymised. Participants will be provided with an information sheet outlining the project and participant agreement forms will be signed off by the research participants to indicate consent before the research process begins. All personal data will be available only to the lead researcher on password protected server. This ensure that only the lead researcher can access; informed consent letters, interview notes, field notes, tape recordings and interview transcripts. When sharing data or disseminating data for publication, complete anonymity and confidentiality of the data will be upheld. Each participants will be made aware of the efforts made to ensure utmost anonymity is upheld. In dissemination and data archiving, data will be stored on a secure BU data repository and will be re-constructed to ensure privacy, confidentiality and data protection. At no point will identities be revealed when using the Instagram account for this project.

| | |
|---|---|
| Will your research involve experimentation on any of the following: animals, animal tissue, genetically modified organisms? | No |
| Will your research take place outside the UK (including any and all stages of research: collection, storage, analysis, etc.)? | No |

Please use the below text box to highlight any other ethical concerns or risks that may arise during your research that have not been covered in this form.

This project has used the ESRC Guidelines for Ethical Research in Social Media and the BU Research Ethics Code of Practice as the foundations for the ethical aspects of this research project.

**Appendix 4 – Participant Information Sheet Phase 2**



<div align="center">

**Participant Information Sheet**

</div>

You are invited to participate as a volunteer in the research entitled, **The Social, Cultural & Urban Legacy of London 2012: Evaluating Cohesion, Community & Convergence** lead by Jordan Cotton, a Postgraduate Research student from Bournemouth University. Before you decide if you would like to do this, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and talk about it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. You are free to take time to decide if you wish to take part.

**What is this research about?**

This research aims to understand how individuals from local communities interact with the infrastructure (such as new buildings and transport) that has resulted from the 2012 London Olympic Games. Your involvement in the project will help improve the understanding of Olympic legacies and the impacts they have on the people that live near the space where the Olympics is held, providing useful information that can aid policy/planning for future host cities.

**Why have I been chosen to take part?**

You have been randomly selected to take part in the second part of the research project. As briefly outlined in the initial information sheet, this part of the research will involve an informal, open-ended interview where you will be asked to talk about the photo gathering phase of the project, and discuss randomly selected photos gathered as part of this project.

- The interview will include a few questions which are there to guide discussion, however, the interview will be very relaxed and not restricted to these questions, allowing your responses to guide the discussion.
- These interviews will take place once the 6-week photo gathering part of the project is complete.
- The interview will last between 30 minutes to 1 hour.
- The interview will be recorded for audio purposes. This will then be transcribed, anonymised and the audio files then deleted.
- You can refuse to answer any questions and withdraw from the interview at any time and face no penalty or loss.
- You can withdraw your consent at any time up until the transcripts are anonymised.

**Benefits**

If the location of the interview incurs a cost for you to travel, a full or partial reimbursement will be made for your time. However, as the likely location for the interview will be near to the Olympic Park developments, we don't foresee that the costs for travel will be substantial.

**The risks of taking part**

As far as members of the research team know, participation in this study will not physically or psychologically risk or harm you, your colleagues or family. Were any issues to arise during the interview phase there will be support available for you to voice any concerns you may have.

**Confidentiality**

All information that will be collected will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with Data Protection regulations. At no point will your identity be revealed. All data related to this project will be kept for five years on a Bournemouth University password protected secure network.

- None of the personal information gathered as part of this research will be shared. Should you choose to participate in this project, all data from the research will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used once it has been anonymised.
- The interview transcriptions may be used in future publications but anonymity will be kept for participants throughout and no information that could be used to identify you, your home or your place of work will be disclosed. stored on a password protected BU secure server for the maximum of 1 year following the completion of the research degree.
- Only authorised researchers will be allowed access to the transcripts.
- While other participants will be able to have access to posts on the Instagram account, these will not have any names referring them to the individual and will be completely anonymised.
- Should any data be used for publicity purposes or publication, your identity will not be revealed without your specific consent.

**Access to Results**

All results of this research will be made available to you, staff and students of BU. The results can be obtained by contacting the lead researcher, Jordan Cotton. Contact details are on the Participant Agreement Form.

**Contact for further information**

If you have any questions regarding the project then please feel free to contact the lead researcher Jordan Cotton at jcotton@bournemouth.ac.uk.

**Complaints**

If you would like to make any complaint about the conduct of the research for this project please contact Professor Stephen Tee, the Executive Dean for the Faculty of Management at Bournemouth University at: researchgovernance@bournemouth.ac.uk.

**If you decide to take part in the project, you will be given a copy of the information sheet and a signed Participant Agreement Form to keep.**

**Thank you for considering taking part in this research project.**

**Appendix 5 – Participant Agreement Form Phase 2**

# Participant Agreement Form

**Full title of project: The Social, Cultural & Urban Legacy of London 2012: Evaluating Cohesion, Community & Convergence**

**Name, position and contact details of researcher: Jordan Cotton, Postgraduate Research Student. E: jcotton@bournemouth.ac.uk**

**Name, position and contact details of supervisor: Professor Michael Silk, Deputy Dean of Research and Professional Practice. E:** msilk@bournemouth.ac.uk **T: 0202 966705**

| | |
|---|---|
| I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above research project. | |
| I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions during the interview phase. | |
| I understand that my participation is voluntary. | |
| I understand that I am free to withdraw up to the point where the data is processed and become anonymous, so my identity cannot be determined. | |
| During data collection, I am free to withdraw without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences. | |
| Should I not wish to answer any particular question(s), I am free to decline. | |
| I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials and I will not be identified or identifiable in the outputs that result from the research. | |
| I understand taking part in the research will include being recorded (audio) but that these recordings will be deleted once transcribed. | |
| I agree to take part in the above research project. | |

_____                              _____
_____

Name of Participant                    Date                Signature

_____                              _____
_____

Name of Researcher                    Date                Signature

*A copy of the signed and dated participant agreement form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.*

**Appendix 6 – Interview Schedule**

**Interview Schedule**

Thank you for agreeing to taking part in both this research project and this follow-up interview. This will be an informal, semi-structured interview, whereby I will be asking open-ended questions about your experiences and interpretations of the London 2012 Olympics and how this has impacted the built environment in London's East End. Please take your time to read the participant information sheet and sign the participant agreement form for this interview phase of the research. Please be aware that your participation in this interview is voluntary, you do not have to feel obliged to answer questions you do not feel comfortable answering and you can withdraw from the interview at any time. I will now ask you a set of questions

1. **What are your overall feelings about the London 2012 Olympics in East London?**
   - Emotions, feelings or opinions when it was announced/taking part/after the Games?
   - How did you feel about the promises of urban regeneration and Olympic legacy of East London?

2. **What have you noticed about the way East London has changed since hosting the Games in 2012?**

3. **In what way do you think, if at all, your daily experiences have been altered by the changes in East London?**
   - Which spaces do you use and why? Are there any areas you tend to avoid?

4. **Do you feel that communities within East London have been influenced by the changes brought about by the Olympics? If so, how?**
   - Who do you feel these changes have mainly benefitted? Who do you feel are and are not connected to the spaces?

5. **What do you think of the urban regeneration processes within areas such as Newham and Hackney?**

6. **Do you feel that the urban developments that have arisen because of London 2012 have been of use to you or the wider community?**
   - What do you think the overall feeling or response of the wider communities you reside in have towards the 'urban regeneration' in East London?

7. **In what way do you think East London has benefited as a result of hosting the Games? Equally, do you think East London has been negatively impacted by the Games? If so, why?**

8. **Do you feel like the urban legacy of the 2012 Olympics has been good for you? Do you think it has been good for East London?**

- Is the space that has been created busy?
- What is the atmosphere that has been created?
- How do you feel in these spaces? Is it safe? Are there a lot of cameras/surveillance?
- Do you feel as if you fit into this space? Is it 'gritty' or 'sparkling'? What is like compared to before?
- What is this space like compared to areas that it borders?

9. **Do you feel the urban legacy of the 2012 Olympics has prompted wider social knock-on effects for East London?**
   - Knock-on effects such as: different types of people in East London/ different feel to this space/who is this space for?

**Questions on Photo-collection method**

1. **What are your overall feelings about utilising photographs to discuss your experiences?**

2. **Do you think photographs and images allow you to talk more in depth about the developments that have happened as a result of the 2012 Olympics?**
   **-** Do you feel that photographs allow you to draw or reflect upon other senses?
   - Do you feel that photographs remind you of sounds/smells/atmosphere of what the image is of?

3. **What made you choose the specific photograph that you contributed to the project?**
   **-** Does this photo represent how this space has influenced your daily life somewhat?