The impacts of mega events: A case study of visitor profiles, practices and perceptions in The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, East London

Jordan Oliver Dawson

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"No legacy is so rich as honesty" (Shakespeare, 1623)

"Most writers who have concerned themselves with East London are motivated by ethnic or familial, by a spirit of adventure, or by political zeal" (Hobbs, 1989, p. 84)

"And then the Olympics arrived to swivel a searchlight on the dark places to impose a fraudulent narrative" (Sinclair, 2012)

Abstract

In 2012, London successfully hosted the Games of the XXX Olympiad. The main 'legacy' of hosting the event is the 560 acre, mixed use Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park located in Stratford in the heart of London's former industrial East End. The Park is located across the four Park Boroughs of Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest, each distinct in character but shaped by similar trends of urban regeneration and gentrification.

This research examines the profiles, practices and perceptions of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as an impact study of mega events conducted within five years after the London Olympics. It draws on research about mega events and urban regeneration with a focus on sports science and geography that has largely neglected visitor experiences as an outcome of mega events. Based on a mixed methods approach combining a longitudinal face-to-face visitor survey conducted over two years, a postal survey among local schools, and interviews with stakeholders, this thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge by proposing a new conceptual framework on mega event legacy and empirical findings on the use and perceptions of The Park by local, regional, national and international visitors.

The conceptual approach (Chapter 3) bridges the two distinct literatures of mega-event legacy theory (and more broadly the sports literature) and actor-network theory. The framework allows for the study to approach the research questions from a tridic actor-network perspective, examining how material, immaterial and mainly human dynamic hybrids co-exist in complex webs of relations. It also allows for the unravelling of how these relations have given rise to impacts tied to the developments in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. This unravelling is explored through the remainder of this thesis.

Following the description and analysis of methods used in the thesis (Chapter 4), Chapter 5 provides a historic overview of the four Park Boroughs that define the study area of the thesis. The shifting nature of this multicultural area is contextualised in light of several catalytic events (industrialisation, de-industrialisation and finally the Olympic Games). At the heart of this examination is the intention to show that despite the narratives pedalled by policy makers, planners and politicians, areas of

East London were inhabited by groups who for several centuries symbiotically produced and reproduced their own diverse identities and ultimately that of East London.

Chapter 6 analyses and critiques 35 policy documents released during the Olympic cycle (broadly defined here as the period between 2003 and 2012) and follows both the visible and invisible actants. The key findings are that: poorly executed event planning is inextricably linked to a poor implementation of local community interests; there were unheard and excluded voices, particularly the disadvantaged and displaced, in these policy and planning documents and; that there was little opportunity for the youth voice to be heard. Finally, the analysis of policy documents has underlined the value of reflecting on legacy promises from a longer-term perspective, suggesting that the legally binding bid books should be compared with the actual outcomes from a long-term perspective.

The typical visitor to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (Chapter 7) is a white middle-aged male or female (71% over age 25, ~50/50 male and female). They will be visiting the sports facilities and their frequency of use suggests that they have monthly membership to one of the leisure centres. This indicates that they have a relatively high level of both social capital and disposable income. They will reside within the Park Boroughs, often within walking distance of the Park or close to a transport link with a direct transport connection, probably by the Underground system. They will not often visit the Park with under 18s and if they do visit with anyone, it will be their partner or friend, and thus they resemble very closely the typical affluent gentrifier couples. The term 'experience athlete' was coined for these visitors with 53% being from the Park Boroughs. In addition, there were those who came to sight-see, designated as 'Games tourists' of whom 56% of these were international visitors. While ~20% of the visitors to the Park were under age 18 most of these were under 12s attending with their parents. Young people and particularly young people from the Park Boroughs were largely absent from the Park, which was contributed to by discriminatory practices (often under the guise of security issues) which focused on groups of ethnic minority youth.

The possible reasons for the absence of young people from the Park are explored and unravelled in Chapter 8 by discussing the results of the semi-structured

interviews with local stakeholders and the postal survey with school staff. The key issues raised in this chapter were that: the lack of a representative youth voice with a 'hidden' and perceived to be 'cosmetic' contribution to legacy planning and; the lack of social and financial capital in school staff and young people in combination with the gentrifying process and; spatial factors such as distance from the Park and poor acces routes, all contributed to the absence of young people from the Park.

Overall, this thesis stresses the importance of unravelling networks to their fullest extent to truly understand the impact such spaces have on diverse communities.

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Despite an increasing desire within academia to hear the voices of youth (Greene, Burke and McKenna 2016), there is a suggestion to be made that this focus has not extended to policy and practice. For example, the Barbican Estate within the City of London was developed in the mid-1960s as a site of middle class expressionism (Sandes, 2015). Built on wasteland space with no direct displacement of population, it could be argued that the Barbican does not constitute a gentrified area. Yet, as space it was not perfect and instead a discourse of 'othering' reflected onto the youth population. Thus the suggestion is made that this was a case of children being seen but not heard by policy makers and planners. The estate's lack of local amenities at that time required the inclusion of existing schools and youth spaces into close proximity to the new residential accommodation (Nash, 2013). This was in conflict

with the quiet tranquility designed into the lofted area. Particularly schools were seen as a threat to this peace. Nash (2013) has proposed that the potential disruption to the quiet tranquility was solved by figuratively hiding such youth friendly spaces behind planting and concrete barriers. The everyday practices of youth were thus normalised in this new build estate as being deviant and seemingly closed away from public view.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Situating the research: mega events and urban regeneration

Mega events have attracted growing attention by social scientists because of their considerable economic and sociocultural impacts (e.g., Roche, 2000; Weed et al., 2012; Giulianotti et al., 2015). Sport-based mega events have been a main focus due to the importance placed upon them by a diverse range of interest groups, including local and national governments, sporting bodies and organizing committees (Grix, 2014). Mega events such as the quadrennial Olympics (both Summer and Winter Games), FIFA Football World Cup, Commonwealth, Asian and African Games and regular major events such as the American Football Superbowl and the Africa Cup of Nations have also become increasingly desirable to host cities and nations because of their media attention and a range of immediate to longer-term outcomes (Müller, 2015a; Holt & Ruta, 2015; Grix, 2014).

Over the past decades, Mega events have grown exponentially in size. The sporting nature of the competitions has increased, from ten to 41 disciplines and from 241 male athletes at the original Olympiad in ancient Greece to over ~10,800 male and female competitors at the London Olympics in 2012. The growing number of visitors both at the host city stadia and through various forms of media has seen mega events become the most widely watched media event on a global scale (Tomlinson, 1996). Financially, spending on these events has grown often stretching into the billions of dollars (Muller, 2015). Infrastructure development has equally grown from basic sporting facilities at early events to extensive developments (Essex and Chalkley, 1998).

Despite several calls within academia, by hosting organisations and the general public for more critical interrogations of all aspects of mega events, the desire of bidding cities to host mega events has also increased over the past decades because potential host cities are attracted to the 'legacy' that mega events leave behind (Jennings, 1992, 1996, 2000; Lenskyj, 2014). Yet, growing public opposition has emerged in recent years because of concerns about neoliberal urban transformation, social exclusion and environmental sustainability. This included critical voices in the run up to the London Olympics and a concerted campaign in

Hamburg, Germany, that resulted in the City's decision to drop their bid for the 2024 sumer Olympics follwing a referendum. These controversial attitudes towards the outcomes of mega events mega events have become an integral part of an emerging body of research in a range of disciplines with a focus on sociology, management, urban regeneration, sport science and human geography, which increasingly adopt a more critical stance towards such events.

This research approaches sports mega events from the perspective of two main fields that can be broadly described as sports geography. Rooney (1975) developed an organising scheme that suggests three broad approaches for sports geography. Firstly, a thematic approach that takes sport as its starting point, going on to study its spatialities and diffusion. Secondly, a spatial approach that seeks to understand sporting culture in different areas. Finally, a temporal approach focusing on the changing nature of sport through time. These three approaches closely correlated with the figurational approach to sport (and more prominently to sociology) adopted by many at the University of Leicester in the 1980s and 1990s (Elias, 1982; Maguire, 1991).

Since John Bale brought to the forefront of academic focus the term sports geography in the late 1989, this area at the intersection of geography and sport has become a fruitful one. Beginning, initially with discussions of sport as situated in a specific space and place, Bale (1989) identified sports geography as an important construct in order to understand the workings of cultures at the edge of human society. Over the past three decades, sports geography has produced novel insights into a wide range of academic topics. It has prominently discussed sports stadiums (Bale, 2001), migration (Maguire and Falcous, 2011), and sports trafficking (Esson, 2015). Although Bale (1989) does not explicitly discuss event regenerated spaces in his vast wealth of work, they are an important feature of urban event-led regeneration in terms of offering analysis of both space and place.

A wealth of literature has emerged primarily in the field of geography around urban regeneration. The physical transformations associated with hallmark events have attracted scholarly attention over the past three decades, during which research into mega-event-led regeneration has paralleled the growth in cities' desires to host these large scale events (Ritchie, 1984). Over the past century, urban regeneration through

sports-events has propagated strategies from sport facility redevelopments to comprehensive multi-spatial regeneration schemes with wider, ambitious social aspirations (Essex and Chalkley, 1998). Understanding these large regeneration schemes has now become a major theme across several research areas. These are often found with different catalytic elements; universities (Melhuish, 2015), government quangos (Al Naib, 1990), retail (Lowe, 2005) and tourism (Chapin, 2004) to name but a few. However, catalyst-led regeneration remains a topic that requires more attention as the ability to regenerate an unattractive part of the city through 'grand projects' has long-term consequences for the local populations.

Urban regeneration is often closely associated with the term gentrification, describing the replacement in the process of urban regeneration of less affluent local urban populations living in worn down urban districts identified as lucrative locations for socioeconomic upgrading through creative individuals, students and the increasingly affluent middle classes (Glass, 1964). As has been explored in the gentrification literature, these large scale developments often veer away from originally planned visions (Butler, 2007). The schemes, policies and outcomes of post-regeneration spaces is well documented in the literature, but the role and use of the developed public and private spaces is less so. This is especially true for post-industrial leisure spaces resulting from large-scale sports events, which have often created permanent changes in the built environment. The focus of this research is therefore on the use of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as a post-industrial leisure space that resulted from mega-event-led urban regneration in East London.

This thesis aims to contribute towards the growing area of event-led regeneration by investigating the largest and perhaps most relevant global mega-event, the Summer Olympic Games (Muller, 2015). When the Games of the XXX Olympiad in London ended, the focus shifted immediately from the short-term festivalised sports event to the long-term post-event developments, including the transformation of the main sporting venues into a semi-public park area. In Olympic studies, post-Olympic spaces such as parks (Sydney 2000; Cashman, 2011), squares (Atlanta 1996; Rutheiser, 1996) and other public spaces (greens, walkways, plazas) have been under-researched despite often being the largest physical regenerated remnant, especially in centralised models of event hosting. Examples of these under-researched areas include Parc Montjuic (Barcelona 1992), Olympiapark Munchen

(Munich 1972), and the Olympic Green (Beijing 2008). An exception to this can be found in a recent study on the legacy of the Sydney Olympic Park (Cashman, 2011). Public parks are more generally viewed as being central to the development of a sustainable city (Chiesura, 2004), thus supporting the achievements of the legacy promises and the IOC pillars of Olympism (Hiller, 2000). It has been suggested that the creation of new green spaces should be placed as part of wider regeneration schemes rather than being developments in their own right (Moffat and Hutchings, 2007). London's model of development in the Stratford City area has followed this suggestion with the development of 560 acres of space in the form of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. As such links between the regeneration literature and the use of public space are explored within this thesis.

There have been calls by academics to "look critically at the assumptions, beliefs and misrepresentations that are often suppressed" by mega event organisers (Horne, 2007, p81). A key example of this suppression is the inherent belief within the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that event legacies are inherently positive. This includes the post-regenerative legacy of events and its impacts on local populations. This shift in understanding should be of interest to those engaged in understanding (event-)regeneration. Therefore, social scientists (particularly those with a geographical and/or a sporting focus) are well placed to research these post (sports)-event developments. Related debates also highlight the need for further discussion of the timespan that different event outcomes cover, which makes mega-event 'legacy' a key concept of this thesis.

1.2 Advancing sport mega event legacy theory

Legacy was the focus of a 2002 IOC symposium that highlighted the growing prevalence of the term. The aims of legacy according to the IOC (2013) are as follows:

> • To deliver lasting benefits that can change a community, its image and its infrastructure with the Games acting as a catalyst with potential to create more than just intangible memories.

> • To spread the Olympic values through city hosting and creating new sporting memories and heroes.

• To incorporate five distinct yet, overlapping outcomes in terms of sporting, social, environmental, urban and economic aspects that can be either tangible or intangible.

It is important to note that legacy is not a new phenomenon but has been prevalent for several decades in the context of mega events (Leopkey and Parent, 2012). Various attempts at incorporating legacy into the fabric of events have been undertaken and legacy is now fundamental to all aspects of events since the IOC included legacy prominently into its agenda in 2002. As a concept, legacy has become synonymous with large-scale transformation of both a tangible and intangible nature (Preuss, 2007). However, the IOC legacy documents outline only positive benefits of hosting the Olympic Games, thus ignoring negative outcomes of hosting such large scale events. Researchers have exposed the difficulties of such overly positive perspectives with very little research supporting this agenda (Preuss, 2007; Bernstock, 2014; Gaffney, 2010 see Viehoff, 2015a for a rare example opposing this critique).

Much of the academic legacy research focuses on the built environment and socioeconomic developments, which has its roots in sports economics. However, as stated by Hylton and Morpeth (2012), the everyday practices, experiences and perceptions of people are often neglected in the debate, as are the spillover effects on local populations. At a time of increasing neoliberal festivalisation (Tomlinson, 2014), it is expected of the public to accept the catch-all concept of legacy as a justification for years of disturbance and public expense. This thesis provides an opportunity to address this academic oversight both in practice and theory through the development of a new conceptual framework incorporating actor-network theory and mega-event legacy theory (MELT).

Drawing on key debates around MELT, most notably the legacy cube developed by Holger Preuss (2007), the proposed multidimensional framework of the legacy rings extend the research agenda on mega-event legacy. Specifically, this thesis draws on MELT and advances it through the use of actor-network theory, as developed in science studies (Latour, 2005), to advance conceptual understanding of legacy, whilst also introducing to the world of sport the relatively unused theoretical lens of actor-network theory. By moving away from the conventional dualisms associated

with social theory and adopting a more differentiated triadic approach, the framework of the legacy rings make an original contribution to knowledge and, by helping to identify research gaps, unfolds a future agenda for research on mega-event outcomes

Based on the concerns and critiques on mega events outlined previously, this thesis focuses on the largest material legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games, the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, seeking to analyse the profiles, practices and perceptions of visitors and local people through primary research combining quantitative and qualitative research methods. Tomlinson (2014) stresses that despite global rhetoric to the contrary by those embedded within the Olympic family, regeneration legacy is often negatively portrayed at the local level. This thesis therefore presents an in-depth study of the impacts that have shaped the experiences of people visiting the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park located in the east of London. In so doing, it contributes towards a gap in existing knowledge around mega events and their post-event spatial use.

1.3 Locating London's Legacy

London was awarded the 2012 Games amidst competition from various other world cities, including New York, Madrid, Moscow and Paris in the Summer of 2005 (Masterman, 2013). Held in Stratford in the East End of London, the Games were awarded partly on the strength of London's legacy plans. Inherent in the IOC Charter amendments, legacy had become the latest buzzword in mega-event development. The IOC amendments, made in 2002, meant that London was the first Summer Olympic Games to be officially invited to place legacy at the heart of its bid book. The importance of this concept as perceived by bidding cities is highlighted by legacy being the second section of London's candidature file, in which it was mentioned twenty-seven times (London 2012, 2005). In the initial application, four key areas of legacy were identified - economy, sport, the community and the environment – all of which were tied into the development of a post-Olympic space (DCMS, 2005). Over several publications and statements by the London organising bodies, five legacy promises were made:

> 1. To make the UK a world leading sporting nation at every point of the sporting continuum.

2. To develop the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park a model for sustainable development.

3. To advertise the United Kingdom as an inclusive, creative and welcoming place.

4. "To inspire a generation" of young people aged 5 - 24 and improving their lives through improved opportunities.

5. To transform the heart of East London into a world-class district for generations to come.

<div align="right">(Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2008)</div>

Several other aspects, and more details, were outlined in various legacy plans and documents (this will be explored further in Chapter 6) under both a left of centre and a Conservative-led coalition government as well as both Labour and Conservative London mayors. This demonstrates that the desire to regenerate a large swathe of the former industrial East End existed across party boundaries and politics, and thus received compelling support.

The establishment on former industrial land of a new park in East London is the largest physical and visible remnant of the London 2012 Olympic Games. During the Games this space was abuzz with spectators exploring this hub of Olympic Family commercialisation. Amongst the opportunity to spectate, shop and experience the Olympic Games, the beginnings of the current parkland space were already evident. After the closure of the Olympic Games, the main area of sports venues was closed for transformation and reopened in July 2013 as The Queen Elizabeth Park (hereafter synonomously addressed as The Park). The Park developed around the five remaining sports facilities (the Aquatics Centre, London Stadium, Cooper Box Arena, Velodrome and Lee Valley Hockey Centre), a rerouted River Lea and residential developments in the former Athletes Village. It consists of two distinct spaces (Viehoff, 2015): the North of the Park is dominated by more traditional natural environments in the tradition of other London parks (e.g. Hyde and Regents Park). Originally, urban parks were developed as a means to provide the public with respite from crowding and pollution of industrial urbanism (LeGates and Stout, 1998). Thus the bradycardic beating heartland of industrial East London has somewhat been

replaced by a place historically viewed as the lungs of the city. Contrasting with this green space and separated by a main road bisecting its two main areas is the South of the Park. With less open green space, the South of the Park has been developed with large numbers of footfall in mind, the festivalisation of this space centrering on the former Olympic Stadium, which was reconfigured as multi-use arena has hosted West Ham United football club since 2015 and in 2017 the World Championships of the International Athletics Federation. In total, the 560 acres of former industrial wasteland has been regenerated into a hub of leisure and cultural opportunities, accommodation, creative business and knowledge production, that create multiple opportunities of engagement for the general public visiting The Park from near and afar.

1.4 Reflexivity of the researcher

Largely, addressed through the early feminist geography literature (see England, 1994 for an early example) the concept of reflexivity or positionality offers a fuller understanding of the researcher, the researched and the research context (Rose, 1997). Further, whilst initial discussions focused on the dyadic role of insiders and outsiders, a more complex picture suggests that the researcher-researched-context triad is not clearly delineated (Merriam et al., 2010). The following section of this thesis outlines the author's own positionality within the context of East London and prior study offered as a personal, historical reflection.

A family history based in the East End of London through a maternal lineage based in the area which modern day describes as Hackney (Hoxton) but expanding across Newham, Islington and the City of London. Largely, working in what would be considered the working-class entertainment industry offering leisure services in various public houses eventually ending up as owners of pubs significantly on Shoreditch High Street but also across the area outlined above. Whilst, in the late sixties my family joined the diaspora out of London towards Essex and beyond the stories of these years were often told repeatedly during my own childhood. As such my own affinity to the historical (which Chapter 5 considers as both the Industrial Revolution but also the post war period) narratives is based on this background.

These stories were about people, community, and the positive ties that bound them to one another despite media and popular commentary to the opposite. These mid

century commentaries focused on the negative, often criminal proceedings that were the early beginnings of the post war 'degeneration' of the area. Yet as is often the case in media led beliefs this macro level view of the area ignored that which made the area a cultural melting pot.

Growing up with these tales of East London undoubtedly piqued my interest in applying for the PhD studentship associated with this research project alongside my previous study background. I also previously read for degrees in Sports Science (Bachelors) and Globalization with Sport (Masters) with research projects focused on underrepresented groups within sport with a further emphasis on the merging of both the geographical and sport sociological literatures was informed by this. Having studied sport throughout the preceding years of the eventual hosting of the Olympic Games I had already seen how the area of East London was being built up as in need of regeneration deemed only possible through hosting a mega event. I also lived in North London for four years prior to the Games and worked myself close by to the four key boroughs which hosted the Olympic Park during the summer of 2012. Thus I experienced first hand the picture painted of the area during this time.

Yet this always felt contradictory to the history and present I had been told, albeit removed by some 40 years, and experienced. As Hobbs (1989) tellingly notes most writers take an interest in the East of London are motivated by something whether that be cultural, social, or political – this short reflection follows this line. It was very clear to me throughout this research that I was being driven by own familial background

1.5 Aims and objectives

The aim of this research is:

To examine the profiles, practices and perceptions of visitors to the the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park with a comparative perspective on local, regional, national and international visitors and a focus on local communities and youth.

This research aim will be addressed through four research objectives:

1. To develop a conceptual framework that advances mega-event legacy theory through the an integration of an actor-network theory approach.

2. To examine the aspirations and practices of policy and planning in regard to London 2012 and the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

3. To analyse the profiles, practices and perceptions of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

4. To assess the impact of Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on local stakeholders and communities with a focus on local youth.

Based on these four research objectives, this study analyses developments and impacts associated with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park from its initial inception through to present usages and perceptions up to five years after London 2012. This research provides new insights into understanding the everyday lived practices of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and local experts. Apart from Cashman (2011) and Viehoff (2015), research into post-Olympic spaces has been limited to that conducted or funded by legacy bodies. Given the pressures on these governmental institutions to present positive findings, many of these studies have been received with some reservation. Moreover, very little is known about the use of these spaces by different audiences in the aftermath of events, which is why this thesis make a substantial contribution to knowledge.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into eight further chapters. These chapters comprise of a literature review chapter, a conceptual chapter that provides the theoretical framework, a methodological chapter, a contextual chapter on East London and three distinct yet, linked results chapters that are followed by a concluding chapter. Chapter Two presents first an in-depth, critical viewpoint of the current academic literature around urban regeneration including the debates around exclusion (gentrification), urban planning and the sites targeted for mass regeneration. It then explores (mega-)event led urban-regeneration focusing on but not limited to research on global sporting events. Chapter Three develops the conceptual framework for researching mega-event legacy. Legacy has become the key term in the host city bid books and was a key element of the successful London 2012 Olympic Games. I argue that current literature in this research area focuses on the economic and material aspects of legacy and largely ignores the practices of human beings and other dynamic hybrids. In addressing this gap in the literature, it is contended that a

theoretical shift towards a triadic perspective on mega-event outcomes framed by actor-network theory (ANT) is beneficial. Consequently, this chapter develops the novel conceptual framework of the 'legacy rings' by integrating aspects of mega-event legacy theory (MELT) and actor-network theory (ANT).

Chapter Four outlines the methodology adopted in this research project, justifying the use of an ANT-informed, longitudinal mixed-methods approach. This approach captures the profiles, practices and perception of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park through documents, observations, surveys and interviews with visitors and local stakeholders. More specifically, this study draws on four distinct methods; textual analysis, surveying, interviews and ethnography in the form of the flaneur. The methodologies employed here illicit the roles of several different human agents and non-human actants, all of which contribute to the intricate understanding of how the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is used and perceived up to five years after London 2012.

Chapter Five adopts a historical viewpoint and explores the long-term changes associated with the East End of London. It focuses on the four Park Boroughs (Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest) within the context of wider shifting local, national and global processes over six key periods of time; pre-industrialisation, industrialisation, 1914-1945, docklands regeneration, the Olympic period and the period since the reopening of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The chaptertraces the journey of the East End from its roots as rural villages outside the walls of the City of London through to the year 2017. The intention of this contextualisation is to outline historical socio-cultural and economic trends that have shaped London's East End up until today and need to be understood for situating the empirical findings within important historical path dependencies.

Chapter Six is the first of three empirical chapters and discusses the pre-event development plans. By drawing on policy analysis of the changing London 2012 legacy documents, it is demonstrated that plans for the post-event Olympic space were in a continual state of flux as to the purpose of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. By focussing on two sections of the legacy plans (Inspiration and Regeneration) and drawing on the views aquired from secondary senior leadership teams and physical education departments, it is argued that the actual regeneration

of this area has been perceived unfavourably by many interested parties. This finding contrasts with the more perceptions of park visitors, suggesting that considering people's engagement with the Park is key to the future use and wider perception of this space.

Chapter Seven presents an analysis of 682 questionnaires gathered during a longitudinal survey of visitors as they exited the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The two-year long survey aimed to explore people's motivations for visiting The Park, their personal opinions about the regenerated area, and how these differ across various demographics, including age, gender, ethnicity and social economic status. The survey also allows for a differentiation on a spatial scale to look at practices of local, regional, national and international visitors. Two key findings show firstly, that despite the promise to inspire a generation, there is a distinct lack of youth within the Park, and secondly, that the socio-cultural background of all visitors is markedly different to that of those coming from the local area. This confirms processes of socio-economic exclusion as a negative impact of post-industrial leisure spaces on local communities and highlights the importance of understanding visitor practices in more nuanced ways, as outlined by the concept of the 'legacy rings.'

Building upon these research findings, which identify a clear underrepresentation of local youth among Park visitors, Chapter Eight presents data collected from local experts. The findings focus on potential reasons for understanding the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park through the eyes of youth. Drawn from a wide range of interviewees contacted at different stages pre-, during- and post-event, these findings suggest that representative youth voice, accomodation, capital and spatial factors have impacted on how local youth use, or rather do not use, this space. The participants, almost exclusively, reflected on the value of legacy as negative with many regretting the outcomes associated with the area, and their views confirmed that the gentrification process has the potential for long-term local disillusionment and displacement.

Finally, Chapter Nine draws together the main conceptual and empirical contributions that this thesis makes to knowledge. Through engagement with the outlined empirical findings, this chapter makes several policy recommendations for both the Queen

Elizabeth Olympic Park (and its management structure) and future host cities planning similar centralised post-event spaces.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter places the broader developments associated with mega events and event hosting into the wider context of the existing literature. The chapter is structured into two distinct, yet related, main sections bridging human geography and sport sociology/management. The first section explores the literatures on urban regeneration focusing on the shifting nature of planning policy, neo-liberalisation, population movements, and impacts upon communities. This section provides a geographical study of place relevant to the hosting of mega events and positions this thesis within broader debates of urban change, especially focusing on physical and socio-economic concerns around austerity, displacement, exclusion and gentrification. Finally, debates around public and private space tied to the regeneration of the city and the use of regenerated post-mega event spaces are examined.

The second section of this chapter explores the literatures within the broad area of sport and leisure studies. Much of this literature is focused on event-led regeneration, but it also considers sport-led catalytic development, mainly through mega events. The relatively scarce literature on the post-event spaces of such developments is also examined. These are largely limited to green park spaces but increasingly extend into central city spaces. This section also considers the use of a range of large-scale projects to regenerate city spaces and the use of these types of spaces by different groups of people.

As discussed in chapter 1, wider interest in bridging the literatures of sport and geography has grown in recent years (see Bale, 1993 for an early example contrary to this and Waite 2017 for a more recent example). However, the study of mega events remains an emerging area, even if much research has focused on large scale events such as the Olympic Games. A growing body of literature has begun to cover topics such as power relations (Muller, 2014), regional planning (Essex and Chalkley, 2004) and activism (Boykoff, 2011). Overall this chapter identifies and evidences a gap in the literature on people's practices and perceptions of post-event space, thus identifying a relatively unique contribution that this study makes towards existing knowledge.

2.2 Urban studies and the city

Roberts (2000) describes urban space as a complex and dynamic system. Urban spaces are experienced not just as singular nodes but rather a multi-dimensional network intersecting with many others. These diverse processes reflect the physical, social, environmental and economic spaces of urban places. The importance of the city has been historically noted, as have its shifting transformations (Bell, 1976). Furthermore, three phases of industrial transformations of the city driven by different needs and with different principles have been identified; the pre-industrial, the industrial and the post-industrial period (Bell, 1976),

In Europe, the pre-industrial city was one of extractive industries and agrarian economies (Brenner, 1976). The industrial phase of development saw a shift of terms to industrial fabrication and manufacturing processes. The development of this phase was linked to the transformation of raw materials into finished, consumable products. This phase is arguably the one during which much of the pre-Olympics East London landscape and culture was formed. The post-industrial society and its urban politics fit well with the reliance of post-modern societies reliance on an increasing middle-class, high tech and creative staff (Gospodini, 2006). The patterns of land-use have shifted accordingly to reflect innovation and culture in peopled-centered service and leisure industires.

In considering three global cities (New York, Paris and London), Savitch and Thomas (1988) outlined that the above shifts are not only human centred around population geographies such as employment and leisure, but also about the transformation of the built environment. The social upheaval associated with the changes in production replaces one physical form with another. Most recently, previous industrial infrastructure has been transformed into post-industrial spaces of living, work and leisure catering for the affluent creative class (Mommaas, 2004). Yet, these shifts should not be treated as a single, transferable process from one city to the other. Each city is tied to its own unique transformations fostering new industry and furnishing new developments (Savitch and Thomas, 1988). In particular the impacts of mega events on local communities and individuals are categorically negative across all cities, often with issues of displacement, the removal of diverse communities and cultures and their subsequent exclusion from the amenities created through this post-industrial structural shift (Giulianotti et al., 2015). London's

transformation from an emphasis on industrial to service sector employment failed to compensate for its own industrial shrinkage and stagnation, leading to continued problems for many of its communities. These challenges will be discussed further in the context of gentrification.

2.2.1 Gentrification

Gentrification, a term coined by Ruth Glass in the aftermath of the second world war has become one of the key term of urban regeneration describing the revitalization (in the view of some) of the (inner-) city. It has become a term well-known in both academic and public discourse. There is no single term which has been agreed on to define gentrification, nor is this possible due to circumstantial factors (Smith, 1996). In her seminal work produced out of the Centre for Urban Studies at University College London, Glass (1964) noted that the "working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middles classes - upper and lower" (p. xviii). Glass (1964) rather prophetically predicted the rise of exclusive reservations of the inner areas of London for the privileged few. Given Glass suggested no definitive timeframe on the gentrification process and with the current population trends supporting the accuracy of this claim, it is no surprise that this lens has found popularity within academia.

Research into gentrification has a broad history. Glass' focus was on London, but the processes have been noted across post-industrial cities such as New York, Paris, Barcelona and recently Berlin (Huning and Schuster, 2015). The reshaping of these cities over the past half century since Glass wrote about it cannot be overstated, nor can its legacy on the materiality, immateriality and everyday practices of cities be understated. Gentrification is also occurring outside of large cities, as it has been discussed for small towns (Atkinson, 2009), the move to the rural (Smith and Holt, 2005), music (Turnbull, 2009) and in regard to degentrification (Lees and Bondi, 1995). Given the focus of this thesis on London, much of the subsequent sections deal predominantly with the role of gentrification in global cities.

This post-industrial urban shift offers support for one of three explanations of gentrification; employment, leisure and land (Hamnett, 2003). Employment as an explanation for gentrification is described by Hamnett (2003) as the conceptualisation of a shift from manufacturing, blue-collar industry to a more service-orientated, white-collar employment base located in the major towns and cities. This created new

demands of space in the city by a growing technically skilled workforce (Ley, 1996). The leisure focused debate centres its view on shifting patterns of socio-cultural orientation and newly formed preferences for inner city living rather than the previous shift to suburban commuting (Butler, 1996). Much of this relates to character, housing stock and availability of local amenities to meet these newly created demands. Ley (1986) notes in a study of six major Canadian cities that there were notable exceptions which were affected by limiting factors, such as in Montreal where local laws were introduced to prevent service developments such as restaurants. On the whole though, this process of increased desire is associated with a similar shift to the consumption of leisure (Veblen, 1989).

Thirdly, the view of land offers a stark contrasting explanation to the views proposed in the first two explanations. This is a focus on financial capital of land and property values. Focusing on the rent-gap and exploitation of the modern day 'generation rent', Smith (1979) suggests that decreasing land values allowed developers and capital owners to reinvest through renovation or redevelopment. This interpretation adds to the human, practice-based approach to explanations of gentrification by Ley (1996) and Butler (1996) that emphasises capital interests over consumer choice as well as consumer preferences and producer supply. These capitalistic actors, property developers, lenders and government agencies, are enticed by the high level of capital, and will flow to the place where the rate of return is highest (Smith, 1979). Whilst this explanation for development and gentrifying processes has some value for gentrification to occur, the deterministic character of this rent gap theory removes the active role of the human advocated throughout this thesis.

A further explanation offers a state determined approach (Cameron, 2003). Whilst explicit desires for the removal of 'less desirable', low capital social classes are rare; government policy (national, regional or local) regularly addresses the need to introduce a more affluent population into the area. Increasingly, distinct narratives and growing scales of schemes are notable. Cameron (2003) describes this process of gentrification policy as an 'explicit concern to rebalance the population of disadvantaged and stigmatised' people (p. 2367). These urban polices are viewed as attempts to promote state control of areas in which policy makers feel they have lost control. Policy makers thus strive to lure the middle classes to the disadvantaged areas to civilise and improve these areas (Uitermark and Kleinhans, 2007). This

appears a contradictory approach at a time of increasing neo-liberalistion of society, Yet, the benefits to the state are clear in current narratives.

These four explanatory approaches to gentrification are noted for their significance and umbrella perspective, but other significant explanations have also been suggested for middle class resettlement, including urban sprawl and commuting costs drawing people closer to their places of work but also spiraling costs of housing in commuter towns and the desire for character and unique neighbourhoods (Ley, 1986).

Further consideration of a European context regards the urban restructuring as a means of improving the liveability of designated neighbourhoods through housing redifferentiation (Priemus, 1998). This is an attempt to reduce social spatial segregation. This process suggests that the creation of new populations and neighbourhoods is enough to challenge previous stigmatised views of an area. Cameron (2003) describes such housing differentiation as a form of 'positive' gentrification with possible benefits to current and future populations. The image portrayed by supporters of such an approach (often the main agents behind gentrification) suggests a 'pulling up by the bootstraps' of the disadvantaged. Yet, this utopian image is both complex and distorted. Empirical findings suggest limited benefits to previous residents. Social integration of the two distinct populations in a long-term study of a Belgian estate, *Da Waaier,* suggested a distinct lack of increased social cohesion amongst communities, with tensions exacerbated rather than solved (Uitermark and Kleinhans, 2007). Drawing on this European example shows that despite a nation-states' desire to append the well-documented effects of gentrification, it has clearly been of limited benefit to 'native' communities.

Despite disputes about the explanations for gentrification, overall there appears to be a complex consensus that the term gentrification is broadly associated with displacement, the consumption classes, and various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Within the US and UK contexts, there are also references to the white middle classes (Hamnett, 2003). Studies of gentrification remain concerned essentially with the changing relationship of people and the why and where they live (Butler, 2007). It is important that findings from other cities are not uncritically applied to unique locations. Arguably, East London has been one of the most densely studied case

study areas in the gentrification literature. This is of little surprise given the roots of Glass' (1964) work in the area and the rapidly changing nature of East London in a global city. Studies in the area have focused on education (Butler et al., 2007), housing (Husin-Bey, 2012), the riverside development (Davidson and Lees, 2005), religion (Smith, 1996), nationality (Griffiths, 2000) and community (Mumford and Power, 2003), amongst others.

It has been proposed that there is a progressive temporal process to gentrification (Butler and Lees, 2006)). The creative industry has been suggested to be a first wave displacer of native communities and in a second and later stage the creative clusters are ultimately displaced themselves by future super gentrifiers (Butler and Lees, 2006). It has been suggested that the improvements in the leisure offering within the areas developed by the creative class appeal to the super gentrifying community, an often wealthier and capitally richer group than the creatives they replace. Much research has focused on the implications of these transformations for society. These two groups of actors, creatives and super gentrifiers, are often responsible for a shift in consumption practices in formal urban space, and increasingly are considered to be responsible for the development of informal urban space (Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998).

Despite the diverse research foci, there has been limited research into the effects of gentrification on the practices of communities within (quasi-)public and private spaces in East London. As suggested previously, daily practices of residents, both new and old, are considered within the home and neighbourhood research. One example of this within East London is Gunter's (2008) study of local neighbourhood youth lifestyle. Gunter (2008) argues that 'badness' and criminal deviance is situated within the wider neighbourhood context. Despite the anonymous nature of the research this context is identified as an area in East London. It has been argued that this flirtation with crime is a response to the exclusionary nature of gentrifying neighbourhoods across the Park Boroughs and further surroundings (see Chapter 5).

 In view of what has been mentioned so far, it may be supposed that the literature on gentrification has been saturated beyond new, novel data insights. In contrast, I argue that the novel contribution of this study is a consideration of the limited engagement with distinct quasi-public space. By suggesting that research on public

spaces is limited, that is not to say the literature has been ignorant of it. I mean to explore that which is not the home, nor the neighbourhood, but rather constituted by local markets, parks, public facilities and spaces of consumption. Access to these spaces is highly complex with groups establishing their claims to use these areas (Goheen, 1994). Dines (2009) supports the argument that scarce attention has been paid to how regeneration affects the afore mentioned semi-public spaces and addresses this with a snapshot of the spatially explicit structure of Queen's Market in Newham. Queen's Market is both the geographical and cultural hub of the community. Market spaces are seen as sites of multi-cultural community, safety, knowledge transfer and as socially significant (Dines, 2009). As such, further exploration is warranted in this chapter into similar spaces.

2.3 The 'quasi' nature of space

This section seeks to address recent calls within urban studies to examine the dynamics of public space "that can account for nuances, contradictions and everyday processes" (Jackson and Butler, 2015, p. 2363). This is because I support the view that this approach allows for a more refined understandinging of identities and relationship formation in East London. Notionally, a binary divide exists between space that is open and one that is closed. Yet, increasingly, this approach simplifies a complexity of access and 'wantedness'. Publicly accessible spaces are an important aspect of any urban development (Nemeth, 2008). Public space as a term is difficult to define because few spaces have ever been truly public (Minton, 2016). The key element appears to be free, unrestricted access, supplemented by questions around who owns the space (Minton, 2016). With consumption of space increasingly 'owned' by private entities, even public stakeholders' spaces, such as government space, have increasingly complicated access policy.

Many spaces in post-industrial cities are quasi-public. That is to say that they have key features of public spaces, Yet, are controlled by various by-laws and restrictions. These regulations thus situate what is theoretically a public space open to all, such as the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, within the context of privatized space controls. Power and securitisation of space, whether it be through surveillance techniques or restricting access using guards and gates, are traditional means of restricting access to othered individuals and communities (Newburn, 2001). These have been complemented by further, non-traditional means such as the booking forms seen at

many of London's high rise public spaces (for example the Sky Garden). Yet, these material means of privatising space are not limited to the visible. Suggestive of this inclusion led approach to exclusion is the layout and design of Berlin's Potsdamer Platz (Allen, 2006). The seduction of the commercialized plaza space has a power driven by impulse and spontaneity, drawing attention to a corporate world, yet, not forcing its consumption. By inhabiting the space, people's choice rather than access is in the realm of privatising space. The term quasi-public thus refers to that which feels public and yet, ultimately, is a controlled space.

Seeking to answer questions around who belongs into a space, whether people's presence is accepted and what they can do in the space, scholars globally have sought to understand the processes of these quasi-public spaces. Public space is one of conflict, an amalgamation of cultural norms in a constant state of flux (Langegger, 2016a). The displacement of long-term communities from spaces such as streets and parks has been viewed as a consequence of gentrification - the so called green wall thesis (Gobster, 1998), whereby urban parks or spaces separating racially different or other 'different' neighbourhoods and can become barriers to use or so-called 'green walls'. Yet, recent students of gentrifying areas suggest that public space is an actor itself, in contributing to the rhythmic and low level regulations of space associated with gentrification (Langegger, 2016b).

2.3.1 The 'quasi' nature of youth within space

This section of this chapter continues to seek to understand gentrification of urban space, but extends the focus to youth. Moos (2015) has framed this focus as *youthification* seeking to allow a better understanding of age as an explicit variable in the analysis of social differentiation. By arguing that young adults' share of the population increases, Moos (2015) identifies a need for an increased share of generational space. Whilst the varying definitions of youth used in the academic literature limit the overlap of this thesis and Moos' work, the term *youthification* equally applies as a process rather than a specific understanding. Youth in this thesis are considered as those still of secondary education age (11-18). Other definitions such as that by Moos (2015) have extended the notion of youth to include those not in education, employment or training (NEETs) which may include young people over 18 years of age and up to 25. This study does not consider this extension for two reasons. Firstly, as will be showcased in Chapter 5, the age demographics of the

Park Boroughs suggest a high number of under 18s in the local area and differentiation is required. Secondly, the study area as a place of gentrification suggests that this age range particularly those in post-tertiary level education are a part of the gentrifying processes themselves. However, such definitions are vast and varying across the literatures, depending on the discipline. Yet, several lines of enquiry suggest that youth are an excluded group within the urban regeneration literature

Young people or youth are a community with a loose enrolment to the urban network. Their experiences are often distinguished by tensions, disparity and exclusion. They are rarely offered formal, binding full citizenship of the local community (Rosbrook-Thompson, 2015). They are, as such, an often excluded group treated as clients or subjects of their parents, carers or guardians; they are resident non-citizens (Rosbrook-Thomspson, 2015). Yet, despite this so called 'denzienship' (Hammar, 1990) of urban space, youth have unique practices to be considered. This is both because of their own agency and the forced agency of those whom have responsibility for them (Hammar, 1990). They are controlled by the political and socio-cultural environment. As such, this excluded group often is an assumed or imagined voice in the planning and policy of formal urban space. In recent years a shift has occurred that seeks to include youth more closely in processes of urban regeneration (Day et al., 2011).

Despite an increasing desire within academia to hear the voices of youth (Greene, Burke and McKenna 2016), there is a suggestion to be made that this focus has not extended to policy and practice. For example, the Barbican Estate within the City of London was developed in the mid-1960s as a site of middle class expressionism (Sandes, 2015). Built on wasteland space with no direct displacement of population, it could be argued that the Barbican does not constitute a gentrified area. Yet, as space it was not perfect and instead a discourse of 'othering' reflected onto the youth population. Thus the suggestion is made that this was a case of children being seen but not heard by policy makers and planners. The estate's lack of local amenities at that time required the inclusion of existing schools and youth spaces into close proximity to the new residential accommodation (Nash, 2013). This was in conflict with the quiet tranquility designed into the lofted area. Particularly schools were seen as a threat to this peace. Nash (2013) has proposed that the potential disruption to

the quiet tranquility was solved by figuratively hiding such youth friendly spaces behind planting and concrete barriers. The everyday practices of youth were thus normalised in this new build estate as being deviant and seemingly closed away from public view.

Fitzpatrick, Hastings and Kintrea (2000) highlighted three main reasons for the voice of youth coming to the fore while offering methodological means to address this. Firstly, it was argued that youth face particular challenges in deprived areas. Secondly, much anti-social behaviour is perceived to be caused by young people. Involvement in planning should thus be considered a form of social control. Thirdly, consultation with, and inclusion of youth was considered to be a form of training for the 'citizens of the future', moving away from the view of youth as denziens. However, this vision of increased youth engagement in urban regeneration is complex and often seen as low impact by policy makers. As such, much work on the practices of youth remains to be done in post-regenerated spaces, in which often simplistic universal attributions of youth have been adopted—an example being provided by the London 2012 legacy plans (see Chapter 6).

The evidence reviewed here suggests that youth have a pertinent, if little understood role in urban regeneration projects. The London 2012 Olympic Games had a distinct focus on youth (see Chapter 6), and a young population is to be found in the local area to the Olympic Park. As such, it would be expected that youth in general and local youth more specifically benefitted from the positive outcome of a public space for this population. The distinction of and practices within public and private space are considered as a form of urban exclusion (Kennelly, 2016). In the context of hosting mega events in both London and Vancouver, youth experienced their own non-belonging as an inadequacy both emotionally and physically. These youth reported an indignant and resigned acceptance that they did not fit the image that organising stakeholders were keen to portray (Kennelly, 2016). Such pre-event feelings of exclusion are common place and have also been identified by Watt (2013). Yet, these literatures do not consider the involvement and potential exclusion of youth within regenerated post-industrial leisure spaces created by mega events. As these newly designed spaces have complex relations with their environments,

and their place within cities is often contested, this research examines attitudes towards and practices by local youth in more detail (see Chapter 8).

2.3.2 The nature of park and leisure space

Research into the benefits of park spaces has a significant history. There is a diverse range of sizes, roles and amenities associated with such spaces and this is reflected in the literature. Parkland spaces play multiple roles in the urban environment. They are environmentally important to city life because they serve as air filters, support air cooling and noise reduction amongst other well-established benefits (Kabish and Haase, 2014). They also offer socio-cultural benefits to health and wellbeing (Chiesura, 2004) and are attractive to gentrifiers to the area (Ley, 1996). Urban green spaces thus clearly make a key contribution to urban life.

People's experiences of park spaces falls into four dimensions (Burgess, Harrison and Limb, 1988). Firstly, personal satisfaction results from engagement with the natural world, the pleasure of being outside and to engage with nature as a restorative means (Burgess, Harrison and Limb, 1988). This is a common theme throughout the literature (Lloyd and Auld, 2003). Secondly, the important role of social and cultural values needs to be addressed. This is particularly significant for youth and parents who consider parks important areas for freedom and pleasure. These spaces should therefore be considered as richly endowed with memory, cultural meanings and shared experiences (Burgess, Harrison and Limb, 1988). Thirdly, addressing the darker side of public space are issues of deviancy within space and debates around the positives and negatives of control. It becomes apparent that the design of spaces and facilities acts to prevent and encourage behavior (Morrow, 2003). Finally, a rich everyday experience is important (Burgess, Harrison and Limb, 1988). This refers to the daily use of sometimes monotonous, sterile green space offering a poverty of environmental experience. It seems from these suggestions that a dynamic, multidimensional approach to visitor experiences and practices in urban parks is necessary, which in this study will be achieved through the adoption of an actor-network theory-based approach to park visitors profiles, practice and experiences that considers the agency of various human and nonhuman actants (Chapter 3).

Urban parks in major cities have multiple uses. On some days visits with family or friends may be driven by leisure and relaxation . On others, a more short-term experience is desired as people commute or wander through. This needs to be reflected in urban design. Within quasi-public spaces the ability to engage relatively freely with these parks is significantly curtailed. This is because modern urban parkland spaces are often highly regulated by rules and regulations (see Figure 1). Other means of control even regulate the access to public park facilities. These are grounded in largely financial barriers preventing the use of such spaces (Cauley et al., 1991), but also depend on exclusions linked to feelings of non-belonging for some people that are linked to a lack of ethnic and cultural diversity. Shifts to reclaim the public increasingly find their place in political activism.

Figure 1. Image showing a variety of rules applied to a small section of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park residential area.

Attempts to regain and return public space to the people have considered leisure as a creative and productive force for change (Gilchrist and Ravenscroft, 2013). The contribution of leisure to debates around lifestyle, festivalisation, and democracy politics should not be understated. The role of leisure as a means of reclaiming the city is considered variously as 'civil leisure' (Mair, 2002) and 'pleasure politics' (Sharpe, 2008) with different intricacies in their approach. Seeking to further understand the role of private hierarchies within the public, the *Space Hijackers (*an

international band of activists) offer a challenge to differentiated spaces. Examples of such activism include 'Midnight Cricket' which is "deployed as a playful means to defethise the exclusionary infrastructure of urban space" (Gilchrist and Ravenscroft, 2013, p. 61), supporting willful transgressions of such spaces' original uses. Yet, such micro-political processes are limited within the spaces of Olympism and whilst the pre-Games period frequently sees political protest, such activism is limited in the aftermath. In the context of creative, confrontation-led and leisure-driven reclamations of space, I argue that these are especially beneficial to communities as these seek to create pre-ordained public spaces in their own image. Whilst these protest movements explore and reclaim space, park scale and size offer unique problems, as do their previous roles as event spaces.

2.4 Sport and the city

Sport and leisure have found an important role in modern society. This has been nowhere more apparent than how it has impacted on local culture and the landscape of cities. Sites of sport have moved from being marginal places stigmatised as opportunities for behavioural deviancy (Bale, 1993) to being spaces key to the development of the city through tourism, external image, and encouragment of internal investment (Gratton, Shibli and Coleman, 2005). Understandably, due to the role of mega events as prime movers of such urban regeneration, a wealth of literature focuses on this wider topic. This section considers this expanding literature on sport-led regeneration discussing both that which is based around mega events but also smaller shifts within the sports landscape. This section further considers how the dedicated spaces that developed from large scale events changed their primary and long-term use. It considers how these spaces have undergone similar shifts to those in the urban regeneration literature, and that despite messages to the contrary, post-industrial leisure spaces resulting from mega events have the potential to become unique cultural sites of exclusion and gentrification.

Exploitation of the legacy of such events for benefits to cities through urban regeneration suggest unique opportunitiesfor stimulating redevelopment, employment and wealth creation, and assumed ability to create community cohesion and improved civic image (Friedman, Andrews and Silk, 2004). Mega events thus offer the opportunity to boost a city's global visibility whilst legitimising large scale transformations that refashion the urban landscape (Broudehoux, 2007). Extensive

research, however, has not been able to provide evidence of these common positive political messages. Thus it can be said that "cities are gambling that staging major events will help to encourage local economic development leading to urban regeneration" (Smith, 2012, p. 29).

It has been noted that studies into the role of sport in the city found prominence in the USA before Europe and more specifically the UK (Bale, 1993). These American studies were predominantly focused on franchise relocation, continuing neoliberal philosophy with the associated development of professional, privately-owned stadiums (Johnson, 1986). Johnson's (1986) early study focused on Baltimore and whether a city sports team was worthwhile financially and socially. Despite outlining that benefits were monopolised by the incoming groups, cities continue to flirt with sport as a means of urban change. Further studies have supported these findings globally, as exemplified by the Olympic Games in Athens (Kissoudi, 2008), Atlanta (Rutheiser, 1996) and Beijing (Broudehoux, 2007). These are also increasingly seen in smaller events such as the Commonwealth Games and the America's Cup (Ruta and Manzoni, 2015). Often these studies have been found in a diverse range of academic disciplines though in many ways these have all had an element of geography. This trend towards 'stadiumisation' (sports-complex gigantism) for economic development and urban posturing have been discussed by notable geographers such as David Harvey (1989), which stresses the importance of sport across disciplinary boundaries.

2.4.1 Mega events and the Olympic Games

Event-led urban regeneration has evolved through five different phases each with a distinct focus; pre-1945, post World War II, 1970s and 1980s, 1990s and the 21st century (Smith, 2012). These periods reflect the role of mega events as societal timekeepers of progress (Roche, 2000). Events of the pre-1945 era were largely temporary and with little additional commitments from cities other than a stadium large enough to host Games. By 1932, larger stadia were becoming an early source of urban machismo and city marketing (Smith, 2012). The post-war period saw events become a source of celebration for host communities (Hampton, 1948). Many global cities required development in the aftermath of the Second World War. Cities thus looked to mega events as a means of wide development agendas, including the

large scale development of utilities and transport infrastructure seen in Rome (Bolz, 2015). Whilst, city regeneration was a constant, by the 1970s the scale had shifted.

The 1972 Munich Olympic Games marked the end of an era of events being used to reconstruct whole cities both physically and symbolically (Smith, 2012). The focus instead shifted to single site development of derelict land and transforming it into an integral part of the city. Urban transformation during the 1970s and 1980s was largely led by the public sector. In the 1990s, the purpose of events changed to a focus on economic development. This saw a concurrent shift in the funding of events to a more private sector model. This is perhaps best epitomised by the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta that became known as the Coca Cola Games due to large-scale commercialisation and business interests (Rutheiser, 1996). Diffculties and largely negative legacies of the preceding events due to an emphasis on physical change, enhancement and economics saw a shift in the 21st century towards a more people-oriented, softer legacy approach (Smith, 2012). These complementary projects saw a paradigm shift in the approach to legacy as something to be planned, which needs to address policy requirements. Smith (2012) suggested that this new agenda meant that mega events have been increasingly pursued by European and North American primary tier world cities rather than secondary and tertiary tier cites.

The five temporal periods outlined above saw an increasing emphasis upon mega event planning and its impact on urban development, Yet, these do not account for recent trends in mega event hosting. Given the shifting nature of political power and protest groups (Lauermann, 2015), a sixth time period needs to be added. This focus is increasingly seen in bidding cities such as Boston and Budapest but also saw relevance in London (Guilianotti et al., 2015) and Tokyo (Bauer, 2017), notably aimed at large scale urban transformations and the exclusionary nature inherent within them. In Hamburg, Germany, protest movements were so successful that the city dropped its bid for the 2024 summer games.

Mega event spaces should thus be viewed as contested sites. Inclusion and exclusion in these spaces is noted in early references to sport as 'classed' endeavors. Whilst focused on access to the stadium itself, Bale (1993) notes that during the 1920s, spatial segregation by class was commonplace across these sites.

Yet, of more interest in this study, and of long-term interest to academia, is the impact of these 'improved' sites on their wider surroundings.

Different roles of stadia are of interest to this study because of the nature of the Olympic Stadium (now known as The Stadium) and other facilities that form post-event spaces. Recent trends in UK stadium development have seen them placed within broader areas of consumption, leisure and places of living (Jones, 2001). Increasingly, the urban everyday experience is commodified and this is no different to the experience of sporting sites tied to the symbolic consumption, performance and commodity (Broudehoux, 2007). This is a trend across not only mega event sites but also those frequented by spectatorship across elite sport, by sporting teams whose privately funded stadiums are cohabited by numerous residential

Figure 2. The Olymiapark Munchen highlighting the diversity of sport facilities.

and commercial tower blocks (e.g Arsenal), and by teams whose stadiums anchor out of town retail outlets (e.g Doncaster Rovers). This reflects more closely a commercially focused model which is adopted from continental European developments. Mega event sites surrounded by open space and other facilities continue to be a common trend across Europe in the modern day. An example is provided by the Olympiapark Munchen (Figure 2). Such post-industrial leisure spaces combine professional, residential, commercial and leisure facilities. The urban sports zone follows a similar model. The 1936 Berlin Olympic Stadium eptiomised the urban sports zone approach (Bale, 1993) despite its politically formed heritage. Such developments are finding increasing prominence in the UK.

The advent of globalization saw not only the increasing mobility of athletes - Bale's (1991) concept of brawn drain (athlete migration) - but of sport managers such as directors and club owners. Expressing an ongoing professionalisation and commercialisation of sport, the formation of transnational knowledge networks through mobility (Jöns, 2009) have intensified international knowledge transfer and

thus supported the transplantation of such models. The most notable of these is found in the regeneration project of the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games - Sportcity. Developed in conjunction with Manchester City Football Club, it became a mixed use commercial and community hub (Pye, Cuskelly and Toohey, 2016). This is now the largest concentration of sporting venues in Europe with multiple national arenas and large scale events including hosting elite male and female football teams. Such club level developments are arguably due to the proliferating presence of managing directors with backgrounds at internationally successful sports clubs. This form of development, it is suggested by Pye, Cuskelly, and Toohey (2016), has acted to shape the engagement with the local population. The legacy and practices of these spaces however, remain under researched.

2.5.1 Post-Olympic Spaces

There is a long legacy of mega event sites being converted or allowed to develop into recreational, leisure spaces, as seen in Sydney, Beijing and Munich. Arguably, one of the most enduring legacy should be considered from the Ancient Olympics. The Panathenaic Stadium rebuilt prior to the rebirth of the Olympic movement in 1896 is a modern day tourist attraction, despite suggestions of architectural doubt (Romano, 1985). Its historical importance and mythical symbolism acts as a living memorial (Bairner, 2015). Hosting mega events in city spaces requires significant amounts of space for the vast facilities of accommodation, sport, media and transport needs. The decision about what to do with these spaces is significant in the future make up of the city. The following section of this chapter considers a multitude of post-Olympic spaces and the different models that have been adopted by stakeholders and political entities. There is a focus on those that are considered as similar to the case study of this research; Munich and Sydney. Other case studies could be considered such as Beijing's Olympic Square and the plaza formed in the aftermath of the Barcelona Olympic Games, Yet, the focus of this thesis is on those with green spaces in their aftermath.

Considering the historical, non-sporting aspects of these spaces, the *Munchen Olymiapark* is perhaps the most demonstrable success story. The source of sporadic academic interest (much in German), there were no Olympic ruins to be seen in Munich that have become commonplace in the modern era of the Games (Daume, 1979). Despite its tarnished political legacy, the site is home to a successful post-

event legacy that is rarely mentioned. Embedded within a beautiful landscaped park with a central lake and an adjacent hill, the Olympic tower (Olympiaturm)—at its 190 m high viewing platform—offers stunning 360° views of the Olympiapark's sports facilities, the former Olympic village, the adjacent BMW World, the city of Munich and—in the case of good visibility—the panorma of the Alps at the horizon. Playing host to the adapted facilities of two Munich universities, the Olympiapark's sports facilities have for over three decades played host to the city's elite sports teams and served as a very popular recreational space. It has been suggested that this space had a claim to being Europe's most popular leisure facility in the late twentieth century with a total of visitors estimated at 120 million in the decade since its opening (Schiller and Young, 2015). This positive legacy could be considered as something of a model for future events. Yet, despite its success, accusations were aimed at some aspects, notably accomodation, of the Olympiapark as being elitist (Bernstock, 2014), a trend which appears to have carried into modern event-related housing developments.

Whilst the legacy for Munich is evidently positive, the site has perhaps unknowingly played a role in future plans for such spaces. Having diverted from a model which focused on a 'spoke' location of hosting to a single site, the organising committee made several decisions that have been repeated through the years. The site was previously a brownfield site, needing development in the post World War Two landscape and was already marked for development into a recreational space (Viehoff, 2016). Thus the Olympics seemed to suggest a means to catalyse such a development. This is a model followed by Barcelona, Sydney and London. However, as noted in this thesis (see Chapter Three), an understanding of the specific context is necessary to understand how these sites are developed through mega events.

Perhaps the most comprehensive understanding of post-Olympic space has been offered by an exhaustive study of the Sydney Olympic Park. Claimed as the first longitudinal study of *the* major legacies of the Olympic Games, Sydney represents what is termed as *the* legacy of such events (Cashman, 2011). Rooted in Sydney's historical bids since the 1970s, the aim was to develop a recreational leisure space through event plans and bids at both local and national authority level. This space developed and accelerated the Homebush Bay Structure Plan by developing green principles in line with Olympic needs (Essex and Chalkley, 1998). These green

principles extended to extensive space to be dedicated to parkland as the legacy of Sydney appeared to be well planned and promising. However, the smug sense of accomplishment was limited post-event as the space was underutilised and accolades slowed to a trickle (Toohey, 2008). Yet, progressive planning and continued development appear to have suggested a potential positive legacy for the Sydney area based on investment and visitor numbers (Cashman, 2011). The everyday practices in this space draw further attention to the idea of success in terms of legacy (see Chapter 7).

2.5.2 Practices and post-Olympic spaces

Cities and their public spaces have always provided an environment for a range of special events that shift the practices of local populations and the daily rhythms of life (Hiller, 2000). Whilst interest in post-Olympic spaces is clearly becoming a fruitful area for researchers in a variety of fields, as evidenced in the previous section, few of these studies have considered the everyday practices of post-event space users. When these types of studies have been conducted, they are either led by organising committees with their inherent biases towards positive outcomes or have adopted a limited scope. One exception to this observation is Cashman's (2011) study of the Sydney Olympic Park. As noted previously, Cashman has very much shifted the focus of future studies in the area of mega-event led spaces. Noted for its commercially-led, mixed-use development, the plans for usage of the space have seen shops, offices, and restaurants create a vibrant space of leisure consumption within the broader recreational space. Visitor numbers and practices of visitors to the Sydney Olympic Park are considered by Cashman critically. However, it should be noted that his data were originally collected by the Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA).

The data Cashman (2011) analysed consisted of visitor numbers for all mobility forms and provided the visitors' rationale for visiting, but the secondary nature of this data means that obvious gaps emerge in the understanding of visitor practices and perceptions. The data was taken from an annual user service conducted between March and May each year, drawing on a sample size of less than 1% of total recorded visitors over this time period (Cashman, 2011). The findings suggest that a

third of visitor practices represent an active form of participation (walking or cycling). The number of cyclists notably increased in this space with a further catalyst event being held in 2005. This is important for this study because of the similarities between the Sydney and London sites. Over a tenth of these visitors involve some form of youth-influenced practices, such as visiting playgrounds or free play (SOPA, 2007). According to senior management for SOPA, new visitor facilities opening in different areas of the Park made the site increasingly popular with visitors.

The study of the Sydney Olympic Park, whilst currently unique in its output and longitudinal approach, considers limited engagement with the space by its visitors because it draws on secondary data and anecdotal suggestions. Drawing on a limited data set with several methodological issues, Cashman (2011) suggests himself that there is much scope for further study along the lines of this approach. This is supported by most recent contributions to this line of research and provides a key rationale for examining the visitor profiles, practices and perceptions in this study.

Smaller scale studies have been conducted using different and often novel sources of data. Looking at online reviews left by visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park from 2014 to 2015, perceptions of the space were mixed (Viehoff, 2015). Positive reviews related to the park and its contents, and also considered the facilities built around it, such as large shopping centres. Many positive reviews commented on the role of local people in the development of the Park and on the possibility the Park provides for reliving the golden period of London 2012. Negative reviews depicted the Park as a grim wasteland or a series of interconnected leisure centres devoid of associated parkland features. Further study has sought to understand conflicts in ethnic (often local) minority parkland use across London's large green spaces with its often white, middle class, and male designers (Snaith, 2015). Drawing on innovative visual methods complemented by overheard conversations, 232 questionnaires, focus groups and online interviews in the local catchment area and with elites, this research identified that different ethnic groups had different desires for the use of, and everyday practices in, urban parkland (Snaith, 2015). Further understanding of such exclusion along various demographic variables is beneficial to both the current and future development of inclusionary public spaces.

2.6 Conclusion

The analysis of visitor profiles, practices and perceptions of the Queen Elizabeth Park requires contextualisation in a broad range of literatures. This section has considered two distinct literatures. Part one of this chapter examined the various processes that have affected human beings through urban transformation because the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is the outcome of large-scale urban regeneration of a formerly industrial and residential area in East London. One focus has been on gentrification because it is argued that the creation of the Park as a post-industrial leisure space has contributed to ongoing gentrification in East London. Another focus has been on the understanding of the Park as quasi public space at the complex intersection of open but increasingly managed and commercialised public spaces and more exclusive private spaces occupied by businesses and development agencies that require entry fees and thus lead to social exclusion of less affluent populations. The review of these literatures has identified a gap in the understanding of how people and especially youth use and perceive such quasi-public post-industrial spaces of living, work and leisure.

The second set of literature examined exisiting studies on post-event spaces in the context of the Olympics.This part of the literature review identified a lacuna of literature available on the legacy of specific material spaces developed out of mega events. Yet, in both geography and sport studies, practices within such spaces represent an underresearched topic, particularly in relation to sports mega events. Most research on the aftermath of the largest scale of sports mega events has Yet, focused on Sydney (Cashman, 2011), whereas studies on the impacts of sport mega events in the UK are limited in number and scope and orientated towards stakeholders (Olympic Games Impact reports) (Viehoff, 2015). In particular, the practices, perceptions and profiles of visitors to these spaces has as yet, to be fully understood within academia and beyond.

This study aims to contribute to both fields of human geography and sports studies by providing a richer understanding of the ambiguities with which the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as a specific quasi-public post-event park space has been used and perceived by a range of people up until five years after London 2012. The literature reviewed in this chapter informs the conceptual approach of this study, but this will be complemented by the proposal of a novel conceptual framework for

researching the outcomes of mega events in the next chapter. This new concept of the 'legacy rings' will both built on and develop mega-event legacy theory (Preuss, 2007) and a triadic approach to actor-network theory (Jöns, 2006).

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework: A Theoretical Approach

3.1 Introduction

This chapter develops the conceptual framework underpinning this research project by joining debates about mega event legacy theory (MELT) and actor-network theory (ANT).

Interest in sports mega events increasingly attracts a wide range of scholars from diverse fields. A wealth of literature has emerged that focuses specifically on the legacy of mega events. There are especially a number of empirical and applied studies available that examine the practical implications of mega events but are rarely linked to conceptual debates. Some of the conceptual frameworks discussed in MELT are important because they have provided useful guidance for understanding the outcomes of events (Dwyer, Mellor and Mistilis, 1999). This 'framework' literature is therefore considered here and further developed through the use of an ANT approach.

This chaper argues that bridging the debates on mega event legacy and ANT can be of benefit to both groups of scholars. It is structured in three parts. The first section explores prior academic and stakeholder research into understanding the legacy of mega events. Secondly, the ANT literature is examined, including, the after-ANT movement and an exploration of ANT's application to sport and leisure. Thirdly, the two literatures are joined to develop the conceptual framework that underpins this project and aims to make a conceptual contribution to interdisciplinary debates about mega events.

3.2 Mega events and legacy

This thesis has previously outlined the growing importance of mega events on global flows of people, ideas, images, capital and technologies (Appadurai, 1991). Mega events have been instrumentalised by political decision makers for various reasons as outlined by this thesis' literature review. Whilst the importance globally of large scale events is not disputed, less certainty exists in the academic literature about the aftermath of the 'festivilised' aspect of events (Brimicombe, 2015). This is the case whether the event is focused around sport (e.g. Olympics), economic and nationalistic needs (e.g. expos), or appropriation of culture (e.g. European City of

Culture). In regard to sporting mega events, academic debates have focused on the notion of 'legacy', a term perhaps most succinctly defined by Preuss as:

…irrespective of the time of production and space legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself (2007, p. 211).

Yet, the concept of legacy is heavily contested within academia (Barget and Gouguet, 2007; Chappelet, 2012). Three key contestations are outlined here; the disparity in use of language, the nature of its use and its all-encompassing nature.

At an IOC symposium on the legacy of the Olympic Games in 2002, it was discussed that the term was not easily transferable into different languages or cultural situations. For instance, in French, one of the official languages of the IOC, the term heritage is preferred – a word in the Anglophone world embodying the cultural past over the planned future (Preuss, 2007). In Chinese culture, the word has similar links to a doctrine or transmitted teachings often tied to religious practice. What this highlights is the confusion apparent in the different usage of a seemingly simple term.

Secondly, aside from multicultural ambiguity, Cashman (2005, p15) argues that the term legacy is even 'dangerous' in nature due to its inherent association with positive outcomes. This is further evidenced in a report issued by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in relation to London 2012 because this report highlights that "legacy means ensuring a positive impact" (DCMS, 2014, p.14). Yet, much literature has found that negatives far outweigh any positive impact (Giulianotti et al., 2015), which underlines the precariousness of such a term to be employed in such a manner.

A third criticism refers to the broad scope of legacy as being all encompassing in nature. However, as Tomlinson (2014) notes in a riveting metaphor, in which he uses elastic to represent the notion of legacy, that when elastic is stretched too far, it snaps. This criticises legacy as a term that has lost its precision, clarity and value and instead has grown into a word with little meaning other than serving as a justification for the increasing neo-liberalisation of mega events (Mascarenhas, 2014; Gruneau & Horne, 2016). Tellingly, much work around the theorisation of legacy has come from the realm of business and economics. The debates present here are

reflected in wider concerns about legacy planning and the temporary nature of organising committees.

3.2.1 Mega event legacy theory

Research on the legacy of events was initially prominent in tourism studies. These early debates focused on issues that for the most part have not been fully resolved to this day. This includes, for example, the definitions of mega events, the concept of legacy, and the numerous typologies that contribute to it (Hall, 1989). With a focus on the term legacy, but revolving around hallmark (major fairs, cultural sporting events often teargeted at increasing tourism) rather than mega events, both Hall (1989) and Ritchie (1984) noted a preoccupation in the literature with economic outcomes. Since then, there has been a clear shift in the focus of research from an economic bias to a broader qualitative understanding of the positive and negative legacy for individuals and society such as local communities (Brimicombe, 2015). By examining the practices and perceptions of Park visitors, this thesis contributes to advancing these ongoing debates.

Several conceptual frameworks have sought to explore event legacy, often with a focus on empirical studies of economical and urban components (e.g. Kassens-Noor, 2012; Preuss, 2015). Three conceptual frameworks are explored here, the linkage model proposed by Hillier (1998), the 'legacy cube' proposed by Preuss (2007)—arguably the most comprehensive understanding of legacy to date—, and the 'legacy radar' discussed by Dickson, Benson and Blackman (2011). Finally, this section considers an alternate view on legacy developed in the past decade, the concept of 'leveraging'.

3.2.1.1 The Linkage Model

The linkage model critiqued event legacy as being over-focused on the economic factors to publicly justify extensive financial burden (Hillier, 1998). In response, it conceptualised three types of event outcomes that need to be considered, namely the direct, intended outcomes of the event (forward linkages), the rationale for bidding and hosting (backward linkages) and the unintended consequences of hosting (parallel linkages). Interestingly, backward linkages anticipated the current emphasis of stakeholders on constructing narratives around legacy (MacRury, 2015). The linkage model shifted the literature away from its focus on the

immediate benefits/outcomes, whilst still considering them as vital. This shift away from immediate benefits is highlighted by the examination of parallel linkages that considered unexpected outcomes and those outcomes which were, at the time, rarely discussed in the public realm. These linkages began to highlight that perception of change should not be considered as an either/or process but rather that contextualisation is necessary (Hillier, 1998). How later authors have achieved this contextualisation is examined in the next section.

3.2.1.2 The legacy cube

Indirectly drawing on the tenets of the linkage model, the development of a five part 'legacy cube' was the key contribution from Holger Preuss' (2007) multi-dimensional legacy theory work (see Figure 3).
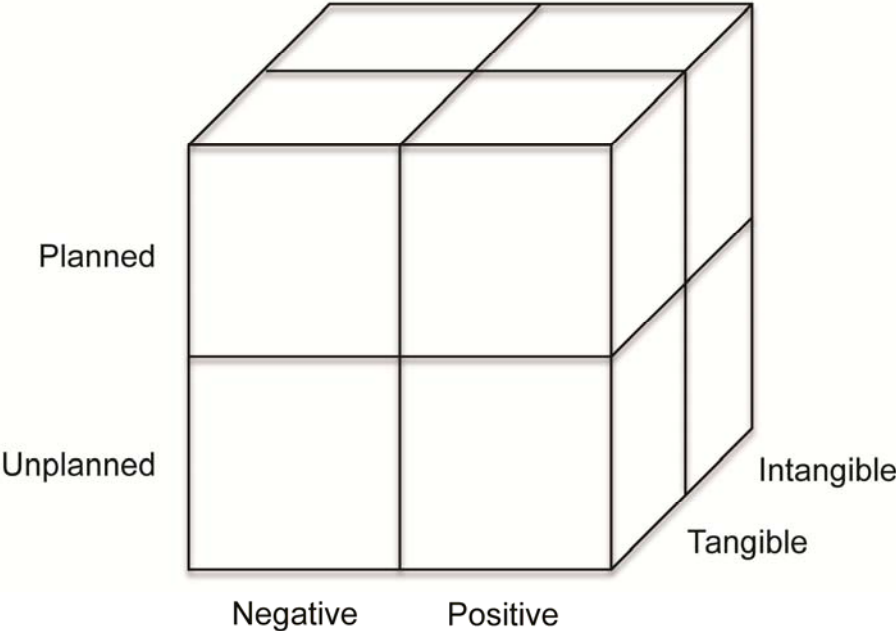
Figure 3. The legacy cube. Source: Preuss, 2007, p. 211.

Preuss (2007) considers legacy through an economic focus, such as the top down approach that contrived legacy benefits from GDP growth and ignores local non-economical benefits. Yet, the cube is key to the understanding of legacy outlined in this chapter and will ultimately inform the conceptual framework adopted in this thesis.

The cube visualises the three dimensions of intention, perception and tangibility, while the concept considers also the two additional, unseen components of space and time. By doing so, the cube offers a means for conceptualising legacy evaluation. The intention aspect suggests a degree of planning and policy prior to the event, with unintended outcomes deemed generally to be negative (Preuss, 2015). Perception considers how legacy is viewed within a single, specific frame of time and space and by different groups. This is developed as positive and negative views suggesting once more that positive legacy is the one that is planned. The third visualised aspect of the legacy cube refers to the tangibility of processes. This considers both the intangible (e.g. symbolic meaning, heritage) and the tangible, physical change of the environment (e.g. urban regeneration, economic and sporting facilities). The unseen dimensions of the cube relate to time and space, which refers to the duration of change, when it occurred and in which geographical location the change took place.

Preuss' (2007) legacy cube combines the contextualisation discussed in Hillier's (1998) linkage approach with the 'invisible' categories of space and place alongside three 'visible' categories. By disregarding these two key tenets schematically, he arguably undervalued the contextualised needs of human agents. Preuss (2007) suggested that the three key components of the cube provide a static measurement of 'gross' legacy that when combined with the contextual aspects of space and place form a 'net' legacy. Yet, this means that to fully unravel legacy, it is necessary to place multiple cubes together to offer an overall impression of the post-event outcomes. This is because by visualising only tangible and intangible, positive and negative, and planned and unplanned aspects, Preuss (2007) has confined legacy evaluation to a singular static moment in time. As such, the cube limits the understanding of legacy to three binary categories, which will be critiqued further below in the context of ANT and its developments.

Preuss has since developed this proposed cube by addressing his own perceived limitations and the changing nature of the sports mega-event movement. His modified conceptual framework is comprised of seven distinct, channelled, flow-chart components (Preuss, 2015, p.16) and can be viewed as being overly complex, difficult to implement practically and only providing a limited shift forward

from the original 2007 work. Yet, Preuss (2015) has begun to address the concerns previously raised in this chapter by explicitly including when and how in his revised framework. Alongside this, the revised tool appears to be beneficial to management and planning stakeholders as a tool for considering their impact addressing the criticism by Dickson, Benson, and Blackman (2011) that the legacy cube does not consider these groups' distinct needs.

3.2.1.3 The legacy radar

There has been a desire within the academic community to develop the notion of legacy frameworks by adding new dimensions and scales. An example of this is Dickson, Benson and Blackman's (2011) legacy radar, which builds upon existing typologies of tangible and intangible legacy (see Leopkey and Parent, 2012) as well as other aspects of Preuss' (2007) legacy cube and includes the notable addition of costs, whether these are financial, opportunity or time costs. Their six point Likert scale radar outlines planning, hard and soft structures that can be positive or negative, tangibility, spatial influence, time, and cost.

Offering three different snapshots to support their offered framework for understanding legacy, Dickson, Benson and Blackman (2011) believe the radar allows direct comparison of legacy typologies and approaches. Yet, this appears to be open to similar criticism as the radars' authors have levelled against the legacy cube that they intend to advance. Most importantly, the radar seems to focus on judging legacy using a restrictive five-point approach that centralises research on the macro aspects of legacy. Also, it can be argued that the addition of cost, whilst novel in its explicitness of this framework, could be investigated via Preuss' (2007) dimension of intangible aspects of legacy. This would be in a similar way to exploring the social, psychological, and political legacies using this intangible category. Accordingly, whilst such an additional dimension of research is useful, in general, the framework developed in this thesis continues to work with five research dimensions.

3.2.1.4 Legacy as leverage

The issues surrounding event legacy and the corresponding overfocus on the 'mega' dimension of events inspired research on event leveraging. The concept of leveraging has gained ground in the academic literature with the term defined as

"those activities which need to be undertaken around the event itself which seek to maximise the long-term benefit from events" (Chalip, 2004, p 228). Leveraging strategies shift the focus to events as levers to develop strategies that enhance wider economic and socio-cultural outcomes (Misener, 2015). This shift of perspective suggests a wider integration of strategies for generating event outcomes into public policy with the view that events should be used as catalysts for host cities pre-planned policy rather than as conduits for distinct change (Richards and Palmer, 2010). Events are also used to foster social interaction amongst community stakeholders (Chalip, 2006). The nature of leveraging research has in a similar manner to MELT seen development of different approaches.

Smith (2014), for example, notes two different, distinct leveraging groups; event-led and event-themed. The first of these are often general initiatives seeking to capitalise on an opportunity by extending the positive impacts normally expected (Smith 2014). Event-themed projects are broader sets of non-essential projects that accompany the event to address key priorities. Such event-themed leveraging can be exemplified by the harnessing of event symbolism and narratives that evoke a desired increase in sporting participation as a key outcome. These two forms of leveraging differ about their configuration of networks with the even. Event-related activities comprise of (in)formal social activities and produce widely themed parallel events. Yet, whilst it has been claimed that some of this worked well during the Los Angeles Games (Wilson, 2015), long-term empirical evidence is lacking. There is some suggestion of a London 2012 leveraging strategy, with events held in local areas such as food markets. Yet, complaints arose about the functionality of these events as they are often in withdrawn, non-event locations negating any positive leveraging potential (Guilianotti et al., 2015).

Leveraging has rather hyperbolically been described as a paradigm shift rather than a revised model of legacy (Ziakas, 2010). Yet, it is not without criticism. Tied to its conceptual origins in sponsorship, major challenges have been discussed in regard to the impact of event branding. This is because local companies are not eligible partners of event structures and thus are not permitted to use the related logos (Smith and Fox, 2007). There has also been the concern raised that

leveraging projects are used to showcase the limited, often unrepresentative involvement of local communities in the build up to, during and after the event. The parallel initiatives are then used by politically powerful groups and organising committees to cover-up the negative outcomes of events (Smith, 2013). This approach to evaluating events appears to be open to criticism because emphasising communities would require a better understanding of their practices. As such, the ideas of leveraging are incorporated into the development of the conceptual framework for this study. Yet, the approach as a whole is not adopted in full because the public benefit or impact of leveraging has somewhat been limited as it ignores major franchise owners such as the IOC agendas (the validity of these is not the discussion here) and thereby caps the potential influence for change.

The frameworks and approaches discussed in this chapter offer a comprehensive overview on various legacy typologies (Leopkey and Parent, 2012). Yet, in discussing the tangible and intangible aspects of mega event outcomes, such as the built environment and Olympic memories, the typologies and thus the frameworks themselves, explicitly and willingly ignore a key part of any legacy – the practices of human beings. From a human geographical perspective, there are three main points which could be considered more prominently within MELT. These are both conceptual and empirical and consider the practices, experiences and perceptions of humans within former event spaces such as the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The wider public opinion and experiences, especially of local populations, are often neglected by policy makers (Hylton and Morpeth, 2012) and thus require a greater focus. This thesis as such suggests advancing the MELT debates by incorporating the desiderata of practices of human actors more prominently in mega event studies without losing sight of the non-human that already features prominently in MELT. What follows here is an exploration of a theoretical approach that aims to (conversely to its traditional use) bring the human back into the approach of mega-event legacy theory by shifting attention from the dualistic approach presented above to a more inclusive triadic approach.

3.3 Actor-network theory and the trinity of actants

ANT emerged in the 1970s through sociological studies of scientific and technological practice by a group of scholars based in France, including Michel

Callon, Bruno Latour, John Law and Arie Rip (Callon, Law and Rip, 1986). Aiming to understand how scientific knowledge is constituted, ANT "seeks to recast our understanding of [the] relationship" (Murdoch, 1997, p. 733) between human and non-human constitutive entities. ANT theorists began critiquing the dichotomies of social theory that they encountered such as object/subject, nature/society, small scale/large scale and agency/structure (Latour, 1993). As such ANT became a project of first dissolving assumed binaries of social theory and then reconstructing the connections between the constitutive entities by following the network building processes (Latour, 2005). This move away from dualisms suggests an appreciation that one actant—whether human or non-human—can do nothing without other actants surrounding it and forming a network (Murdoch, 1997). ANT has been increasingly adopted in a variety of fields as a means to understand various phenomena.

Although Latour notes that there can be no litmus test for being a part of the ANT network, he does note three key criteria for this research approach; the role of non-human entities, the order of research explanation and an intention to reassemble the social (Latour, 2005). Those criteria also then outline the key shifts and tenets of ANT as a social theory. The role of non-humans is the first departure from conventional social theory. ANT offers a completely different understanding of agency by not being limited to humans. An actor is as such considered to be any entity that affects change on the final process or outcome (Latour, 2005). Agency is therefore the collective capacity not only of the human, but also of heterogenous networks in which the non-human is also a so-called 'actant' (Latour, 1999b). Based on this interpretation, agency has been used in ANT as an umbrella term for human beings and non-human entities, such as buildings, urban infrastructure, books, computers, and non-human organisms. Thus the actants' contribution to the processes of network formation is understood as a relational effect that depends on the particular network configuration being studied (Whatmore, 1999). Based on these assumptions, phenomena are understood without a priori understandings of pre-confined categories to allow possibly hidden actants to emerge. According to ANTs generalised principle of symmetry (Latour, 1993), humans and non-humans should be treated in a symmetrical fashion when analysing how networks are created, how social relations are stabilised, how new actants emerge, and how power is distributed

among different actants (Latour 1999b, p. 182 cited in Jöns, 2006, p. 569). Nimmo (2011) regards the use of ANT as an important reference point for anyone taking the role of the non-human seriously. Given the role of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in this study, it is useful to acknowledge the role of the various actants in this space and the active role both humans and nonhumans play in the post-mega event network formed.

ANT, whilst making a highly successful contribution across academic disciplines has not been without critique. Critics have argued that ANT does not consistently account for all actants in the network-building process but rather offers universal statements about the characteristics of actants withdrawn from their true context and use (Whittle and Spicer, 2008). Jöns (2006) pointed out that in science studies, Bloor (1999a, p. 87) "misses the role of shared, institutionalized and other forms of knowledge within ANT" (Jöns, 2006, p. 563), whereas Shapin (1988) felt that ANT lacks references to people's own interests and beliefs (the intangible aspects). As geographers also critiqued ANT for not being able to speak of certain things, such as emotion, memory, language and other intangible entities (Thrift, 1999), it appears to be quite clear that ANT's claim of generalised symmetry was not a true reflection of network-building processes. Even Law (2009) later stressed ANT's overemphasis on the material (Law, 2009). Yet, it is clear that there was scope for the development of ANT thought and the opportunity for ANT to 'walk new roads' (Mol, 2010, p. 261) as a social theory. This is evident in the diasporic nature of ANT, which has translated, absorbed and reflected the fields it has been applied to (Law, 1999). One of those 'translations' is adopted here for the purpose of sport and leisure studies.

Over the past three decades, ANT-led studies have produced novel insights into a range of academic disciplines beyond its roots in science and technology studies. It has been prominently discussed in sociology (e.g., Latour, 2005), geography (e.g., Jöns, 2003a), urban studies (e.g., Farías and Bender, 2010), rural studies (e.g., Murdoch, 2001), education (e.g., Fenwick and Edwards, 2010) and tourism studies (e.g., van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson 2013). ANT is also beginning to be utilised for the benefit of sport and leisure related studies (Kerr, 2016). It has been employed in research focusing on gymnastics (Kerr, 2016), horse-racing (Thompson and Nesci, 2016), and is fleetingly touched upon relating to the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympic Games (Muller, 2015). The most extensive of these sporting engagements

with the ANT literature is an expansive review of several case study snap shots (Kerr, 2016). Despite an extensive and intriguing book comprised of insightful snapshots, it limits the research embedded in it to the early approach of ANT ignoring the 'after ANT' literature (Dawson, 2016).

It was in the context of the above criticisms that Jöns (2001; 2003a; 2003b; 2006) developed a constructive critique of ANT's generalised symmetry between humans and non-humans. By suggesting that ANT overly focused on material mediators and outcomes of practices, Jöns (2006) proposed the alternative notion of a 'trinity of actants' (Figure 4).
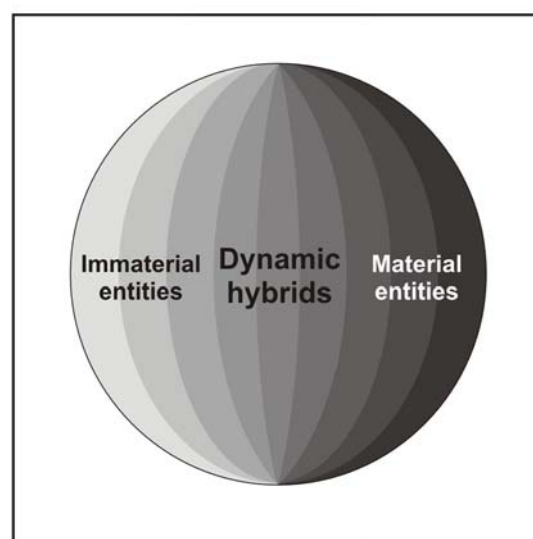
Figure 4. A complex trinity of actants. Source: Jöns 2006, p. 573.

This was based on in-depth analysis of the debates between David Bloor, a protagonist of social constructivism, and Bruno Latour, a founding member of the ANT movement, in the late 1990s (Bloor 1999a, 1999b; Latour 1993, 1999a) and related debates of philosophers such as Donna Haraway (1991, 1997), Henri Lefebvre (1991), and Michel Serres (1995). The trinity of actants outlines how both material and immaterial entities are produced, mediated and transformed through the practices of humans and other dynamic hybrids (such as non-human organisms and artificial intelligence) that are able to negotiate the realms of matter and mind.

The three conceptual moves developing the trinity of actants considered; ANTs overfocus on the materiality, the (re)production and tying together of material and

immaterial actants, and differentiating non-dynamic socio-material hybridity in terms of a hybrid historicity from dynamic hybridity (Jöns, 2006; Dawson and Jons, 2018). Firstly, ANTs overfocus on the material entities of the world, which resulted from its call for acknowledging and enrolling tangible or visible actants into the study of network-building processes because these had been previously overlooked by social constructivists when studying knowledge production (Latour 1999a), motivated Jöns (2006) to emphasise intangible or invisible actants, or all immaterialies, in equal measure. The importantance of both material and immaterial 'things' is viewed through the ANT lens of their role as both mediators and as outcomes of practices. Immaterialities reflect the realms of intangible knowledge and skills considering information and ideas, memories and meaning, imagination and interests. They reflect the intangible elements already referred to earlier in this chapter as part of Preuss' legacy cube. Materiality in turn, outlines the tangible actants such as sports equipment, facilities and the urban or rural environment. Differentiating these two types of ontologically different actants is key, notably so that the invisible, intangible entities are not forgotten. In other words, it intends to make the invisible visible. The trinity of actants therefore goes further than the intangible component of the legacy cube. It empowers the immaterial entities with agency, a previously under emphasised aspect in mega-event legacy and further explored in my co-authored recent publication (Dawson and Jöns, 2018).

The second conceptual shift seeks to showcase how the different material and immaterial actants are enrolled together through practices. Jöns (2006) argued that the ontological differences between the material and immaterial can only be bridged by the practices and performances of people (and other dynamic hybrids), because they are able to negotiate between the realms of mind and matter. Actants that are able to conduct practices thus constitute a third category in between the tangible and the intangible. When developing this argument, Jöns (2006) drew on Lefebrve's (1991) proffering that the human body cannot at once be subject and object. This is notable when the body is itself a network of the immaterial and the material. As such this shift to triadic thinking also introduces a third category into the literature of mega-event legacy that has been dominated by the binary of tangible and intangible event outcomes and interestingly neglected the study of human practices.

The third move performed by Jöns (2006) when developing the trinity of actants explored the difference between a classical reading of the hybridity of things, such as sculptures and buildings that have sociomaterially hybrid history of construction, and an advancement of the dynamic hybridity of humans, organisms and certain machines such as robots. These dynamic hybrids share a key common identifying characteristic. They all have a "*continuous circulation* providing a dynamic connection between their material, immaterial and dynamically hybrid components" (Jöns, 2006, p. 573). This continuous circulation of blood, water or even electricity increases the scope for negotiation of non-dynamic actants (the material and immaterial) within network-building processes. Thus the dynamic hybrid is able to perform practices as a key mechanism for the materialisation of ideas and the socialisation of matter.

This conceptual shift in actor-network theory to a triadic approach has recently been employed for the conceptualisation of dance performer training (Camilleri, 2015). Accordingly, I argue that a triadic ANT-approach can also be beneficial for advancing conceptual debates about mega-event legacy. The next section of this thesis hence intends to offer a framework that draws on the discussed triadic approach of ANT for the conceptualisation of the new notion of the 'legacy rings' in the context of mega event legacy studies.

3.4 Conceptualising the 'legacy rings'

This section intends to merge the two distinct literatures of MELT and ANT. It considers the significance of material things and infrastructures (i.e tangible elements), humans and other dynamic hybrids (their practices) and immaterial thoughts and knowledges (i.e. in tangible things) in research on mega event outcomes. This approach draws attention to well established lines of inquiry (previously highlighted both in this chapter and in Chapter Two), and also generates new discourses and visions such as the largely neglected practices of humans in post-event spaces. By combining the two key works of Preuss' (2007) legacy cube and Jöns' (2006) trinity of actants, this chapter propose the underpinning theoretical approach for this research project in the form of the novel framework of the 'legacy rings', a multidimensional concept aiming to offer a broader understanding of sport mega events.
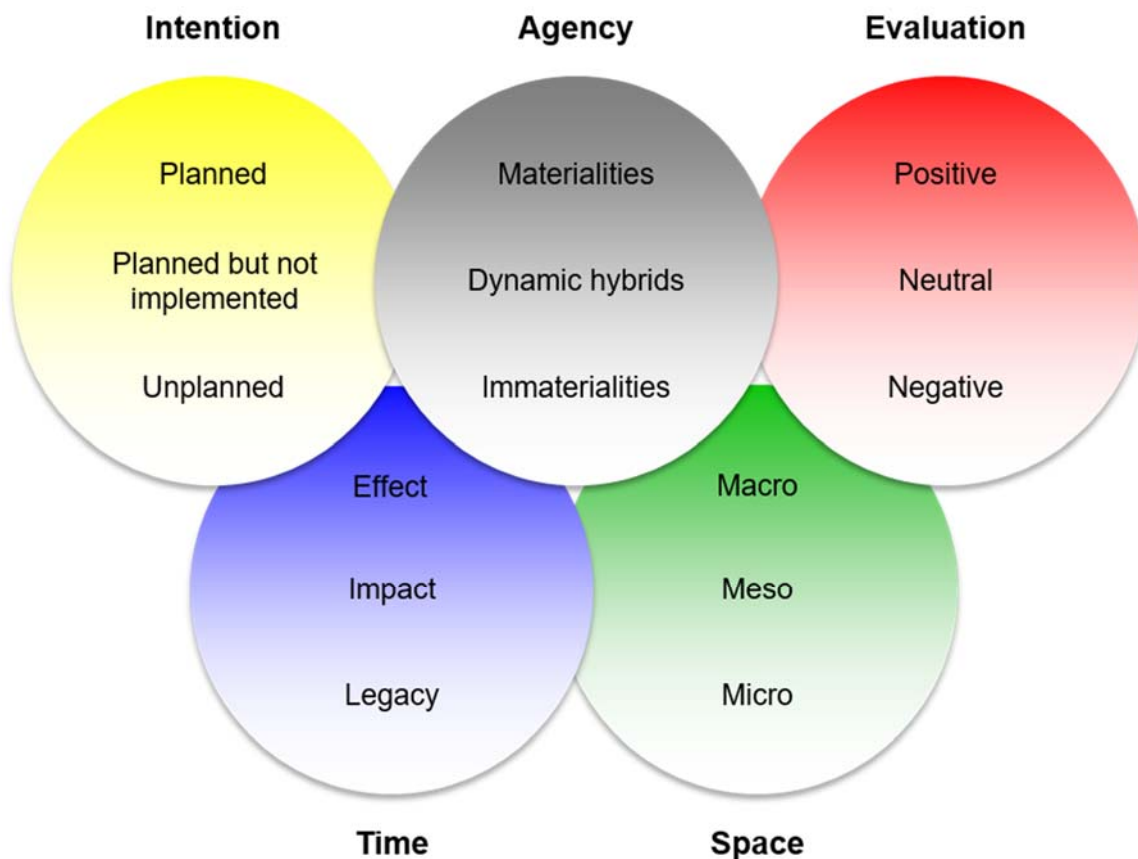
Figure 5. The legacy rings. Source: Own design.

The main research dimensions of the legacy rings are taken from Preuss' (2007) legacy cube; intention, evaluation and agency. Yet, Preuss' (2007) two additional categories of time and space are added to the illustration of conceptual (Olympic) rings to create the five key dimensions of the legacy rings: agency, evaluation, intention, time and space (Figure 5). Within these categories, it is possible to unfold distinct sub-categories but in order to overcome the much discussed restrictions of binaries in social theory (Latour 1993), the legacy rings use triads of sub-categories that allow for more complexity than the previous binaries of the legacy cube (Preuss, 2007) These triadic legacy rings are thus more inclusive but still manageable and easy to comprehend. It is likely that no single case study will be able to consider 15 sub-categories at the same time because extensive, single, long-term studies of mega events are rare. This extended concept is, however, extremely useful for informing a systematic research agenda and developing new, contextual specific research perspectives by emphasising some categories and sub-categories more than others. Each of the rings and the three sub-categories are further explored here.

3.4.1 Agency

The central ring is the most prominent contribution to the conceptual debate and to this research project. This is due to the way in which the agency ring allows research to differentiate the constitutive actors of network-building around mega events. Drawing on Jöns (2006), the main constituents of actor-networks formed around mega events can be addressed as dynamic hybrids (notably humans) negotiating material and immaterial entities. Material entities relate to the tangible aspects previously explored by Preuss (2007) and others and being most evident in the built environment and physical infrastructure associated with event development such as travel transport (Kassens-Noor, 2015) and urban regeneration (Bolz, 2016). Immaterial entities comprise the intangible aspects of events revolving around the concepts of knowledge and ideas, expectations and experiences, memories and discourses, emotions and feelings. Such immaterial entities include aspirations for legacy and the knowledge transfer connecting former and future host cities (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2015).

The third dimension added to the established legacy cube's research perspectives recognises the practices of people when using of associated mega event spaces. Previously, practices of humans have not been mentioned in MELT. This is highlighted by the lack of research perspectives that have focused on people when compared to the expected outcomes and trickle-down effects. Preuss' (2015) outline of five expected event structures of infrastructure, knowledge, policy, networks and emotions created to a greater or lesser extent through mega events reflects this disengagement with the practice based 'legacy' of mega events because in his concept, structures are prioritised over agency. People's practices such as sports participation, consumerism and sightseeing are bound to the dynamically hybrid nature of people and their capability of interactions with built environments and knowledge transfer (Cooper, 2006).

The triadic nature of this actor-network perspective highlights the need for mega event research to be addressed as heterogeneous actor-networks involving all three types of material, dynamically hybrid and immaterial actants. These should include not only the (im)material structures such as the swimming pools and Olympic ideals but also typical patterns of how post-event spaces are used on an everyday basis. Looking at this notion allows researchers to analyse typical, predominant and rare

visitor profiles, practices and perceptions as an outcome of mega events that warrant closer academic attention because of their policy relevance. These three sub-categories ultimately tie each of the actor-networks studied into the other four categories.

3.4.2 Intention

The bidding process for mega events such as the Olympics often includes sophisticated development plans, tied to the development opportunities of the event (London 2012, 2005). These plans stress the creation of beneficial legacies for people and places involved and are bundled into planning strategies and a multitude of promises for the event outcomes. Whilst the planned developments of mega events are often evaluated at different stages during and after the actual event, the legacy rings suggest that to achieve a comprehensive understanding of mega events it is equally necessary to understand those outcomes that are planned and unplanned, as stressed by Preuss (2007),and those that are planned but not implemented. Given that host bodies develop plans up to a decade (and often longer) in advance and often overindulge these in order to be seen as the most attractive bid city, a systematic long-term review of the plans and policy documents offers an understanding of these three sub categories of the intention dimension. This will be further explored in Chapter Six.

3.4.3 Evaluation

Undoubtedly, changes and shifts within a nation's various 'scapes' (Appadurai, 1991) are a predominant reason for hosting mega events. Changes associated with this are often considered either positive or negative. This binary perception is dependent on the particular researcher, organisation or interest group. Many authors stress that the evaluation of event legacies remains ambivalent because the positive outcomes for one group can mean negative results for other groups (Gaffney, 2015). Most official evaluation studies have focused on positive aspects of legacy (Preuss, 2007), primarily for political rationales. In turn, recent academic literature has overemphasised the negative outcomes of events (e.g. Lenskyj, 2002; Gaffney, 2015).

By applying triadic thought, the framework of the legacy rings suggests that the binary of positive and negative event outcomes, as depicted in the legacy cube

(Preuss 2007), could usefully be complemented by a third category that reflects neutral and indifferent aspects resulting from events. These neutral perceptions link positive and negative legacies along a spectrum of relational evaluations and acknowledge that positives and negatives might balance themselves out for stakeholders. For instance, local community groups may be able to take advantage of events in the long-term but suffer from construction related disruption initially. This can be further extended in the sense that individuals on the outside or periphery of the event centre may have little engagement with change and have neither positive nor negative perceptions. This conceptual move allows for contextualised debates about a greater variety of perceptions rather than categorically placing event-related change as either positive or negative.

3.4.4 Time

Brimicombe (2015) stresses that measuring legacy should not begin too soon after the event because the emergence of main transformations take fifteen to twenty years. Yet, the nature of events means that success is expected. Accordingly, in this study, the terminologies of effect, impact and legacy are used as distinct categories. The temporal ring outlines that the term legacy should be applied solely to longer term outcomes whereas other outcomes should be considered as 'short term' effects or as medium term 'impacts.'

The overarching notion of legacy can thus be differentiated into three overlapping phases. First, effects are caused in the period prior to the event up until the end of all key components of the event. In the example of the Olympics, this end point would be the closing ceremony of the Paralympic Games. Secondly, impacts are most clearly visible in the period from the beginning of the event (highlighting the overlapping nature of time) through to the end of the first post-event decade. Thirdly, legacy emerges one or more decades after an event's closing ceremony. Accordingly, new research conducted at the time of writing on the outcomes of the Barcelona 1992 Games could be understood as legacy research, while scholarship on the London 2012 and Rio 2016 Games should be considered as impacts. The three differently labelled timespans for measuring outcomes of events constitute a continuum in which boundaries become blurred if one tries to separate them neatly. They do, however, provide conceptual clarity about different research areas and help to compare evaluation studies with similar rather than different time frames. Such a

differentiated triadic understanding of impact – effect – legacy also helps to reduce the overambitious expectations about the creation of 'instant legacy' that seems to exist amongst various stakeholders.

3.4.5 Space

Considering the literature around event-hosting saw a focus on space in most studies. This focus was predominantly on the immediate spatial environments of the host city or region (Kissoudi, 2009; McRury and Poynter, 2009). Only recently have studies begun to scrutinise the wider geographical reach of mega events. This is best exemplified by studies exploring physical activity levels outside of the urban centre (MacKintosh et al., 2014). A triadic understanding of space would not only mean to differentiate micro-meso-macro scales when examining event outcomes but also to seperate scalar intensity levels to make various combinations between triadic sub-categories possible. An example would be that the emotional impact of London 2012 was at times more profound on a national level than for the residents in local neighbourhoods (Kohe and Bowen-Jones, 2015). Such a conceptual shift towards a relational understanding of space links with the view of mega event spaces as central nodes of heterogeneous actor-networks that display complexity and are continuously changing.

3.5 Applying the legacy rings

The proposed conceptual framework of the legacy rings, developed by combining MELT and ANT, can be used to highlight research lacunas in event evaluation. This research project outlines three distinct aspects of these lacunas in relation to post-event space regeneration, which are briefly outlined to show how this conceptual framework will be applied to the empirical case study of visitors' profiles, practices and perceptions in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (Chapter 6, 7 and 8). All three empirical chapters will explore different forms of agency in the form of interactions of predominantly humans as dynamic hybrids with both material and immaterial actors in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (the agency dimension). The study unravels the triad of positive, neutral and negative public perceptions of the post-event space through an engagement with the views of both visitors and local stakeholders (the evaluation dimension). Explorations of the spatial reach of the Queen Elizabeth Park in terms of visitor catchment areas and subsequently circulating experiences and perceptions of visitors at different geographical scales engages with the surrounds of

the Park Boroughs at the micro level and expands beyond this to consider the implications in the wider United Kingdom at the meso level as well as internationally at the macro level (the space dimension). The first results chapter will outline how plans in the effect period were carried forward, resulting in various planned but unimplemented outcomes, and consider those effects that were unplanned in the Olympic Park (the intention dimension). The one area that this thesis does not engage with directly is the newly defined concept of legacy as outcomes after a at least a decade after the event. Instead this thesis straddles effect and impact (the time dimension). In other words, the analysis will not ignore the role of legacy but examine primary and secondary data for the timeframes available. Undoubtedly, both effect and impact developments influence the future and can thus be regarded as constitutive parts of the legacy of London 2012. The limitation of not being able to study legacy empirically within five years after London 2012 should therefore not preclude comments on the legacy aspects of the conceptual framework in an attempt at forward gazing.

The conceptual approach outlined in this chapter bridges the two distinct literatures of mega-event legacy theory (and more broadly the sports literature) and actor-network theory. The framework allows for the study to approach the research questions from a tridic actor-network perspective, examining how material, immaterial and mainly human dynamic hybrids co-exist in complex webs of relations. It also allows for the unravelling of how these relations have given rise to impacts tied to the developments in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. This unravelling is explored through the remainder of this thesis. The next chapter in this thesis explores the three distinct methodological approaches employed in this research project, and their underlying rationales.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods that have been employed in this research. The first of three sections outlines the methods that were used and how the collected data was analysed. The second section discusses the research populations and how participants were recruited. Finally, this chapter considers the ethical considerations associated with the study and ethical dilemmas encountered during the data collection in the form of a 'confessional narrative' (Bleakley, 2000). The research design presented in this chapter addresses the overall research aim of *investigating the profiles, practices and perceptions of visitors to Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as part of London 2012's wider impact* and the three research objectives outlined in Chapter 1.

ANT seems to be most suited for underpinning the research design of the empirical analysis, because it has regularly been described as a form of method, a means to follow the associations of actors or research participants as they engage in their own network construction (Latour, 1987; Law, 2003: Ruming, 2011: Jackson, 2015). At the heart of ANT as method is an attempt to accord non-humans their place in the research process by avoiding any *a priori* conceptions about the formations that are to be studied (Latour, 1987). Yet, paradoxically, it was shown in the previous chapter that human agency has been undervalued in mega event legacy studies so that an extended actor-network perspective, which considers the agency of materialities, immaterialities and dynamic hybrids seemed to be most useful for acknowledging the important role of aspects such as the built environment and technologies on visitors' experiences in and perceptions of the Park, while at the same time integrating their practices as a key aspect of mega event effect-impact-legacy.

This study employs a multi-method approach drawing on both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Textual analysis of policy documents provided the research context and a broader understanding of emergent narratives around the development and plans for the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. A comprehensive longitudinal visitor survey was conducted over two years within the Queen Elizabeth

Olympic Park resulting in 652 responses. Participants were recruited as they left the space on a 'next available' approach. This first research step was complemented by regular footfall counts and followed by stakeholder engagement in the form of a postal surveys among all Park Borough schools, and three semi-structured interviews to trace the (de)cruitment of youths. Interviews ranged from half an hour to one hour. Yet, the response rate of schools was small (20%), most likely due to their overburden with research requests. Finally, an observational study in the tradition of *flâneurism* was undertaken as part of extensive periods spent in the Park. This choice of a multi-method approach was deemed most suitable for tracing a variety of actants within the Park, their network relationships and impact.

4.2   Methods

The research methods employed in this study enabled a comprehensive *reconstruction* of how visitors use the Park and how their experiences shape their future interactions (Latour, 2005). The methods were combined based on a form of triangulation (Winchester, 1999). Rather than the findings from each method corroborating or opposing the others, the findings were complementary (Brannen, 2005). This is because findings from each phase of the research process generated new insights in regard to the overall research objective but also informed the following phases.

4.2.1   Textual analysis of legacy and planning documents.

A qualitative analysis of policy documents relating to the London 2012 Olympic Games was completed. The three time phases of legacy— effect, impact and legacy (see chapter 3)—produced several dozen documents drawn from organising stakeholders. Out of these 33 were selected for their focus on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. These documents were chosen using a process associated with systematic synthesis of the relevant literature (Weed, 2005). The three main foci of these documents were on the regeneration of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park; the space itself; and the role of the local area in this 'grand project'. The reports were obtained directly from websites and archived sources that were freely available, if somewhat obscured from public access. These documents consisted of both qualitative and quantitative data.

The methodological repertoire of ANT is historically grounded in the observations and understandings of ethnographic approaches. The use of texts has been criticised by various scholars for being too neat rather than reflecting messy, reactive entities (Law, 2004). Yet, Nimmo (2011) highlights that texts should be seen as inscriptions translating and mediating that which is made present/visible and those that are made absent/invisible. This view of texts as a key source for applying ANT's' toolkit is further supported by following the "translations, drifts, and diversions" of historical academic writings in Latour's seminal works on Louis Pasteur (1988, p11). Thus, it is possible to view texts as abstracted "reports on real events and developments" (Nimmo, 2011, p. 114).

The use of texts here follows Latour's early work and addresses the importance of statements as being more rewarding as early stage constructors than focusing on closed black-boxed outcomes: "By itself a given sentence is neither a fact nor a fiction: it is made so by others, later on" (Latour, 1987: p. 25). In other words, discourses are made factual by dynamic hybrids whose understandings are made truthful through repetition. Thus all other statements are "made more wrong" by the decisions taken by (often) powerful actants within networks. The transformation of rhetoric into black-boxed statements of belief from "text, files, [and] documents' (Latour, 1987, p. 30) occurs in a process of factualisation.

Therefore, the texts selected here for the analysis seek to understand the framing of public rhetoric and how such discourses created the dominant policy statements about the nature and functions of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Ultimately the analysis aims to understand how these documents created policies and public discourses (Pohle, 2013) in the lead up to and after the 2012 Olympic Games. As such texts are viewed in the light of these documents as a representation of power struggles between the writers and the readers about controlling the perception of policy. This includes notably those influences on the actor-networks that are located outside of the policy-making institutions or those visible and invisible actors and actants excluded from the documents (Pohle, 2013). This policy analysis was therefore essential in the initial stages of this research project for establishing the overall context for the future research phases, which also justifies its inclusion as a key chapter of the research project.

4.2.2 Visitor Survey

Survey research is an important tool in human geography. Visitor surveys are commonly used by researchers to uncover information about personal characteristics, behaviours and perceptions (McLafferty, 2010). The methodology of using questionnaires is rooted in a tradition traversing several decades. The survey methodology is open to both closed (quantitative) and open (qualitative) questions, allowing a mixture of the two where appropriate. Such mixed-method questionnaires, including the visitor survey, first appeared within behavioural geography in the 1970s (McGuirk and O'Neill, 2010).

Grounded in the research of informal learning environments such as museums, the primary objective of the visitor survey is to understand how people experience and utilise settings (Foutz and Stein, 2009). The history of visitor studies has been summarised as being widely varied in their practice (Cope, Doxford and Probert, 2000). Dating back to the early 20th century, when general patterns of visits to museum exhibits were studied (Robinson, 1928 cited in Yalowitz and Bronnenkant, 2009), visitor surveys found popularity in the early 1980s. They have since increasingly been used to research visitor behaviours, expectations, and demographic characteristics. They have gradually been applied in broader public settings, such as national or protected parks (Visit Scotland, 2012) and large public spaces including cities (Freytag, 2010).

Broadly speaking, visitor surveying can be clustered into two distinct purposes; research and evaluation (Foutz and Stein, 2009). When used in an evaluatory manner, visitor surveys aim to collect information required for the management of the visited spaces in question, including visitor satisfaction and operational auditing data (Cessford and Muhar, 2003). The key difference between the two types of survey purpose relates to the approach taken in the wording of questions and the findings' future application. Regardless of the approach, a visitor survey-based study increases the likelihood of unravelling the perceived positive and negative connotations of the study space (Moore et al., 2009). The approaches are often not coordinated but developed for the specific circumstances of a study site. Yalowitz and Bronnenkant (2009) highlight that only by developing unique approaches will surveyors be able to achieve their expectations. In this study, the visitor survey

revealed the complex nature of practices, perceptions and profiles of visitors, justifying the use of a visitor survey in this study (discussed further in Chapter 6).

Despite the historical tradition of providing post-Olympic visitor spaces (see Chapter 2), only one study of a similar nature has been conducted previously. Cashman's (2011) longitudinal study of the Sydney Olympic Park draws on visitor survey data collected by the local Park Authority, which means that his study takes the form of an evaluation of secondary data rather than primary research as conducted in this project. However, methodological issues and complicated decision-making processes were prevalent in both studies. For instance, both studies considered the status of visitors as inclusionary by surveying residents. Yet, despite the difficulties encountered in such a study of semi-public spaces, I concur that both studies provide a "valuable longitudinal assessment of legacy" (Cashman, 2011, p. 172).

Recommendations about the sampling frames of visitor surveys have been outlined previously in both academic (Sapsford, 2007; Freytag, 2010) and management publications (Kajala et al., 2007: Visit Scotland, 2012). Protocols proposed by Sapsford (2007) were adopted in this study. Following recommendations to cover broad spans during the day of collection, and across a longitudinal time period, the data were collected during a total of 15 days for 120 hours between February 2014 and December 2015. This included all four seasons (winter, spring, summer, and autumn), covering weekends (Saturday and Sunday) and weekdays (Monday to Friday), at interspersed hours between 0800 and 2200. These hours were chosen to eliminate bias arising from different populations' needs such as office workers, family visitors and leisure consumption seekers. This sampling frame was also chosen to offer a representative sample of the different visitor types (tourists as well as regular, recreational, sport-based, and irregular visitors) and in order to avoid biases through seasonality. Other public park research has chosen to collect data only during the spring and summer months (Reichl, 2016). However, there was a desire within the research questions to understand the everyday practices, profiles and perceptions of spatial consumers across all seasons. As such it was deemed necessary to collect data across a broad time period. Purposefully incorporated into this sample during the planning phase of chosen dates were instances of sporting, cultural and commercial events of various magnitudes (Sapsford, 2007). This allowed the project

to understand the everyday normality of the space alongside more infrequent practices seen during special events.

The visitor survey consisted of open and closed questions in four sections (Appendix 1). The first section posed questions on the purpose of visiting the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the activities undertaken in the Park. This section facilitated understanding visitors' rationale for visiting the Park and incorporated the scope of visitor practices in the Park. The second section asked respondents for their perceptions in three ways; positive, negative and in the form of an emotional response to the space. This provided a subjective evaluation and social impact indicator from the study sample (Ritchie et al., 2009). The third section addressed visitors' frequency of visit and intention to return. Finally, the fourth grouping of questions related to the visitors' socio-demographic information. This was a self-reported measure considering group size, ethnicity, age, permanent residence, and nationality, which were considered for two reasons. Firstly, these were considered as possible influencing variables on perceptions and practices. Secondly, these questions produced standalone data in order to allow for comparisons with secondary sources (e.g. ONS Census, 2011). Whilst an observational study would have answered many of these questions, as noted by Reichl (2016), using surveys in this manner provided the most reliable data as it meant reported measures were direct responses of people in the Park. This self-reported nature also allowed for more accurate self-reporting of socio-demographic data.

Participants were selected on a convenience, next available sample as visitors exited from the Park's main gateway. This location was chosen based on the high footfall and after studying LLDC travel guidelines which encourage visitors to use the main Stratford transport hub. For the purpose of comparison, informal observation data were collected from the Park's other minor gateways. The analysis suggested that the data collected from the major exit point was representative of the Park's population for similar (though not exactly the same) sampling periods.

In addition to this survey approach, a manual, fixed location count of visitors was conducted during the data collection periods. Visitor number counts are considered most prominently within management-style visitor surveys as they support strategic decisions related to use levels. Four broad techniques are commonly used; direct

observations, on-site counters, visitor registrations, inferred counts (Cessford and Muhar, 2003). Each of these methods have advantages and disadvantages. Due to access at the study site being controlled by a management agency (LLDC), on-site counters and visitor registrations were not possible. One advantage of Cashman's (2011) approach of working together with a local authority in Sydney was the ability to collect data related to visitor numbers. Cashman (2011) could draw on technologically informed on-site pedestrian counters alongside cycle and vehicle loops.

Inferred counts entail mapping traces of use through aspects such as garbage accumulation, trail deterioration, and footprints. However, there are issues correlating this with actual user counts (Arnberger, Brandenburg and Muhar, 2002). The visitor count conducted in this study was done using pen and paper for direct field observation. This approach had one particular advantage for this study because it allowed for the separate count of cyclists, Park employees and youth. Such a differentiation would not have been possible with mechanical counters. Whilst Ross and Lukas (2005) pioneered the use of handheld software in research (e.g. Noldus Observer), the associated cost was considered a disadvantage. As Cessford and Muhar (2003) caution against the use of improvised one-day counts being extrapolated, the counts conducted during this study were frequent and did not aim to inform management decisions, which means that extrapolation was not necessary. Instead the visitor count was conducted across the same time spans as outlined previously. This allowed for interesting patterns to present themselves at one key bottleneck of entry to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (see Chapter 7).

4.2.3 Qualitative Stakeholder Engagement

Following initial analysis of the visitor survey, postal questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were conducted. These methods were employed to understand the role of disengaged groups through discussion with local stakeholders. McGuirk and O'Neill (2010) consider qualitative research to be a means of drawing out and interpreting the complexities, understandings and awareness of events. Concerned with the interpretation of meaning, particularly amongst marginalised 'others', the cultural turn in academia saw qualitative research rise to prominence within the social sciences (Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002). In this study, quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews and observations have been used productively to cover both

the breadth and depth of visitor profiles, practices and perception, and to identify underrepresented and excluded groups of people.

4.2.3.1 Postal Surveys

A qualitative postal survey was sent to all secondary school groups in the Park Boroughs. Much academic research adopting postal surveys has been conducted in the health profession (e.g. McAvoy and Kaner, 1996; Harrison, Holt and Elton, 2002; Dunn, Jordan and Croft, 2003), in human geography (McLafferty, 2010) and by market research companies. The main benefit of this form of data collection is that there is no time pressure on respondents' completion, thus it can be considered as convenient. Yet, the major drawback is a poor response rate (McAvoy and Kaner, 1996). Whilst response rates for this type of survey are typically low, the lowest response rates are amongst specific groups of the population (Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002), which were not directly targeted in this study because school managers were asked to provide their opinion on how different youth demographics engage with the Park and what schools do to increase youth engagement.

Reviewing the literature published specifically about London 2012 and the Park Boroughs suggested that prior studies had not considered the engagement of local schools with the Park. The postal survey contained predominantly open, qualitative questions that allowed for a broad range of responses. Questions sought to elicit responses about the perceived youth usage of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. This was considered through school usage and perceptions of personal everyday use.

Postal surveys were sent to 88 schools in the Park Boroughs. All schools were targeted including public, private and religious schools. Initially, letters were sent. These were sent to secondary school senior leadership teams and physical education departments. These represented a form of self-administered questionnaire (McLafferty, 2010). Where publicly available, relevant information was personalised to the member of staff. This was intended to raise the response rate (Sahlqvist et al., 2011). The letters contained an introductory letter, a copy of the survey and a stamped addressed envelope to be returned. Various studies have sought to understand the importance of differing components of these survey packs in improving response rates; stamp type (Harrison, Holt and Elton, 2002), delivery

approach (Edelman et al., 2013), questionnaire structure (Dunn, Jordan and Croft, 2003) and personalisation of approach (Sahlqvist et al., 2011). One issue noted with postal surveys is that the increasing amount of junk mail received by individuals, particularly if responding to commercial surveys, has led to unsolicited further cold-calling (Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002). Personalisation of both the survey and the address label attempted to differentiate the survey packs from this junk mail with studies suggesting this increases response rates by approximately 20% (Scott and Edwards, 2006).

Response rates to postal surveys are notoriously low (Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002). The initial response rate to this study was low and thus postal packs containing a follow-up letter, a survey and a new stamped addressed envelope were resent to all respondents who had not replied within four weeks. Multiple authors note the need for follow-up letters and further contact to avoid bias within sample responses (Edwards et al., 2002). There is academic debate around the number of follow-ups to send, with a minimum agreement being at least one follow-up. As studies have suggested that different modes of collection can impact on responses (Bowling, 2005), email was adopted for the second follow-up (six weeks after the initial posting) using public data from the school websites. Increasingly, the issues that have affected response rates to postal surveys have affected email surveys (Sheehan, 2001). Yet, it was felt that in line with broader literature (e.g. Parker and Dewey, 2000) a mixed approach would be suitable. Telephone was discounted as an alternate means of follow-up due to the lack of publicly available contact details. The overall response rate of this three-stage approach was 20%.

4.2.3.2 Interviews

Following the analysis of the visitor surveys and postal surveys, semi-structured interviews were conducted with four local stakeholders. Each of these interviewees played a key role in the engagement with and/or practices within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. Interviews have been defined by Longhurst (2010) as a "verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions" (p.103). Essentially, regardless of the mode of interview, they are a means of gaining access to information about a phenomenon. They allow the interviewer access to the observations of others, notably providing a window for retelling past experiences

(Weiss, 1995). Interviewing can also be a useful tool for seeking out the opinions of 'othered' marginalised group as a contrast to broader public opinion (Dunn, 2000).

A growth in non-conformity in the tenets of quantitative processes led to growing interest in qualitative methodologies as a means of data collection (Minichiello et al., 1995). Interview-based studies are now considered to be the most commonly used qualitative technique in the social sciences (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Whilst Lee (2004) argues that interviews emerged in the early 1920s, their sociological success is inherently tied to the rise of technologically-aided devices (Back, 2014). They have been used by geographers and sport sociologists to study diverse ranges of topics such as migration (Agergaard and Botelho, 2011) and gentrification (Lees, 2003) to understand the experiences and views of populations. Three broad groups of interviewing exist on a continuum with structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Whilst each of these have distinct advantages and disadvantages, semi-structured (or focused) interviews were chosen.

Semi-structured interviews are conversational and informal in tone. They still draw upon an interview guide that offers a list of topics or questions central to the research question (Minichiello et al., 1995). The informal nature allows for flexibility in the questioning route. Firstly, they offer scope for interviewers to broaden the questions dependent on the responses. Secondly, interviewees can respond expansively about the topic without being constrained by often closed questioning (Minichiello et al., 1995). Consideration of the previous research and prior literatures led to the development of an interview schedule. This was developed as a carefully considered list of worded questions and guided prompts (Dunn, 2000). The formality of asking questions from a list can often sound insincere, and out of place. Chronology of questions cannot always be assured as some of the issues researched are intermingled. The sequence of questions helped to give the interview structure and for participants to reflect on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The use of prompts and a freedom to ask questions dynamically meant that the interview schedule was well placed to be relevant to each of the informants. Phrasing and ordering of questions is of critical importance (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Successful interviews relay on asking questions which themselves will be successful.

Questions are a common feature of our daily language, based around *who, why, what, where, when* and *how.* Mikkelsen (1995) suggests that *why* questions be used sparingly because they can lead to the interviewee becoming defensive. Openness to answering questions is based on building of rapport with the participant. In many regards this begins with the initial contact to set up the interview. The building of rapport in this setting may be related to discussion of the general area of the research (Dunn, 2000). In this case rapport building was around the macro-level topic of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the local area. Question or prompts of the main body of the interview commonly follow four themes; factual, descriptive, thoughtful and emotive (Longhurst, 2010). A range of these were considered during the interview. The use of probes or cross-check questions was developed during the interviews based on prior responses. These probing questions are a key feature of the semi-structured approach allowing the interviewer to establish the depth and validity of prior statements. These were primarily used to explore interesting comments relevant to the wider research project. The closing of an interview should be considered as just as important as building the rapport initially. Participants were offered the opportunity to ask any questions and clarify any concerns about the research. As a follow up, all participants were sent a thank you email.

The choice of interview location is an active rather than passive actant. These factors are not matters of convenience but have micro-geographies that should be considered during the research process (Elwood and Martin, 2000). The decision to allow participants to choose the location allows an expression of positioning oneself within the researched society (Herzog, 2005). Participants were in all cases given the option as to where they would like to be interviewed. In this research, face-to-face interviews were conducted in meeting rooms at the host universities' branch campus (as noted above located within the Here East development) and within the social spaces of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. An effort was made to use spaces that provided an informal research setting. Participants appeared relaxed and talked freely during the interview process.

The roles of technological devices in interviews has seen tape recorders become "intrinsically connected to capturing human voices on tape" (Back, 2014, p. 246). The electronic recording devices (ERDs) were originally shunned by researchers in favour of continual handwritten notes (Young and Wilmott, 1957). However, the shift to

'active listening' during interviews and the increasing portability of devices has made them become a key part of the interviewers tool kit. Interestingly, Backs (2014) homage to his lost device, embeds his recorder with deep emotional and symbolic sentiment. Despite the size of these devices circulating in globalising technoscapes, the ERD is still an active actant in the interviewing network. The role of ERDs, it has been argued, has drawn us into the structure of an interview society leading to errors arising. These errors allow the researcher to recreate the social at the expense of the authentic voice (Back, 2014). Here, I consider the interview process and its recordings as a key activity waiting to be analysed (Silverman, 2007) rather than as 'truth'. This approach relies on the trained abilities of the researcher to represent and understand the exchange, not to depend solely on the recordings of the tape. The interview process was supplemented with recordings of thoughts and reflections pre- and post-interviews. This added depth to the interview texts providing a rich description (Kitchin and Tate, 2000) and was considered during the analysis.

Interviewing as a method has been the focus of multiple methodology monographs, book chapters and journal publications. These texts tend to focus on the rationales, theory, and process of the interview. Yet, the process of the interview can often be a highly individualistic experience, reflecting the phenomenon being researched. Weiss (1995), refreshingly acknowledges that despite all this instruction, much of what can be learned about successful interviews is a product of prior experience in the field. The researcher in this study had twice conducted interviews previously. These interview experiences and the extensive face-to-face visitor survey proved useful during the conducted interviews.

This section could have consisted of focus groups with youth populations. However, access to these youth groups was complicated. Hosting the Games in an Anglophone nation and growing research interest in the social impacts of mega events meant that the research area around the Olympic Park was well-populated by researchers. Thus, it could be argued that the sampling population was fatigued (Clark, 2008). Recent publications in academic journals support this assertion (Giulianotti et al., 2015). As such, a diverse understanding of local stakeholders was sought to answer the third research objective by asking local stakeholders views' on developments within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

4.2.4 Flânerie

In addition to the more 'traditional' modes of data collection outlined above, data have been collected through the method of flâneurism. Originally tied to a specific time and place (19th century Paris), the flâneur finds themselves appearing regularly both in popular culture, notably the works of Iain Sinclair, and in academic discourse (e.g. Bairner, 2014). These appearances are often in an attempt to understand the complexities of social life in both modernity and post-modernity (Tester, 1994).

The flâneur is described as the "aimless stroller who loses himself in the crowd, who has no destination and goes wherever caprice or curiosity directs" (White, 2001, p. 16). This moving observation allows the flâneur to understand the micro-sociology (i.e. practices) of urban daily life (Jens and Neves, 2000). In this study, this method facilitated the gaining of a rich personal understanding of the space. It was this unravelling of the micro within the macro that Latour (2005) highlighted as a key tenet of actor-network methodology. The flâneur shares distinct parallels with ethnographic methods in terms of the spaces they inhabit, the speed with which they conduct their research, and their desire to articulate unheard voices through in-depth observation (Jens and Neves, 2000). Yet, there are also clear methodological differences. Notably the need of the flâneur to be aloof from the social communities they traverse rather than immersed. Ferguson (1994) states that the flâneur is "in society as he is in the city, suspended from social obligation, disengaged, disinterested, dispassionate" (p.26); removed from the urban configuration and its networks.

The flâneur has been variously critiqued over the years as being a masculine activity (Featherstone, 1998), as a crux of deviancy (McDonough, 2002), and ultimately faced calls to be laid to rest as an outdated methodological tool (Shaw, 2015). Yet, its advantages as a means to read the spaces of the urban through both seeing and exploring is key (Bairner, 2012). Some authors suggested a shift away from the connotations of the term flâneur to broader inclusion under the umbrella term of psychogeography (Coverley, 2012). Here the ability to wander the parkland space as a detached observer both removed from the crowds yet immersed in them was deemed to be useful for the study of the Park. Much flâneur work seeks to understand the city as the source of urban exploration (Featherstone, 1998). This exploratory aspect of the work confines itself to the Park and its immediate environs. It has been argued that the urban development and decline in true public space has

imposed limits on the flâneur (Featherstone, 1998). However, the ability to observe and read the space as a 'text' is not diminished in the growing quasi-public space of the urban park (Madden, 2010). Whilst the findings associated with this style of research are widely seen as impressionistic, as a methodological tool they hold great importance to understand the everyday of spaces (Bairner, 2012). In seeking to understand the Park through this form of research returns to the ethnographic roots of ANT, notably the early studies of Latour and Callon.

Visits to the Park were conducted alone as a solitary figure and as such they need to be situated within the perspective of a male early career researcher. The purpose of these visits to the Park were various, both purposeful for research study and in a personal, volunteer capacity. These trips were conducted over the course of three years, initially to provide context to the research findings but also as a valuable form of data collection. The loose style applied allowed the research to experience the 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005) of the networked actants in the Park, allowing the researcher to understand the practices and also to investigate the unseen and unheard voices. In this manner, it was possible to study the space as a site of exclusion and the excluded (Bairner, 2012). These observations supplemented the quantitative data collected about Park visitors and added valuable additional insights to the project.

4.2.5 Data Analysis – NVivo10 and SPPS 17.0

Two pieces of software were used in the analysis of the data from this study. Visitor survey data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS), version 17.0. Policy reports, interview transcripts and postal surveys were analysed using NVivo 10, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). McKendirck (2010) discusses this approach of using different analysis packages as a key component of mixed-methods research. Both packages facilitate the analysis of data and act as a means to store, organise and clean data. Despite technological advances (markedly, artificial intelligence), Dey's comment that "computers(s) can help us analyse our data but it cannot analyse our data" (1993, p55) still seems to be relevant over twenty years later.

CAQDAS software had been slow to come to fore in geographical sciences despite the early exploration in disparate fields such as anthropology, sociology and

psychology (Peace and van Hoven, 2010). Yet, this appears to be changing with increasing faculty awareness of the need for training and support vastly reducing the learning curve associated with such software (Deakin, Wakefield, Gregorius, 2012). NVivo 10 was particularly useful as a tool for this study because it removed much of the hand-worked analysis and allowed the simplification of the qualitative data analysis (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Focus in the academic literature has been on CAQDASs' role as removing researchers from data (Crowley et al., 2002), thus simplifying complex, in-depth data. NVivo also facilitates conceptual thinking about the data (Peace and van Hoven, 2010). This study used NVivo software as a means of storage, organisation and coding. NVivo was useful for the management of a vast collection of qualitative policy reports.

Whilst document storage is a function of all operating systems, the added benefit of a dedicated analysis tool (also known as code and retrieve) across documents and the ability to cross reference and search (notably the 'tree' function) was an important feature of NVivo. Whilst traditionally, researchers would use manual methods to actively code and annotate documents, CAQDAS software eliminates this process, thus erasing the risks often associated with this form of management (notably loss of documents). Whilst CAQDAS software was used to analyse the traditional qualitative data of this study, statistical analysis packages were enrolled for the analysis of quantitative data sources.

Visitor survey data was analysed using SPSS statistics software. SPSS has its roots in the quantitative sociological studies conducted in the 1960s (Yang, 2010). This is specialised software that allows the user to perform calculations, test the statistical significance of research hypothesis, and convert numerical to graphical display forms (Peace and van Hoven, 2010). In contrast to NVivo (as discussed above), SPSS has a broad usage in the social sciences. A plethora of guidance books that support the researcher through the process have been published (see for example Pallant, 2004; Hinton, McMurray and Brownlow, 2014). SPSS was used predominantly to aid data analysis for the quantitative aspects of the visitor survey. As a secondary function, it facilitated the coding and analysis of the visitor survey's open questions. These qualitative data sets were translated into first order (master) and second order (subdivided) codes. Whilst the coding process can be recursive and infuriating, as

seemingly stable enrolments shift and change, SPSS (and CAQDAS) made this process more efficient.

4.3 Research population and recruitment

The target population of this research were visitors to and key stakeholders of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. In this section the different populations and recruitment strategies are discussed. The overall aim was to gain a sample of participants that would represent as wide a range of Park usage as possible. Participants were recruited through various means to build up a comprehensive understanding of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park's impact on visitor's profiles, practices and perceptions.

Recruiting enough appropriate participants is a challenge for all research projects. The methods used to recruit participants are often dependent on the type of research being conducted. The research methods outlined above influenced the different contact methods used to recruit. Participants in this study were contacted via email, through personal contacts, by using school staffing lists and in the case of the visitor survey by using on-the-spot recruitment.

4.3.1 Visitor Survey

This first stage of the research aimed to explore the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park from the viewpoint of variable wide range of demographics. Accordingly, a random convenience sample of visitors was recruited. As discussed previously, research that has explored visitor engagement of post-event spaces is limited. Thus, the population was intentionally non-selective and did not work to quotas and purposive sampling in order to ensure a diverse and representative research sample reflecting visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park throughout the year.

Gatekeepers can be defined as "those who provide – directly or indirectly – access to key resources needed to do research, be those resources logistical, human, institutional, or informational" (Campbell et al., 2006 p. 98). The gatekeeper relationship has often been described as unilateral between the researcher and the point of contact (Campbell et al., 2006). In this research, the initial point of contact for recruiting research participants within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park was a gatekeeper at the LLDC within the commercial services department. Email contact was established to seek approval for the study. A later face-to-face meeting further

established this relationship. Yet, ultimately, access to the research site was not decided by this individual but rather influenced by the LLDC's public research policy and engagement. As a quasi-public space, with private security forces in the Park, this approval was vital to the successful conduct of the research as access could be withdrawn at any time. Management of this relationship included written reports, email discussions and feedback support when requested. This also allowed the research to have an early impact (Reed, 2016). Whilst this relationship was largely positive, changing public views of broader negative shifts in the public view of the Olympic Park development and individual employment changes saw the relationship break down towards the end of the two-year access period.

4.3.2 Postal Surveys

Once initial findings could be used to inform the next stage of research, a variety of youth-related stakeholders were targeted. Online research using schools' websites was completed to send postal surveys. Surveys were sent using freely available contact details for school staff. Where this information was not possible to obtain, mail was addressed to the relevant department/person. These schools were purposively sampled because of their location within the Park Boroughs (Patton, 2002). The institutions had varying pupil numbers, structures and distance to the Park (see appendix 2 for comprehensive information about the schools). This comprehensive approach was important to ensure that the experiences of a wide range of Park Borough pupils at secondary school age could be compared. The resulting findings about the profiles, practices and perceptions of the Park would have been incomplete, if only certain schools had been targeted.

Recruitment of these local populations was increasingly difficult due research fatigue (as mentioned above). Access to the requested members of staff (senior leadership team members and physical education departments) was complicated by the role of reception staff and several demands on the time of all school staff. These demands have been well documented and noted for many years (see for example Abel and Sewell, 1999). The recruitment letter outlined the short amount of time required to fill in the survey. The timing of the survey was thus important. Therefore, frequent stressful occasions such as OFSTED investigations were considered in the decision. The postal survey was sent outside of examination times and intended to arrive

shortly before the half-term student holiday period. This decision was made through informal discussion with two long-term teachers about an appropriate time.

4.3.3 Interviews

Participants for the third and final stage of the study were selected because of their access to and role as experts about underrepresented groups in the Parks. These experts differed from the school survey as this group of people was targeted for their ability to affect change and encourage enrolment of various demographics in the Park. Respondents for the interviews were recruited purposively via the researcher's personal networks within the Park Boroughs, having been involved in the areas for the previous 30 months. The researcher was known within this environment both through this research project and through voluntary work with the host university. Other interviews were sought out from stakeholders within the local area.

The four interview participants had varying roles. The information available here has been generalised to protect anonymity (e.g. the religious leader could be from any of the many religious groups). All participants had engagement with youth participants (of varying ages) directly as part of their job/volunteer roles. Three had been involved in the pre-development of the Olympic Park. All four had spent significant amounts of time in the Olympic Park since its reopening and continued to contribute to its policy and visitor experience. The participants were of varying age and an equal split of male and female was achieved.

4.4   Ethical considerations

Every research study has ethical issues related to its conduct. These research ethics are concerned with the "extent to which the researcher is ethically and morally responsible" for the research populations (Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 35). This is not limited to the research participants but expands to the research sponsors and funders, the public, and the researcher's own beliefs. In the UK higher education, research ethics are increasingly important because the Research Excellence Framework (REF) outlines the need for research impact in wider society (HEFCE, 2016). Regardless of personal views on such metric measurements, ensuring that research is conducted not only ethically but responsibly should be a key tenet of all research projects.

Ethical considerations must be considered throughout the research process from initial considerations about the study design to dissemination practices. As such all aspects of this study involving human participants was passed through the Loughborough University Ethics Committee procedures. These local committees act as a safeguarding for the four populations outlined above as well as the researcher. They aim to ensure through protocol that those involved in research are not exposed to unacceptable risks and practices (Savulescu, Chalmers and Blunt, 1996). The next section of this chapter considers the potential risk and harm involved in this study.

Different research projects will by necessity entail contextual process-based ethical decisions. This is highlighted in a study of community-based participatory research (CBPR) that raised questions about the suitability of local ethics committees' regulatory frameworks for social research (Banks et al., 2013). However, whilst in broad agreement with these critiques of ethics, broad applications of research ethics comfortably apply to all fields of academic research. As noted by Hay (2010), the need for ethical practice falls into three main categories. Firstly, ethical behaviour should ensure the rights of individuals, communities, and environments involved in, or affected by, the research. Secondly, ethical behaviour ensures a favourable climate for the research community and its continued conduct of scientific inquiry, both through a lens of the researcher and the researched. Thirdly, growing public demand and interest for the work of the 'expert' (Menon and Portes, 2016) means institutions must protect themselves from unethical research. Throughout the research process, it is the responsibility of the researcher to be sensitive to concerns regarding risk, harm, consent, privacy, confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal. These seven considerations along with what I term here the ethics of the flâneur are considered in the following sections of this chapter.

4.4.1 Risk and harm

Ethics requires that researchers do not bring *themselves* or their *participants* in a situation where they may be at risk of harm because of their participation in the study. Personal harm can be discussed through the binary of physical and mental damage (Dowling, 2010). It is unlikely during the process of social science investigations that participants will be placed into a situation where they could encounter physical harm. However, the topics of conversation conducted during both the visitor survey and expert interviews had the potential to raise issues that may

have been upsetting or dangerous. Illustrative here is an example of potential psychological harm from the visitor survey. Chapter 2 illustrated the displacement of humans associated with the changes of the built environment through London 2012. Visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park were from a variety of backgrounds but reasonably it could be expected that former residents who had been displaced would visit. Research practices needed to consider these possible issues. No upsetting topics were directly discussed during the visitor survey. Questioning routes for semi-structured interviews were not seen to contain emotionally taxing questions so that psychological harm was not considered to be a significant issue.

The most important health and safety concern noted by Bullard (2010) is lone working. Safety protocols for lone working were developed for dealing with emergencies and research issues as they arose. These protocols were developed for the visitor survey, interviewing and the flâneurism as these were the three phases of the study that saw the researcher working alone. This was particularly necessary at moments when visitor survey data collection was conducted alone. When working alone, it is important to know the field environment including: weather or climate, local customs, religious beliefs, political issues and possible issues such as crime levels (Bullard, 2010). The Park Boroughs have seen increasing rates of crime aimed at personnel (except for Waltham Forest), and increased levels of crime overall (Metropolitan Police, 2016). This presented concerns, but ensured that safety was of paramount consideration during risk assessments conducted as part of the ethical process. Steps taken to ensure safety were both researcher-led (e.g. informing people of location and expectations) and involved different safety measures (e.g. high levels of closed circuit television within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park). The conduct of this research was at all stages informed by Loughborough University's health and safety regulations, involving a comprehensive risk assessment as part of all ethical submissions.

4.4.2 Confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal

Confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal are important ethical considerations when conducting any form of research because studies often involve invading someone's privacy (Longhurst, 2010). This is particularly relevant to situations where sensitive or personal information is collected. In this study, this often related to the experiences of asking for postcodes as people were cautious about the future use of this

information. As part of the confidentiality process, surveys and interviews were stored in locked filing cabinets within a restricted access office. Electronic storage of the data sets used password protected files. Only the researcher had access to computerised copies of the raw data. Verbal permission was sought from all participants in the visitor survey, with assurances given regarding the confidentiality and anonymity of the data. Participants were often reassured by names not being collected. I suggest that this had the advantage of depersonalising the survey, allowing for more openness in answering the questions. Confidentiality and anonymity were more relevant for the interview process. Interview participants were assured that their identity would not be revealed during the research process or in the dissemination of the results. All participants were made aware that they remained free to withdraw from the research at any time and could end their participation with no explanation if they so wished. No participants chose to withdraw from the research.

4.4.3 Informed consent and voluntary participation

Informed consent for participation in surveys and interviews is not just about participants agreeing to partake, they must be made aware of exactly what they are agreeing to, or acknowledge that they are 'informed' (Dowling, 2010). All participants in all phases were made aware of exactly what the research entailed. This was done in two manners. Firstly, for the visitor survey this information was delivered verbally. Secondly, the postal survey and interviews included consent forms and information sheets for all participants. The opportunity to ask questions about any aspect of the research was offered at all parts of the study via email. This was not limited to the face-to-face data collection period but extended both pre- and post-collection.

Participation in all aspects of the research was entirely voluntary and confidential. This was made clear in all emails and personal approaches, and this was repeated during the data collection where appropriate. This was important because people were being asked to comment on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and were quite often within the space at the time. This made apparent material power relations of the space so that ensuring voluntary participation in the research was thus very important. If individuals did not want to participate, then it was possible for them to withdraw from all data collection phases.

4.6   Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and evaluated the methods employed in this study. Six research methods have been employed to collect the appropriate data for uncovering the impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on visitor profiles, practices and perceptions; a textual analysis of policy documents; a longitudinal visitor survey, a footfall count, a postal survey among all Park Borough schools, semi-structured expert interviews and the flaneur as a form of ethnographic observation. This mixed-methods approach was seem as most appropriate to examine how a great variety of demographics have used and perceived the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park up until five years after London 2012.

Although qualitative data provides the depth of this study, the main data collected through the research is quantitative. The profiles, practices and perceptions of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park are prioritised providing first hand evidence of wider trends within London's post-Olympic spaces as a valuable contribution to the mega-event literature. The following chapter (Chapter 5) provides the contextual background of the Park Boroughs in which the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is situated in. Subsequently, chapters 6, 7 and 8 present the empirical findings from the primary research methods employed in this study.

Chapter 5: A Case Study of the Park Boroughs and the Olympic Park

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5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the wider spatial context for this research project by seeking to understand the historical socio-economic and cultural transformations in East London over the past 500 years. This project considers the development around the broader area of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park inStratford by examining through several 'snapshots' (Mol, 2010) the development of East London from early settlements to being chosen as the host city for the 2012 Olympic Games. The chapter closes with a zoomed-in analysis of the current situation of the reopened Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park space. It is not intended here to offer a critique of the space that has developed in East London (as this will follow in the discussion chapters) but rather to provide an overview on the path dependencies that shaped the sociomaterial networks of London's Olympic Park.

East London has been a vital cog in the development of London into a 'world city' (Beaverstock, Smith, and Taylor, 1999). The area has acted as a point of obligatory passage (Callon, 1986) for many of the vast globalising 'scapes' outlined by Appadurai (1990). These scapes comprise of five global cultural flows offering contextual constructs of the world (Appadurai, 1990), whether this be the ethnoscapes of migratory flows of various migrations into the area, or the technoscapes of advancements in transportation and more recently that of the high-tech industries around 'Silicon Roundabout'. Financescapes play an important role not only in the city but also in the capitalist transformations of the docklands, culminating in the rise of Canary Wharf (Porter, 1994). The Thames and the Dockyards were a vital aspect of the global trade networks that had made London the commercial capital of the world in the 18th and 19th centuries. These 'scapes' also transported the ideoscapes of British imperialism throughout Empire and were reciprocated in the import of cultural diversity in later centuries (Porter, 1994). Mediascapes have recently been key in developments around the docklands with national newspaper offices existing miles from the more creative spaces of Hackney Wick's artist community.

The public narrative surrounding East London is tied to its own internal and external developments, informed by migration, conflict, and the former sweat and stink industries of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the history of East London is also a history of people, of community and the spaces they inhabited and claimed. This chapter intends to contrast the public stereotypes about the area, particularly in light of the narratives created by the Olympic organising committee, with a range of other perspectives and lives experiences.

5.1 Defining East London and the Park Boroughs

The concept of East London as a geographical area is fraught with uncertainty (Marriot, 2012). This term has often been used interchangeably with 'the East End' (Butler and Rustin, 1996), making spatial examinations of the area difficult. The constituting spatial boundaries created and discussed by academics, government officials and others have led to disputes. The area has been regularly defined according to the subjective criteria of the researcher (Hobbs, 1989). Booth (1889) defined the area as the territory between the City of London in the west and the River Lea in the east. Other authors have considered East London as the space contained between Kingsland Road (Hackney) in the west, the Thames in the south, Clapton in the north and the River Lea in the east (Rose, 1951). Recent understandings have designated the area as consisting of the six London boroughs of Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Newham, Barking and Dagenham, Redbridge and Havering (Butler and Rustin, 1996), or as the two boroughs of Newham and Tower Hamlets (Marriot, 2012). Hobbs (1989) argued that the East End rather than being spatially bounded, would be a fluid 'class frontier' of inner London boroughs, extending out beyond to the peripheries of Essex (Hobbs, 1989). In the build up to the London 2012 Olympic Games, the term 'Growth Boroughs' – Barking and Dagenham, Hackney, Greenwich, Newham, Tower Hamlets, and Waltham Forest – described those boroughs that were to benefit from the Olympic-led convergence (Growth Boroughs Unit, 2011).

Despite the outlined ambiguity, the area of the East End should be considered as historically, and more importantly culturally, distinct from the rest of the London metropolis. Hobbs (1989) outlines from his own life experiences that not only was the area distinct from London but also from other working class areas in the UK. This research project builds upon these and many other definitions of East London but adopts a different perspective. The rationale for doing so is led by the research focus

on London's post-Olympic event space. In this thesis, the defining enclosed spatiality of 'East London' is influenced by the location of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. As such the area considered to be the East End of London is constructed by the four London boroughs whose political boundaries overlap with the LLDC Olympic Park boundary lines: Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest (Davis, 2016). These four boroughs are thus termed the 'Park Boroughs' and are the focus of this study. Interestingly, the LLDC have recently begun using this four-boroughs approach in their marketing materials to local people as highlighted in Figure 6.

BEAT THE STREETS
A fun, free game for the communities of Newham, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest and Hackney Park visitors to see how far you can walk, cycle and run around your area! more...

08 June 2016 - 20 July 2016

Figure 6. Highlighting the shift in nature of the LLDC from *Growth Boroughs* to the *Park Boroughs*

4.2 Beginnings of East London and its development

The early history of East London centred around early Roman buildings remains as the marshy flat riverside of East London developed around the settlements of Hackney and the monastic Manor of Stepney in the fifteenth century. The construction of the Roman Road to exit London to the East crossed the River Lea at the Old Ford site just outside the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and saw a sizeable settlement develop. Yet, Stepney was the chief centre of the population (Rose, 1951), developing amongst areas such as Whitechapel, which by the fourteenth century was a flourishing suburb outside of the city walls. The boundary of the city walls influenced the trades establishing themselves outside of the London Guildsmen (Ackroyd, 2001). This led to the 'stink' industries developing, not only outside of the city walls but also downwind of the wealthier residential areas, distinctly influencing future populations and discourses about East London.

These early fifteenth century settlers in the East of London were bakers, brewers and slaughterhouse owners, who had been forced out of the City of London as

'foreigners', together with non-members and those men who had been disgraced by the city authorities (Rose, 1951). Yet, it was not only the 'stink' industries that found their way out of the city into the hinterlands and suburbs (Palmer, 2000). Increasingly, the noisy trades followed in their footsteps. This initial migration of the 'undesirables' out of the city followed the continued othering of the external city and influenced the ill reputation that has shaped the area's past, present and future ever since (Cohen, 2013). Many of the unwanted trades outside of the walls, particularly in Stepney, survived only in the names of the districts. An example is provided by Spitafields, the former site of a priory providing for the sick and the poor (Marriot, 2012).

Parallel to these developments, legislation affecting both the material and immaterial environs surrounding the city walls meant that an enforced three-mile strip of non-building and the formation of a historical green belt occurred in proximity to the city. As a result of this, the parishes of Stepney and Shoreditch outside this line were beyond the legal reach of the city and saw the development of both civil and nefarious leisure opportunities. The villages of Mile End, Bow, Hackney, Stratford and Leyton (amongst others) remained respectably bourgeois and were popular residential suburbs and weekend retreats offering sophisticated leisure from shuffleboard to 'refreshment' (Porter, 1994). This also included the building of the city's first theatre houses that hosted the premieres of Shakespeare's early work (Marriot, 2011). This alternate provision was vital to the ability of the local wealthy population to be seen to be exhibiting their wealth not just accumulating financial capital (Veblen, 1899).

These cleaner, bourgeois leisure opportunities are distinctly related to the experiencing of leisure in the sixteenth century. The class-related aspect of being able to enjoy these offerings provided explicit opportunities to demonstrate wealth, but more subtly these were a means of accumulating cultural capital (Russell, 2013). Inevitably, the playing out of these class boundaries created the erection and maintenance of class borders whether through the means of pricing, provision offered and attracting visitors (Walton, 1983). Increasingly, social zoning created nefarious, working class spaces that developed as separate spaces to those of the 'leisure class,' thereby creating exclusivity and segregation.

Despite the regulations, the East attracted migrant labourers, street sellers, illicit traders who survived on the 'islands' that built up around the wealthy enclaves surrounding the parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel. Cressey (1970) suggests that these migrants travelled from a wide area and distance with the largest concentration being from Devonshire, which can be explained by ties to the maritime industry. These patterns were suggestive of those searching for work given the youth and predominantly unskilled nature of those arriving (Cressey, 1970). This youth-focused rural to urban migration was telling of the time and manifested itself in the needs of a shifting population (Maguire, 1999). Yet, concerns were already apparent that the rapid growth of the area would result in social problems. Ultimately, this growth was undeterred and attempts of exercising control by the bourgeois ruling classes spread problems further afield. This population growth in part was attributed to the arrival of communities from further afield than just the UK.

The more 'repellent' entertainment industries catering for transient seafarers, permanent working classes and the needs of the shipping industry contrasted with the ale and whorehouses that developed away from the more sophisticated infrastructure (Ackroyd, 2001). To cater for these extensive needs, several brewers and distillers set up and have producing millions of barrels of beer since the seventeenth century (Corran, 1975). This lifestyle was predominantly carried out on high streets of the larger settlements in bars and taverns where the unstructured layout of streets and industrial backyards made them ideal grounds for disreputable actions (Rose, 1951). Whilst not as extensively disorderly as the areas seen across the Thames in the bear baiting pits (Porter, 1994), these practices and behaviours created distinct spaces that excluded the bourgeoisie and were inclusive to the proletariat class. As a result of these shifts, the incoming migrating classes from, initially, the European mainland to the East of London found themselves drawn to the area.

The persecuted Huguenot populations formed the first wave of migration into the East End at the beginning of the eighteenth century, finding homes in Spitafield and Whitechapel. These French refugees formed the core of the East End's silk-weaving population and thrived alongside the Jewish population that subsequently arrived to escape the pogroms and expulsions from both Eastern and Mediterranean Europe in the mid-eighteenth century. Whilst these communities arguably contributed to the

overcrowding and growing tensions in the area, they also brought highly skilled craft industries to the East End (Ackroyd, 2012). Over time, this created several other craft and creative industries such as the porcelain factories at Stratford High Street, cabinetmaking, watchmaking, printers and dozens of precision crafts often tied to the needs of the shipping industry or more broadly catering for global trade exchanges (Porter, 1994).

Tending towards residing in proximity to or above workplaces, the new arrivals to the UK in the nineteenth century resided close to the Thames in areas consisting of narrow "masses of buildings, the wharves on both sides, especially from Woolwhich *[sic]* upwards, the countless ships along both shores, [and] crowding ever closer together" (Engels, 1945). Over many decades, these groups developed the area with a strong sense of community through new schools and charities (Porter, 1994). This sense of community continued throughout the development of the East End as highlighted by the families of Bethnal Green in the 1957 seminal work of Michael Young and Peter Wilmott. These two historical protagonists of *flaneurism* explored the emerging urban environment and established a narrative that shaped the identity of the East End. The area was seen socio-culturally as one of a mysterious underworld filled with subversive ideas (Cohen, 2013). This lens continued to be the one through which all subsequent iterations and generations of East London were informed by narratives of the 'other' further embedded during and after the Industrial Revolution.

5.3 Industrial Revolution

The increasing population explosion in the East End was epitomised by the growth of Hackney Wick and the Lower Lea Valley, particularly from the 1850s onwards. Key to this was the legislation that forbade noxious, stink or offensive industries to be situated within 50 feet of residential dwellings (Metropolitan Building Act, 1844). These businesses set up away from inhabited residential communities often led to the development of residential communities for the workers, which encouraged functional and social segregation. The typical trades of Hackney Wick and the Lower Lea Valley produced low value but high quantity goods rarely sold to final users, and included rubber works, chemical and dye industries (Stedman-Jones, 1971). Whilst this surge in factory trade in the area is perhaps most notable in the urban landscape, Booth noted the "immense number of small undertakings" (1890, p. 58) in

the area. These were often found in home-workshops and comparatively smaller firms compared to the docks. Exception to this were the breweries and sugar production (Rose, 1951). Three factors were vital in the ongoing growth of the East End's small manufacturing basis (Poynter, 1996). Firstly, the legislation outlined above that required the stink industry to move away from the city. Secondly, cheap land was available for business development. Finally, the rail and canal connections of the area largely passed through Stratford and were vital for the delivery of fuel (coal) from the north and for the export of goods via the Thames in the south.

Concurrent with this development were concerns about the laissez-faire urban industrialisation that shaped these processes, and particularly its effects on the local environment (Davies, 2016). The green spaces that were so favoured by the bourgeoisie and cultural class, such as Pepys, were slowly being eroded by urban growth. Hoyles (1996) suggests that whilst these green spaces had historically been the preserve of the leisure class, the early 1800s saw increasing pressure from the working class to alleviate the closely crowded dwellings and to reduce the mortality rate in the East. Ultimately, this led to the creation of Victoria Park (less than a mile from the current Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park). Yet, despite the bottom-up approach to this park development, undoubtedly there were ulterior motives at play. The desire to attract a different type of class to the housing overlooking the space suggests an early attempt at park-led urban regeneration as a form of philanthropic convergence. Offering a parallel to the urban regeneration of Stratford through the Olympics more than one hundred years later, the rapidly developing populations of industrial East London created a need for urban recreation spaces. Yet, with the benefit of hindsight, it is possible to critique this green development as being motivated by a desire for cleaning up the area through displacement (Hoyles, 1996). The rapid developments of the East End increasingly became an issue for both the local populations and also for governmental planners.

As a consequence of this rapid 'unplanned' development in the East of London, overcrowding and associated issues became noticeably problematic. Early philanthropic convergence was evident as a means of bridging the widening socio-economic gap. Perhaps the first example of attempts in the wider area to alleviate this gap is expressed in Hackney Wick through the emergence of public school-led religious institutions such as the Eton Mission (Davis, 2016). These mission groups

not only set out to shift communities at the local neighbourhood level but also to "reorient the peripheralized community" (Davis, 2016, p.10) into a less socially marginalised space. These types of clubs became a part of the East End life, thus epitomising the muscular Christianity with which sport and public schools became associated (Watson, Weir and Friend, 2005). This was further highlighted through the civilising process prominent in the boxing clubs of the area, particularly in Bethnal Green (Sheard, 1997). These shifts towards philanthropic action as a means to deal with thechallenges created by large working class areas have continued up until modern times (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). Whilst these attempts at bridging stratification were positive steps, they were fraught with problems. This is because the working classes were often too powerless to address the material structural issues that orchestrated much of the area. These group's interests were represented by charities rather than at a local authority planning level.

At once this developing urban space was in equal part both fascinating and challenging to the middle class populations and emerging professional classes of both the nearby city and the more developed areas of West London. During the late nineteenth century, photography of the East End was increasingly used to persuade donors (notably from the wealthier West London) of the area's need for reform. These urban explorers created a "phenomenology of poverty" (Cohen, 2013, p. 70), leading to a more overt fantastical reading of the people of the East. Photographs were used by these groups in a documentary style as evidence of people, communities and a wider space in need of reform (Rose, 1997). Yet, often these images were framed through a sense of othering, of requiring an explanation and of a community in need of naturalising and ordering (whether materially or immaterially). This further mythologised the East End as an area of both fear and fantasy. The creation of imbalanced power dynamics suggests that the modern pervading narratives of East London as a space of difference have their roots long before the post-war industrial decline.

Yet, Rustin (1996) offers a contrasting view by arguing that the period between the 1930s and 1960s saw the East End transform into an area of relative economic stability and decreased levels of deprivation. Modern industrial labour in the railway, dock and gas industries (of which the area still maintains much of the material legacy), provided secure, stable employment. Ultimately, this stable employment led

to collective union action within the labour movement of the East. This is perhaps most prominently seen at the *Bryant and May* matchmaking factory where union members campaigned for better working conditions and ultimately a company welfare strategy that reflected the larger industrial employment offering (Fitzgerald, 1989). This form of collective action based in communities of work or a place (for example, the resistance to Mosley's black-shirts in 1936) contributes to the pervading argument of this chapter that the East End of London may not have the same wealthy stature as much of the rest of London, but it remained a space of communities and people that was functioning well for its local population.

5.4 Post World War – Deindustrialisation and Development

East London changed drastically in the sixty years between the ending of the Second World War and the successful Olympic bid in 2005. East London with its largely manufacturing base and its associated working class was still seen as a vital part of the economy with the financial City being relatively small scale in the 1960s (Hamnett, 2003). The closure of mass industrial services, as entire sectors collapsed or were shifted abroad, saw East London, previously integrated into global 'tradescapes' being affected by worldwide industrial restructuring (Rustin, 1996). The associated rise in the service sector in the capital saw further negative legacies bestowed upon East London as the largely unskilled white working class and ethnic minorities were disproportionately excluded from the rise of the knowledge-led economy. There has been a sharp rise in the size and significance of the middle class in East London since the closure of the dockyards (Smith, 1989), causing growing divides amongst the new and old populations.

At the height of postwar trade, the docks had reached its peak (Al Naib, 1990). Yet, the containerisation of the shipping process in the late 1960s saw this industry entering an age of struggle and deindustrialisation. This and the opening of dockyards closer to the mouth of the Thames such as in Tilbury, Essex, and a move towards air travel (Rustin, 1996) resulted in the closure of the dockyards and associated jobs—the docks were dying (Sinclair, 2012). In the 1960s, the East India Dock closed and by 1980 the West India Dock saw the closure of all East London dockyards. This deindustrialisation of the East End should not be seen in isolation of the opening of further easterly docks but rather as part of wider shifts in the global economy (Hamnett, 2003). As a result of this, London underwent a shift from primary

and secondary services to a dominance of advanced capitalist producers services (APS) supported by the proximity to the deregulated financial hub of the City of London, as epitomised by the development of Canary Wharf from the 1980s onwards (Smith, 1989).

The development of Canary Wharf from the 1980s onwards in the area of the Isle of Dogs transformed the area because a large numbers of white collar workers and residents moved into riverside properties and industrial building conversions (Davidson and Lees, 2005; Hamnett, 2007). This led to wider development and strategic change in the capital. Yet, as with any form of development (highlighted in Chapter 2), while there were many who benefitted from the urban regeneration, it could be argued that local communities lost out. Cohen has extensively researched these communities, particularly those on the Isle of the Dogs (1996; 2013). He described these as a close, intensely loyal community whose pride and identity was tied not only to the work associated with the docks but also to their status as (white) 'Islanders' with their kith and kin (Cohen, 1996). Yet, by acknowledging the attachment to place of these locals and the shifting demographic patterns, Cohen addressed the increasingly unstable community aspect. With increasing numbers of 'cockney' East-Enders migrating into the hinterlands to the East (Wilmotts and Young, 1957), the stabilising aspect of the social and cultural capital of these often homogenous groups was slowly eroded. Amidst a community of 'localism,' population change inevitably led to tensions, shifting relations and a dynamic transformation of the East End. Therefore, this rapid deindustrialisation should be considered as the second catalytic development (the first being the industrial revolution) affecting the people of East London.

These shifts were widely reflected in the demographic composition of East London as flows of international migration from Europe, the New Commonwealth and Asia meant that in the postwar period ethnic diversity (and often associated social tensions and division) was a prominent feature of East London (Dench, Gavron and Young, 2006). Wilmott and Young (1957), in their seminal work on families of the East End, make no reference to international migration. Yet, it is clear that in the following years the arrival of those from the Indian sub-continent, particularly those of Bangladeshi origin, were amongst the most important transformative flows into the area. Typically, these migrants were settling near the Docks just as the Huguenots

and Jewish migrants had before them. The shifting patterns of migration in the post-war period highlighted the tensions apparent in the area.

The tensions arising from shifting ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1991) were by no means limited to the post-war years because trends of shifting internal and international migration have continued apace. For example, the mid- to late-1990s saw a pattern of Bangladeshi migration following the route of the white working class of the 1960s, moving further east into surrounding boroughs and Essex (Paccoud, 2014). This was complemented by the cases of Somali and Kurdish refugees moving into the area in the early 1990s (Griffiths, 2000). Based on these examples, it is possible to suggest a transient, cyclical nature of population movements in the East End with groups often reproducing the settlement of historical predecessors. Whilst much in-migration to East London has been internationally, there has also been internal class-led migration in the guise of gentrification since the closure of the docks and the increasing prominence of APSs.

As noted in chapter 2, gentrification was first identified as a transformative urban process by Ruth Glass in 1963. This has been highlighted both by the organised capital-led gentrification visible in the Docklands, which led to an influx of capital-rich population, and yet, the process of gentrification had begun in Hackney several decades earlier. The social class composition of inner London became increasingly mixed, with Hamnett suggesting that "the East End is being gentrified, but few local people can afford such prices" (2003, p187). The idea of the "urban village" separate from the city's social problems yet tied to the amenities of the city has become a common model for gentrifiers following trends during the mid to late 20th century (Moran, 2007). These urban quarters often developed around the formerly pre-industrial villages of wealth. This is perhaps exemplified best by Walthamstow Village in the northerly Park space of Waltham Forest, as this remains an enclave of wealth, but also in areas such as Banbury Village (Hamnett, Butler, and Ramsden, 2013).

These areas of high capital mixed with the boundaries of several of the poorest local authority level wards (ONS, 2015). As Butler, Hamnett and Ramsden (2013) point out, this is not solely limited to spatial displacement but also to immaterial displacement, for example by displaying exclusionary practices in education. This suggests that tensions from these groups are embedded not only in their absolute

privilege but also in their relative power. Observations from various academics and social commentators on the tensions arising from gentrification (noted in Chapter 2) suggest that embedding disparate communities into one another is neither simple nor problem-free. Yet, the ongoing attempts of regeneration strategies prevalent from policy making institutes and management companies suggests a lack of engagement with these issues. The area of East London has become something of a problem area for planners and policy makers in the post-industrial period. It impacted negatively on the perception of London as a world city and created an imbalance particularly between the city's east and central-western space (Hamnett, 2003).

Regeneration strategies often presuppose narratives about community spaces to justify extensive change and integrate the 'excluded' sections of society. Spitalfields market, for example, the former hub of the cloth industry, was described as the worst slum in London (Palmer, 2000) and seen to be a product of deregeneration (Furbey, 1999). This led to several grand regeneration projects, particularly in the areas surrounding the docks, which were desirable as sites with increasing connectivity and riverside living, for example, the Thames Gateway (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2009) and—of most relevance to this project—the Stratford City Challenge (Fearnley and Pratt, 1996).

The Stratford City Challenge outlined in 1992 the rationale for the future Olympic bid. It aimed at developing Stratford into a vibrant area, providing the kick start for the regeneration of the rest of East London. This developed a publicly accepted rhetoric around the area, which did not necessarily reflect the lived experiences of the area. These grand projects have, however, not been beneficiary to local communities. Sampson (2011) suggests that such the rationales of regeneration and integration have been contested by the local boroughs in relation to Canary Wharf because local interest groups could not see them occurring in the long-term. Yet, there does appear to have been some 'benefit' of development plans for such projects. Hiller (2000) notes that these projects allowed for the development of successful global event bids. However, the overall issues with such projects remain and the collective memory loss of such negative aspects of urban regeneration such as displacement of less affluent demographics appears to be a continual question particularly in the East End.

Given the use of a sports mega-event to redevelop the area, it is relevant here to explore the sport and leisure opportunities in the area in the build-up to the Olympic Games bid. In many ways these follow the tradition of sport as a form of domestic development and played a role in social control. Prior to the Second World War, the Hackney Wick Stadium was opened, offering attractions in the form of speedway and greyhound racing (Cohen, 2013). Arguably, these sports have been portrayed as the domain of the working classes, though this is disputed by Huggins (2007) as being an over-exaggeration by sports historians. The Eastway Cycle Circuit was a 1600 m road cycle circuit that hosted the national championships during the 1980s and 1990s (Davis, 2009) and continued to be successful until it was removed in the regeneration prior to the Games. This situation, along with previous comments on mission clubs, suggests that the implementation of sport as a means of development and as a tool for alleviating social exclusions has been attempted several times with little or no long-term effect in the local area.

To summarise the post-war period, the four Park Boroughs, particularly in a horseshoe around Stratford's rail hub, were amongst the most deprived in the country due to the closure of the central docklands. This occurred at the same time as an invasion of both people and financial and business services from west London into the regenerated Docklands. This was combined with a migratory flow from Eastern Commonwealth nations during a time when west London reconstituted the area for its own purposes, namely that of reconstituting and reconfirming the city's role as a leading 'world city' (Roberts and Lloyd-Jones, 2010). Perhaps predictably, the words of Rustin (1996, p. 8) remain valid beyond his residential river discussion in regard to wider regeneration of East London—"the benefit of the many or the few."

5.5 The Olympic East End: 2005–2015

The London 2012 Olympic bid was regarded as the best possible opportunity for successful urban regeneration (Rustin, 2012). The Games were to be hosted in the East of London as opposed to other suggested areas in the West of London such as Wembley, Brent (Lee, 2006). The driving force behind this rational was the potential for urban regeneration and development. Interestingly, Hamnett (2003) called for several changes to occur in the East of London in order to facilitate positive development, none of which involved a mega-event bid. The four key aspects of this were i) clear-up for renovations; ii) education and training for the local population; iii)

seeking benefits from tourism; and iv) trying to achieve a balance to serve all residents through comprehensive growth.

The 2012 Olympic Games were intended as a legitimising tool for an extensive regeneration project with the intention of promoting economic growth and socio-cultural developments for the benefit of diverse community groups (Gibbons and Wolff, 2012). From the very beginning of the Olympic bidding process there was a clear penchant by stakeholders to host the event in one of the most multicultural and resource-deprived areas of the UK. Led by Labour mayor Ken Livingstone, the Olympics were chosen as the opportunity to provide new opportunities for the local populations of East London (Hylton and Morpeth, 2012; Lee, 2006).

A notable shift occurred during the bidding process for the London 2012 Olympic Games in relation to how previously stigmatised environments were portrayed. Vital demographic groups associated with London that had previously been regarded as hallmarks of multiple deprivation, disadvantage and othering were now viewed as a unique selling point in promoting London as the world epitomised by a city (Cohen, 2013). The legacy promises of London 2012 focused on the economic convergence that the local area would experience as a result of this mega sporting event being hosted in their midst (Growth Boroughs, 2010). The Park Boroughs in the build-up to the successful 2005 bid saw a vast array of promises to benefit the local community (explored further in the following chapter). This community was one of multi-culturalism, socio-economic differentiation and geopolitical importantance. Having previously been marginalised as sources of badness, deviance and deprived demographics, such as young ethnic groups, these people were now one of the foci for creating a successful bid (Gunter, 2008).

These demographics were often homogenised across the relevant boroughs, leading to them being rhetorically constructed as hybrids bridging the cosmopolitan and youthfulness that the organising committee hoped to imbue to the Games. Yet, by lumping these groups together and expecting the 'wealth' of legacy benefits to diffuse, the bidders ignored the diversity and contextual differences of the surrounding boroughs. The four Park Boroughs, whilst all styled as the East End in various documents, contain their own idiosyncrasies and expected a large scale mega-event to address these nuances (Rustin, 2012). Here several snapshots are

offered that briefly characterise the four Park Boroughs of Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets, and Waltham Forest.

The borough of Hackney comprises 21 distinct wards, all of which are constantly undergoing changes in regard to their material and immaterial make-ups. The residentially dense, youthful borough is equally as multicultural as it is diverse with over 100 languages being spoken (ONS, 2011). The thriving 'creative communities' in Hackney Wick, Dalston and Hoxton amongst others are seen by policy makers as salient zones of experimentation and innovation (Hutton, 2006). Investing in these forms of leisure and work has created spatially homogenous areas culturally formed in their identity as a sub-culture of 'hipsterism' (Cronin, McCarthy, and Collins, 2014). The influx of gentrifying processes in the southern boroughs starkly contrast with the council housing, struggling families and clashes of culture and identity seen to the north of Hackney. Sinclair (2012) notes similar tensions in the area immediately westward of the Olympic site as quests for profit removed the early gentrifying class and the creatives from their spaces for upper-middle class housing stock.

The borough of Newham is recorded as having the most culturally and ethnically diverse community in the UK (ONS, 2011). This ethnic diversity is reflected similarly in Waltham Forest—yet, rather than a poverty split, this is an ethnic split. The north of the borough is predominantly of Asian heritage, the south comprises mostly those of White ethnic background, whilst the east is the settling point for many Black ethnic groups. This clustering of different ethnic minorities results in part from the familial notions of locality and cultural affinity but also due from socio-economic factors (Griffiths, 2000).

Whilst hosting the largest minority group percentage of the four Park Boroughs (over 50%), Tower Hamlets is the fastest growing borough in London. Tower Hamlets is the centre of one of the leading financial centres globally (Daniels and Bobe, 1993) and a borough divided by wealth. With the global connections of the expanded City of London and its advanced producer services, the local community is often overlooked (sometimes literally given the height and location of the post-modern high-rise office blocks) for the benefit of the privatised service sector workforce. This contrast is seen in the findings by the Trust for London (2014) that the proportion of low paid jobs in Tower Hamlets is one of the lowest in London due to the City's expansion into this

area. This suggests that whilst regeneration of the area has allowed for the material shifting of urban assemblages, these appear to be at the expense of a sense of community amongst the local populations.

Similarly to Newham and Hackney, Tower Hamlets is a youthful borough with a fifth of the population being under the age of 16 (ONS, 2011). Whilst the youthful nature of the Park Boroughs has been linked to the higher birth rates seen in immigrant communities (ONS, 2011), the high levels of child poverty are of greater concern and tied to the Olympic plans for convergence. The contrasts of wealth and poverty in this borough and the need for socially-informed intervention are clear. The 'islanding' and community segregation of the area sees increasing quasi-private space developing such as the spaces of Canary Wharf. This othering of East London communities is particularly prevalent in Tower Hamlets. Local communities are being excluded at the expense of financial gain.

Waltham Forest is perhaps the least typical fit in a wider comparison of the Park Boroughs. This is primarily due to the stark contrast between its north and south wards. The southern wards of Hoe Street, Markhouse, Cathall and Leyton each have one of the top 5% deprived wards in the country (ONS, 2011), while the northern wards, separated by one of the arterial London roadways, are seen to be comparatively affluent. Waltham Forest is also the least diverse of the Park Boroughs by being predominantly white. It can be suggested that the migration patterns of displaced working class 'East Enders' as part of a voluntary migration from the inner city to the outer reaches of London affected this (Young and Wilmotts, 1957). The focus of Young and Wilmotts' (1957) study was the community of a town called 'Greenleigh' on the border of Waltham Forest. The authors suggested that this pathway of migration was not only common but desired by many of the population. This trend appears to have continued over time with the white population having decreased by a quarter since 1991 (ONS, 2011). Waltham Forest is also different because it is the second most densely populated borough of the four; much of the landscape includes greenland and waterways. This possibly also acts as an attraction to the upwardly mobile working classes attracted to the urban village feel in the area (Cohen, 2013).

Whilst it does not do the Park Boroughs justice to summarise them in such brief snapshots as done above, it does highlight the vast socio-cultural diversity present in the Park Boroughs. As the following chapter will show, this view of East London was not that which suited the regeneration narrative of needing to enforce drastic change. Whilst Sinclair references his own narrative domain Hackney, his broader point seems to be applicable throughout the Park Boroughs:

> *"And then the Olympics arrived to swivel a searchlight on the dark places to impose a fraudulent narrative… it had always been here but they didn't need it. They lived elsewhere. They lived inside their illusions. Hackney ceased to be a game reserve and became a career."*
> *(Sinclair, 2012, p. 99)*

By ignoring the local community and its history in search of a globally attractive remaking, the regeneration of East London led by the Olympic developments has largely ignored this diverse socio-cultural community. This lack of engagement with local lower urban classes, whilst a common factor in urban development (see Chapter 2), negates the rhetoric portrayed in the theme of convergence. Whilst the diverse interest groups of the Park Boroughs contributed to the creation of the contrasting narratives of policy makers and the local communities, this simplification of the Park Boroughs as rundown and in need of change clearly does not tell the entire story. That the black boxes (Callon, 1986) of East London were not opened in the build-up to the Games and that an 'unpacking' of a larger swarm of actants did not occur raises concerns about the role of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and its place within the community as a space for all. The attention of this chapter now turns towards this largest physical infrastructure legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games and the form it has taken since its reopening in 2013 as the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

5.6 A focus on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park

The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is the largest and most visible material legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games. This 560 acre parkland space reopened in different phases since July 2013. The Park follows recent traditions of Olympic Parks globally, such as Sydney 2000 (Cashman, 2011) and Munich 1972 (Rother, 2006), by redefining post-mega event spaces as 'public' parks. The past of the ancient

Games is also reflected in this development with links seen to the Ancient Olympic site in Athens (Kühni and Bovy, 2016).

The development of the Olympic Park both pre- and post-London 2012 was the responsibility of the Olympic Park Legacy Commission (OPLC) whose powers and role were superseded (alongside some of those of the Olympic Delivery Authority) by the London Legacy Development Corporation in 2012 (Smith, 2014a). The scope of this public body with responsibility to local government extends beyond the immediate remit of the Olympic Park site outlined in Figure 7 (next page) to include Fish Island and Hackney Wick. This allowed the LLDC to stitch the Olympic Park 'island' into the surrounding hinterlands of the Olympic Park, thereby shaping the space of the Lower Lea Valley (Newman, 2007). This integration is seen as vital to the future successful regeneration and integration of the surrounding Park Boroughs but at the same time threatens the artist community of Fish Island through large scale investments in this creative community opposite the Olympic Stadium (Smith, 2014a).

The overall role of the LLDC is that of a private company limited by guarantee acting as a regenerative body responsible for the wider development of the Olympic Park area (Raco, 2012). The overall governance model of the legacy of the Olympic Park appears to be a practical solution, yet, it has been criticised as removing the voice of the local community (Raco, 2012). This is a critique offered across several varying spectrums of society from business groups to social enterprises and is evidenced by the ongoing displacement of Fish Island's artist community through new housing developments.
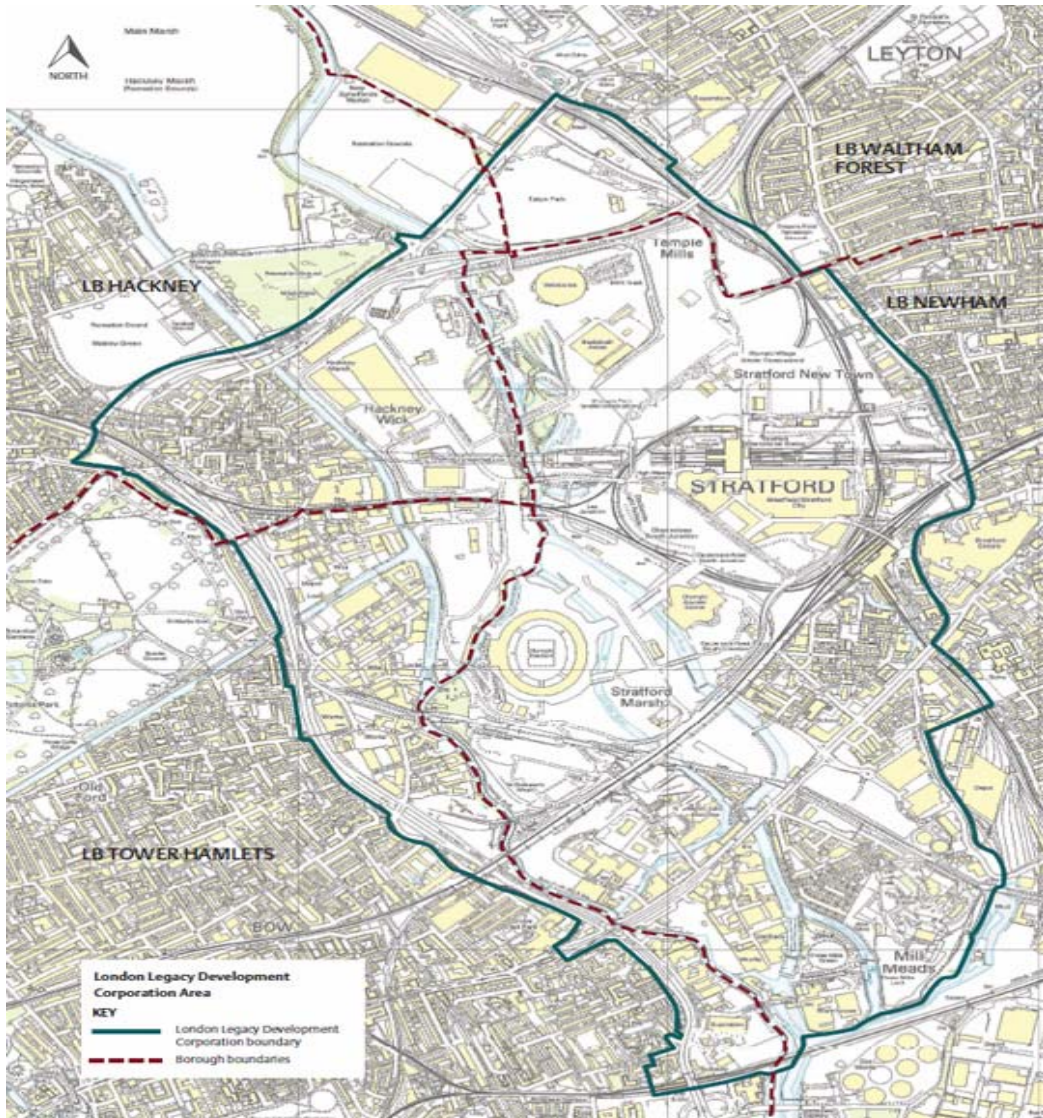
Figure 7. The LLDC Corporation Area.

Source: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/planning-authority/planning-area-map

The Park since its reopening has been transformed from a space of sporting celebration into one of multi-use. The Olympic Park should be considered as the secondary phase of regeneration in adapting an event space for long-term use (Smith, 2014b). The sports venues used by elite athletes for training and competition have been reopened for public consumption, while vast open spaces were developed to host smaller scale social and cultural events and offer a 'lung' in the heart of the urban metropolis. The offerings within the redeveloped Park comprise of various leisure, business, knowledge, commercial and residential hubs dissected by a network of waterways and interspersed by the five remaining sports facilities—the Aquatics Centre, London Stadium, Cooper Box Arena, Velodrome and Lee Valley Hockey Centre (Figure 8).

Figure 8. The scope of offering across the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Source: LLDC, 2016.

Visitors to the Park are very much expected to be all-rounders as they combine the tastes of the "*flaneur*, sightseer, sports enthusiast, shopaholic, fitness freak, gourmet and BMX biker" (Cohen, 2015, p. 93)—apparently all in the same visit. In addition, the expansive leisure consumption hub of Westfield Stratford City, a large scale shopping centre, adds retail outlets and entertainment offerings to that provided within the Park (Minton, 2012). This post-industrial space of active consumption acts as a gateway to the Olympic Park from its main transport entry point (Sinclair, 2012), which suggests quite clearly that consumption (passive and financial) was one of the main desired legacy outcomes of this newly developed space.

The Park is split into two distinct yet linked spaces; the north and south of the Park (Viehoff, 2015). The Olympic Park development has been labelled a theme park destination rather than a traditional green park (Smith, 2014b). In part this is results from the currently sparsely laid out 'attractions' throughout the parkscape. Since the mid-2010s, however, this space should be considered as a mixture of both an urban theme park and an urban green park (Smith, 2014a). The coming together of these two distinct spaces seems to aim at attracting specific groups of visitors. The north of the Park has more extensive, laid out green spaces allowing for more passive consumption and recreation (Figure 9) than the more active, sport-focused south. Whilst both sides of the Park are dotted with facilities, the eye-catching stadium and aquatics centre in the south instantly attract the eye and thus the attention of the infrequent visitor. Given the location of the Olympic Park's information office and key attractions, it could be argued that this area is aimed at tourism from further afield rather than at the nearest wards of the Park Boroughs (Viehoff, 2015). Yet, the facilities also suggest a need to attract regular visitors from the local area for the continual success of the space. This is in contrast to the more open expansive northern space, which seemingly has been developed for the future local housing infrastructure, offering open outdoor space to residential developments, many of which will not have outdoor spaces. However, current plans for these spaces suggest similar domestic urban dwelling expansion will eventually erode much of the green space.

Figure 9. Two images showing the contrast of the South Park (left) and the North Park (right)

Leisure opportunities in the Park are extensive. The reopened facilities have been adapted and scaled for leisure consumption. The Aquatics Centre, Copper Box Arena, Velodrome and the Hockey and Tennis Centre are all open to the public. Each has been the host of post-Olympic events, whether these were international competitions or local school games. Use of these spaces comes with a one-off cost ranging from £4.50 to use the Olympic pool to £45 to ride the Velodrome road track. There are also membership options available from £30 per month (swim only) or an all-inclusive swim and gym from £45 per month (Greenwich Leisure Limited, 2015). These prices are comparable with other local provision of this nature. Yet, this should be expected given that the same company (Greenwich Leisure Limited, GLL) offers much of this across several East London locations. A third of the Park Borough residents are in social grades DE or part of the (non-)working class (ONS, 2011), suggesting low levels of financial capital. The ability of these marginalised, low income groups to partake in such illustrious facilities is thus perhaps limited—a key aspect to be examined in this study. Whilst the sporting facilities themselves have a financial cost, there are many recreational spaces such as the 'play rooms' that are

freely accessible. It would appear that an element of 'conspicuous consumption' is attractive to the use of post-Olympic facilities (Veblen, 1899).

Figure 10. A variety of permanent and temporary free art installations found in the Olympic Park. a) Run b) Olympic Rings, c) Newton's Cottage, d) London Bus installation, e) RioFoneHack#3, f) 9/11 Memorial

Various permanent and temporary creative art installations and sculptures are spread throughout both the north and south sides of the Park. Perhaps the most notable of these is the ArcelorMittal Orbit designed by the Indian-born artist Anish Kapoor. Designed as an iconic landmark, the 114m tall steel sculpture takes the viewer on a journey from the darkness underneath a giant steel canopy to the light of two interactive viewing platforms. This transformation from the darkness into the bright, varied space above reflects the narratives of East London in the Olympic period.

Whilst the Orbit is the figure head of the art in the Olympic Park, there are several other installations, both permanent and temporary, spread throughout the 560 acres of parkland. These installations of public art should not be viewed as politically or historically neutral but instead should be viewed as both antidotes and provocations to social inclusion in the process of urban regeneration (Sharp, Pollock and Paddison, 2005). Public art developed with local communities can be a vehicle to affirm heritage of local, often disenfranchised groups (Sharp, Pollock and Paddison, 2005; Watt, 2013) but also of the past events held in this space. Whilst there are examples of heritage pieces in the Olympic Park such as *Eton Manor* (Carol Ann Duffy's poem inscribed on three mixed metal sheets in the north of the Park) and mementoes to the IOC, these do not appear to have created a voice (audible, visual or otherwise) that represents the local and often marginalised identities.

It is possible to criticise the Olympic Park as a whole in a similar way as Risebero (1996) critiqued the modernist builds of Canary Wharf. Risebero (1996) suggested that Canary Wharf offers much to the entrepreneur but little to the local community of the Limehouse ward. In comparison, it appears that the Olympic Park offers much to those embedded into the 'Olympic identity' and to the relentless commerciality of the capitalist neoliberalism agenda pursued in the area. Yet, its positioning within boroughs of mass deprivations suggests that for many this is a place alien to them and their lived experiences—both economically and socially. This is not only evident in the material architecture of the Park but also in the immaterial 'ownership' of the Park spaces (see chapters 6 and 7).

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an historic overview of the four Park Boroughs that defines the study area of this thesis. The synopsis has discussed the development of the area from its beginnings as a medieval hamlet and early modern leisure space to the east of London's city walls via periods of industrialisation and deindustrialisation to the recent regeneration of a heavily industrialised space through the mega-event of the London 2012 Olympic Games' main material , the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. At the heart of this examination has been the intention to show that despite the narratives pedalled by policy makers, planners and politicians, areas of East London were "not so much a crowd of individuals – restless, lonely, rootless – as an orderly community based on family and neighbourhood groupings" (Youngs and Wilmott,

1957:7) and inhabited by groups who for several centuries symbiotically produced and reproduced their own diverse identities and ultimately that of East London.

The shifting nature of this multicultural area has been contextualised in light of several catalytic events (industrialisation, de-industrialisation and finally the Olympic Games). The role of this chapter has been to discuss the historical development of the local area in order to contextualise the subsequent empirical analysis. The next chapter conducts a policy analysis and critique of the various legacy documents that have been developed in association with the hosting of the Olympics in London. The picture that these documents paint of the 'othering' of the local area is often in sharp contrast to the vibrant and complex picture of the four Park Boroughs described in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Plans and Policy of Legacy

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the policy documents released during the Olympic cycle—broadly defined here as the period between 2003 and 2012. As identified in the methodology chapter, a considerable number of textual documents were produced in relation to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and its role for Olympic legacy. Yet, these documents tend to be shaped by powerful governance agents (Girginov, 2011). Urban governances tied to mega events are well established in the academic literature (e.g. Poynter and MacRury, 2009; Cashman, 2011) but the formal construction of the process of legacy policy has only recently been discussed explicitly (Girginov, 2011). This chapter follows both the visible and invisible actants drawn from an analysis of 35 documents published by various stakeholders as part of the London 2012 legacy plans. In so doing, it discusses three particular nodes: firstly, the discrepancies/shifting promises; secondly, the voices of East London; and finally, the excluded people and aspects, thereby showcasing the creation of apparent 'facts' from mere opinion. This chapter does not provide a historical mapping of the documents (though there is an aspect of this) but rather traces various actants evoked from theconception to the implementation phases.

Through these planning documents the dominant narratives of the London 2012 Olympics have been created, mainly discussing the transformation of opinion into 'facts' that were eventually blackboxed (Callon, 1984). London's bid established high expectations for the legacy of the Games notably in East London (Stewart and Rayner, 2015). In opening this box of legacy promises, it is possible to contrast the officially created narrative around the actual role of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in these plans. As will be discussed in this chapter, the rhetoric around the development of the Park and the surrounding communities was very different to the outcomes of the post-Olympic development. Therefore, this chapter offers a valuable contribution to the literature by offering a fuller understanding of the opinions that shaped the formation of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the interaction of future transient and permanent populations within this space.

These documents represent a form of pre-inscription (Latour, 1988), i.e. these documents provide the knowledge prior to the scene, in this case the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, by assimilating in the whole range of actants that were to constitute the actor-networks of London 2012's legacy. Latour (1987) has outlined how ANT examines the unpacking of blackboxed statements as a useful method for a better understanding of network-building processes such as hosting the Olympics and creating different legacies rather than merely evaluating the outcomes of such projects. This section therefore unpacks the blackboxed statements surrounding Olympic legacy and the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The task with these documents was to "follow the transformations" that the various actants undertook in policy narratives and the translations of policy analysis into the development of the Park Boroughs and the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (Latour, 1988b).

This chapter is the first analytical chapter of this thesis. It places itself as the first stage of tracing the relevant actants and discourses revolving around what has become the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. These discourses are focused on uncovering the presence (or lack of) immaterial actants within material artefacts that are translated and enrolled by a variety of stakeholders through the development of plans and policy around the spatial developments of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. These policy documents are also of interest due to the ANT approach of studying actor-networks when the networks have broken down or alternatively become controversial (Kerr, 2016). It is suggested throughout this chapter that the idea of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and its component actants in the build-up to the Games have become controversial. Accordingly, I argue that the very essence of legacy seems to, as suggested by previous literature, have been 'broken.' That is to say that the chances of a positive legacy were reduced by the ideas and aspirations of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park due to its controversial nature.

6.2 Discrepancies and Shifting Promises

Plans have often been thought of as remaining elusive, particularly in analysing their efficiency and implementation (Brody and Highfield, 2007). As a result of this inefficiency, plans often are adopted with little attempt to understand the outcomes, particularly within urban area development (Brody and Highfield, 2007). In contrast, the implementation of policy is seemingly effectively understood. This section seeks

to understand the different promises that were made and how these contributed to the construction of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in its current form.

All mega-projects make promises about the catalytic role they will have and are often used to justify the various costs (Poynter, 2009). London 2012 was no different. In contrast to prior Games such as Sydney, London did not appear to take the concept of legacy for granted (Cashman, 2009). This is evident in the multi-scalar and extensive plans and the hundreds of documents produced (Smith, 2014). The construction of legacy in this manner provides a new sphere for policy understanding involving traditional governmental actors (Girginov, 2011). This extended to mediascapes (Appadurai, 1991) who were key for constructing and translating these texts to the wider public.

The involvement of elected governmental bodies and need for governments to provide financial guarantees have made mega events, including the Olympic Games, historically and politically charged projects (see, for example, Walters, 2006; Brown and Huang, 2014; Bolz, 2015). London 2012 was always going to be used as a political tool to reinforce and showcase dominant neo-liberal agendas of the time. The planning and hosting of the London 2012 Olympic Games straddled a change of UK government from the centre-left to a right-of-centre coalition (elected in 1997 and 2010 respectively). The political landscape was complicated during the impact phase of the London 2012 Games because of a similar shift in London's mayoral elections. What follows is an analysis of the five legacy promises tied to developments within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in order to understand the long-term value of planning legacy spaces.

Whilst the legacy promises shifted throughout the Olympic cycle in terms of focus, emphasis and content, these five promises can be summarised as follows:

1.   To transform the UK into a world leading sporting nation;

2.   To advertise the UK as an inclusive and creative place to live, work and play;

3.   To develop the Olympic Park into a model for sustainable development;

4.   To 'inspire a generation';

5.   To transform the heart of East London into a world class district.

(DCMS, 2008)

These headline promises were prominently used throughout the documents offering a lens through which all developments were justified. The promises themselves formed actor-networks consisting of numerous actants that were variously enrolled and unrolled by different interest groups. This is perhaps best highlighted by the removal of the empirical measurement of participation rates from the first of these promises after 2010 due to the Conservative government's adaptations to the Games legacy. This involved removing the stated target of two million more people be more active in the build-up to the Games (Woodhouse, 2010).

6.2.1 Promise one: a sporting triumph

The first promise states that there would be a significant sporting legacy from grassroots to elite sport based on a 'trickle down' effect from the success and inspiration of international superstars (Veal, Toohey and Frawley, 2012; Misener et al., 2015). As legacy has played an increasingly important role in host nation bids, the notion of enhancing physical activity has been a constant aspiration. However, increasing participation through events has been labelled illusive and evidence suggests that this is a complex issue (Girginov and Hills, 2008). *Gameplan,* a publication by the DCMS (2002), supports the notion that the success of mega events and athletes do not have a long-term impact on participation. However, there is the suggestion that those who already partake in physical activity increase their frequency or engage in new leisure activities as a result of being 'inspired' (Ramchandani and Coleman, 2012) The governmental policy around the improvement of physical activity and the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park are suggestive given the remaining facilities from the Games. There was clearly an attempt in the planning for the London Games to offer a "new generation of world-class sports facilities, *serving communities* [emphasis authors own] and elite athletes" (DCMS, 2012, p.26). The planning literature suggests that such plans must be of high quality if they are to be a determinant of implementation (Dalton and Burby, 1994). The idea of serving community sport was a common narrative throughout plans that hoped to promote "sport and healthy living legacy in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park – via community sports participation" (Mayor of London, 2013, p.31).

However, the planning for the provision of how to increase community sports participation was not only increasingly vague, with shifting political participation targets (Woodhouse, 2015), but also the Park Boroughs' leisure needs were seemingly ignored by the shifting plans for the legacy of the sports buildings. In the context of the eventual privatisation of sports facilities and the treatment of the legacy space itself as a quasi-public space, the public consumption by the local community must be considered. In the following paragraphs it is intended to unravel the shifting priorities of privatisation through the emergent London Stadium (formerly the Olympic Stadium). This is the largest material sports legacy of the London 2012, and its reopening in 2016 has been framed by controversy and tensions.

Brown and Massey (2001) suggested in relation to the 2002 Commonwealth Games that if facilities were built correctly, they can exert a positive, localised influence on the community. More broadly, Roult et al. (2014) suggest that proximity to facilities can lead to greater participation which is dependent on spatial appropriation by a mixed community group. In regard to London 2012, the emphasis on sports participation is apparent throughout the multiple policy documents. Perhaps the greatest material shift in the planning process of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park relates to the commercially unviable Olympic Stadium (Stewart and Rayner, 2015). Initially, this stadium was envisoned to provide for a reduced capacity of 25,000 seats, to be the home for both the National Skills Academy and a secondary school with sporting status (DCMS, 2008), and serve as a community space. Instead, the stadium has retained its 60,000 seats to become the domain of an elite football team (West Ham United) and is managed by an events company.

It has been previously noted that sporting spaces have vast significance as sites of memory collections and are key for the formation of identities (Bale and Vertinsky, 2004). The London 2012 memories were meant to inspire but were soon to be replaced by those of musical performances and renewed elite competition, whereas the necessary physical shifts in the iconic architectural structure of the towering floodlights led to increasing financial costs. Originally, the London mayor Ken Livingstone did not want an iconic stadium to be a part of the legacy due to its perception as a burden. However, after the 2007 mayoral election the incumbent right wing mayor Boris Johnson, with his own penchant for iconicity over function,

prioritized prestige and commercial privatisation over the needs of the local community.

These shifts in planning policy throughout the development process clearly impacted on the viability of the promised athletics' legacy (London 2012, 2005). It also led to further expenditure with the construction of an IAAF regulated and community sports facility to meet the track and field legacy stipulation present in this bid book. By studying white elephants, it has been noted that the privatisation of stadia and facilities in the aftermath of mega events has a higher rate of utilisation than those remaining under public care (Alm et al., 2014). Yet, the privatisation of a publicly funded stadium suggests lack of public input and control over use. This has recently been underlined by the further commercialisation of the Olympic Stadium through corporate branding.

Critiqued as state sponsorship (Hearn, 2007), concerns were raised by a House of Lords Select Committee about the potential negatives of two sporting clubs in the local area (West Ham United and Arsenal), particularly in terms of their educational benefits to the community. It would appear that the role of the concessionary club or the anchor tenant will be vital for ensuring a positive legacy from the material infrastructure that they have inherited. This has been undoubtedly complicated by the deals being carried out in the public arena (Gibson, 2016). Whilst community meaning was unenrolled from the stadium's network as a public leisure space, the memories and heritage of the space remain and can recruit local populations. This means that the passing of the legacy torch from a 'public' company in the LLDC to a private entity is a cause for concern around access to heritage and memory for embodying community legacy.

6.2.2 Promise two: an inclusive United Kingdom

The second legacy goal intended to advertise the UK as a creative, inclusive and welcoming place to live, visit and conduct business (DCMS, 2008). In this context, the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park can be considered through the three lenses of business (inclusive of jobs and skills), community development (inclusive of local people) and promotion of the UK (inclusive of visitors from all over the world). The DCMS (2008) itself highlighted that these three lenses of business, community development and promotion of the UK can be regarded as material—in regard to

economic and business growth—, immaterial—in regard topersonal skills and education—and human—in regard to the interactions of local polulations, employees and visitors—outcomes of London 2012. Whilst it is not intended to dwell on the several components of this promise, the distinction between inclusive narratives such as those outlined in this promise and the actual much more exclusive outcomes is important (see Chapter 7).

Minton (2012) and Lindsay (2014) both report on the experiences of The East London Communities Organization (TELCO). This organisation was responsible for the 'The Peoples Promises[1]' drafted in the run-up to the London 2012 Olympic Games with buy-in from organising stakeholders. Similarly, Newman (2007) noted that the early planning process that focused on borough participatory won awards. Having worked closely with development agencies in the run-up to the bid and offering local public support for the Games to be held in East London, TELCO found their voices silenced in the immediate pre-games period. In part this was caused by changes in the management organisation and the need of hosting the Games on time (Armstrong, Hobbs and Lindsay, 2011).

It would appear therefore that beyond the boroughs' planning departments, lip-service was paid to engagement at a grassroots level for the needs of local people in relation to this promise of inclusivity. Paying lip-service to engagement at grassroots level is a common theme within the mega-event literature (Misener, Taks, Chalip and Green, 2015). The role of community voice has been described as the most often cited factor for the 'positive' implementation of future plans (Laurian et al., 2004). Laurien argues that plans are more successful if these have a strong community input into them. What I am therefore trying to suggest is that the London 2012 legacy plans claimed to involve a strong community participation, which could have been an important factor for future success, but in the process, the local community was largely bypassed. As 82% of Londoners supported hosting the Games during the bid process, which indicates strong community support (London 2012, 2003), it can be argued that at the chance of a wider engagement with grassroots stakeholders has been missed (e.g. Lindsay, 2014).

6.2.3 Promise three: a sustainable space?

The third promise of legacy related to the sustainability aspect of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The goal was to create a blueprint for sustainable living, meeting current demands around quality of life but also for future generations. A key sustainability report on London 2012 defined sustainability across five areas – waste, climate change, biodiversity, healthy living and community inclusion (London Candidate City, 2005). This early report, as suggested elsewhere in this thesis, had little relevance by the time the Games took place in 2012.This is evident in the observation that the report's cover image represents a stark contrast to the urbanised legacy currently planned.

The originally envisioned swathes of green parkland space interspersed with venues and community features seem long forgotten in comparison to the commercialised space described in Chapter 4. Whilst green space is not the only indicator of sustainability in urban space, it appears to be a signifier of redressing urban environmental issues (Pincentl and Gearin, 2005) and of particular relevance to quality of life (Chiesura, 2003). The increasingly commercialised nature of the quasi-public space that has been privatised by an assortment of quangos meant a departure from the initial focus on green sustainability. It rather appears that the original desire to create a sustainable example of best practice around inclusion, green practices, biodiversity and healthy living has been replaced by avaricious financial land grab (Crump, 2002). It can also be argued that shifting away from the focus on a sustainable urban space appears to be directly at odds with the intention to increase local convergence between the East and West of London.

Nowhere more so has this been seen than in sustainable and affordable housing provision. The hopes were to create multi-cultural, diverse and socially inclusive communities (Arthurson, 2002), but the percentage of affordable and social housing within the loosely defined boundaries of the Park has been in constant decline. Despite promises of "quality, affordable housing" (UEL, 2010, p. 18), the proportion in the Athletes' Village redevelopment (renamed East Village with its own 'iconic' East London postcode – E20) has been capped at 35% of total development (a figure reflected across the Park's five developments). The breakdown of this figure reflects 30% social housing, 30% rented space and 40% intermediate accomodation (Hone, 2012). Within the athletes' village it was originally advertised that half of the

accommodation would be social housing (ODA, 2011). At present it is only possible to comment on developments within one space of the housing regeneration, but the sense of creating a mixed, vibrant community appears to have been lost. It seems likely that the East Village will set the trend for other 'villages' in the Park (Minton, 2012; Cohen, 2015), and it can therefore be argued that this and similar spaces are more likely to reflect gentrified Highgate (Butler, 2003) rather than local Forest Gate. Thus, the scope for meeting this promise of sustainable urban living, including an inclusive community, appears to have also diminished significantly in the post-Games period.

6.2.4 Promise four: inspiring a generation

Fourthly, the Games were to inspire a generation of young people to take part in local volunteering, culture, and physical activity (DCMS, 2008a). The detail of this promise was removed shortly after this DCMS (2008a) publication to simply read 'inspiring a generation' (DCMS, 2008b). What this promise meant in practice for the organising stakeholders was to encourage local young people to learn new skills, partake in their communities, and to try different activities. Combined with this on a macro scale was the intention to improve the lives of millions of disadvantaged young people. Critically, the removal of detail from the often-cited public headline reveals the 'uncomfortable knowledge' (Flyvbjerg, 2012) that these commitments provided to stakeholders. The measurable targets previously published allowed stakeholders to be held to account for by public and activist groups. Removing them from documents appears to have been an attempt to shift focus onto broader targets with circumstantial evidence.

The discourses around young people were broad. Focusing on the role of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in this initiative narrows this diversity. For instance, it does not explicitly consider the role of the international inspiration programme[1] at the macro scale. Considering separate locations, both proximal and distant to London, research suggests the closer to the initial node young people reside, the greater the

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[1] Arguably, the opening of two higher education campuses within the parks boundaries (UCL East and Loughborough London) is a draw to those internationally inspired students, but it could also be viewed as attracting, due to high financial capital required, a significantly different population group to that intended to benefit from the international Inspiration programmes in twenty selected nations.

impact (Mckintosh et al., 2015). Whilst spaces have been shown to be enacted differently in multiple sites,[2] conditioned not by boundaries but rather lines of activity (Farías, 2010), the international inspiration programme is beyond the scope of the relevance to this thesis (see Chappelet, 2012 for further detail), even if the activities of international visitors will be discussed (Chapter 7). Instead, the focus is on the inspiration of the Park Boroughs' youth populations. As will be shown in the discussion of the fifth and final promise, the urban regeneration aspect of the Olympic legacy promises was concentrated around the East End of London.

The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, as the largest physical space of the post-Olympic period, aimed to provide inspiration of the East End youth generation beyond the Olympic dreams. Whether this was intended in the guise of cultural engagement opportunities, sporting chances, or safe space to enjoy with social networks, the parkland spaces (commercialised or otherwise) offered an opportunity for youth to appropriate a new space. However, the wider literature on youth spaces notes that there are various public perceptions associated with this (e.g. Holloway and Pilmott-Wilson, 2014). The focus on youth had the backing of public opinion before the Games, although for parents, it appeared to be a deterrent to their youth's involvement in more deviant behaviours (DCMS, 2007)—a form of social control. It appears that whilst promising to inspire a generation, more than narratives and intent were necessary to shift wider public opinion. Particularly when narratives of East London, as noted in later sections of this chapter, were inherently negative and portrayed as consuming and factual.

Public support for placing young people at the heart of the Games was high (DCMS, 2008b). The role of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in placing young people at the heart of the Games is not immediately obvious, yet, the Park's cultural[3] activity focus hints at an important role for youth activities both during and post-Games in the space (e.g., the inclusion of an adventure playground). Much of this promise focused on the cultural Olympiad. Guala (2015) notes the role of the Cultural Olympiad as being different in each host city. Barcelona ran a four-year cultural programme tied to urban renewal and destination branding, whilst Turin used mainly existing cultural

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[2] The 'Legacy Rings' conceptual framework developed in Chapter 3 contributes to this notion with its triad of spatiality.

[3] Culture is a poorly defined term offering different things to different people. The term culture is broadly used in this context to encompass museum visits to street theatre, as well as fashion to heritage (DCMS, 2008b).

events under different branding to showcase itself as more than a 'one company' town (Guala, 2015). London chose to use its cultural programme predominantly to benefit young people through engagement with the cultural life of the UK and offer educational programmes (DCMS, 2008b).

The engagement of youth with the space prior to the Games is perhaps the foremost example of differentiated plans and outcomes. Access to the Olympic Park site was allowed in the build-up to the Games by pre-arranged public tours (Sinclair, 2012). Parallel to this, controlled regenerative consumption created various restriction barriers that prevented youth (and adult) exploration, notably through construction fencing (Sinclair, 2012), which heightened securitisation in the local area (Guilianotti et al., 2015). These contradictions are important because the space was already claimed prior to the event by agents with increasing power to enrol wider networks. Attempts were seemingly made to engage local youth communities through schools and focus groups to allow a sense of identity to develop. Yet, as highlighted later in this chapter, when business and industry are discussed, this youth engagement was sought for alternate reasons. Cohen (2011) notes that planners visited schools to hear children's ideas, but these were steered towards engagement with pre-planned ideas, not as a form of grassroots development leading to ownership. As such, the findings of the following chapters that focus on the youth usage of the post-Games space should not be considered a great surprise.

Youth engagement with cultural and other opportunities was also a factor seemingly unconsidered within the documents. A recent publication by Kennelly (2016) considered low-income youth engagement in both London and Vancouver and the difficulties of accessing such opportunities. This extended further into access to employment. The public messages being portrayed through national media, state entities and Olympic promoters and promotional materials were about the vast array of job opportunities open to all (DCMS, 2008). Yet, the reality of this appears to have been starkly different. Jobs associated with construction were often poorly paid (if not voluntary), and focused on fixed-term contracts. It would appear that for the majority the experience of developing skills, experience and identity inspiration as employees in the Olympic Park was not a positive experience (Kennelly, 2016). This development of industry and local youth community job prospects should have seen

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these differentiated interest groups working together, shaping a transformed East London.

6.2.5 Promise five: transforming Stratford

Lastly, the Olympic organisers promised to "transform the heart of East London" (DCMS, 2008, p3). This transformation was to take the form of the space around the planned and managed area known in early plans as the Olympic Park. In the early phase of documentation, there seemed to be a process in place that would allow the successful transition of regenerated space into the surrounding neighbourhoods, thus creating a domino effect of regeneration across East London with the Olympic Park as the jewel in this crown (Robson, Bradford and Deas, 1999).

The planned convergence as an outcome of regeneration was well documented (London Growth Boroughs, 2011). Social aspects were to be just as key as the economic, physical regeneration of the host area. That "within 20 years, the communities which host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games will enjoy the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London" (Host Boroughs, 2009) was an intended outcome and should be applauded. Yet, the links between host borough councils and the organisers of the Games was complicated.

The overall aim for this promise was that an area grown out of its industrial heritage would be rebirthed. The need for this was seemingly broadly supported. Public research conducted across the country suggested a general perception that the Games would predominantly benefit East London and particularly Stratford (DCMS, 2007). Yet, concerns were outlined from prior mega events around displacement of both permanent and local transient populations, as seen in Atlanta amongst other host-cities (Rutheiser, 1996). This related not only to long-term flows as part of gentirfication but also to short-term displacement and raised early questions from academia (Watt, 2013), the national press (Cheyne, 2008) and local communities about London's ability to benefit the local community.

The focus and emphasis on shrinking the poverty gap in East London was stressed in a government meta-evaluation as a boost for creating wealth, supporting healthier lifestyles, and developing successful neighbourhoods (DCMS, 2013). Whilst such politically powerful messages found backing and support from multiple and diverse actants, the underlying planning processesseemed to be disjointed. As noted

previously, the vast networks involved in the planning of the future Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park suggested benefits for all involved, which is a key point to be examined using the visitor survey, the school surveys and the interviews conducted in this study.

6.2.6 Views on plans and policy

Laurian et al. (2004) noted that plans of high quality lead to better implementation. High quality entails an element of constant development and foresight from the diverse actants involved. Yet, the sporadic, temporary nature of the London 2012 legacy plans made legacy planning a complex and ultimately complicated matter. The role of legacy planning documents has been questioned previously by scholars such as Stewart and Rayner who state that plans often provide "uncomfortable knowledge for host cities" (2015, p.1).

Contrasting the disparity between the largest post-Olympic space with the legacy promises suggests that documents produced in the build-up to the Games not only contained ambiguities but were rightly critised as fictional documents (Muller, 2015). Sydney's belated legacy suggests similar evidence with its shifts from a focus on sport and recreational activities to commercial and residential developments after the Games (Cashman, 2007). Despite London being termed as a legacy blueprint by the IOC in 2012 (Smith, 2014), it is difficult to comprehend which aspects of the planning the event organisers were referring to. Documents for mega events should not only be treated with caution, but public adoption of uncritical voices and empirically unfounded justifications voiced prior to the Games, should be questioned. These promises seemed to provide justification for various changes in the planned spaces often at the expense of local communities, whose voices have been removed or been left unheard. In light of these broken promises, the outcomes expected from the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park should be treated with caution. However, London hosted the first Olympic Games that placed legacy at its heart so that this section clearly highlights the need for future events to learn valuable lessons about planning and policy during the effect phase of mega events.

6.3 Voices and silences in East London

Stewart and Rayner (2015) analysed the London 2012 legacy plans to read between the lines about what remained unsaid. Within the various legacy documents, creating

a voice for East London is a common feature. This section considers both the heard and the unheard voices of those within the Park Boroughs. The focus is on two groups—community (i.e. people and their social groups) and local business (i.e small to medium enterprises unable to leverage the Games for their own benefit)—and on their engagement with the legacy policy and plans that directly relate to the area of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The analysis does, however, where appropriate, draw on examples from the wider Park Boroughs area.

Prior to the bid being won, Raco (2004) noted that sustainable success would have to consider a bottom-up involvement of those directly affected by the event. Timms (2015) suggests that initially East London's community actants were constitutively engaged in the Olympic hosting event. This is highlighted in the initial presentation of the IOC questionnaire in 2004, in which a series of sporting performances were put on by "kids from the East End" (Lee, 2006, p. 38). The pre-bid book involvement of Amber Charles, a school girl from Newham, suggested the potential for involvement of the East London community at all phases of the event planning. Yet, suggestions have been made by various local interest groups such as TELCO (Minton, 2012) that community voices were actively surpressed by the more powerful actants within the network. This is further evidenced by local business opposition to the compulsory purchase orders (CPOs) arising from the Games.

6.3.1 The voice of local business

Responses to local business stakeholders from family-run businesses (e.g H Forman and Sons) to national franchises (e.g. Stagecoach) objected to compulsory purchase orders (CPOs) that were inevitably negative towards the contribution of these industries. The standard response followed a rhetoric of a "need for comprehensive regeneration in the Lower Lea Valley and the significant improvement in the economic and environment character of the area that will result from the Olympic and Legacy proposals" (Rose, 2006, p 45). One local entrepreneurial venture served the multi-cultural food, leisure and recreation needs of the local community (and provided seventy jobs) but was displaced to various areas in the run up to the Games (Rose, 2006).

The DCMS (2008b) suggests that 193 businesses were supported in moving from the Olympic Park site, reportedly safeguarding 4,750 jobs. Yet, it is telling that there

are no comments from these business in the planning documents. Evidence suggests that many of these businesses were relocated to business parks in Beckton, Leyton and Enfield. Whilst this relocation should be seen positively, considering the erosion of formerly local business actor-networks further highlights several negativities that were not answered in the planning documents. Neither the before or after documents provide evidence on how many employees remained long-term in the area, the spatial suitability of being relocated to business parks or even whether these industries survived. As suggested in a discussion of profiles of future visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (Chapter 7), this appears to highlight the disregard for local community needs in the development of the future Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park space and its wider environs.

The effects on local employment opportunities appears to have been left out of the planning documents. The voice of these groups could not be found in the multitude of publicly promoted, glossy documents, in which the focus was on the creation of "thousands of new jobs" (London Assembley, 2010, p. 34). The 6,000 jobs created in the building of the Olympic Park saw only 4% of these jobs being given to local, previously unemployed members of the Growth Boroughs (London Assembly 2010). It should be noted that these figures were not routinely published by the ODA or their representatives. Yet, a minority of vocal opponents were able to enrol various forms of capital into their personal actor-networks and leverage the system to create their own legacy[4] (Forman, 2016). It was the majority of voices with concerns that were silenced through this process. These early flows of othering of local business and enterprise translated into future othering of the local communities before, during and after the Games.

6.3.2 The silencing of the local community

Lindsay (2014), who told an ethnographic study of Newham around the Olympic period, has addressed the narratives of exclusion at play prior to the Games. The rhetoric around the public consumption and showcasing of London and particularly East London was as a diverse, multicultural, space ready to welcome the world

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[4] Forman's smoked salmon is considered to be one of the finest in the country with customers including the royal family and high end department store food courts. Forman's products are regularly exported globally.

(DCMS, 2012). Yet, Lindsay (2014) unearthed barriers that saw local communities encouraged to consume the event in much the same way as those internationally – from their own homes (Lindsay, 2014). The suggestion made through population management strategies such as 'Get Ahead of the Games' was that the mobility panic inside the Park Boroughs would need to be managed (Guilianotti et al., 2015). As such local communities were encouraged to 'support' the festival experience by remaining at home. This was re-enforced by the pre-Games exclusion zones created by mobile politics of exclusion and securitisation and led to grafiti messages such as "Everone here hates the Olympics" in the artist community of Fish Island opposite the Olympic Stadium.

The views of community stakeholders were largely found in the voices of activism groups such as TELCO but also more focused groups. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, these groups were written out of the pre-event policy plans and the event itself through the production of these documents (Minton, 2013). A text search identified, however, also unearthed notable exceptions. The Clay's Lane and Carpenters Estates communities, for example,were not mentioned despite perhaps being the most affected local community groups of the Olympics. Their voice was, however, heard through media outlets, even if to little effect (Cheyne, 2008). Dissident to the public joy of hosting the Olympic festival, members spoke about their lived experiences in various public outlets in the build-up to the Games. Media and local protest stands (the E15 group from Carpenters Estate continues to speak out) were the only way in which these views were routinely heard, although the effectiveness of these outlets should be questioned.

Lenskyj's (2000) experience of community resistance with the IOC is relevant here. During conversations with Richard Pound[5] in 1998, Lenskyj has reported comments that resistance groups such as the Bread Not Circuses Coalition[6] were at the bottom of the food chain. Whilst these comments were passed prior to the new foci within the Olympic movement on legacy (see Chapter 3), evidence from local community resistance such as at the Clay's Lane Estate suggests that this position has not shifted. Cheyne (2008) also notes the seeming success at the time of a local community group of gardeners collectively known as 'LifeIsland' who secured the

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[5] Pound was the former vice-president of the IOC (1997-2001) and first president of WADA.
[6] The Bread Not Circuses Coalition were an opposition group to the Toronto 2008 Olympic Games bid.

relocation of allotments in the post-Olympic space. These allotments played a key role for the local community, so much so that Iain Sinclair dedicated his 2011 grand-project critique *Ghost Milk* to the local resource. The seemingly positive outcome saw the previous four and a half acre site being split into two at either end of the Park, creating a divide in the community group and removing yet another local amenity used by the local population[7].

From this experience, it is suggested that whilst those with capital resources were able to shift and create a space for themselves within the LLDC plans, those without such resources were left out (OPLC, 2012). As is highlighted above, these guarantees and promises often meant very little in the long-term formation of the Olympic space. This further removed the voice of local communities in placating them, whilst largely ignoring their views. The focus on community voices appears to have been appropriated to these desires of the Oliympicarchs' needs that reflected what the local population wanted.

Some direct voices of East London are represented in the documents in the form of brief personal snapshots. These are carefully chosen, manipulated positive images such as those from Ray Gipson of the Geezers Club, Tower Hamlets, who was able to visit and tour the Olympic Village prior to its opening (DCMS, 2012, p.5). Yet, this ability is in stark contrast to the tales told to by various youths groups and communities (Watt, 2013; Lindsay, 2014) and vividly explored by Sinclair (2011, p. 65) who pointed out that the Olympic Family have "their expensive tags sprayed on that shiny fence" that seperated the Olympic territory from its sourrounding neighbourhoods—a fence preventing the "encourage[ment] of community and cultural use for years to come" (DCMS, 2008, p. 4).

Of interest here is the use of more spatially diverse spaces to personalise the Olympic legacy. A notable example of this is seen in a post-event document that highlighted various sporting initiatives across the country. Of the seven case-study programmes not one is from East London but rather from the Midlands, the North and as far afield as Uganda (Mayor of London, 2013). Again it is important that Park Borough voices are limited to those working in the construction industry rather than

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[7] This split site access was further weakened in 2014 by an application to Waltham Forest Council to remove the site at the North end of the Park, a decrease in available land of nearly 80%.

embracing the wider Park Boroughs population (Mayor of London, 2013). Empirical research conducted into construction employment within the boroughs, supposedly a highlight for local people, suggests that many of these full employed roles went to outside workers (London Assembly, 2010; Giulianotti et al., 2015).

Personalising the legacy goal is seen most prominently in the 2008 DCMS report *Before, During and After* that laid out the detail of the five promises highlighted above. Four of the promises involve various personal snapshots and methods of public engagement across the country. In contrast, the promise to regenerate East London has neither personal narration about the past nature of the site nor does it have explicit information about how local residents can influence the process. This is of interest to this section because it notably withdraws the East London voice from a document that ultimately played a pivotal role in the future legacy of the Olympic Games.

6.4 Neoliberal translations of opinion to fact

The previous chapter in this thesis outlined the vast diversity and communities present within East London and particularly the four Park Boroughs. It showcased an area often 'othered' and politically seen as ripe for intervention. The land was regarded as a "polluted industrial site and a barrier to urban renewal" (OPLC, 2012, p. 3), which created an image in public opinion that what "was once industrial, contaminated land is being turned into a stunning new urban park in one of Europe's largest regeneration projects" (OPLC, 2012, p3). The creation of this apparent fact is highlighted in several of the responses to the visitor survey reflecting on the history of the Olympic Park site (Chapter 7).

It is relevant here to refer to the work of Latour concerning the power of produced texts and the ways they can be transformed into our consciousness as facts. Drawing on examples of Soviet missile's accuracy and growth hormones, these facts are inserted into other statements with little substantiation other than authoritative figures explaining it as so (Latour, 1987). They become blackboxed (Callon, 1986) by the modalities within which they are constructed. Facts have the ability to either be questioned or accepted dependent on the direction the reader chooses to follow as they are created by a collective belief and process. Kerr (2016) offers a sporting example of the idea of blackboxing in regard to swimsuit development and the rules

associated with it. This is similar to the narrative outlined surrounding the discovery of the DNA double helix (Latour, 1987). They both emphasise that black boxes become factual once they have been well constructed and that the complex actor-networks contributing to this factualisation are overshadowed by this process.

It appears in light of findings highlighted in the following two chapters of this thesis that the stereotyping of East London has been borne out in visitors' opinion of the pre-transformation space. The narrative created about East London was tied to the space being a "centuries-old industrial contamination and blight in the heart of East London" (DCMS, 2010; p11). Yet, what is constantly missing from the documents is that the space was a working district of small and medium-sized enterprises embedded in the local community. As noted above, businesses that were predominantly dealing with industrial provision were a key actant in the local area. By othering this space in wide narratives, ongoing gentrification and festivalisation of the area, a working community was destroyed through displacement.

Opportunities to alter this view of East London among the visiting public were limited. Whilst East London may have hosted the Olympic Games, it was very much the capital city and globally recognised spaces that were at the forefront of global media discourses. Westfield Shopping Centre was the passage point for the large majority of visitors to the Olympics (Minton, 2012). Due to this, the rest of the Park Boroughs and old Stratford were bypassed. This is highlighted by the decision to move the London marathon away from sites in the Park Boroughs in order to advertise the rest of the city (Gibson, 2010). The importance of television media in this actor-network should not be underestimated (Kerr, 2016). It would appear that East London was to be celebrated when it came to bidding for the Games but that the image of the city conveyed to the Olympic family and global audiences was not sanitised enough for organisers. Yet, the marathon was an opportunity to showcase the rich, social history and diversity of East London. By making the decision to relocate the marathon, the organisers were able to reinforce the concept of East London as wasteland but extended the message far beyond the barriers of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park space.

This section of the chapter has attempted "to disbelieve or, so to speak, 'dis-buy' either a machine or a fact …to weaken its case." (Latour, 1987, p. 29). Accordingly, I

have argued that the images of the Park space conveyed to a wider public were of an unused and dilapidated site. Instead, the site should have been considered and celebrated for its diversity. Whilst it cannot be argued that the land was productive and attractive to the global tourist to the same extent as the new spatial redevelopment would be, it did not fully conform to the produced and simplified narratives present in the planning and policy that have been outlined here.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has conducted a form of text and policy analysis in order to compare the various legacy plans for London 2012 with a range of vocies and developments present in the Park Boroughs. Three aspects of these sources have been discussed in relation to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and its localised development. First, this chapter has highlighted how planning and policy documents were imbued with justifications to the public, whilst actually containing very little evidenced-based planning. This is not only true in relation to developments in the Park but also for broader patterns of legacy. Although legacy plans have been a part of Olympic bidding and public engagement for some time, the focus of the IOC on legacy has brought these to greater scholarly attention. By drawing on broad inter-disciplinary debates, it has been possible to understand the wider role of planning, policy and fact-making in the London 2012 bid and associated documents because these discourses have contributed to the creation of a simplified narrative about the pre-Games Park area as a worn down business district in need of urban regeneration.

The findings discussed in this chapter make a substantial contribution to existing knowledge because it discussed how the factualisation of a particular view of the pre-Games area silenced a variety of other opinions and alternative life worlds. Whilst event policy as plans have been studied (for example Coafee, 2013; Muller, 2015), there has yet to be a focus specifically on inclusionary practice and plans for the traditional 'public' spaces that develop after such major regenerative events. The findings of this study support firstly, evidence from both the wider planning literature and legacy policy research by suggesting that poorly executed event planning is inextricably linked to a poor implementation of local community interests, thereby making legacy policy little more than a rhetoric of justification. Through the texts and the messages contained within the London 2012 legacy planning documents, it was

shown that the authors and writers (notably led by political interests) have relied on the willingness of readers to turn their sterotyped blackboxed opinions into fact.

Secondly, it has been highlighted that there were unheard and excluded voice in these policy and planning documents. Whilst it is not new or noteworthy to suggest that communities are excluded and disadvantaged through proccesses such as displacement due to the staging of mega events, a novel contribution here is the suggestion that their voice was explicitly ignored in the narratives of legacy policy. The following two analysis chapters seek to unravel the impact of this on the local community's use of the reopened Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

Finally, the analysis of policy documents has underlined the value of reflecting on legacy promises from a longer-term perspective. Many legacy studies, particularly from host cities, tend to focus on the pre-event impact phase (Preuss, 2007). An EdCom (2007) report for the DCMS, however, reported that legacy planning becomes more sophisticated as knowledge is taken from prior events. London voiced its own claim to be the Legacy Games and established the "legacy vehicles" (London Assembly, 2010; p.13) responsible for this prior to the actual event. As such its plans for post-event spaces were provided in greater detail than in the case of previous events. But the global transference of knowledge was contained within a restricted network of consultant specialists and commonly related to the organisational pre-event phase (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2015). It can thus be argued that further research on legacy would benefit from comparing policy documents produced in the run up to different Olympic Games and notably the legally binding bid books with actual outcomes from a long-term perspective. Analysing these documents to some extent would contribute to the IOC's Agenda 2020 goal to shape the bidding process with an assistance phase (IOC, 2014).

Chapter 7: Profiles and Practices of Park Visitors

This Chapter is separated into two sections: **Section A** which examines **all visitors** to the Park and **Section B** which examines **visitors from the Park Boroughs**

Section A: All visitors

7.1 Introduction

The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is a 560 acre expanse of open space interspersed by waterways, public footpaths, organised facilities and play areas. Given the regeneration of this parkland space in the context of London 2012, visitors to the space have been able to make increasing use of the Park since its multi-phased reopening began in the autumn of 2013. This chapter examines who engaged with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, identifies the various everyday practices of a range of visitors and discusses the experiences and perceptions they developed when using this new post-industrial space of leisure, living and work in East London. Post-Games spaces and facilities are currently poorly understood in the academic literature—particularly in regard to London 2012. This chapter therefore adds a new perspective to a growing body of literature on mega event legacies by studying how people from different places of residence, ages and gender used the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

This chapter is the second of three empirical chapters within this thesis and contains data collected through the longitudinal visitor survey over 16 days in a period of two years. This chapter is split into three main sections. The first section examines the profiles of park visitors and the trends evident in the collection practices. The second section analyses the practices of visitors in the Park and differentiates typical usages by several demographic characteristics. The third section focuses on the practices of visitors from the Park Boroughs, with a focus on how the Park Borough visitors accompanied by under 18 year-olds (hereafter under 18s) use the Park.

7.2 Visitor profiles

By the end of the two-year survey period data had been collected from 628 surveys, involving a total sample of 1,254 participants. Two thirds of the sample were collected during the afternoon and evening periods, with a quarter during the morning and only five percent in the late evening time period. The difference between

weekend and weekday collections was minimal, which can be explained by the data collection days falling equally on weekdays as well as on religious, school and bank holidays to ensure a representative collection sample. As was expected prior to the research, 70% of the surveys were collected during the spring and summer. Visitor numbers were higher during these periods as was the inclination of people to partake in the survey.

The results of the visitor count during the surveying time periods showed that during the course of the day the two sessions, that contributed the majority of the surveys saw the Park most densely populated in terms of the exit count. That is to say there was a correlation between recruitment to participate and Park population. Visitors were most frequent during the morning sessions, while the night-time data collection reflected the private closed nature of the Parks facilities with a significantly less populated space. This may also reflect the nature of the visitor practices being predominantly sport-led activity and the last final data collection of the day falling outside of traditional work out times. At less densely populated time periods it proved difficult to recruit participants to the survey.

Obtaining an accurate visitor count is seen as a difficult task (Cessford and Muhar, 2003). The Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA) has conducted the most comprehensive seen in a large urban park. The results collected here are not as comprehensive as those of Sydney (which employed 19 passive optical sites) nor do they reflect an accurate ability to extrapolate beyond the data collected here. Yet, the visitor survey has many advantages because it collected primary data through direct questioning rather than assumed data from various electronic measures. It also contributes a deeper understanding by exploring the perception and profiles of these visitors rather than only counting them, which has previously been under researched in this area.

Latham (1988) suggests that the representation of group composition is important in order to accurately portray the information gathered in visitor survey. As such the following information is given to allow the contextualisation of groups visiting the Park. The mean group composition was 2.12 visitors. The maximum group size was 17 (all adults) who were part of an educational visit from a university based in East London. Lone visitors accounted for 38% of the total sample. Half of groups were

visiting with families or friends, whilst 25% of groups contained children. A small minority visited the Park with work colleagues. This clearly shows that the majority of visitors to the Park are either individuals or visit with friends and/or family. This figure plays a role in the findings that follow, particularly in relation to sport participation.

In a survey conducted by the Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA) on over 700 visitors it was found that 70% of visitors were regular attendees, indicating that they visited more than once a month. However, the findings of the current research are not reflective of this. For two fifths of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park it was the first time they visited. Adapting similar categories as the SOPA report, 43% of survey respondents would be considered as regular visitors. These differences can perhaps be explained by the relatively new beginnings of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in relation to the data from Sydney (two years compared to four years after the Olympic Games). The population using the Sydney Olympic Park should therefore be viewed as more developed in terms of its identity than that of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. It could be expected that once the initial 'novelty' and newness of London's Park fades that similar findings would emerge, but one could also speculate that the integration of local communities might have been more successful in Sydney than in London.

7.2.1 Birthplace of Visitors

The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is located within the most ethnically diverse part of a multicultural global city. Data from visitors' places of birth reflects this. Figure 11 shows that two thirds of the sample were born in the United Kingdom. No differentiation was made between the four member countries. The second largest group of visitors was born in the European Union and the third largest group in Asia. This reflects the nature of the local area both in regard to UK residents and also visitors to the area. If only the local area is analysed, then the share of UK born respondents is similar to the full sample. However, the EU share decreases, whilst the born in Asia population grows. This could be considered reflective of wider population trends. The current wave of migration into the East End is comprised of migrants from the 2004 EU ascension states (Butler and Hamett, 2011). This group has added to a well-established Bangladeshi community. Over time it may be expected that the population of the Park experiences a growth in visitors from the

new EU states. This offers background data to the following data in light of who uses the Park.

7.2.2 Spatial Location of Respondents

The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is a multi-role space. It is both a community asset and a new 'destination' for wider tourist practices. The survey results encapsulate both of these groups. The response data was predominantly from visitors who resided in the UK (91%). Approximately half this UK based population live within the Park Boroughs with a further third residing within the demarcated boundaries of London[8]. Interestingly, a tenth of respondents live in the housing of the Olympic Park or the new build apartments of Stratford under the new E20 postcode. The remainder of UK visitors come from across the UK including Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Most of them live in the near vicinity of the South East region. International visitors come from wide ranging nations across the globe (Figure 11). Germany and USA are both well represented. Both nations had declared bid cities for the 2024 Olympics and debates were frequent in the national media of these nations. Exploring what happened in the most recent Games may explain why these stand out over other nations. Future and past events contributed here with Australian residents also visiting. Both London as a city and its Olympic heritage appears to have contributed to these figures.

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[8] The limits of London are contested and dependent on varying factors. I outline in the previous chapter how I have defined them in detail but for these purposes London is defined by its council boundaries that inform amongst other things police borders.
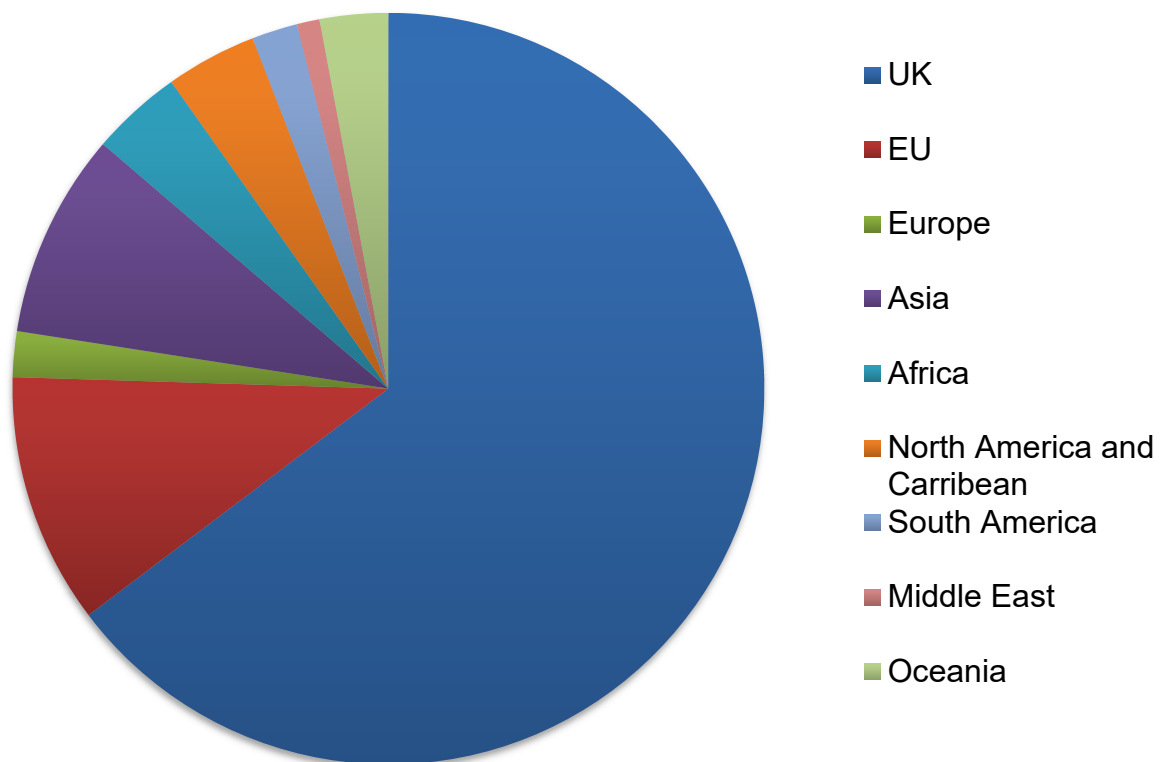
Figure 11. Place of birth of visitors from full sample (%). (n=590)

7.2.3 Gender and Age of Visitors

The number of men and women visiting The Park and the age of the visitors are shown in Figure 12. The Park is visited equally by men and women. The majority of visitors to the Park are over the age of 25 (71%). A fifth of visitors in groups to the Park were under the age of 18. However, it is apparent that the teenage categories (12-16) and those in the NEET age range are not present in the facilities of the area to the same extent as older groups (Figure 13).

It should be noted that due to ethical reasons (as outlined in the Chapter 3), it was not possible to survey those under 18s who visited the Park without a consenting adult. The field diary was particularly useful in this regard allowing for discreet observation of visitor patterns outside of survey responses. Unfortunately, the results identified above are born out in these more personal

reflections as well. Whilst it would be expected that there are youths making use of the Park in much the same way that adults are, this does not appear to be the case. Conversely, the adjacent shopping and entertainment centre, Westfield Stratford City, regularly thrives with youth of all ages and ethnicities. Shopping centres have become increasingly popular to youth groups for various reasons (Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000). The barriers of temporary hoarding that closed off the Olympic space from the community prior to the Games seem to have shifted and been replaced by the glass doors of Westfield.

Age Range of Visitors
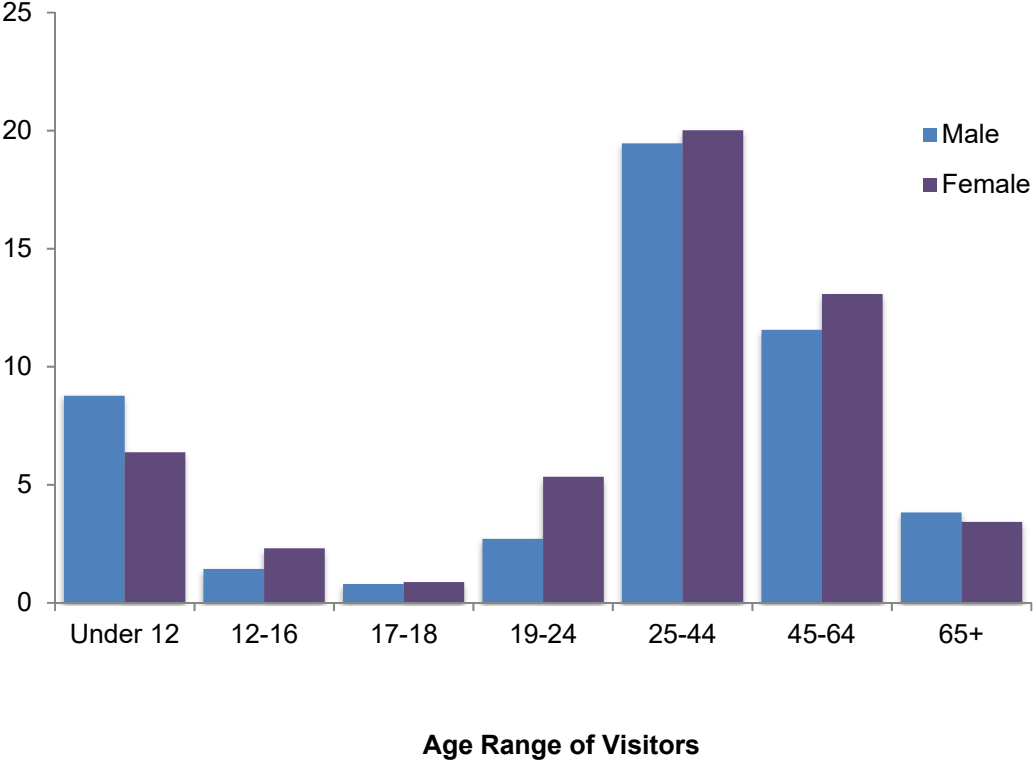
Figure 12. Age range of male and female visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Source: Visitor Survey Data

7.2.4 Typical visitor profiles

Foutz and Stein (2009) highlight the functional importance of knowledge about typical visitors for park and service management. The typical visitor to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is a white middle-aged male or female. They will be visiting the sports facilities and their frequency of use suggests that they have monthly membership to

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one of the leisure centres. This indicates that they have a relatively high level of both social capital and disposable income. They will reside within the Park Boroughs, often within walking distance of the Park or close to a transport link with a direct transport connection, probably by the Underground system. They will not often visit the Park with under 18s and if they do visit with anyone, it will be their partner or friend, and thus resemble very closely the typical affluent gentrifier couples, frequently designated as Double-Income No Kids (DINKs). They typically see the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as a site for sporting consumption and little else— they exercise, change and leave. They often perceive the Park as the outcome of a positive urban regeneration scheme that developed a rundown wasteland area (for further information on this see Chapter 6). This suggests that the political rhetoric around Stratford helped to create new leisure facilities for a population group who would not previously have visited the area (Sinclair, 2011; Weed, 2015). These findings may help Park management to understand how changes to the urban space in the coming time periods could affect what is currently its core usage group. This character placement also suggests what has become the Parks norm during the two years of opening.

7.3 Everyday Practices of Park Populations

This second empirical section of visitor survey results explores the everyday visitor practices. The data presented looks at the primary reason for respondents to attend the Park, but it should be noted that it is possible to partake in more than one activity during one visit. I focus here on the primary reason because this should be considered as the main reason that attracted the visitor to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

7.3.1 Primary Practices of Park Visitors

Visitor practices have been recorded in Table 1. The categories listed in this table reflect the various visiting practices of Park users. These visitor practices can be grouped into five types:

- 'Sporting Activity' relates to visits for sport, active leisure or recreation by the general public, including both formal and informal activity.
- 'See It' refers to those who come to the Park to view changes and explore the Park's post-Olympic development.

- 'Youth-Led' relates to activity where under 18's are at the root of the visit, including going to the playgrounds or playing in the water fountains.
- 'Other Leisure' includes those who come to the Park for cultural events, to follow art trails and to go to events that are of a non-sporting nature such as an urban beach event.
- 'Gardens, Rivers and Planting' relates to visits to see the extensive greenspaces of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, including its diverted and regenerated waterways.
- 'Olympic Heritage' refers to visitors whose primary purpose was to view the facilities post-London 2012 or to relive memories from the event.
- 'Passing Through' includes those who use the Park as part of their mobility to elsewhere—whether this was the nearby shopping centre, the transport hub or one of the Park boroughs.
- 'Other (Misc)' encompasses various other minor aspects of visiting the Park that are not captured by the above themes.

As can be seen in Table 1 (page 145), the findings of this research suggest that the primary reason for visiting the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is sports participation in former Olympic sports facilities. Over a third (37%) of those surveyed reported that participation in sport[9] was their primary reason for visiting the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Predominantly, this involved making use of the adapted Olympic facilities but also included a small percentage of less formalised forms of activity such as group and social running. The London Aquatics Centre was the primary reason for formal paid exercise followed by cycling at the velodrome. That sport participation is the largest category is consistent with findings seen in the Sydney Olympic Park. Cashman (2011) notes that 19% of visitors in 2009 participated in a formal organised sport, second only to watching sports events. It should be expected that this number would be higher if informal activity (running, cycling, walking etc.) were included. The higher figure seen in London can be explained by the location of the Park within a densely populated urban environment in contrast to Sydney's semi-urban positioning.

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[9] Sport here is used as an inclusive term to cover elite, participation and all other forms of physical activity.

The events held in London are still in their infancy because regular large capacity events only started after the two-year period of data collection had ended. In Sydney, this is increasingly a key reason to visit the Park. Sydney Olympic Park attracts large numbers of visitors for its international music and sports events, including V8 Supercars, 2003 Rugby World Cup matches and the Royal Easter Show. The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park does host events like this but these are dominated by sports. A recent 10k Great Morrison run attracted approximately 18,000 runners and around the same number of visitors. The annual Sainsbury's Anniversary Games have been plagued by difficulties associated with the reopening of the stadium. In a similar move like in Sydney, The Stadium was also host to rugby matches during the 2015 Rugby World Cup. With West Ham United, a local top flight English football team has moved into The Stadium. There is clear scope in the future for the practice of watching sports events to overtake that of participation. This promotion of passive participation has the potential to compound the legacy goal of increasing participation amongst a generation and more diverse demographics (DCMS, 2012b). Yet, due the financial costs associated with large events, less affluent demographics will remain excluded from the Park (for more detail, see below).

Whilst the most prominent reason for visiting the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park may be sport-led, there are multiple other reasons for visiting. The Park offers opportunities for further leisure consumption—both paid for and free. A tenth of visitors explained that other leisure reasons were their motivation for being in the Park. These include several activities that require a fee to be paid but also free leisure practices. Comparisons between different mega events sites are complicated not only by the lack of comparable studies but also by the length of the time the Park has been reopened. Such contextual patterns of legacy in different cities need to be considered as an important differentiator in all studies of legacy.

It is possible to partake in the Park facilities for free. There is no incurred entry cost. Multiple entrances to the Park make it easy to access from several directions. There are various playgrounds and informative trails to be explored. A small percentage (6%) of Park visitors travel to make use of the playgrounds and other youth activities. However, without prior knowledge of the Park, access to this information is limited. First time visitor practices (40% of sample) should be influenced by the Park's Information Centre as an informal one-way exchange of knowledge (Foutz and Stein,

2013). Unfortunately, this office is open only for a short period of time every day. Beyond this, information is provided by maps, which could be more present around the Park, and advertisements for events that incur a charge. This has been noted several times by visitors because 40% of respondents felt that the signage and information within the Park was an area that could be improved. This has also been experienced on a personal level during data collection and will be touched on further in the next section on visitors' perceptions.

This emphasis on sport (and to an extent other leisure) can be located within wider debates of shifting consumption patterns in the regenerated post-industrial city. Hiller (2007) notes that the Olympics both contribute and reinforce this trend of leisure consumption. The findings of this study reinforce the conclusions from the Canada Olympic Park (Calgary) that the uses of post-Games facilities are primarily playing a role in supporting the post-industrial turn to leisure consumption by gentrified urban middle classes (Hiller, 2007). This comparison to Calgary (and also to Sydney) highlights to some extent a form of good practice that is being continued and exploited within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, even if this means that because of the associated costs, less affluent strata of the population are excluded from these activities.

Table 1. The primary practice of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park based on their location of residence (row %).

		Sample Size		Sporting Activity	See It	Youth Led	Other Leisure	Gardens, Rivers, & Planting	Olympic Heritage	Passing through	Other (Misc.)
		n	% (column)								
Place of residence	Park Boroughs	255	43	53	9	6	10	2	2	9	8
	London	159	27	31	23	7	13	6	6	4	11
	UK	121	21	26	44	7	12	1	7	1	6
	International	52	9	8	56	6	17	2	4	0	8
Total % (row)		-	100	37	24	6	12	3	5	5	8
Total (n)		587	-	215	156	38	70	16	27	30	49

Source: Questionnaire Survey Data NB. Other leisure is inclusive of shopping, attending cultural events, visiting the ArcelorMittal Orbit, and various other visit purposes which fall into similar themes. Any totals that do not equal 100 are due to rounding effects.

7.3.2 Practices of Sports Tourists

That those visitors from within the local areas most prominently use the sporting facilities is to be expected. However, it is also evident that the facilities of the Park have a wider appeal to sports tourists who wish to use the sporting facilities or see the former Olympic site and its urban structures. I propose terming these two forms of Olympic-led tourism as the 'experience athlete' and the 'Games tourist', respectively. This is particularly applicable to visitors from within the UK. After an initial period of wider interest, Sydney Olympic Park has developed a similar trend in tourism (Cashman, 2011). Australians are increasingly likely to be tourists or 'day trippers' to the site rather than international visitors. Gibson defines sports tourism as having three key aspects; participation, spectating and attraction worship (Gibson, 1998). It is clear then that within this study sample, two of these—the first and the third—have been most prominent in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The third aspect of spectating will surely follow with the increase of larger sports events such as the Athletics World Cup 2017. Overall, the findings of the visitor survey demonstrate that the heritage of hosting an Olympics has clearly been influential in drawing visitors to this corner of East London.

Calgary Olympic Park officials claim an urban location of post-mega event sites encourages tourists to add an extra day to their visit (Hiller, 2007). In Calgary, this space is the remaining landmark explicitly commemorating the hosting of the Games and the continued use of former Olympic facilities in branding and advertising reinforces this. In contrast to these suggestions over a seven-year period, Sydney Olympic Park claimed only approximately 5% international visitors each year (roughly 200,000), suggesting that the former Olympic site is not viewed as a key tourist sight, which might be linked to its less central location (Cashman, 2011). In London, sports tourists seem to combine a visit with viewing remaining Olympic heritage and partaking in further sporting participation as one-off trips that are combined with other activities (often of a sporting nature) in London. This is supported by the following entry into the field diary:

"One noticeable thing is the number of marathon t-shirts being worn by visitors – also regularly mentioned by those questioned. Many seem to have combined the run with a visit to the Park the day after."

Spring Weekday 2015

This suggests that the Olympic Park and the practices of its users are not solely influenced by the on-goings within the Park boundaries but also shaped by events in the wider city.

It is surprising in light of these findings and other research around mega events (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2015) that the 'sights' within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park have been stripped of any formal Olympic branding (with the exception of the Park name itself). This is also disappointing given the fact that the plans for an Olympic museum were shelved early on. Ramshaw (2010) proposes the idea of 'visitors as athletes' within the interactive exhibits of Calgary Hall of Fame's museum setting. It could thus be suggested that the combination of the two concepts—the 'experience athlete' and the 'Games tourist' would be gratefully received within a museum setting. In attempting to remove the heritage of London 2012, the Park appears to be distancing itself from an established source of visitors. If tourism is to be the genuine legacy of London 2012 (Weed, 2015), then these sports tourists should play a vital role in the future success of the Park. The continued participation of these groups should be encouraged within the Park, perhaps by reactivating the idea of an Olympic museum.

7.3.3 The Future of Sport Participation in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park

The London 2012 Olympics aimed to be an event that would 'inspire a generation' and address falling sports participation rates (DCMS, 2012b). The findings above suggest that to an extent, for a small percentage of the population, this may have been achieved. However, at present the practices in relation to wider sport behaviours should be a cause for concern (Sport England, 2015). Placing the results from the visitor survey into the wider context of 'future inspiration', the question emerges whether there is a reason to be positive?

Figure 13 shows that there has been a growth in percentage of sport participation over the eighteen-month period of the visitor survey. With the exception of Winter

Weekday 2014, which preceded the opening of the swimming pool and velodrome, the daily usage of Park facilities is constant at around a two fifth share of Park visits. The deviations seen can be explained not as outliers but rather as expected results given the days on which they were collected.
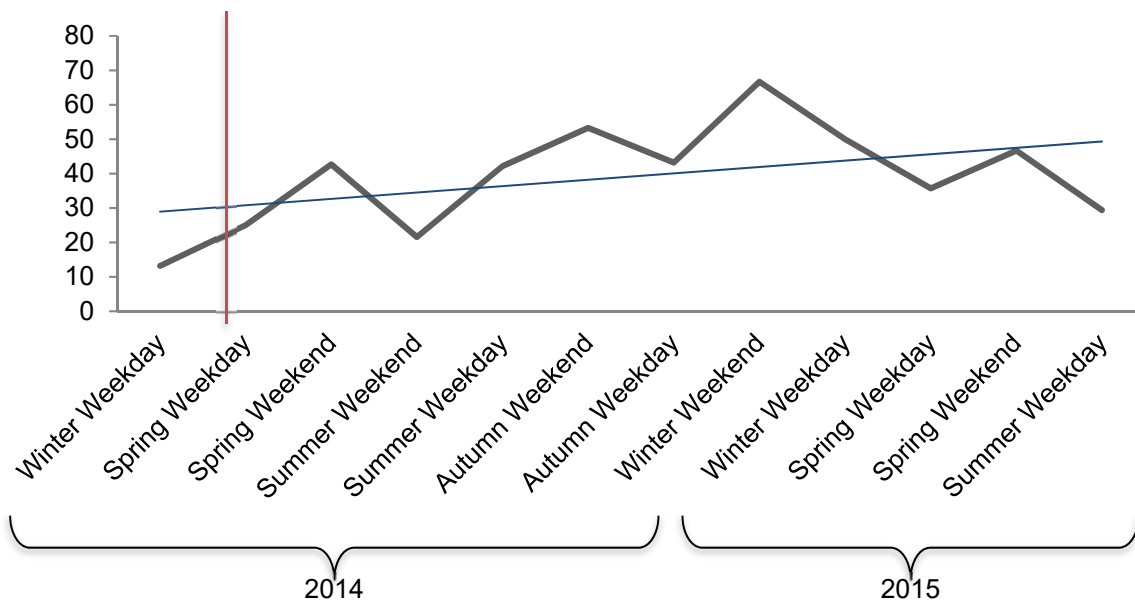
Figure 13. Percentage of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park whose primary purpose is to visit for sport participation (n = 590). The red line indicates the opening period of the London Aquatics Centre. $r^2 = 0.2$

Similar research conducted on the Sydney Olympic Park suggests that growth in sport participation should be expected (Cashman, 2011). Given the eighteen-month period in contrast to the seven years of Sydney's impact phase (and the differing contextual background), it is not expected that the growth seen in sports participation, at least in relative terms, will be replicated in London. A correlation analysis show that there is no significant influence on the length of opening on the growth in sport participation. However, it could be suggested that once the new neighbourhoods of the Park are completed, then there will be growth proportional to this population increase (because these new housing developments cater for people who will be able to afford the sports activities on offer in the Park). This would reflect similar affects seen in Sydney in regard to urban growth in the surrounding

Homebush Bay area, and reflect a new phase of gentrification in East London that will in part occur at the expense of the artist community in East London.

7.3.4 Factors influencing Everyday Practices

Whilst these everyday practices represent the Park's usual nature, periodical and one-off events do impact on the visitor practices in the Park. In some cases, this is to be expected because of an increase of visits to make use of temporary attractions/and one-off occasions. As outlined above, these vary in size and type. They are not restricted to sports. What is interesting is the effect that certain events appear to have on the visits of ethnic groups (Table 2). The greatest changes can be seen in the two Spring weekdays (Eid al Adha and Passover, and an Inspiring Futures event, respectively) and the urban beach event held in the Summer of 2015.

This temporary change in the Park visitor composition was most prominently seen during the 2015 summer data collections. An urban beach event was held before, during and after the school holidays. Schools visited the Park with pupils during the last week of term[10], for events run at the urban beach. Sports organisations were present during this time, hosting events for school-age children, which appears to have had a positive influence on the practices of this group. The field diary suggests that these were dominantly groups of children at primary school age. However, further observations suggest that during the late afternoon and early evenings, this space is frequented by groups of youths socialising in the beach seating. According to my observation of exit motilities, these youth were mostly not accompanied by older family members. It appears from this that the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is a draw for teenagers but that these must feel able to identify and 'claim' a space for themselves. This 'free' space appears not be associated with any 'other' group and thus is 'claimed' by youths.

This observation does bring other issues with it. During the course of one survey interview, a white female commented that there were too many groups of teenagers in the Park and that they were putting her off using the space. These intergenerational tensions are common in both urban neighbourhoods (Elsley, 2004) and rural areas (Meek, 2008) Youth presence is seen as increasingly unwelcome in certain spaces, in which they would have been welcomed previously, such as public

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[10] For London schools, this coincided with the first week of summer holidays for much of the rest of the UK.

parks (Freeman and Tranter, 2011). That youths inhabit a space that had previously been dominated by one population is a source of pressure. In a wider context, youths partaking in formal activities such as Street Games are still seen as partaking in anti-social behaviour (Davidson, 2007). Whilst this has not yet been seen in the Park[11], the threat to the homogenous commodified experiences of the majority is very much felt. The 'normality' of the everyday Park space is being infrequently challenged by groups of the population that otherwise are not present in the Park, and this is causing anxiety within this predominantly white adult space (Valentine, 1996). This raises questions about the 'public' nature of the Park in the future beyond the previously discussed problematic of the commercialised semi-public space. It could thus be argued that the Park may become 'privatised' by these groups through their own behaviours.

Whilst plans for the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park are continually changing (see Chapter 6[12]), the current documents do not necessarily reflect the needs of these temporary populations. With spaces being protected both by visitors and Park management, these temporary populations will continue to be infrequent but it could be argued that the new temporary attractions have brought new audiences to the Park. These findings thus help to understand how the identity of a space should not be seen as stationary but rather as constantly evolving, or as Massey put it succinctly, as "always in the becoming" (Hettner Lecture book, Massey 1999). Temporary events play a role in this development and should provide case study examples to inform future practice for more inclusionary measures within those evolving regenerated mega event sites.

In summary, this section has discussed the primary practices of visitors in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. It has reviewed the principal findings of the visitor survey. Throughout this section, I have made the argument that the predominant behaviours of visitors are grounded in sport recreation in the form of both partaking and observing. The role that sport will play in the legacy of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is clear to see. This evidence suggests that continued adaptation of the Park facilities will be required. This section has also shown that events of different natures impact in profound ways upon the profiles and practices of visitors. Given that

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[11] That is not to say that anti-social behavior does not occur in the Park but that it appears to be a rare occurrence.
[12] Chapter 6 looks at 'Plans and Perceptions of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park'.

populations are currently excluded from the Park, this finding possibly shows that there is much to be done by Park management to encourage a wider range of visitor practices. These findings not only contribute to our understanding of how post-Olympic spaces are used in the immediate aftermath of the mega event but also evidence the differences seen across different spatial scales – the micro, meso and macro levels. It is the local population who have been impacted upon to the greatest extent by the creation of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, which is the group that this thesis now turns to.

Table 2. Representation of ethnicity percentage of research sample over the data collection period (column %)

	Total Sample	x̄ % of Collections	2014								2015			
			Winter Weekday	Spring Weekday	Spring Weekend	Summer Weekend	Summer Weekday	Autumn Weekend	Autumn Weekday	Winter Weekend	Winter Weekday	Spring Weekday	Spring Weekend	Summer Weekday
White	75	74	71	79	80	74	72	76	82	56	83	67	83	63
Asian	12	11	13	13	13	13	11	7	14	11	0	14	13	14
Black	4	5	5	2	1	5	5	7	2	11	8	7	0	6
Mixed	7	7	11	6	4	7	11	7	0	11	6	7	0	16
Other	2	3	0	0	1	2	2	4	2	11	3	5	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	99	101	101	101	100	100	100	100	99	101

Source: Visitor Survey Data NB. Total percentages do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Section B: Visitors from the Park Boroughs

7.4 A Focus on the Park Boroughs

This final section of this first results chapter turns the attention to the survey respondents from the local area. This focus on a small, densely populated area is informed by the belief that those affected by regeneration projects to the greatest extent are those in the immediate vicinity. The Park Boroughs comprised two fifths of respondents interviewed in the full sample (n=255).

7.4.1 Practices of visitors from the Park Boroughs

The primary practice of the local population is to use the Park for sporting recreation (Table 1). Over half of those surveyed suggested this was the main reason why they used the Park. It appears from these findings and those above that the sport facilities have become a key aspect of the urban regeneration project.

Interestingly, given the proximity to this population, it appears that the idea of Olympic heritage is swiftly being forgotten. Only three percent of visitors came to experience the remnants of the Games. A greater percentage of visitors used the Park as shortcut or a means of mobility than those that visited to 'relive London 2012'. The heritage of Olympic sites as evoked by representations, memories and meaning appears to be swiftly forgotten in the aftermath of Games by local populations. This is not surprising given that for many users gaining access to the events was fraught with difficulties and little success (Giulianotti et al., 2015). It cannot be expected that the 'trickle down' effect can transpire when the majority of the local population had negative views of the Games initially.

7.4.2 Ethnic Background of Park Borough Visitors

Table 3 shows how visitor practices relate to the Park Boroughs' populations' ethnic backgrounds when compared to recent census data. What can be seen is that the overall sample population actually over-represents minority ethnic groups. On a UK wide basis, it is proposed that this is a positive aspect to emerge from this research. In contrast, there are concerns within the local Park Boroughs' populations. The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is located in one of the most ethnically diverse areas of not only London but the UK (ONS, 2011). The overrepresentation of white ethnic respondents (25% higher than expected) occurs unfortunately at the expense of

those from Asian and Black ethnicities. These two groups form almost half of the total population of the Park Boroughs. Yet, they account for only a fifth of the sample data.

It appears that whilst the Park was intended to regenerate East London, it was aimed at a selective fragment of this community. Whilst there are pockets of Black and Asian Minority Ethnicities' (BAME) usage, they are few and far between. This contrasts with anecdotal findings of Park community use in Sydney (Cashman, 2011). This suggests that there is a significant multicultural presence in the Parkland area (a less formal greened space which accounts for roughly two thirds of total space). This is not currently experienced in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Cashman (2011) notes that these minority ethnic groups often claim territory within the picnic and BBQ spaces provided. These types of spaces are not provided in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park nor does there appear to be future provision for them. This adds to the growing concerns that the Park has been developed as a site of consumption (and now seemingly extends beyond sport to nutritional consumption) aimed at those with spare disposable income.

Table 3. Ethnicity of Park visitors (%)

	UK Census (2011)	Visitor Survey Sample (n=535)	Park Borough Census Data (2011)	Park Boroughs Visitor Survey (n=255)
White	85	76	44	69
Asian	8	12	30	16
Black	3	4	17	5
Mixed	2	7	5	6
Other	1	2	4	4

Source: Visitor survey data and ONS (2011).
NB. Total percentage may not equal 100% due to rounding.

It should be noted that whilst this area is ethnically diverse, it is also the 'entry point' for many migrants. Currently this migration originates predominantly from 2004 ascension states within the EU. Would this explain the high levels of white ethnicity in the Park Boroughs' sample? Further analysis suggests not. Findings from the

place of birth of respondents finds that the UK is the birthplace of three quarters of the white population based in the Park Boroughs (n= 176). However, the Park appears to be immune to these shifts with EU-born respondents comprising 14% of this specific sample. It appears then that not only the Park resembles a 'white space' but also an overwhelmingly British space. This bears hallmarks of the wider on-going gentrification processes in East London.

7.4.3 Social Exclusion and Sport

Similar trends from the social exclusion literature appear to be replicating themselves in the sporting participation in the Park. Most notably, 80% of the sample that used the sport-based facilities were of a white background. Observation of this group of users suggests that they have high individual social capital (Bourdieu, 1985). This is reflected in the financial capital required to partake in the Park. As noted in Chapter 4, all of the leisure facilities incur a financial expense to entry[13]. The disparity in usage of facilities could be explained by the widening poverty gap. Davidson (2007) notes that whilst parents in Newham and Hackney enjoy partaking in sport with their children, financial barriers restrict this. Some criticism of the Olympic Movement has characterised this as a middle class event, and it would appear that these criticisms are being carried through into the legacy of the Games' physical environment.

Middle class consumers are portrayed in the build up to events as representing the rest of the city (Whannel and Horne, 2011). Conversely, these middle class groups are not synonymous with the capital (social, financial and otherwise) of the rest of the Park population. The claim that this group have made to this territory is detrimental to the potential community feeling and representation within the Park. These findings (worryingly) support the realised fears around the Atlanta 1996 Games. Rutheiser (1996) states that enhanced community cohesion and participation is not among the (pre or post) legacy benefits for local citizens. The disappointing results previously mentioned of a normality already formed are not just dependent on age and race but also formed around class. The class and community divisions are continually downplayed and ignored by Park management as will be explored in the following chapter.

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[13] Adult prices range from £4.50 to £45 dependent on activity and location. Monthly memberships begin at £30.

These findings reflect wider debates on gentrification in East London. Rustin (1996) stated that 20 years earlier, there was an increasing white middle class population in the area. These gentrifying practices are not only evident in the leisure practices but also developments in wider society, including educational choices (Butler, Hamnett and Ramsden, 2013) and housing (Hamnett, 2003). What Rustin (1996) described as an increasing problem is now a sense of normality within East London. The Park has become a frontier of this urban movement in similar vein to the other grand regeneration project of East London—the Docklands (Sinclair, 2011). It is increasingly difficult to refute the argument developed throughout this study that the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park has revived social tensions. Palmer (2000) labels these a sharp contrast in population fortunes. There is a widening sense of on-going neoliberalisation of public spaces, which is most evident in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the exclusion of certain demographics from participation in both costly and free leisure activities because of both economic and ethnographic barriers for entering and engaging with the Park.

In summary, this section has looked at two issues seen within the Park Borough population as well as the dominant practices of the areas visitors. These findings suggest that the wider trends of East London gentrification are being replicated in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. It is clear from the discussed findings that the wider population of the Park is lacking ethnic diversity and intergenerational tensions are prominent. However, of the small sample of groups with under 18s, who visit the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park from the Park Boroughs, what do we know about their practices?

7.4.4 Park Borough Visitor Practices with Under 18s

This small population group containing youths from the Park Boroughs (n=54, 21% of Park Boroughs) have interesting practices. They differ from the wider sample with a fifth of visitors coming to use the playground service spaces. Interestingly, a small percentage (15%) comes to see it. A sense of experiencing the regenerated space is apparent. However, sport participation does still dominate with a third giving this as their reason.

As seen in Figure 4 below, there is still a specific groups which visit the Park. Females aged 25 – 44 dominate the figures visiting with under 12s. In fact the under

12 category accounts for almost half of the population in this sample. Of all youths who visit the Park 88% of them are children. It is clear from this that the 'play rooms' and service spaces that have been provided at little or no cost are predominantly aimed at this age range. I propose the reason for this is the continued control over local public space. Control is exercised not only by security personnel but also by what is missing. Children are brought to the Park and supervised by older parents. Youth have no need to come to the Park because it offers them no space appropriate space to inhabit. This contributes to wider neoliberal ideological commentary about service spaces being kept free of 'trouble' making children (White, 1996).

In research prior to the London 2012 Games, Watt (2013) revealed the anxieties of local young groups in the build-up to the Games. He states that the youth population felt that the spaces of the post-Olympics were not for them. It appears that these feelings have translated into the aftermath of the Games. This quantitative data is supported by several sections of the observation based field diary. Most notably and offering something towards an explanation of why this might be is the following extract:

> *1746: 3 Park security/police officers have stopped 8 Asian looking youths (approx. 14-16 though certainly under 18) as they walked into the Park. Reasons unknown and too far away to hear the conversation. All are being patted down though. Drugs? Weapons?*
>
> Field Note Diary (Autumn Weekend, 2014).

No further action was taken against this group I suggest that this was part of the increased securitisation seen around the Olympic city (Fussey et al., 2012). Giulianotti et al., (2014) note that this was a common occurrence in the build-up to the Olympics. These discriminatory practices focused on groups of ethnic minority youth. Unfortunately it appears that this heavy-handed approach to young people has been continued post Games. Iain Sinclair (2011) in his wandering missive of the Games, *Ghost Milk,* describes a space that prior to the Games had become a no go area for both youth and adults alike.
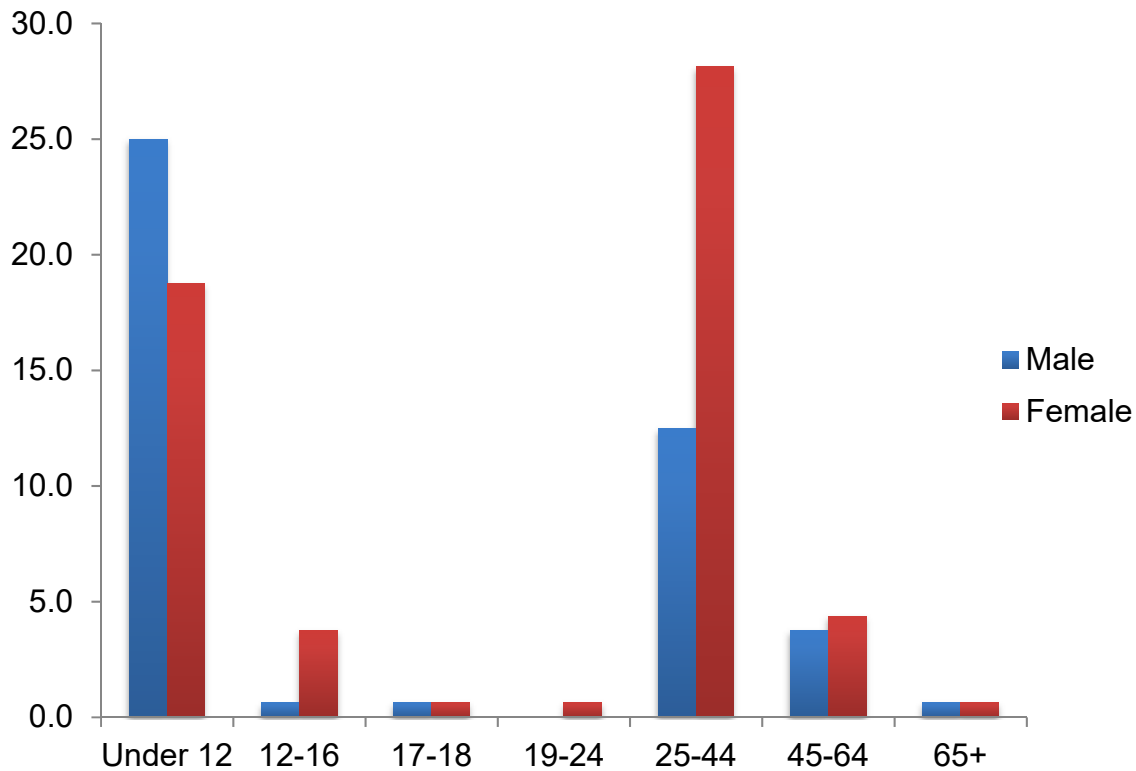
Figure 14. Age Dispersal of Park Borough Visitors with Under 18s (%).

It is apparent this has continued into this new 'public' space aimed at seemingly unwanted groups of youths. It is telling that only a quarter of all survey groups contained under 18s and predominantly as can be seen these were under 12s.

7.5 Conclusion

The main outcomes of the visitor survey and subsequent visitor practices have been explored in this chapter with a focus on the Park Boroughs and the youth aspect of the sample population. These findings have been discussed by drawing upon previous literature around post- Olympic venues (notably Sydney Olympic Park) and other Olympic cities.

The findings within this empirical section have shown the need to understand why local youth (both male and female) between the ages of 12 and 18 do not frequent the Park. This is particularly relevant in light of the ethnically diverse population which have also been closed off from the Park. What becomes clear when we consider the literature conducted prior to and during the Games is that the period of

effect should be considered equally important as the 'legacy' focus which is currently seen.

The findings displayed here contribute to wider debates around post-industrial leisure space regeneration usage particularly given the role of mega events to regenerate former industrial areas. Particularly, the findings here reflect the wider debates on gentrification of public space but also tensions that arise in these areas. On a more focused aspect, these findings contribute to the literature surrounding post-event legacies. As the first focused primary data based longitudinal study of post-Games visitor practices and the spaces, this research makes a concerted effort to further our knowledge of how these spaces are used by the public. Whilst Cashman (2011) identifies the key aspects of what people do in the Sydney Olympic Park, his research is part of a much broader investigation and practices and behaviours form a small aspect. This negates the ability to unravel differences in gender, age and ethnicity. As shown here these details perform a pivotal role in our ability to unravel the impacts of the Olympics at various spatial levels.

The following chapter, The Park Impact on Local Youth, attempts to address some of the issues raised in this chapter. This is done through an examination of how the Park is perceived using results from the second section of the visitor survey, from the postal survey sent to the 89 schools of the Park Boroughs and from the interviews with stakeholders.

Chapter 8: The Park Impact on Local Youth

The previous two empirically based chapters have highlighted two precluding factors which have led to the development of the findings presented here. Firstly, how youth groups were targeted as primary beneficiaries of the long-term legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games and secondly, that spatial development within the Olympic Park would in turn be a part of this youth focused legacy. This chapter seeks to explore and unravel the concerning findings of chapter 7, namely the lack of youth representation and participation within the 560 acre space.

It seeks to do this, by discussing the results of the semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders including community leaders (a religious leader, a local school community officer) and a former LOCOG Youth Panel member and secondary education providers via the postal survey sent to schools where headteachers or senior management group staff and physical education department staff completed open-ended questions, although as explained in the methods section this analysis is limited by a poor response rate. These questions covered the following broad topics:

- The engagement of the School and PE department with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and whether or not there had been any encouragement to engage
- Any impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on pupils in terms of physical activity or sporting habits or academic attainment or any other impact
- Perceptions on whether or not best use is being made of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park for the local youth community of the School
- Desires for future engagement with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park for the benefit of pupils
- Any other comments relating on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the pupils of the School

The previous chapter uncovered that whilst primary school aged youths were under represented against local census data the most concerning trend evident was the under-representation of 13-18 year olds. As such, whilst younger groups are mentioned here the focus is on secondary school aged youth. A temporal approach

is taken seeking to understand how these participants viewed the role of youth as an actor within the legacy network. This continues to use the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 3 and such explores the effect and impact on youth - as dynamic hybrids within this networked space.

8.1 The voice of youth: a misheard view or a misrepresented body?

Previously highlighted in Chapter Six was the role that youth were to play in the effect, impact and legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games. As such it is imperative to explore how they were viewed and treated in the run up to the Games around the planning for the regeneration of their area. The treatment of the youth voice as 'confirmers' rather than 'activators' has been established previously in Chapter 6. Through the questioning routes to stakeholders, it became increasingly apparent that this was not isolated, anecdotal incident of misrepresenting the youth voice. Pre-ordained decision making and ad-hoc feedback seeking confirmation reflect the nature of event planning. Hearing local voices, particularly youth voices, during the planning process for mega events has been relatively neglected.

The formalisation of committees to ensure local voice is heard is portrayed as vital by organising committees and multi-national corporations. Yet, the ability for these to be appropriated is clear. Contributors to this study shared contrasting views about the role these boards had. The lack of transparency with youth volunteers feeling they were "hidden away" (Interview 3, Former LOCOG Youth Panel Member) was clearly a source of frustration for volunteers. This suggests that the role of such groups is muted. Conversely, this also suggests that the dynamic hybrids in this aspect of the study possibly took on a more subserviant but confirmatory role, supporting more established and influential voices. This suggestion is supported by the finding that interviewees often noted that they did not feel they were a voice to advocate for change but rather to confirm preordained ideas.

"I think we were often used as a sounding board for ideas, which was helpful and which was good but the extent to which we actually got to express our own views about whatever to do with Olympics, we were somewhat muted"

Interview 3, Former LOCOG Youth Panel Member

This finding adds weight to earlier reported trends within mega event legacy planning whereby key potentially supporting voices are quashed in support of pre-existing established practices (Watts, 2013).

This is contrasted in the views of a local school community officer who felt that the voice in the Park Boroughs was well-received and seemingly still playing an important role in the regeneration of the area. They suggested that there:

"was a lot of consultation with young people, there was a youth panel set up which was a whole bunch of schools which is still active to this day, from the local area all nominated somebody to be on that" (Interview 2, Local School Community Officer)

This suggests that active participation of local communities and young people continues to be seen as important, during the post-Games period of the Park at least to some extent. Yet, the distinct lack of mention of these groups by other face-to-face interviewees or school survey respondents provides evidence for the disengagement of such focused entities at a corporate level.

One consistent finding across the three interviewees who discussed their contribution to committees to reflect youth voice, either before or following the Games, related to the role they felt they had played to ensure accommodation was at the forefront of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park development. This is highlighted through the former LOCOG Youth Panel member noting how the committee discussion focused on the legacy for youth concerning future housing projects which would be:

"physically open for young people, it would help regenerate the area. We were under the impression that the accommodation blocks would be converted… that would be designated to young people in the area so they didn't have to move out of the boroughs" (Interview 3, Former LOCOG Youth Panel member)

"we'd had erm a consultation period ourselves and we had come up with the one thing that we thought would have the most impact on our students' achievement and that was better housing. That was the feeling that post Games that would be the big thing that they could get out of it. (Interview 1, Religious Leader)

The East London desire for spatial proximity is historically relevant and documented (Young and Wilmott, 1967). So, whilst housing is clearly of benefit to the local community of youth with fears over future residency in the area, this thesis does not consider extensively the role of housing in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in detail as this has been laregely covered elsewhere (Cohen, 2012; Bernstock, 2014).

The key finding so far is that whilst clearly those interviewed were involved in the committee structures and youth engagement in the local area, the appropriate voice and representation was doubted by them within these structures as suggested by the former LOCOG Youth Panel Member:

"…they give them pretend power. So you know, she says I meet Claire from Get Living London once a month and we discuss things. Yeahhh, what they giving you? Nothing" (Interview 2, Local School Community Officer)

This doubt extended not only to the representation of the youth of the Park Boroughs, but also to the representation of young people from the wider UK geographical spacing with comment about the lack of voice from Scotland and the north of England. Worryingly, this is further extenuated by one interviewee reporting that representation seemed to be rather a cosmetic exercise stating:

 "disabled people, we had ethnic, it was almost like a box ticking exercise"

(Interview 3, Former LOCOG Youth Panel Member).

This suggests that the voice and views were corralled into specific areas desired by the organising committees to control narratives. This is supported by recent evidence which suggests that the human rights of local youth populations are not only forgotten in the aftermath of mega events, but little consideration is given to their experience (Dowse, Powell and Weed, 2017).

Perhaps most disappointingly for these leveraging styled plans such as pre- and post-event committees is the lack of foresight in the planning for the embedding of committees, or committee members into future on-going structures or organisations. It is clearly acknowledged the distinct roles of planning organisations (LOCOG) and legacy organisations (LLDC). Yet post-event, committees were disbanded with no clear pathway for handover or knowledge transfer.

"we didn't have chance to feed that back [views on the Games] and they said that there would be the facility to do so but that never happened like I say I wrote a report that was meant to go to those high up in LOCOG and I don't know whether it ever did" (Interview 3, Former LOCOG Youth Panel Member)

Thus in summary in the pre-Games period youth voice appeared to be largely muted or hidden and focused on housing developments, whereas post-Games the mechanisms were not in place for a continued contribution from local or wider geographical area youth voice.

8.2 The Olympic phase: an future proofed effect

This section focuses on the perceived reasons for youth visitors to continue engagement with a spatial entity that has already been shown to exclude them. It does this through seeking to understand the role that the Olympic Games themselves had on youth.

The Games themselves were perceived to be a great success in providing positive role models and in engaging the local youth. A local religious school-based leader explained how they had pupils:

"whose only role models were Somali pirates and they would talk about that, but then you've got, you know, Mo Farah steaming down and, you know, it was fantastic we've got a huge number of tickets to the Games as a school and we took students to all of those events and I think that, the thing that had the biggest impact on me was this was 2 years into a project I thought would take 6 months to happen and it was probably the turning point showing students that if you have aspirations really amazing things can happen" (Interview 1, Religious Leader)

"because they were part of this amazing global event and all really engaged and understood it. And their participation for such a diverse community was to support Britain and what it was to be British and how our community can come together."

(Interview 1 Religious Leader)

Unfortunately though, as explained in chapter 7, young people were under-represented post-event in the Park. Possibly the potential for continued engagement

is there because of the powerful impact of the Games themselves during the event, but this potential is not yet being realised.

8.3 A legacy of despair or a step in the right direction?

Whilst Chapter 4 acknowledges the issues of attributing views to youth, these stakeholders are at least well placed to offer informed views. Youth groups have already been established as missing from the Park and therefore missing out on the time available to them to create memories and make Park spaces their own.

8.3.1 The role of social and financial capital in facilitating or inhibiting youth engagement in the Park

Some School Senior Management Team members outlined the role they have, through their own social capital, in maintaining and developing relationships with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the LLDC. Unfortunately though this meant that pupil access to the Park depended on the knowledge and inclination of school staff. Furthermore, despite positive impressions and a forward thinking outlook from themselves and their schools, particular criticisms were focused on the cost of access to the Park facilities. On respondent stated that there is a need to:

"Increase use of sports facilities – even as taster sessions – at reasonable prices (some prices are too expensive for our community)" (Senior Management Team Member, Girls' School)

"… during school time financial implications, H+S [health and safety] all play a role in prohibiting the access that I would like us to have" (Senior Management Team Member, Newham Borough School)

Lack of engagement by schools in a variety of factors (e.g. sports, cultural and educational activities) was deemed to be largely the fault of the LLDC and organising committees. Seeking out ways to be involved with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park facilities was left to largely to school staff and there was a limit to what could be achieved.

8.3.2 Spatial restrictions to access

Spatial factors including distance from the Park and routes to the Park limited access for some young people. The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park was designed as a local

resource for the local community. Establishing the boundaries of this local community have already been established in Chapter 5. Yet, the layout and access routes to the Park were suggested by several respondents to be a reason for lack of engagement by schools and, by extension, local youth.

"*The location of the Park is just a little to [sp] far away to have an impact on curriculum time – travel to [sp] and from the venue can take approx. 40 mins at times.*" *(Head of PE, Girls' School)*

It is notable here that not only do those schools further afield from the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park feel they are restricted in their use schools which are closer in proximity to the Park feel similarly restricted. This suggests that whilst the desire for further engagement is apparent from school staff it is difficult to achieve. This is seemed to be largely down the spatial spread and connectivity of the facilities.

"Waltham Forest isn't really on the Park…actually at the moment, Hackney and Tower Hamlets have very little impact". (Interview 2, Local School Community Officer)

8.3.3 Perceived use of space
Community leaders perceived the use of space in the Park to be targeted more at tourists and visitors from afar rather than at the local population. As the former LOCOG Youth Panel Member and Local School Community Officer reported:

"I think it's more aimed towards tourists and the occasional visitors that come down for the big events it might host. Yeah I'm not sure it's set up to support the local young people" (Interview 3, Former LOCOG Youth Panel Member)

"And I thought we'd be inundated with reasonably priced cafes, 'cause this is supposed to be something for the community, and we've not seen that. I'm hoping that at least when Here East really kicks off there will be that bit of competition" (Interview 2, Local School Community Officer)

It is worth noting that between these interviews being conducted and submission of this thesis, HereEast has begun to open canal side bars, restaurants and commodities. Yet, the reasonably priced cafes hoped for by this participant have failed to materialise. Instead, they largely aim towards an incoming clientele of

visitors and inflows of new professional residents. This is a continued theme in the area with limited range of café culture spaces.

8.3.4 Sport, cultural activities and facilities

The views of school staff were sought as to whether or not they felt the Park was being best used to the benefit of local youth. These responses were overwhelmingly negative and largely focused on the perceived role of the sporting facilities. Respondents' biases were obvious at this point given the nature of their roles. Also given much of the narrative around the London 2012 Olympic Games being about sport (see Chapter 6) it was likely that these had influenced local narratives and as such the response focus. So in brief, the opportunties were seen to be largely sporting and that there was a lack of cultural and other activities for young people to participate in.

"But no, I mean that is what they needed, they're not even having pop concerts this year I don't think, are they? And um, the paint festival they cancelled one day last year so, the Holi Day. Those are the things that were good and brought young people here. But they're not doing it" (Interview 2, Local School Community Officer)

Where sporting and cultural activities were or had been available, drawing on the prior theme of personal social capital and financial capital (Bourdieu, 1985) young people were inhibited in their access to all Park facilities and activities. Given the already explored diversity and low socio-economic status in the area, interviewees drew out a rationale for lack of engagement outside of school hours which largely focused around finance, but also the organised nature of activities.

"I know from working with the young people you asking for 10 pounds to do something from your parents, no way, particularly that sort of activity (referencing YouthFest[14]) no way. You know erm so I think they may be some more stuff there. The sports facilities are reasonably priced but again I think I can't imagine erm there is many East London families utilising the velodrome I can't imagine that's really happening much."

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[14] UFest is the official youth festival of London and was recently held in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Largely a celebration of music and diversity, the associated costs of such an event were not just monetary but also included closing off significant space in the Park.

"I think its good facilities and they try to do things at a reasonable price so lots of people can engage. So I like that, I wish we'd do more on the water. I wish it was a free for all, I think if you've got a canoe, why don't you just go down there and paddle. That's too restrictive. And because there is a canoeing company, but they're not working this time of year, and yet, anyone who is a canoeist would want to be there enjoying that. Or, anything, you couldn't sail, but you could do other bits. Um, so it's a bit prescriptive." (Interview 2, Local School Community Officer)

This also begins to reference the idea of control and regulations at play within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park by the LLDC. Whilst surrounding local waterways regularly have recreational water sports the Olympic Park is controlled by the influence of the commercial partners rather than the free space it originally appears to be. This further contributes to the sense of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as a quasi-public space limiting the role of the public to appropriate the space in their own ways and thus their desire to purposefully visit the Park.

"I feel like people just walk through it more than they walk to it" (Interview 3, Former LOGOG Youth Panel Member)

8.4 Forward views

In an attempt to close this section on a highpoint, in constrast to young people, younger children are engaged in the Park (though largely with their parents) and if that engagament can be sustained this is promising for the future. In addition, further engagement and continued regeneration of the local area with greater educational provider access may see an increasingly positive legacy, if little positive impact.

"I think legacy is something that you achieve over a longer period of ime. I think you can have an impact in the short-term… we are still working towards legacy"

(Interview 3, former LOCOG Youth Panel Member)

"And that brings young people in, doesn't it, and good advertising. The advertising all seems to be about kids, they did this half marathon yesterday and it was aimed at adults or kids, not young people"

(Interview 2 ,Local School Community Leader)

Yet, there is also cause for opportunity seen by schools. Unfortunately, much of this is in the hands of the LLDC and various stakeholder bodies in the Park actively seeking to expand their remit. As noted by one head of PE in the area:

"any form of engagement and any opportunities would be amazing"

(Head of PE, Tower Hamlets)

This was a common theme throughout, that schools were not adequately resourced to spend time searching out opportunities further highlighting the lack of personal capital of these groups. The LLDC publish a quarterly newsletter which a brief content analysis has previously suggested are retrospective, rather than promotional, for the type of events which schools would benefit from. Whilst this chapter does not intend to make recommendations there are clear benefits to the future legacy of youth engagement with such action.

Despite the early stages of developments in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, the response of one PE teacher remains the clearest and perhaps most telling response received during this research project – "where is this Olympic legacy?" (Senior Management Team Staff Member, School 21).

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on local youth practices from the viewpoints of local stakeholders including committee members, educators and religious leaders. Outcomes which these participants discussed revolved around access to the space. Representative youth voice, accommodation, capital and spatial factors have been identified in this chapter as impacting on how local youth use this space. It is important to bear in mind that whilst this was largely a negative perception of the Park, positive views were also portrayed. For example, exploring a long-term legacy viewpoint several participants noted the long-term strategy necessary for the local area.

However, the findings from this chapter contribute to an overall view that the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, despite plans and procedures for an inclusive and forward thinking public space, has become a site for gentrifying processes of exclusion (specifically of youth) resulting in potential for long-term local disillusionment and

displacement. This is highlighted prominently in this chapter by uncovering the views of local stakeholders all of whom have a current or prior relationship to the communities constituted by youth.

This research makes several contributions to the existing literature on post-event spaces. Firstly, and most importantly it seeks to understand why an excluded group are missing from the area from a stakeholder perspective. Why groups are excluded from such spaces has been wholly neglected in existing research thus far. Secondly, important differences have been established in the way which youth play a role in the legacy of a space through the enrollment of their voice. For example, housing and inspiration effects were found to be the focus of participants concerns from speaking to and working with these cohorts. This matches some responses from others (for example Watt, 2013) but the focus in this study is a younger group already with expressed concerns about these issues.

Finally, this aspect of the study has revealed the limitations to using only either quantitative or qualitative measures to understand change. The findings in Chapter 7 suggested that youth of secondary school age were absent from the Park. These findings in themselves make a valuable contribution to our understandings of these spaces. Yet, this further exploration in a qualitative manner allows a more in depth understanding of the exclusionary actants at play.

It is clear that the impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on youth in the Park Boroughs has been negligble in its current guise. Participants almost exclusively, reflected on the value of legacy as negative with many regretting the outcomes associated with the area. Yet, as one participant noted legacy is long-term process suggesting that future hope for the area is perhaps building.

This chapter marks the final empirical chapter of this thesis. The next and final chapter concludes this thesis. It takes a two-pronged approach to outlining its impact (Reed, 2016). Firstly, in a traditional sense outlining where it contributes to wider academic fields of human geography and sports sociology as well as outlining potential future work. Secondly, the policy implictions of the findings are discussed. It makes recommendations to mega event policy makers based on the findings drawn from this study as well as making suggestions for returning quasi-public space into 'true' public ownership.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Thesis Summary

The aim of this study was to *investigate the impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on profiles, practices and perceptions of post-industrial Olympic regenerated spaces on local communities and global visitors.* As highligted in Chapter 1 this was addressed through three main objectives. Firstly, to examine the policy and planning of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park; secondly, to explore who was using this space since it reopening; and thirdly, to assess the impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on local stakeholders views around youth.

Throughout this thesis, the focus has been on exploring the practices, perceptions and profiles of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. This was led through three distinct yet, interlinked forms of data collection. This approach produced rich and detailed narratives on the effect and impact of London's post-event space in order to provide a valuable contribution towards the existing literature. This thesis allows our understanding to be developed beyond statistical analysis of missing groups, instead offering rationales and deeper understanding to influence change and showcase impact by seeking to redress issues arising.

After introducing the research in Chapter 1, chapter 2 discussed the divergent literatures which it was intended to bridge namely that of geography and sports sociology/ management. It therefore identified a gap in the existing literature on mega event post-use space by visitors on different scales. Chapter 3 explored the conceptual basis for the thesis.

Chapter 4 explored the methodology used in this research and explained the rationale for a multi-methods approach and why this was appropriate. Chapter 5 provided a form of research context for this study by offering a historical perspective of the four Park Boroughs and discussing their changing yet, constant nature as a site of development and migration. It also laid out the spatial content of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park justifying the following three empirical chapters.

Chapter 6 responded to the first research objective by discussing the policy and plans which were put into place in the run up to the London 2012 Olympic Games for the Park Boroughs development. This largely focused around the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park but also by nature of such a fluid space it expanded as necessary to include borderland spaces. It did this by discussing the impact on local community practices in light of a long-term view on the five key legacy promises and their associated plans.

Chapter 7 continued this theme by responding to the second research objective through a longitudinal study the practices, profiles and perceptions of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Visiting a post-event space is driven by various motives yet, broad generalisations were possible from this two year study. Findings suggested that sporting activity was the most common reason for visiting the study area and those partaking were largely white middle class visitors. The experiences of these groups were largely positive. It transpired through this aspect of this study that youth groups were largely underrepresented in the space notably from the Park Boroughs. It was further suggested that the rationale for this was exclusionary processes around capital, both social and financial. Overall, the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park was seen as site of gentrifying processes and a negative actant within the broader Park Borough network.

Finally the third research object was addressed in Chapter 8 focusing on the perceptions of local stakeholders in the community. It focused on the youth engagement with this space and the broader Olympic movement in the time frame around the London 2012 Games. The negative perceptions discussed in this chapter were broad reaching with participants believing the space had limited youth access to such a space in diverse and interlinked ways. Overall, stakeholders viewed the impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park on their students as inherently limited.

9.2 Contribution to knowledge

The findings of this study enhance our understanding of post-event spaces by revealing the practices, profiles and perceptions of visitors and stakeholders to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. As discussed in detail in chapter 2, mega event spaces usage in this manner is a substantial gap in both urban regeneration and

sport sociology literature, as such this study provides new knowledge in both areas. Given the lacuna of research on event spaces, this research provides an important contribution to the literature.

The existing literature has identified that post-event spaces are common legacy features of the modern model for event hosting. Academics, have however, failed to adequately identify and assess these spaces on a long-term basis. This has been touched on by host organisation and journalists (Cashman, 2011; Hill, 2015). Yet, these are often clouded by political need and narrative continuation with primary data mining. This thesis therefore contributes towards conceptual debates relating to the legacy of mega events by empirically drawing attention to the exclusion of specific groups from such spaces. With plans in future bids discussing the desire for post-event park space, these issues unless addressed are likely to be an ever more visible issue, for policy makers, urban planners, local communities and political groups.

It has become clear that the process of cities increasingly seeking to outbid one another, in the desire to host events, has encouraged the inclusion in bid documents of expansive promises. The respondents in this study were very aware of their usage of the Olympic Park and that it was a legacy promise from the bid document. However, the perceptions and profiles of these spaces were distinct. Practices within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park reinforced the outlined notions of gentrification as outcomes of such spaces. As a large number of visitors saw the site predominantly as a site of sporting, this gentrification appears to reinforce the notion of exclusion in a site designed for the local community. Therefore the research highlights that current practices, profiles and perceptions associated with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park is leading to further geographies of ethnically and age related homogenous visitors. Thus suggesting that gentrification associated with events is not limited to community aspects but also visitor practices.

The exclusionary nature of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park space is also linked to, and reinforces the neoliberal narrative of austerity politics. Stakeholders were often motivated and showed desire to partake in activities within the unbounded networks unavailable to them, but did not have the social or financial capital to realise these ambitions. Thus, while for example physical activity is a prominent

discourse in the government agenda this is not reflected in the manner of perceived use of local facilities.

This study has contributed towards knowledge of practices and profiles of post mega event spaces, which until recently has been generally neglected in legacy research. As highlighted in Chapter 7 the majority of visitors to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park were white males aged over 25 from one of the four Park Boroughs. The analysis further revealed that this group largely accessed the Park to partake in physical activity in a formal manner. The analysis also revealed that where young people were a part of the Parks network, they were largely seen to be under 12 years old. This appeared to be exclusionary and prevention of spatial identity formation for those of teen and NEET age supported previous findings. Therefore it became important to better understand why youth, the focus of a key legacy promise, were disengaged from the network surrounding the space. The barriers to this type of activity were largely suggested to be financial or spatial (travel could be considered as a financial cost), were largely not overcome by youths engagement through school. Facilitated and lower cost structures therefore have the potential to widen local youth access and thus achieve the legacy promise of "Inspiring a Generation." Furthermore a considerable number of local stakeholders did not believe that the Park was a space which readily allowed access for youth and openly questioned this group's role within the legacy agenda. In contrast planning and policy analysis suggested that this was a significant focus of the London 2012 organising and planning committees. This clashing of desired and actual outcomes is similar to that reported for earlier Games.

As this research focused solely on the Park Borough based space of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, further understanding of legacy could be generated by a focus on three major areas of work which are largely absent from exisiting literature.

Firstly, further investigation of the different globally based post-event spaces to allow for comparative responses to the legacy would be valuable. Studies have been conducted in Sydney and to a less formal extent Munich. Yet, within the literature these are lacking not only in academic rigor but in focus, often preferring to collate visitor numbers rather than practices and profiles. Such comparative studies were not possible in this study due to time and constraints, but it would contribute towards

a broader understanding of such spaces and perhaps a lasting legacy (one day) for targeted groups.

Secondly, further work should better explore the relationship that youth have with such spaces. This was unfortunately, not possible in this study. Extensive research interest in the local area notably around young people saw research fatigue reached long before this project began in 2013. This ultimately, made the collection of the direct voice of this group difficult. Future research should seek to engage with these groups earlier in the process of legacy even going so far as seeking them out before successful city bids. This would contribute greatly to a wider understanding of youth engagement and perceptions of effect, impact and legacy around mega events over a longitudinal timescale.

Thirdly, longitudinal investigation of such spaces over an extended time period should be undertaken. This would allow for a greater understanding of the changing nature of such spaces and long-term spatial identification formation. It would also highlight the role such spaces have in the gentrifying landscape. Not only would this support literatures into urban regeneration, but would have broader impact by informing event planners. Current research lacks in this area notably because of the process of knowledge transfer of this group of elites. This makes a valuable contribution with potential long-term impacts into how mega event legacy is perceived both within academia but also the public sphere.

This research, has also contributed towards existing research by seeking to understand the role that narratives play in creating legacy. The existing literature largely focused on how pre-event promises have been seen in legacy. This study focused on how the language of the various documents published by governmental agencies highlighted the important role these actants play in creating the landscape of event spaces. The lack of public counter narrative and information to the general public is slowly being addressed by protest groups, yet, their effectiveness is currently under researched.

The methods enrolled in this research allowed a full understanding of the formation of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park through both its initial planning phase and prioritised the voices of local stakeholders. This approach allowed a wide range of data to be collected in order to address the research questions developed in Chapter

1. The primary data approach to the data collection has aimed to add a more unbiased, standardised set of findings to post-event spaces. Previous studies had contributed in this area using two secondary data sets collected by event organisers (Cashman, 2011) and followed these actants through their network as outlined by ANT (Latour, 1999). This research has highlighted the importance of primary, longitudinal data in our understanding of the impact of such spaces. Such spaces have the ability to both positively and negatively transform local populations. As one interviewee noted the "Park should be the hub" (Interview 3, Former LOCOG Youth Panel Member) of legacy for the local people. Seeking to understand how this has been portrayed and the network building processes around this were the rationale for the methods employed here.

As outlined in Chapter 1, both geographers and sport sociologists are increasingly looking to areas of overlap in their research interests, including sport mega events. Despite this, research into policy around spatially developed event regeneration remains deficient. Yet, these academics are well located to build on existing literature to gain a detailed understanding of how sub-sets of communities experience these types of space. Further to this, they are ideally situated to explore the role of community building and identity formation in a variety of different complex areas.

In conclusion, by exploring post-event spaces, this study has contributed to a better understanding of the potential material legacies of mega events. This thesis has answered the following questions; what policy and plans were outlined for the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park space? Who visited the space and for which reasons, since its reopening in 2013. What was the view of this space by these visitors? How did this space impact on local communities? Post-event space has been identified as an important and academically interesting aspect of legacy, which cannot continue to be treated as an outcome with little relevance. As discussed in this chapter, this thesis therefore makes a valuable contribution towards academic knowledge and has shown that the importance of unravelling networks to their fullest extent to truly understand the impact that such spaces have on diverse communities.

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Appendix 1.

Visitor Survey

'Visitor survey study on the usage of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.'

We are research students from Loughborough University. We are examining who is visiting the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and why. Could we have 5 min of your time to answer a few questions?

1. **What was your main purpose for visiting the Olympic Park today?** *(please tick one option)*

[1] To look at sports venues   [2] To visit green areas of the park (e.g. canals)

[3] To visit the playground   [4] To visit a café/ restaurant

[5] To participate in sport   [6] To attend a music event

[7] To attend a cultural event (e.g. arts)   [8] To go shopping

[9] To go to my work   [10] To take part in a school trip

[11] Other *(please specify):* [Q1b]   …………………………………………………

2.   What did you actually do in the Olympic Park today? (*please tick all options that apply*)

[a] Looked at sports venues   [b] Visited the green areas of the park (e.g. canals)

[c] Visited the playground   [d] Visited a café/ restaurant

[e] Participated in sport   [f] Attended a music event

[g] Attended a cultural event (e.g. arts)   [h] Went shopping

[i] Went to my work   [j] Took part in a school trip

[k] Other *(please specify):*   [l]………………………………………………………

3.   What do you like most about the Olympic Park? (*please write below*)

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

4.   What do you dislike most about the Olympic Park? (*please write below*)

...…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5.   How does the Olympic Park make you feel? (*please write below*)

...…………………………………………………………………………………………………

6.   Which best describes how often you visit the Olympic Park? (*please tick one option*)

[1] First visit   [2] Visited a few times

[3] I come to the park at least once a month   [4] I come to the park most weeks

[5] I come to the park most days

7.   Would you like to come back to the Olympic Park? (*please tick one option*)

[1] Yes   [2] No   [3] Not sure

8.   Who are you here with today? (*please tick all options that apply*)

[a] On my own   [b] With my children   [c] With other family and/or friends

[d] With work colleagues   [e] With an organised group

9.   How many people are in your group today? (*please enter a number for all age ranges*)

a. Males	i.under 12	ii.12-16	iii.17-18	iv.19-24	v.25-44	vi.45-64	vii.65+
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

b. Females	i.under 12	ii.12-16	iii.17-18	iv.19-24	v.25-44	vi.45-64	vii.65+
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. Where is your place of residence? (*please tick one option*)

[1] In the UK   [10b] if so, please give your postcode: ………………………………………..

[2] In another country   [10c] if so, please name the country: ………………………………………..

11. What is your country of birth? *(please name this country)*

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12. How would you describe your ethnicity? *(please tick one option)*

[1] White   [2] Asian/Asian British   [3] Mixed / multiple ethnic groups

[4] Black/African/ Caribbean/ Black British   [5] Other ethnic group

Thank you for your time in completing this study.

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13. Time of Data Collection

[1] 0800-1000   [2] 1200-1400   [3] 1600-1800   [4] 2000-2200

14. Season

[1] Winter   [2] Spring   [3] Summer   [4] Autumn

15. Weekend or Weekday

[1] Weekday   [2] Weekend

Postal Surveys

Head teachers' / Senior Teachers' Survey

☐ Please tick this box and sign to indicate that you consent to partaking in this study.

My job title is .... (please print)

1. How does <School Name> engage with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park at present?

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2. If your school has engaged with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park was this encouraged from The Park or was this mainly on your own initiative?

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3. Have there been any changes in the perceived attainment and/or aspirations of your pupils since the regeneration of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park?

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4. Has the regeneration of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park area affected the pupils in your school in any other ways?

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5. As a school, do you feel that best use is being made of the Queen Elizabeth
Olympic Park for the local youth community of your school?

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6. How would you like to engage with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in the future
for the benefit of your pupils?

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7. The following space has been left for you to offer further opinions or comments regarding <School Name> and your pupils in light of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park regeneration project.

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The following questions concern information about <School Name>

8. Number of pupils   Male_____   Female_____

9. School ethnographic information (please give as percentages)

White _____   Asian _____   Black _____   Mixed/other _____

10. Free school meals (%)   _____

As previously explained in the attached information sheet this study plans to conduct focus groups with 4 -6 students from the Park Boroughs secondary schools. These will aim to understand the practices of youth and will regard the knowledge youth have about the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, their opportunities for use, and how the development has impacted upon the youth attitudes and aspirations in relation to physical activity, education, and social and environmental engagement.

Please indicate whether your school would be interested in receiving further information. This does not indicate a commitment to involvement but I would like to contact you with more information in January 2015.

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

Thank you very much for the time you have given to partake in this survey.

PE Department Survey

☐ Please tick this box and sign to indicate that you consent to partaking in this study.

My job title is .... (please print)

1. How does the P.E Department at <School Name> engage with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park at present?

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2. If <School Name>'s PE department has engaged with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park was this encouraged from The Park or was this of your own initiative?

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3. Please describe any changes in physical activity or sporting habits of your pupils since the regeneration of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park?

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4. Please describe how the sports and recreation facilities available at the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park have affected the pupils in your school in any other ways?

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5. As a school PE department do you feel that best use is being made of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park for the local youth community in terms of physical activity and sport?

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6. How would the PE department at <School Name> like to engage with the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in the future for the benefit of your pupils?

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7. The following question has been left for you to offer further opinions or comments regarding Physical Education at <School Name> and your pupils in light of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park regeneration project.

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The following questions concern information about <School Name>'s PE Department.

8. Number of pupils on GCSE level (or equivalent) PE course

     Male   _____   Female_____

9. Number of pupils on A- level (or equivalent) PE course

     Male   _____   Female_____

10. Please give a brief overview of your <School Name>' sports facilities.

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Thank you very much for the time you have given to partake in this survey.

Interview Questions

Introduction

- Welcome/ rapport building/ make participant feel comfortable
- Opportunity to re/read information sheet, sign consent form and ask any questions.
- Introduction to the study and what to expect.
- Establish through casual conversation justification for role of expert.

Prior

A reflection on the legacy goals from experts who would have had a significant interest in the planning for the future outcomes of the Park on the local area.

- What were your hopes for young people in the build up to the Games?
- How do you think the local young people benefitted before the Games began?
- How well do you think local young people were integrated into plans for the post Olympic legacy?
- How did you think the Olympic Park would benefit the youth of the country?
- Does this differ for your expectations of the youth in the local area?

During

Aspect of questions seeks to unravel how the period during the Games at the end of the effect period was already beginning to influence perception and practices.

- Did you watch either the Olympic or Paralympic Games?
- What effect did the event have on you?
- At that time did any aspect of the Games inspire you?
- Had you changed any of your personal practices in light of the Olympics?
- What effect did you think it would have on young people?
- Was there any expectation for you personally that the Games would inspire young people?
- Why was that?

After

How have the practices of the experts been changed and then how do they feel local youth have been impacted by the regenerated parkland space?

- Have you been to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park since it has reopened?
- What were your initial thoughts? Did you feel welcome?
- Have you ever visited the Park with young people?
- How do you view the Park in regards to the local youth population?
- Do you think young people feel welcome in The Park?

- Does the Park meet your pre and/or during expectations for you personally and for local youth?
- How do you think The Park reflects the needs of local youth community?
- Can you see any material or immaterial benefits?
- Are you aware of any events or schemes that are targeted towards the local youth community within The Park or its immediate environs?
- What do you think The Park could do better?
    - o   In terms of benefitting youth both locally and nationally?
- Are there any issues/concerns you have about the Park and its ability to fulfil its legacy based promises?
    - o   Particularly where local youth are concerned.
- How would you improve the provision for a wider variety of ethnic and age groups?

Appendix 2.

Publications

Journal Articles

Dawson, J. & Jöns, H. (2017). Unravelling Legacy: An Actor-Network Theory Approach to Understanding the Impact of Mega Events. *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, *22,* 1. 43-65.

Dawson, J. (2016). The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park: a report to the Japan Sport Council.

Dawson, J. (2016). Sport and technology: an actor-network theory perspective. *Annals of Leisure Research,* pp. 1-2.
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/11745398.2016.1262271

Conference Presentations

Unravelling 'legacy': an actor-network theory approach to understanding the impact of mega events. 7-8 January 2015, PSA Sport and Politics Group 9th Annual Conference, Durham University.

Unravelling 'legacy': an actor-network theory approach to understanding the impact of mega events. February 11 2015. Geography Department Seminar Series, Loughborough University.

Parklife: practices of Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park visitors. May 1 2015, Sport and Discrimination Conference, University of Sunderland (London Campus).

Past and present in East London: The Olympic Park and urban regeneration. July 8 2015, International Conference of Historical Geographers, London.

Practices and implications of parkland leisure spaces: a case study of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. September 4 2015, East Midlands University Conference, University of Lincoln.

'Legacy is great': the London 2012 Olympic Games four years on. February 24 2016, Loughborough Graduate School Café Academique series (invited speaker), Loughborough University.

The Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park: a study of visitor practices post London 2012. June 8-12 2016, 51st World Congress of Sociology of Sport: Sports, Global Development, and Social Change, Budapest.

Blurred Lines: barriers of access to London's Olympic Park. 5-7 July 2016, Leisure Studies Association Conference 2016, Liverpool John Moores University.

Appendix 3.

Report on the Secondary Schools of the Park Boroughs.

The four boroughs which have a boundary line inside the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park are Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets, and Waltham Forest. Overall there are 87 secondary schools five of which are not currently open. However, by the beginning of the 2014/2015 school year all 87 will be accepting pupils. A quarter of these schools are independent schools (23%) offering in some cases, a combination of the UK national curriculum and also religious based learning. Where a religious curriculum is offered, it is predominantly Islamic and Jewish based with various sub dominations of these faiths offered. These schools have been mapped and can be seen in Appendix 1.

The four boroughs share many similar traits but also have some distinct differences. The most striking commonality between the boroughs is that all schools reported that a large percentage of the pupil roll spoke English as a second language. Most schools also reported a higher than average percentage of BME ethnic groups. This is particularly true when the data is compared with national average figures. There were some areas where this does differ such as independent schools of Waltham Forest which were predominantly attended by British White pupils. This reflects the historical nature of the East End as a favoured settlement area for migrants to London.

What should be noted about the boroughs is that within generalisations it is impossible to give a fully accurate picture. The boroughs used here have pockets of extreme wealth (e.g. Canary Wharf in Tower Hamlets) in immediate proximity to areas of extreme poverty. Whilst this report only seeks to inform regarding the schools which could be involved in future research these differences will be summarised.

There are some limitations to the data which has been looked at for the schools below and this should be noted. Issues did arise collecting data from schools (primarily through their websites and Ofsted reports) because they did not have websites or Ofsted reports. This was especially seen in those schools of Haredi Jewish nature (also known as ultra-orthodox) where use of television, non-secular newspapers, and access to the Internet are frowned upon if not forbidden. It was not just in Jewish schools but also in other religious schools where this occurred. There were no data collection issues with schools under the local authority's control.

Unfortunately, sports facilities are only rarely reported on the schools websites and unfortunately Ofsted reports were similarly lacking in detail. All of the schools in the four boroughs with the exception of religious schools offered curriculum levels of physical education. The extra curriculum sport activities where they differ from that offered to the other schools in the four boroughs. The facilities often differed between schools but funding from outside sources (e.g The Football Foundation) mean that most schools either have or have plans in place for multi sports surfaces within the school grounds. Where space is limited there are processes in place to make use of sporting

spaces in the neighbouring areas. For example, Skinners Academy (Hackney) makes use of Finsbury Park (north London) to host its annual sports day and external coaches and staff to run its extracurricular clubs.

At this stage it is intended to break down the boroughs into separate spaces and look at each boroughs schooling provision.

Hackney

There are twenty three schools in Hackney. There is one school not currently open which will be open by the time data collection begins (Hackney New School).

The high number of independent schools catering to the Jewish population - two thirds - reflects that Hackney has the third highest percentage of practicing Jews in England (ONS, 2012). The six private schools are added to by two local authority voluntary aided Jewish girls school. These two voluntary aided schools were previously independent schools but were taken under the local authorities control over the past decade.

These Jewish practicing schools offer Kodesh (religous Torah based) and Chol (National) curriculum. Only the Beis Chinuch Lebonos Girls School charge fees for offering education (£2,090 per year). The other schools are funded by voluntary contributions i.e parents are expected to pay whatever they can. The religious interpretation of the Torah means that several of these schools do not allow access to the internet and as such have no schools website so information for this report is taken from information which could be sourced from various other potentially unreliable resources.

Two of the schools are Islamic affiliated and the final independent school is a Christian day school. Paragon Christian Academy is an outreach school of the World Visions for Christ with only fifty pupils across the whole school. Both boys and girls are catered for across the Tawhid Boys School and Tayyibah Girls School set up to teach the national curriculum with the addition of Islamic and Arabic language. These two schools are fee paying (£2,200 and £1,800 per year respectively). The Tayyibah school states that many of its students are bilingual or at the advanced stage of learning English.

Lubavitch Senior Girls School is the only school in the borough which received a lower than Good in their most recent Ofsted inspection. However, a Pikuach report (Ofsted for Jewish schools) reported on the kodesh aspect and ranked it Outstanding suggesting that aspects of the school are superior to others. This may be caused by the separation if the teaching between secular and kodesh with two different leadership structures. This school does though attract pupils from all over London which may make it of interest in terms of being able to look at how The Park has impacted upon those outside of the four Park boroughs.

The pupil premium in Hackney is funded for a third of all pupils (x=36) with a range of 3.4% to 52.4% (Yesodey Hatorah Girls School and Clapton Girls School respectively). The two lowest figures for pupil premium can both be attributed to the former Jewish independent schools which are now under the local authority. These do somewhat distort the data because the lowest pupil premium percentage other than these two schools is 26.4% at Stoke Newington School and Sixth Form.

Newham

There will be twenty four secondary schools in Newham by the start of the 2014/2015 school year. Two of these schools are not currently open. The remaining summary here deals with the twenty two schools who are currently teaching pupils.

Four of the schools are religious affiliated independent schools. Three are Islamic schools, all of which offer the opportunity to learn the English national curriculum alongside the language and theory of Islam. The presence of the three schools here reflects the boroughs religious demographics. Newham has the second highest percentage of people who identify themselves as Muslim in the UK (32%) ONS, 2012). The Promised Land Academy is the fourth independent school which offers Christian based schooling for 4-17 year olds. Unfortunately the website for this school is unresponsive and attempts to make contact with them via email were not responded to meaning that information for this school is lacking.

According to the Newham annual report written to the Office of the Schools Adjudicator (2013), eleven of the 16 remaining schools are community, two are voluntary aided and three are academies. The schools which have regular Ofsted inspections are generally seen as Good in the borough. There are several examples of outstanding schools.

There are two schools which are of particular worry for Ofsted: The Royal Docks Community and Langdon Academy. These two schools have been seen to be making changes aimed at improving this. The Royal Docks Community school has replaced its head teacher and acted on the report from Ofsted. Langdon is one of the three academy schools in the borough though the Ofsted reports considered here are from Langdon School which has since been converted to Academy status which is aiming to improve this grading. The bid document for the London 2012 Olympic Games was delivered to the IOC by a pupil from Langdon School as an example of the youth that the Games would inspire.

Pupil premium in the borough is given to 2 fifths of the pupils at schools which were eligible for the funding (x = 41%). However, this percentage does range from a minimum of 17.4% (St. Angela's Catholic) and 61.1% (Langdon School). This secondary figure may be outdated now that Langdon has become an academy so the highest figure percentage after this school is 52.7% (Little Illford). How much relation this figure has

to the achievement of school has as previously stated not yet been researched, however, the two schools at either end of this pupil premium range are both rated as Outstanding by Ofsted.

The two schools which are planned to open in the coming months are Oasis Academy Silvertown and East London Science School. Both of these schools plan on offering secondary education to both sexes and all religions.

Tower Hamlets

There are twenty one secondary schools in the borough of Tower Hamlets. By the start of 2014/2015 one more secondary school will open. East London based musician Benjamin Paul Ballance-Drew (Plan B) is reputedly opening a secondary school in the borough. However, plans for this were not available beyond that it was hopeful that the school would be open in 2014 for 16-19 year olds.

Three quarters of the Tower Hamlets schools are under local authority control. The other quarter of the schools are independent with all of them being Islamic religious schools. These five schools represent the 34.5% population of the borough which are practicing Muslims, however, this does not indicate that all attend these five schools. Within these five schools there is a large percentage of pupils with Bangladeshi heritage also reflecting the areas ethnic make up.

The schools in Tower Hamlets have been the subject to much attention over the past two decades. An Ofsted report in 1998 showed that the best funded education authority in the country was failing (Woods, Husbands and Brown, 2013). At this stage the borough was given £1,000 per pupil more than the national average. This began to change in 2000 with Ofsted expressing confidence in the new structures put in place. Results at KS4 are now above the national average for pupils who achieve five or more A*-CEM . Tower Hamlets has also been labelled as one of the top four local authorities in its performance of disadvantaged pupils, in fact some consider it to be the best practice in this regard (Ofsted, 2013).

The overall quality of the schools in the borough are rated Good. There is only one school below this level and this is the Darul Landis Hatifah which is rated adequate. This is though, one of the independent Islamic schools offering the national curriculum alongside Islamic and Arabic teachings. There are though no other schools which are considered below Good.

In light of these outstanding Ofsted reports the disadvantaged nature of the pupils means that there is a high pupil premium. The pupil premium in this borough ($x = 54\%$) is higher than the other three Park boroughs. This number also has a much higher minimum than the other boroughs. The lowest percentage of pupil premium is 31.3% at Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate Girls School. If we consider removing the two Challoner Catholic schools from

this data, the remaining schools all receive pupil premium funds for more than half of their pupils.

Waltham Forest

There are eighteen secondary schools in the borough. Of these two are independent co-education schools. Waltham Forest is very interesting in terms of its 'north-south' divide. The North Circular Road (A406 on map in appendix 1) is this dividing line both in terms of schooling provision and also the borough itself. The demographics and descriptives of the borough are noted elsewhere. Unlike the rest of the boroughs there are no Islamic or Jewish schools in the borough though there is a Catholic school which has close ties to the local Holy Family Catholic School.

Considering the relative average affluence (compared to Hackney, Newham, and Tower Hamlets), which is reflected in the pupil premium mean (*x=28%*), the Ofsted reports show a level below the other three boroughs. The two schools which are of concern to Ofsted are the George Mitchell School and Kelmscott School, both of these schools are rated as 'Requires Improvement.' All other schools are rated as Good or Satisfactory. Only the Walthamstow School for Girls is rated Outstanding in the borough.

The pupil premium of the schools in this area is lower than the other boroughs. Only George Mitchell School has a pupil premium over 50%. The lowest percentages are seen in the north of the borough with schools such as Highams Park and Chingford Foundation School (13% and 14.5% respectively)

The schools in this borough are located the furthest away from the Park in terms of distance (*x=3.25, SD=1.55).* It would be expected that the impact of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park would be seen least at the schools in this borough. Whilst this straight line distance is higher than the other boroughs, the ability to travel to the Parks area is also further than the other boroughs (*x=45mins).* This does though only apply to the schools themselves, students may live in closer proximity to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.
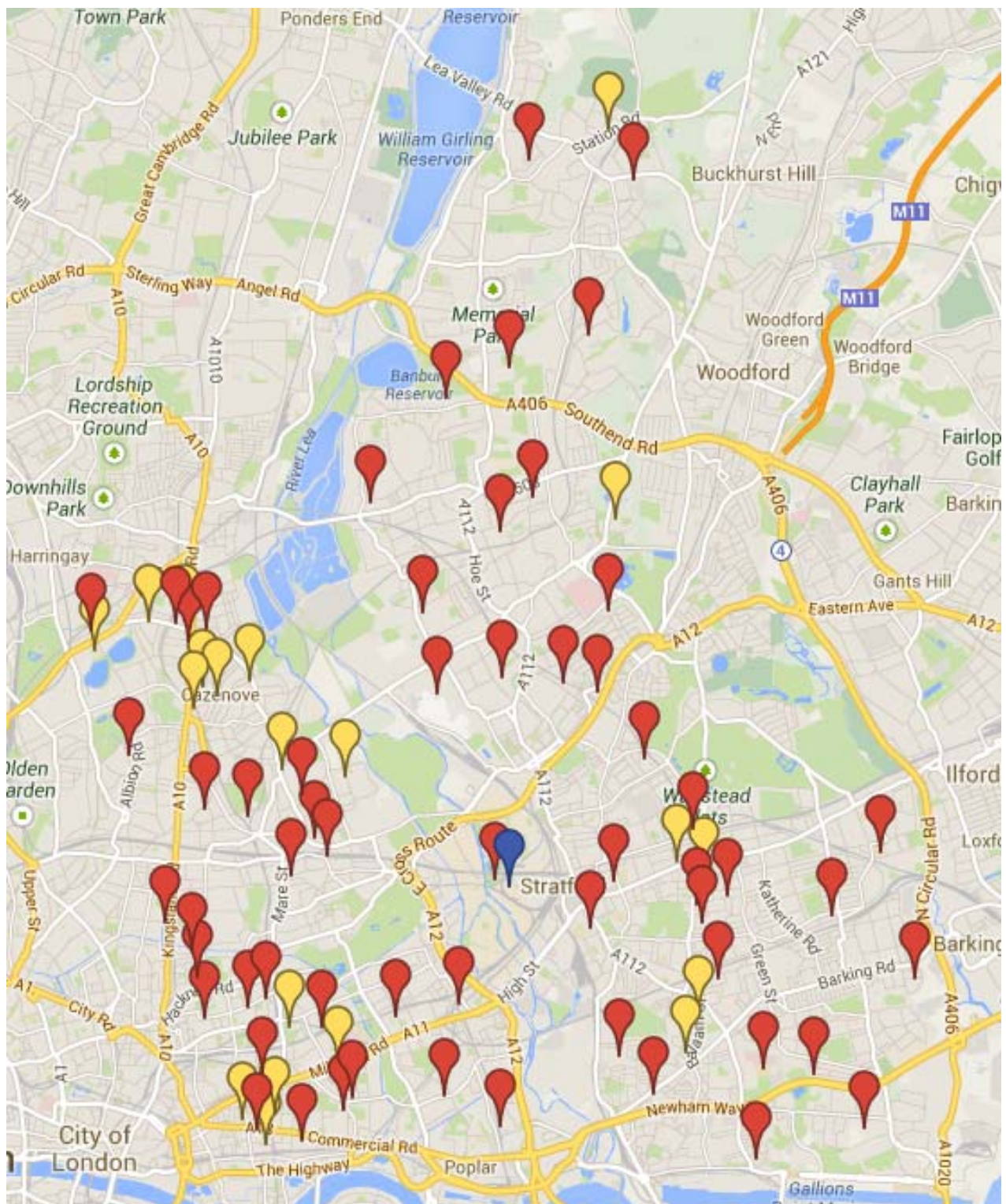
Figure 1. Map of the four park boroughs schools. Red pins are local authority run schools. Yellow pins are independent and/or religious schools. Central blue pin marks the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. As a rough guide: north-west of the park is Hackney, south-east is Tower Hamlets, south-west is Newham and to the north is Waltham Forest.

Glossary

Pupil Premium: Pupil Premium is additional funding introduced in April 2011 given to schools in England to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils. It is paid to schools based on one of two criteria: that a pupil has been registered for free school means at any point in the last six years or has been in care for six months or longer. Nationally in 2012-2013, 27% of the student population were eligible for Pupil Premium. Carpenter et al., (2013) found that the pupil premium funds are not always used solely for those who are eligible but rather are combined with other funds to target a wider range of disadvantaged (by the schools own definition) students. There are no regulations as to how the funding should be spent once it has been allocated. Examples of how the money was spent by secondary schools include it being focused on learning, social/environmental/behavioral support and in certain cases on alternative learning pathways. Carpenter et al., (2013) concluded that currently it is too early to measure the impact on pupil attainment but that if it were withdrawn then the quantity of services that schools could offer would decrease. Currently the amount per pupil for secondary schools is £900. This is paid to the local authority on a quarterly basis who then distribute this to the schools under their authority.

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