



Mega-Events, Community Stakeholders and Legacy: London 2012

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Abstract

This study highlights the treatment of the smaller stakeholders for whom the social legacy impacts are potentially the greatest within mega-event planning. The aim of this research is to develop a framework of urban regeneration legacy associated with the hosting of mega-events where the local community are key stakeholders, and where they can gain long-term positive social legacies. Mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, are widely held to bring a variety of positive social benefits through the process of urban regeneration. This research is built around the development of a conceptual framework of social legacy impacts arising from the urban regeneration planned through hosting the Olympic Games. Social legacy impacts, also referred to as soft impacts, are those which are intangible and affect individuals within their everyday lives in the longer term. This research is concerned with the social legacy impacts of The London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games on the ‘community’ (being defined as those, who have either lived, worked or have some social connection with the area within the proposed Olympic Park site) in the Lower Lea Valley site in east London, and how they have or have not been recognised as stakeholders. A stakeholder being an individual or group who will be affected by the actions, decisions or policies of the Games organisers, within the planning of the Games.

Key informant interviews have been undertaken with individuals who have had a stake in the planning of the Barcelona Games of 1992, Sydney Games of 2000 and the planning of the London 2012 Games. Each interview involved a semi-structured conversation, encouraging the interviewees to recount their experiences of the planning of these mega-events from the perspectives of the communities involved and the social legacy planning. Interviews were analysed thematically. The main themes to emerge focus on legacy identification, community identification, the importance of regeneration for the existing community, the need to identify power relationships and the need for knowledge transfer and experience. The study shows that, for some ‘communities’, the opportunity to gain positive social benefits are too late as they themselves have already been relocated. The study has developed the Olympic Legacy Management Stakeholder framework to help communities to become more active as stakeholders within future mega-event planning through, amongst other things, recognising the different power relationships that exist.

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Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
CPO	Compulsory Purchase Order
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
GLA	Greater London Authority
GOE	Government Olympic Executive
LDA	London Development Agency
LFM	Legacy Master Framework
LOCOG	London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
NAO	National Audit Office
ODA	Olympic Delivery Authority
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
OPEN	Olympic Park Engagement Network
PGM	Pla General Metropolitan
PWC	Price Waterhouse Cooper
SOPA	Sydney Olympic Park Authority
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature

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1 Introduction to Thesis

1.1 Introduction

The award of the 2012 Olympic Games to London heralded the promise of the regeneration of an entire area in the Lower Lea Valley in East London into the biggest new urban development seen in Europe for 150 years (Coalter, 2004). The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) have, within their Olympic development plans, promised to revitalise and restore the parklands and waterways, provide new sporting venues, highways, bridges, utilities and build 40,000 additional homes. The original promise for the Park was to encourage and support community use of the facilities post-Games, a feature not seen in previous Games, and to place a greater focus on sustainable development (ODA, 2006), including a mixed tenure community occupying the Park post-2012.

Already the plans for the Park have been amended several times and there has been much press coverage of the ever-increasing financial projections. However, there are more long-term social legacy impacts for the local residents than currently reported in the mainstream press. It is the impact upon communities from the urban regeneration arising from the hosting of the Olympics that this research aims to investigate. In particular, the study develops a framework for managing impacts and legacies of such events whereby the local community are central to the legacy planning. The focus is on who will ultimately benefit from the urban regeneration promises made in relation to the local community; therefore this research will also identify who are the community within these promises.

A framework of best practice is developed based on a combination of primary and secondary data. Primary data explores the importance of the role of stakeholders and the residents' ability to influence the planning of such events with regard to positive long-term social legacies. Secondary data focuses on an analysis of previous mega-events; Barcelona, 1996 and Sydney, 2000 with the addition of data from London to date. The findings from the primary and secondary data have been amalgamated into a framework of 'best practice' and combined with the initiatives being undertaken for London 2012 to develop an Olympic Legacy Management Stakeholder framework.

There is a lack of research in relation to the social legacy impacts on local communities and in particular the urban regeneration impacts. Limited emphasis by the Games organisers on this aspect of legacy, including the International Olympic Committee not including it in their post-Games reports, has not encouraged detailed investigation. This research sets out to identify who

constitutes the local community and investigate whether their positive social legacies can be maximised through their identification as stakeholders within the Olympic planning process and other mega-event projects. It will also explore the feasibility of honouring legacy promises within the timeframes given.

The research for this thesis is situated within a data collection timeframe from 2004-2009. The thesis must be read in this context and it is acknowledged that developments may have happened subsequently which could have had a different impact. The data and analyses are related to events which took place within this timeframe.

1.2 Aim and objectives

Aim: to develop a framework of urban regeneration legacy associated with the hosting of mega-events where the local community are key stakeholders.

Objective 1: to critically analyse the role of Olympic legacy with particular reference to the long-term positive, soft social benefits for the host local community

Objective 2: to explore who constitutes the local host community influenced by the 2012 London Games

Objective 3: to analyse the application of stakeholder theory to community involvement in Olympic legacy programmes, where the community are active stakeholders

Objective 4: to critically evaluate 'best practice' frameworks of Olympic urban regeneration where the community gain positive long-term social benefits

1.3 The choice of focus, theory and context

The focus for this research is legacy planning; particularly the soft, social legacies associated with the hosting of mega-events and the associated power struggles within this planning and development process. Much emphasis within mega-event planning is put on the identification of legacies, especially the tangible legacies, often as a justification for hosting the event in the first place (Humphreys and Plummer, 1995; Toohey and Wallingford; 2001, Kurtzman, 2005; PWC, 2005; Hall 2006; Preuss, 2006). Legacies refer to the aims, motives, meanings and impacts of an event (Volrath, 2005), particularly the results, effects and long-term implications of hosting the event. Whilst these legacies are often positive because of the economic benefits, other legacies within the planning of these events, which can have negative consequences, are not often discussed as the economic focus dominates the bidding phase (Hall, 2006) through the potential tangible financial benefits they can accrue. In relation to the focus of this study, it is the social legacy impact on the community and the community role and power as stakeholders within the planning of these legacies that will be discussed.

Within event management studies, the largest events are the hosting of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games on a two-yearly cycle. The bidding for each Games is a long and complex process involving major resources of personnel and finance with many cities competing for the right to host a few weeks of sporting excellence. It is the additional social 'legacies' of hosting the Games that now stimulates many cities to bid to host, bringing planned regeneration projects forward by many years into condensed time periods. This often achieves desired new infrastructure developments, alongside other less tangible legacies such as civic pride and image awareness (Waite, 2003).

However, as with all mega-events, the Olympics are associated with some negative legacy impacts. These include the impacts on the local communities which can result in price increases of basic commodities as well as housing stock, gentrification of the surrounding areas and loss of facilities, both in the short- or long-term. Despite the success of mega-events usually measured in economic terms, the notion of community well-being, often used as a justification for hosting a mega-event, is not used as a measure as yet (Cochrane et al, 1996). The human dimension of the urban residents and how they interact with the event is often ignored because of perceived economic benefits (Haxton, 1999). Yet it is the social legacy impacts on the local communities affected by the urban regeneration that will be discussed in this research. An explanatory framework is required for the role that the local community has within the planning process for the Olympic Games, particularly from the perspective of the management of the legacy to their advantage. Work in other planning contexts (Hall, 1992; Essex and Chalkley, 1998) suggests that in order to gain positive legacies, the local community needs to be involved within the planning of the event. In order to do this they need to be recognised as a stakeholder in the proposed planning process. Without stakeholder involvement, there may be long-term undesirable consequences for the community stakeholders while corporate and other interests may benefit in the short-term. Therefore, for this research, stakeholder theory merits attention. The term stakeholder refers within organisational studies (Donaldson 1999; Gibson 2000; Phillips et al, 2003) to the belief of the intrinsic worth of all legitimate stakeholders (Jones and Wicks, 1999) and relates to any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives. Stakeholder theory further assumes that 'values' (in the form of value creation) are necessary and examines what brings the stakeholders together, although their interpretation of values will vary by stakeholder (Freeman et al, 2004). For example, what would constitute the social impacts on the local community from the hosting of the event? Friedman and Miles (2002) in developing their stakeholder identification model of contingent v compatible stakeholders, are pertinent to this research because they identify the opportunities for stakeholders, previously deemed incompatible to the organisation's objectives, to become compatible, namely to work alongside

the organisation rather than in conflict. This can be obtained through recognising where the power relationships lie.

1.4 The historical background

While there are many examples from the last 116 years of Olympic Games, this research focuses primarily on Barcelona 1992 and Sydney 2000. Research is appearing from Beijing 2008 in relation to housing issues and many associated negative impacts (Shin, 2009), but Barcelona and Sydney have been chosen for their reputation as examples of good practice within Olympic planning circles. The 'Barcelona Model' is a proposed regeneration template for use in successive mega-event planning (Smith, 2006; Gold and Gold, 2007; Smith and Fox, 2007; Toohey and Veal, 2007) while Sydney is cited for its community involvement and local governance template as well as the title 'Best Olympics Ever' judgement from the IOC President at the time, Juan Antonio Samaranch (Cashman, 2006). Other host cities and venues of other mega-events will be discussed. Thus, whilst the research is Olympic focussed, it is not exclusive to the Olympics alone. It could also be applied to other mega-events, for example the Commonwealth Games, the FIFA World Cup, Rugby World Cup, Expo's, G8 meetings and other major events.

1.5 The original conceptual framework

A conceptual framework, according to Miles and Huberman (1994), explains graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied and includes the key factors, concepts and variables and the presumed relationship between them.

The initial design (Figure 1.1) includes the main areas of research to be considered, with the primary focus of the study being the Olympics Games. The Olympics were identified as being the catalyst for the soft social legacy impacts through the regeneration undertaken as part of the hosting process, with the focus being on the impacts on the local community. A theoretical underpinning was needed which was derived from stakeholder theory but was applicable to the local community. The cyclical element illustrates how the findings can be useful for future event planners through knowledge transfer and sharing of best practices.

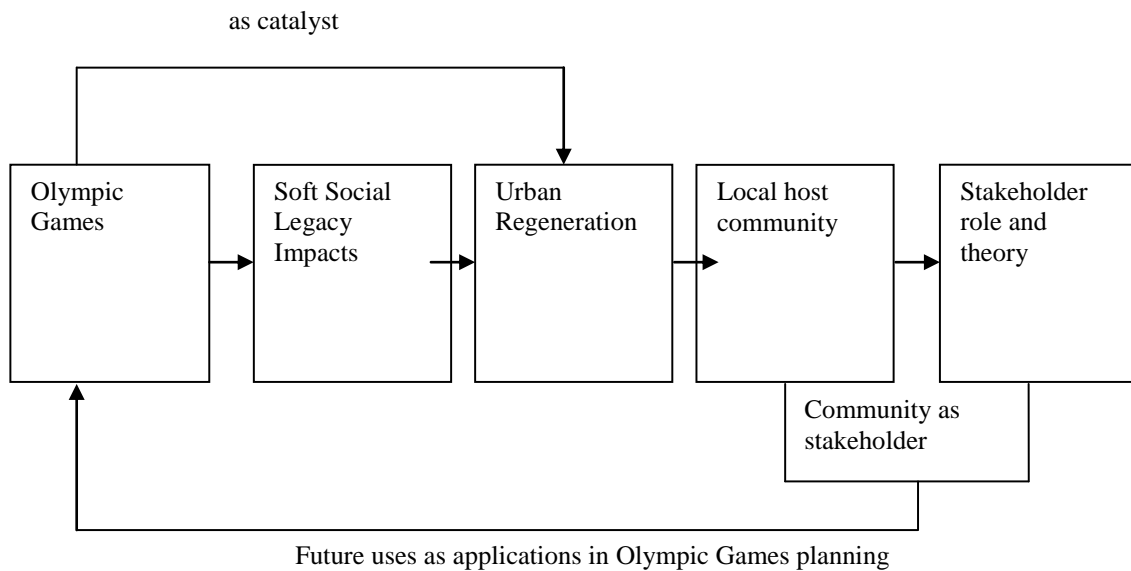


Figure 1.1 Original conceptual framework

1.6 The structure of the thesis

The introduction is followed by a literature review sub-divided into two main sections: social legacy of mega-events and the history of legacy within the Games, and stakeholders in urban regeneration with their associated power conflicts. The methodology chapter explains the research plan from the identification of the research aim and objectives in relation to Olympic social legacy, to the choice of methodology and methods to be used to access the data. The use of thematic analysis following Attride-Stirling's framework is discussed. Furthermore, Chapter 5 forms an addition to the methodology by adding context to the research design.

The thesis has two chapters of findings discussing Olympic social legacy forward planning and community identification. Chapter Eight contains a discussion on the implementation of theory into practice, including the OLMCAS framework and its applicability for future mega-event managers. The final chapter concludes with the findings and recommendations for future research.

2 Social Legacy of Mega-events

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this review is two-fold: to critically review the literature and identify gaps in the current research that form the basis of this thesis. It will therefore be necessary to begin with an overview of legacy in relation to events in general. This is followed by a specific focus on Olympic legacy, in particular social legacies for the local community with examples from previous Games, including housing legacy impacts as a result of the urban regeneration undertaken. The chapter will conclude by setting the context of UK housing issues and urban governance within legacy planning to explore issues of power and decision-making within the legacy planning.

The term 'legacy' represents the aims, motives, meanings and impacts of an event and more specifically the results, effects and long-term implications (Volrath, 2005). In addition, the use of the term 'legacy', whilst used extensively within the Olympic documentation for London 2012, is not universally recognised nor is it easy to translate. Allen et al (2005) discussed the positive and negative impacts without using the word 'legacy'. However, they divide the impacts into social and cultural; physical and environmental; political and economic in comparison to the categorisation by Preuss (2006) (Table 2.1). In Olympic studies many writers still prefer to use the term 'legacy' as Cashman (2006) believes it to have more standing within official Olympic terminology despite not translating into some languages. Earlier, however, Hiller (1998) had expressed a preference for 'outcomes' as it allows the possibility of both positive and negative results, similar to Preuss (2006).

Even the International Olympic Committee has recognised, and suggested, that the words 'benefits' or 'impacts' are better terms to use since 'legacy' does not translate into many languages without losing its meaning (IOC, 2003). Many writers use the terms interchangeably, although 'legacy' implies a longer time-scale than short-term benefits or impacts. Therefore with no clear conceptualisation, it is difficult to find a consensus on the term 'legacy'.

However, in trying to define different types of legacy, social legacies relate to those impacts which affect the day-to-day lives of the communities adjacent to the event's physical location. The impacts are as a consequence of the planning for urban regeneration that often accompanies these mega-events. Despite the variation in terminology; the focus will be on what has been defined earlier as 'legacy' by Volrath (2005), but will also adopt the legacy classifications of Preuss (2006) (Table 2.1)

2.2 Typologies of event legacies

Mega-events and, in particular mega sport-events, are increasingly being used by cities and countries to deliver more than just a sporting competition. The vast sums of money, mainly public sector investment, are offset against the legacy benefits to be attained from the hosting of the event. In the study of event evaluation, consideration must always be given to the long-term legacy impacts which may be indirect and subtle (Getz, 2007; 2008), as well as the short-term impacts. Many authors (Getz, 1991; Hall, 1997; Andersson, et al, 1999 and Ritchie 2000) discuss the impacts arising from event legacies, acknowledging that they are not always positive and can have negative consequences. Often the true impacts of event legacies are either never apparent, as they are immeasurable, or they are over-shadowed by the positive tangible benefits. These include economic, environmental, physical and technological legacies with many costs being concealed, or other impacts such as increased tourism receipts, masking the true cost of the event (Getz, 1991). Other potential legacies include outcomes in terms of the built and physical environment, public life, politics and culture, sporting facilities, education and information, and symbols, memory and history (Cashman, 2006).

A typology of legacies has been developed by Preuss (2006) who divided legacies into positive and negative categories (Table 2.1). He identifies three legacy dimensions of planned, positive and degree of quantifiable structure within the legacy planning. He does not implicitly recognise how intangible elements can have an even greater impact/outcome (Ritchie 2000), or the indirect and subtle intangible impacts analogy from Getz (2008), yet he does include intangible legacies in the form of community spirit and popular memory (focussing primarily on positive recalls). Furthermore, he does believe that the psychological, social, cultural and political legacies are more subjective and therefore more difficult to quantify and measure accurately. He argues that the social and psychological are sometimes the most valuable in terms of enhancing long-term well-being and the lifestyle of host residents, but the opposite must also be true in that they can be the most disruptive. The Preuss legacy categorisation with its sub-division of positive and negative legacies and the identification of legacy enhancing long-term benefits will be the basis of legacy identification for this thesis.

Table 2.1: Preuss (2006) Legacy Categorisation

Positive legacies	Negative legacies
New event facilities	Investments in non- needed structure
Urban revival	Indebtedness of public sector
International reputation	Property rental increases
Improved public welfare	Only temporary increases in employment and business activities
Renewed community spirit	Socially unjust displacement
Production of ideas and production of cultural values	
Popular memory	
Experience and know how	

2.3 Event Social Legacies

Current research on the social impact legacies of events (referred to as soft impacts), although limited, is becoming increasingly significant (Waitt, 2001; Fredline et al, 2003; Cashman, 2006) because of the importance of recognising that mega-events are increasingly being used as levers for implementing strategies and tactics to obtain the desired social impacts from the event (Waitt, 2003). This is particularly pertinent in the case of the Olympic Games since the focus has moved into aspects of leveraging and legacy management in addition to the main foci of sport and culture.

Events are increasingly being utilised to enhance tourism-related development in selected areas (Fredline et al, 2003), not just from the economic benefits and increased global media exposure, but increasingly so from the cost benefits of the social impacts. Other social legacy impacts include the revitalisation of existing facilities for community use and image promotion. The media exposure, particularly through technological developments, has allowed the commercial impact of sporting events to reach far wider global audiences (Hall, 2006). Two recent examples are the improvements in transport facilities seen in both Athens and Beijing after their respective hosting of the 2004 and 2008 Games (Poynter and MacRury, 2009).

However, festivals (and events particularly) can impact on friendliness, safety, tolerance and creativity of the community (Fredline et al, 2003). Although these impacts are difficult to quantify, they are often examined through the residents' perceptions of the impacts (Fredline et al, 2003). Marcouiller (1997) argues that important sociological impacts include developing a sense of place and community pride in conjunction with quality of life and are therefore positive

benefits worth discussing, as these benefits may outweigh temporary disruption. Yet in the case of some of the examples already seen, it is important to emphasise that the disruption is permanent not temporary. It is often assumed by event organisers that if the economic benefits are positive it should therefore automatically follow that the social impacts will also be positive. However, this is hardly ever the case in recent years (Lenskyj 2000, 2002; Cashman, 2006). In addition, Ritchie and Hall (1999) state that the social costs of hosting mega-events get little recognition from event organisers because, due to the often large sums of money involved and the high media profile, political pressures influence the impacts analysis.

One of the most important benefits arising from mega-event hosting is the facilities created (Gursoy and Kendall, 2006) as they can be used later by local residents. Gursoy and Kendall's study of residents' perceptions of a mega-event (2002 Winter Olympics) found that community backing for mega-events is affected directly and/or indirectly by five determinants; the level of community concern, ecocentric values, community attachment, perceived benefits and perceived costs, with a heavy emphasis on perceived benefits. For event planners this is significant given that the community will be looking foremost for the perceived benefits to them. This is still an ongoing issue in London with the future of the stadium still in negotiation despite Tottenham Hotspur Football Club keen to assume responsibility post-Games. The Government have announced late 2011 that they will retain ownership until after the 2017 World Athletic Championships, leasing the stadium out to a football club in the interim.

2.4 Olympic Legacy

Since the Modern Olympics were revived in 1896, nearly every host city has some form of legacy, whether infrastructure or social (Cashman, 1998), yet few authors have discussed cross-Games comparisons in any depth. The legacies vary enormously because of the different approaches each city takes to developing the Games, with Barcelona being one of the first to use the Games to enhance the profile of the city. However, in most cases it would appear that whilst attempts were made to bring some permanent legacy, the long-term future planning was lacking in many cases. Cashman questions what the core legacy within Olympic legacy planning is. He believes that this enquiry is crucial for all organisers of the Games so as to decide what should be maintained after the Games instead of trying to preserve everything – a valuable lesson for London in that the organisers have already received much criticism with their initial proposals for temporary structures. Furthermore, in the past, the implicit concept of legacy has left many organisers to decide that the additional costs do not justify the long-term planning nor do they figure highly in the scheme of things where timescales are so tight. In the case of the London organisers, legacy planning was explicit from the outset, with the bid purportedly being won on

this basis. This could be the beginning of a major change for future mega-event planners in that future bidding will feature long-term legacy management far more prominently than in the past.

The International Symposium on Legacy of the Olympic Games (1984-2000), held in 2002 in Lausanne, discussed and explored the various aspects of Olympic Legacy. It was attended by over 150 experts from National Olympic Committees, Olympic Games Organising Committees, Bid Committees, International Olympic Committee Members, Games Participants and researchers who all discussed and focussed on the Summer and Winter Games from 1984-2000, whilst also taking into account the future 2004 and 2008 Summer Games.

One of the findings was that legacy is crucial in the organisation and the final evaluation of Games but, as earlier mentioned in attempting to define legacy, several meanings of the concept emerge. French, Spanish and Greek translations all refer to legacy as an inheritance and heritage. This is especially true due to different translations of the term depending on timeframes and cultural interpretations. The Symposium also discussed and explored aspects of Olympic legacy at all levels and agreed that there has been insufficient attention given in the past to the outcomes of legacy and identified a great need for research into legacy (an opportunity this thesis can explore in more detail); in particular that legacy building must start with the decision to bid for the Games (Ritchie, 1987; Cashman, 2006).

The IOC recognised that their role within legacy planning is one of ensuring the effective transfer of knowledge between organising bodies. This objective is to raise the awareness of the importance of legacy planning in ensuring, in the future, that genuine, lasting sporting legacies are created. The IOC only describe measurable legacies such as including increased tourism, greater global awareness, improved business, new architecture, urban planning projects, city marketing and sports infrastructures; they omit to mention those legacies which are deemed immeasurable and make no mention of other types of legacy, in particular non-sporting legacies. However, the IOC acknowledges that there are other similarly important legacies, i.e. the rituals, symbols, memory and history. They further emphasised at the Symposium, that Legacy will become a crucial component within the bid process (IOC, 2003), as evidenced in the case of London where the bid to host the 2012 was successful partly because of its legacy plans for the Games site area. More recently the Rio 2016 bid documentation also features legacy plans and the IOC recognises that longitudinal and comparative studies are needed and has set up the Olympic Games Knowledge Transfer System and the Olympic Games Global Initiative both to provide knowledge banks and longitudinal studies upon which future cities may draw knowledge.

However, despite the bid documentation, the Mayor, Boris Johnson, has been quoted in the UK press as saying that London's chances of long-term legacy planning have already been lost

(Kelso, 2008). The appointment of Tom Russell as Head of Legacy Planning brought experience from Manchester 2002 where he led the East Manchester regeneration project, yet he departed from his post prior to the setting up of the Olympic Park Legacy Company in 2009.

According to Ritchie (2000), effective Olympic legacy planning can lead to long-term benefits for host residents. Yet Malfas et al (2004) argue that whilst events may seem attractive through the positive economic benefits they accrue, the social impacts can be negative particularly when residents are forced to leave their housing to make way for Olympic event infrastructure. They highlight the case of the Atlanta 1996 Olympics when 9500 units of affordable housing were lost and \$350 million in public funds diverted from low-income housing and the social services to fund the Olympic preparation. Cashman (1998) would further argue that in the planning for the Games, especially in the bidding phase, many unstated promises are made. It is vital therefore, that as the local community invests so much in the Games that the wider benefits of legacy should be 'canvassed and articulated' (p112). While the focus is on the economic benefits, legacy casts a wider sphere into many intangible factors too; beyond the architecture, culture and environment. Critics would argue that the social benefits are not straightforward (Hall, 1998; Lenskyj, 2002). Olympic developments can increase social inequalities through greater costs of living and may not necessarily improve the lifestyles of the most deprived members of the community, in some cases even moving them away from the area (Ball & Greene, 1997; Olds, 1998; Ritchie & Hall, 1999 and Lenskyj, 2002). Lenskyj (2002) in particular, writing about the social impacts of Sydney 2000, openly questions the 'Best Olympics Ever' commendation given by the IOC President at the end of the closing ceremony of the Games by highlighting the negative impacts for Sydney, including the lack of consultation, race issues, rent increases and corruption.

With respect to social inequalities, which can be associated with large scale mega-events, Haynes (2001) focuses on the international media reporting of the issues involving the Aboriginal people in Australia during the preparations and hosting of Sydney 2000 and the housing issues that resulted from the Games developments. She also writes that once the Sydney Games themselves were actually underway, Sydney ran smoother than ever and there was a constant party atmosphere everywhere. Yet, after the Games were over many people questioned the expected benefits as a result of hosting the Games (Cashman, 2006) and the resulting housing issues arising from the gentrification of the Olympic Park as there appeared to be no clear long-term legacy plans at that time. It is the impacts on the community and the identification of who are the local community that needs to be discussed further within any urban regeneration planning in order to identify the legacy that comes from the hosting of the Games. It is becoming clear though that there are urban planning contradictions from before, during and after the Games

affecting the legacy outcomes. Whilst this research is focusing on the before, future research will be able to examine the ‘during’ and ‘after’ scenarios.

In contrast, Roche (1994) believes that, if successful, Olympic social legacies can develop a positive and renewed image for the host city through the media coverage and the subsequent resulting tourism and inward investment. He further argues that events should be judged on their causes and productions, and urban studies, such as city image and contemporary re-imaging, are vitally important to inform urban policy. The socio-cultural and psychological legacies are sometimes the most valuable in that they will ‘*enhance the long-term well-being or lifestyle of destination residents in a very substantial manner – preferably in a way that reflects the values of the local population*’ (Ritchie, 2000 p156).

2.5 Urban regeneration legacy

Urban regeneration legacy with Olympic planning started as far back as Rome in 1960 (Smith, 2007) when events as regeneration tools complemented large-scale urban developments. However, it cannot be assumed that the event will deliver regeneration simply as a result of the event taking place. It is more about securing the benefits through the opportunity to gain funding and publicity to secure major projects which may not have happened without the event acting as a catalyst (Chalkley and Essex, 1999). Events can be exploited to redevelop urban areas through the new infrastructure required and the expenses incurred are offset against the improvements to airports, sewage and housing, especially in inner city areas; often quoted as a strong motive for bidding for the Olympic Games (Monclus, 2006). Smith and Fox (2007) suggest that large events have long been associated with the physical regeneration of cities because of the opportunities to capitalize on the softer social and economic regeneration. They focus in particular upon Barcelona and how three events have shaped the modern city: the 1888 World’s Fair, 1929 World Exposition and the 1992 Olympic Games. MacKay (2000) and Munoz (2005) suggest Barcelona is an example of a city which has used mega-events to revitalise the city for the residents, especially in the post-Franco period, by renewing pride and community spirit as well as opening up public spaces. Smith (2007) agrees and suggests ten generic principles to maximise regeneration legacy: embedding the strategic vision within wider regeneration programmes; use the event as a stimulus for parallel initiatives; regeneration planning is incorporated in the initial stages; shared ownership amongst all partners of legacy ownership; joint working towards clear goals from all organisations involved; sufficient human and capital resources needed; regeneration to target those most in need; even geographical dissemination of positive impacts; event themed regeneration to build on any physical infrastructure legacy; and ensure community involvement from the outset. Smith suggests it is the choice of events that is key to maximising these

principles. However, he also suggests that the regeneration within the event design must prioritise the needs of the most disadvantaged members of the community, something that the Olympic Games has a very poor record of doing and that within legacy planning the community representation must begin with the initial planning.

Ritchie (1987) and Chalkley and Essex (1999; 2000) believe large-scale events have the potential for being a catalyst for redevelopment, imaging and place promotion with Ritchie (2000) developing a ten-point plan for enhancing mega-event legacy, which has been applied by the author to Barcelona, Sydney and London (Appendix 1). This table compares and contrasts their various initiatives showing the three cities different approaches to mega-event legacy; ranging from educational initiatives engaging young people, through stakeholder management, long-term legacy planning, community involvement, residents involvement in planning, parallel initiatives to include education, culture and commercial events, resident host training, and regional connectedness to the Games' initiatives. The rationale for including the comparison is that even though Ritchie's plan was developed post Barcelona and during Sydney's planning, it is still as relevant for London today as it was for Barcelona nearly 20 years ago.

The Manchester Commonwealth Games in 2002 developed a wider strategic vision where all projects were games-themed coining the phrases 'event-themed regeneration' as opposed to 'event-led regeneration' (Smith and Fox, 2007). The projects had a unifying theme for regeneration and were targeted at the most needy beneficiaries. Programme managers said their programmes would not have been successful if the social and economic initiatives were not part of the planning for the event.

Whilst many studies have examined the urban layouts of various mega-events, the analysis of these events as catalysts of urban regeneration and the associated soft social legacy impacts has been the subject of little specific analysis across many events until recently, with in particular, a report commissioned for RICS *The 2012 Games: The Regeneration Legacy* (Smith et al. 2011). Whilst studies have been undertaken (Hughes 1993; Olds 1998; Fayos-Sola 1998; Chalkley and Essex 1999; 2000; Hiller, 2000; Preuss and Solberg 2006) on the social impacts of mega-events, there have been few comparative studies involving in-depth interviewing of key stakeholders. This would include communities affected by the hosting of the respective mega-events, and focusing specifically on those communities most affected by the Games. These soft, urban regeneration legacies are often very specific to the Games in question therefore emphasising the importance of 'stakeholder' identification.

However, in examining the role of regeneration through events, including the public expenditure required hosting these events, Hall (1998) and Lenskyj (2002) question if the benefits

from these events actually accrue to the most needy and deserving. This highlights the importance of identifying who are the community stakeholders within the event planning. Smith (2007) argues that events are not an ideal tool for regeneration at all because of their high expectations in this area and that there has been little evidence of events being directly responsible for good examples of urban regeneration. However, he does advocate that they could be used to leverage and help adopt parallel initiatives that will provide direct impacts for local communities as seen in Manchester.

2.6 Community involvement in event urban legacy planning

Hosting a mega-event can disturb and disrupt normal developments and activities and mega-events may only serve the interests of a narrow section of the community (Hughes, 1993). Hughes believes, as does Hiller (2000; 2006), that events are not always beneficial at 'grass roots level'. Leaders make bids for events purely out of business interests, often encouraged by corporate partners and not always for the benefit of the community, indeed even increasing socio-economic inequalities between communities. These inequalities often include the cost of living and the inability to increase employability of locals and improve material incomes in already deprived areas (Hall and Hubbard, 2006). Hall (2006, p. 59) refers to the *'undesirable long-term consequences for public stakeholders although significant short-term gains for some corporate interests'*.

Furthermore, as a result of the inequalities, issues of differential power and interest appear inevitable, if undesirable, for some stakeholders such as local communities due to the role differences of the parties involved. However, in order to legitimise an event, Smith (2007) suggests the organisers should involve the public through representation on the organising committee, wherever possible, and to recognise them as stakeholders in the entire process. The stakeholders will, through engagement in the planning, be able to have an involvement in any negotiations which may not be entirely in their best interests. Through this engagement they can maintain a level of influence, however small, through involvement within the decision making process, affording the community some control and influence over what happens to them. This constitutes a level of commitment from the organisers and ultimately confirmation bias within the decision making (Monaghan, 2000). In the case of the planning for the London Olympics the decision making phases that are usually seen within regular planning decision making are not always possible through time pressures and power discrepancies. Normal decision making steps have to be condensed through time constraints and whereas most decision making models contain several forms of comparison, in the planning for the Olympics, opinion polls replace public involvement in the decision making process (Hall, 2006).

In discussing the London plans for the creation of new housing communities as a result of the hosting of the Games and the promise to improve the lives of the people who live in and around the site area, Vigor et al, (2005) emphasise again the need to identify who are the communities being affected by the developments, particularly in relation to housing impacts; an important consideration for London and the local population. Olds (1998) purports that for an effective community force to be heard an organised coalition of community-based groups is needed in order to have the capacity and knowledge base to deal with the complexity of the situation and in so doing exercise informational power as this type of power is based on having access to sources of important information and factual data (knowledge). A coalition would therefore be able to try to place pressure on the event organisers to ensure that the right people accrued the social legacy benefits. What is important here is the recognition within communities which are being impacted by the developments, that there is a need to accept that these developments are going to take place but that they can gain recognition as stakeholders by operating as a cohesive group to be able to influence decisions to provide long-term positive legacy benefits.

An example of how this has previously worked, but on a smaller scale, is with new build facilities in the context of sport and local regeneration with Arsenal Football Club in North London. The local authority ensured that the club delivered on the social policy agenda in return for agreeing to allow the club's relocation to Ashburton Grove. This relationship between the Football Club and Islington Council provided for student and key worker accommodation at the new site, as well as a community health centre. All these requirements were part of the planning process to obtain permission to relocate the club and to become responsible for the regeneration of the surrounding area; not just the building of a new stadium. This project has shown an example of private/public co-operation resulting in wider economic and social benefits to the local community, including 2,800 jobs and 2,500 new homes (Ebanga, 2005).

This relocation and partnership example is a role model for London, as it is a similar project, although on a smaller scale, to that within the legacy plans for The London Olympic Park after the 2012 Games.

2.7 Infrastructural legacy impacts from previous Olympics

Chalkley and Essex (2000) detail the changing infrastructure impact of the Summer and Winter Games, 1896-2002 (Table 2.2) and the dramatic increase in the scale of urban development as the number of competitors, the media interest and the levels of sponsorship have grown. Some Games have been an opportunity to develop wide-scale urban development depending on the economic factors in both local and global contexts. National and local attitudes to public expenditure have also dictated the level of transformation.

Table 2.2 The changing infrastructural impact of the Summer and Winter Games; 1896-2002.**Source: Chalkley and Essex (1999, 2000)**

Summer Olympic Games	Winter Olympic Games
PHASE ONE: 1896-1904 <i>Small scale, poorly organised and not necessarily involving any new development</i>	PHASE ONE: 1924-1932 <i>Minimal infrastructural transformation apart from sports facilities.</i>
PHASE TWO: 1908-1932 <i>Small scale, better organised and involving construction of purpose built sports facilities</i>	PHASE TWO: 1936-1960 <i>Emerging infrastructural demands, especially transportation.</i>
PHASE THREE: 1936-1956 <i>Large scale, well organised and involving construction of purpose built sport facilities with some impact on urban infrastructure</i>	PHASE THREE: 1964-1980 <i>Tool of regional development, especially transportation and Olympic Villages.</i>
PHASE FOUR: 1960-1996 <i>Large scale, well organised and involving construction of purpose built sports facilities with significant impacts on urban infrastructure</i>	PHASE FOUR: 1984-2002 <i>Large-scale urban transformations, including multiple Olympic Villages.</i>

Phases Five and Six should be added post-2002 to include the environmental, sustainable development and regeneration features of subsequent Games, in particular the planning for Vancouver 2010 and London 2012. However Chalkley and Essex (2000) also divide the Games into four different groups depending on the level to which they have triggered infrastructural improvements and therefore the diagram can be revised (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 adapted by author from Chalkey and Essex (1999, 2000)

Summer Olympic Games	Winter Olympic Games	The four distinct Olympic phases re infrastructural development
PHASE ONE; 1896-1904 A Small scale, poorly organised and not necessarily involving any new infrastructure	PHASE ONE: 1924-1932 A Minimal infrastructure transformation apart from sports facilities	
PHASE TWO: 1908-1932 A Small scale, better organised and involving construction of purpose built facilities	PHASE TWO: 1936-1960 A Emerging infrastructural demands, especially transportation	A =prior to the 1960's infrastructure transformations and expenditure were minimal
PHASE THREE: 1936-1956 A Large scale, well organised and involving construction of purpose built sport facilities with some impact on urban infrastructure	PHASE THREE: 1964-1980 B Tool of regional development, especially transportation and Olympic Villages	
PHASE FOUR: 1960-1996 B Large scale, well organised and involving construction of purpose built sports facilities with significant impacts on urban infrastructure	PHASE FOUR: 1984-2002 B Large scale, urban transformations, including multiple Olympic Villages	B =cities that did improve their infrastructure but mainly focussed on the sporting facilities
PHASE FIVE: 1996-2012 C Urban regeneration projects have become recognised opportunities from the hosting of the Games and the opportunities for enhanced place image. Scale of developments is in danger of imploding. Post games legacy planning beginning to gain momentum. Community involvement in planning gaining strength	PHASE FIVE; 2002-2010 C Events being used to transform image in world's media and to enhance place image. Environmental concerns featuring heavily in planning, some community consultation	C =Cities that capitalised on the widespread opportunities for urban transformations and have recognised the role events can play within this process
PHASE SIX: 2012 onwards D Less extravagance in Games to be replaced by collaborative planning and urban regeneration at the forefront of the rationale for hosting. Environmental issues of prominence and long term legacy planning from outset	PHASE SIX; 2010 onwards D Environmental issues of prominence, especially in fragile mountain regions. Collaborative planning essential	D = Games to return to celebrations of sport and culture with environmental issues being at the heart of a collaborative planning process. Less extravagance & opulence to be portrayed during Games.

The Los Angeles Games of 1984 became the first privately funded Olympic Games in recent times. Los Angeles was the only city other than Tehran to put themselves forward to be considered as hosts, mainly due to reports about the debts accrued by Montreal hosting the 1976 Olympics. The Games were deemed a success, mainly through astute financial management with the use of existing infrastructure; this sparked the inter-city rivalry that was to dominate the bid selection for many years to come. Unfortunately, Atlanta in 1996 did not follow the example of

Los Angeles and, apart from the construction of new sporting facilities, nothing new was added to the city and the promised improvements to the housing conditions as a result of the hosting of the Games never materialised. In contrast, the 2000 and 2004 Games resulted in improvements of infrastructure, but with very little, if any, post-Games legacy planning. Poynter and MacRury (2009) argue that this is an area that receives little attention but needs far more focus to minimise negative impacts. Much of the sporting infrastructure from both Games (Sydney and Athens) is rarely used to full capacity and in particular in Athens, many sports are not even followed by Greeks and the infrastructure lies unused. It is too early to comment on what will happen to the Beijing facilities in the long-term, yet every venue for London 2012 intends to have legacy plans built into its design (ODA, 2007). However, even with legacy plans available, it will still need management to run these venues post the Games – this responsibility is still not clear as the newly formed Olympic Park Legacy Company still has to decide on the future management and usage of many of the stadia. The need to embed a programme to radically develop one of the most disadvantaged urban areas in Europe is self-evident. Yet crucial to the model to improve the lives of the people who live in and around the site area is the need to identify who are the communities being affected by the developments, particularly in relation to housing impacts.

2.8 Housing impacts legacy from the hosting of mega-events

According to Hall (1997) the creation of ‘desirable’ middle-class living conditions as a result of hosting mega-events is often a precursor for higher property prices and increased rents through urban re-imaging programmes. Ball and Greene (1997), Olds (1998), Ritchie and Hall (1999) and Lenskyj (2002) would all argue these developments can actually increase social inequalities through increased costs of living and not necessarily improving the lifestyles of the current community. Ritchie and Hall (1999) argue that with the large infrastructure developments associated with the hosting of mega-events there will be considerable impact on both housing and prices, resulting in displacement. In Seoul 1988 and Barcelona 1992 the relocation of indigenous communities related to the torch relay route in Seoul (Jeong, 1999) and development of the waterfront in Barcelona (Mackay, 2000).

Local community priorities may be ignored, as development partnerships become dominated by ‘movers and shakers’, limiting the ‘bottom-up’ participation approach (Hiller, 1998; Waitt, 1999). A ‘bottom up’ approach may promote socially sustainable regeneration and it becomes development ‘in’, rather than development ‘of’ the area with an element of power being passed to these communities within the negotiations as opposed to ‘top down’ decision making. The negotiations for London 2012 have always maintained that community involvement is crucial in all consultation drawing on the Office of the Deputy Prime Ministers guidelines on community

consultation (ODPM, 2004). However, in the tight timeframes involved and pressures from the IOC, evidence suggests that in many cases the power within the negotiations still resides with the developers.

Hall and Hodges (1996) and Ritchie and Hall (1999) argue that it is often the low income households who are most disadvantaged because of the increases in prices and rental stock; a result of the speculative developments. However, development and change must consider those cultural and social values of place, in that businesses are often located in run-down areas for a reason, possibly due to lack of developer interest and low rents. Similarly, residential communities develop in these areas for the same reasons, through necessity rather than choice (Games Monitor, 2007). There is a linkage between soft impacts and hard impacts (the economic and physical impacts), as often they are intrinsically linked through the process of urban regeneration. Hard impacts are more easily measured and therefore quantifiable (Preuss 2006), unlike the softer impacts, which, whilst leading to potential changes in social structure, are harder to measure. Regeneration implies that the existing population remains in situ after development whereas past studies have shown evidence of revitalisation of areas for different social classes (Mace et al. 2007). Whilst the media focus is on the development of the hard infrastructure needed to host the Games, it is the softer legacies and their long-term implications that are often overlooked. Whilst previous Games have discussed the social implications of housing issues in relation to residential communities (Hughes, 1993, Lenskyj, 2002) there has been little written in the past regarding other communities/businesses which have been relocated due to the infrastructure requirements of the Games.

2.8.1 Housing issues in Barcelona and Sydney.

In Barcelona for the 1992 Olympic Games, with the relocation of many of the indigenous communities from the waterfront (Mackay, 2000), there was a breakdown in community structures. By clearing the seafront area, many local businesses and associated communities were evicted, despite a significant social and cultural heritage by being positioned originally on the seafront, for example the 'sea gypsy' communities. The resultant housing from the former Olympic Village became highly desirable property and led to the gentrification of the waterfront area and 'opened up' the waterfront that had for many years been industrialised. Gentrification as a planning concept implies a change of the resident class as defined by Lees et al (2008), *'the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and /or commercial use'* (pxv). Major events may be used to re-develop areas in the long-term and may displace social networks and affordable housing; in other words gentrify the area.

Interestingly, for London one of the legacy promises is to provide affordable housing as a by-product of the hosting of the Games.

In Sydney in the areas adjacent to the Sydney Olympic Park, the social and political impacts were overshadowed by the need to provide the physical and symbolic legacies of the Games, such as the more tangible elements of sporting infrastructure (Owen, 2001). Auburn Council attempted an entrepreneurial style of co-operation with the planners, but unfortunately had a change of leadership immediately prior to the Games and did not benefit as much as hoped (Cashman, 2006). In other boroughs, due to a lack of community participation in the planning processes, negative social impacts resulted, restricting public access to community facilities (the local boroughs of Ryde and Waverly lost the use of their swimming pools) and removing local authority planning powers. If the communities affected had been able to use their limited power to influence decisions, despite there being clear power inequalities, then they might have achieved more equitable outcomes. Disruption was necessary for the running of the Games but a compromise could have been negotiated. In addition, many people suffered above-inflation rent increases on their properties, forcing them out of their homes (Beadnell, 2000). Hamilton (2000) wrote that Sydney's newest Olympic Sport was the 'rent race', whilst McWilliams (2000) wrote about tenants who had lived for 20 years in the same building being given 60 days' notice to vacate, so their landlords could redevelop the properties to gain higher rental income. A similar situation arose in Sydney, with the question of how to deal with the homeless population prior to the Games commencement. Special powers were invoked by the Olympic Authorities through Sydney City Council Rangers who were tasked with 'removing' anyone deemed a nuisance.

Hall (1997) discusses the creation of 'desirable' middle-class living conditions and increased rents as a result of higher property prices and that the catalyst for change expounded by Chalkley and Essex (1999) actually becomes a fast-track process where development takes precedence over welfare. The political reality is that the social impacts are not an issue in Olympic planning (Ritchie and Hall, 1999). However, Hughes (1993) argues that many inner city problems are so complex and the result of years of neglect that no one single strategy will be appropriate for dealing with these long-term problems. It could be argued that gentrification benefits wider society and the economy but not necessarily the local communities and the local economy.

Smith (2007) believes that the emphasis on legacy considerations helped win the bid and that true regeneration will only occur if the benefits go to those areas and people who most need the assistance as opposed to gentrifying the area for a new population. Even so, in London, stories have emerged of residents being evicted from their housing, for example the residents of the

Peabody Estate in Clays Lane (Games Monitor, 2007), yet London's bid documentation expressly commented on transforming the heart of East London with sustainable social legacies.

2.9 UK urban housing policy as it affects legacy planning

Urban and regional planning is planning with a spatial or geographical context. A brief history of urban planning in relation to housing issues in the UK can be seen in Appendix 2. For this thesis it is the post-1990 developments in the UK, with regard to urban management, which merit closer examination. However, it is important to note that as Newman and Thornley (1997) highlighted in the early 1990's London was so fragmented institutionally with regard to urban planning that it was in danger of losing its competitive position on the world market. More recently, for the London Games a 'plan-led' system has allowed central government to dictate local policy through many papers and bylaws (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002, 2009).

A major UK shift has seen a change in owner-occupation due to the sell-off of former municipally owned properties at a reduced rate to current tenants. In addition, as much as 55% of social housing has been placed in the ownership of privately managed entities to take pressure off local and national government finances (Cowan & Morgan 2009). The rationale for the private ownership of social housing was to deliver the government's social objective policies but this policy has struggled for success in the current economic climate, further restricting the supply of social housing. Local authorities still have statutory obligations to provide housing to the homeless, refugees and asylum seekers, but the housing stock is now largely supplied from private sources. Concurrently with this the government fiscal support for home ownership has declined as has the sale of council owned properties due to difficult monetary conditions. Joint ownership with housing associations is a relatively new concept to fill the gap between renting and outright ownership, to at least give some householders the chance to enter the owner-occupier property market. It is here that the concept of 'key worker' properties arises whereby certain crucial jobs are given preferential rental/ownership terms in order to allow them to live close to their place of work.

The UK has recently experienced two severe downturns in the property market; the first in the early 1990s and the current one since 2008. These downturns have changed the make-up of the property market with many people being forced to return to rental accommodation rather than ownership. Urban planning requirements in many major cities, including London, are linked to a rise in the demand for social housing with over 350,000 on London council waiting lists which compares with 1.7m households on council waiting lists in the whole of the UK and the average waiting time now is six years (Shelter, 2009). For those who live in the inner cities, especially immigrant communities, the conditions have continued to deteriorate and households cannot

afford to live elsewhere. Butler et al (2006) studied the changing ethnic composition of London housing tenures over a 10 year period to 2001 and noticed an increase in the size of the immigrant population. However, the emphasis in their study is on the living conditions of these groups resulting from living in social and privately rented housing stock rather than accurate numbers as many are neither 'legal' nor registered within annual population surveys. One possible solution, urban renewal, is the restructuring through public policies, of cities and their economies as a result of continued deindustrialisation (Gold and Gold, 2007). It involves an holistic approach not just by geographers but also social scientists, economists, psychologists and politicians (Hall, 1989). Both Healey (1997) and Booth (2005) question whether the regeneration is area-specific or driven by globalisation for social and or economic reasons. Butler et al (2006) report that London still has some of the most deprived local authorities in the country. Whilst work is undertaken on economic and class restructuring, it is often a precursor for gentrification. This ultimately leads to the displacement of working class populations (Hamnett, 2003)

Unfortunately, all these policies seem to have created an even bigger social divide and have exacerbated social exclusion for the really poor households in this country, many of whom are based in areas similar to those adjacent to the Olympic developments in East London (Cheshire, 2007 a & b). Council waiting lists in London continue to increase, with Newham currently running at around 28,000 people waiting (National Housing Federation, 2010), with the concern that even at the current rate of building the list could take 200 years to clear. Cheshire believes the answer to tackling the problem lies in examining the underlying causes of the poverty and social exclusion. To this end recent developments have seen more community involvement and integrated projects to not just re-house, but also to retrain many of these individuals from the poorer households.

This is not an entirely new concept as, according to Healey et al (1988), the issue of poverty at the end of the 1960s necessitated that land use management moved from redevelopment to rehabilitation. The declaration of Conservation Areas led to the establishment of General Improvement Areas and the issuing of grants for repairing existing houses and making environmental improvements. In 1977, a White Paper focused on partnerships between central and local government in relation to emphasis on urban policies and in particular partnerships with a stronger economic base. These methods omitted local consultation (Healey et al, 1988).

It must be remembered that urban policy relates to the economic and social issues in tandem. The trend, whilst slowing, is still predominantly towards encouraging and supporting property ownership with a recent development being the improvement of existing housing stock with local

community involvement. This is mainly focused on what Balchin (1996) refers to as 'problem' estates.

Carriere and Demaziere (2002) argue that in many cases, city governments are often weak by comparison to national governments. They further question whether it is only a public/private partnership initiative (popular in recent years) that will have the gravitas to fulfil the outcomes in relation to urban governance of planning. Public authorities form linkages with private developers through public/private partnerships but these arrangements may favour the private sector with regulatory channels by-passed and ignored exposing the local communities to unfair and biased developments.

Cameron et al (2005) in a review of the UK housing market argues that even after a housing market downturn, recovery will take place and that strength in the housing market reflects economic performance in the economy. The decision to bid for the 2012 Games was taken at a time of high economic performance and now, with the Games only a couple of years away, the economy is not performing anywhere near at that level. At the time of bidding, Britain had just weathered the 2001-3 economic slowdown much better than most major economies and therefore felt confident in making the bid. Tessa Jowell, the Olympics Minister has indeed stated that *'if we knew then what we know now about the economy, we would not have bid'* (Osbourne and Kirkup, 2008, p1). This acknowledges the difficulties for private and public funding bodies in trying to fulfil the legacy promises made at a time of stronger financial conditions. A stark warning for future mega-event planners in relation to long-term legacy promises being made without due consideration of fluctuating financial climates. Mace et al (2007) write about how shrinking cities are employing urban regeneration in a more sustainable, compact, inclusive and equitable way in an attempt to stem the flow of people away from the city centre. It is family units which are vital for long-term sustainability with greater level of social capital (in that social networks have value) and high incomes. Mace et al (2007) refer to renaissance as urbanism for the middle classes and regeneration as urbanism for the working classes; by this they mean that the terminology gets misused to cover all neighbourhoods' restructuring under 'regeneration' rather than to specifically state who the developments are for. They argue that the terminology needs to be different and clearly articulated from the outset depending on the social outcomes desired at the end of the process.

New developments in Manchester from the New East Manchester regeneration project highlight how difficult it is to stem population loss and to attract back into the regenerated inner city the population which had relocated to suburbia, particularly families. This section of the community is vital to maintain long-term sustainable population growth. For regeneration to work

in a place like East Manchester, where incomers are wealthier, the social policies need to be reviewed to continue to support a mixed housing tenure and prevent too much social displacement. This legacy was critical to Manchester during the planning of the 2002 Commonwealth Games as they wanted to ensure, regarding the venues, that there were to be no 'white elephants'. Through detailed legacy planning Manchester has managed to achieve this with the Manchester City Football Club now operating from the City of Manchester Stadium and the Aquatic Centre and National Squash Centre now being used by the people of Manchester.

Transferring this model to London and the Olympic Site, the question arises as to whether it will be renaissance and middle class development or true regeneration for the locals and how will they get sustainable developments. Using the example of the Docklands developments (where at the outset all the housing was for the higher income brackets) unless certain income earners populate the area and spend their money within the local services, there risks being a narrow-based economy making sustainable regeneration impossible. Yet, gentrification is not planned for the area. Gentrification is often wrongly quoted as a substitute for regeneration, renaissance, revitalization or renewal (Coaffee 2007). The official bid documentation mentions that in relation to the developments taken place in the Lower Lea Valley for the 2012 Olympics, regeneration projects are taking place to improve the local communities' living conditions (ODA, 2005), despite previous host city developments resulting in gentrification projects (Mackay 2000; Lenskyj 2002).

With the publication of the Sustainable Communities Plan in 2003 (ODPM, 2003), the Government has placed housing to the forefront of its urban policy to repopulate cities by suggesting that for social and economic sustainable development mixed tenure communities must live together in the cities. The White Paper entitled 'Towards an Urban Renaissance', resulted in a gentrification that engages with the middle classes of the city (Barber and Hall, 2008). However, this approach needs to consider the deprived still living within the city centre. The Social Exclusion Taskforce of which New Deal was a part was an initiative focusing on reducing social exclusion by specific employment opportunities for the deprived. However, a recent report from the Joseph Rowntree Trust in the UK (Cheshire, 2007b) openly questions whether mixed communities do work, as there still appears to be social divides within mixed community developments. In addition, the ancillary services found in these housing developments tend to cater for the higher income end of the market forcing many of the poorer households to be priced out of using the local facilities, such as gyms, supermarkets and restaurants. Despite this report, the plans for the Park still include mixed tenure housing and therefore there is clearly a need for a planning model which would allow all parties to have a voice in the future planning of the housing within the Olympic Park and the surrounding areas – this being collaborative planning as

to the degree of co-ordination and cohesion it supports (Booher and Innes, 2002; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Margerum, 2002) (see section 2.91). In mid-2011 announcements were made by the landlords for the properties from 2013, and whilst some parts of the village have been sold to the Qatari Diar and Delancy estates, a smaller section is to be developed as affordable housing by Triathlon Homes (Kollewe, 2011). In all these developments the local communities could have a say in the plans for the ancillary services as well as the physical infrastructure through collaboration and effective communication.

2.9.1 Urban governance and collaborative planning in UK legacy management

Governance is the process of multiple stakeholders coming together in decision-making, including public and private stakeholders, with the associated power and resource imbalances (Ansell and Gash, 2007). For effective collaboration to take place within governance frameworks, co-ordination and cohesion through networks are pre-requisites to gaining power with commitment and shared understanding. Healey (2007) focuses on the role governance can play within the development of urban areas by shaping place qualities from the social and environmental aspects. She argues that this is possible through the collective action of mobilising and organising the planning projects. By utilising power through networks the flow of power in the collaboration is all part of the consensus building. However, the accountability of these networks is somewhat ambiguous, none more so than in matters of community involvement.

Booth (2005) argues that the changes in urban governance seen in the UK over the last twenty five years have dissolved away from the local municipal councils making all the decisions to one where networks of agencies now work in partnership. However, this could be a positive change because of the power gained within these networks, particularly if communities are part of the network. The opportunity to collaborate within the decision-making processes, through gaining access to information, facilitating understanding and enabling influence can help determine the outcome of the partnerships; thus gaining a degree of informational power as already mentioned. It is important to note however, that much of the local control that governance allows is removed during Olympic planning as it becomes more centralised adding potential conflicts to the planning process.

Collaborative planning is recognised as an interactive process incorporating stakeholder and public involvement within the consensus building. It is classified as '*meaningful and effective planning that must be based on a two way communication flow between the public and planning agency*' (Margerum, 2002 p237) and refers to participants in the process as all who have a stake in the outcome. This includes Government representatives, interest groups and major sectors of the community. This type of planning can offer a degree of network power which emerges from

information gained within the communication and collaboration (Booher and Innes, 2002). It can be the small wins which strengthen this consensus building, particularly within collaborative planning. For example, from the local community perspective something that relates to their immediate environment may seem small in the overall Olympic planning but may be deemed a major local issue.

Margerum (2002) believes that there are many obstacles to collaborative planning including operational, organisational and power issues. Full community participation, recognising the dynamic nature of communities, letting them be involved as early as possible and providing as much information as possible through governance, is as vital as face-to-face dialogue and trust building with a shared understanding (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Urban regeneration partnerships need a framework that offers and encourages democratic decision-making and this can emerge from collaborative planning (McGuirk, 2001). Community forums are often used as a conduit for two-way participation, but much depends on their design as they can be infiltrated by radical and all too powerful concerns. Arguments against collaborative planning show that the essence is on the speed with which decisions need to be made nowadays, but, if truly instigating a collaborative approach, it will ultimately slow down the process by ensuring all parties have an input. Collaborative planning supports values of cohesion and inclusivity into a society that is perhaps more fragmented and individual than ever before (Brand and Gaffikin, 2007).

Collaborative planning theory offers an opportunity for effective community participation through governance and offers a methodological framework promoting consensus building, *'it has become the new orthodoxy within urban regeneration policy in the UK'* (Maginn, 2007, p25). Margerum (2002) suggests three phases to effective collaborative planning: problem setting, direction setting and implementation. The solution lies in the framework guidance and practice that it can provide, rather than a prescriptive methodology to follow to the letter. Therefore, it will be the guidance this form of planning can offer within the stakeholder management process that is of importance rather than a set of guidelines that must be followed.

Another issue within governance and collaborative planning is that of disruption to normal development channels. Planning through the formation of local partnerships, consisting of developers and local government officials, may not acknowledge the 'culture' of the neighbourhoods and communities. Policy makers encounter many problems including conflict, mistrust and high costs of fighting community objections. Where local councils are investing large amounts of money on regeneration projects they are uncertain as to the amount of control they give to community stakeholders yet they can overcome this by using power, expert analysis and monitoring. This has been seen in the consultation processes already underway in London

(ODA 2008b). Hughes (1993) notes though that hosting a mega-event can disturb and disrupt the normal development channels and may serve the interests of only a narrow section of the community and therefore may not consider all those affected by the developments. Ritchie and Hall (1999) also argue that local authorities and other planning bodies often fear local reactions and so try and avoid contact rather than listening and negotiating. Therefore it is important to recognise that power networks including all stakeholders are vital for consensus building and decision-making, a valuable lesson for future mega-event planners. Maginn (2007) argues that with emotions often being high within community participation, full participation would be preferable when dealing with community conflict rather than trying to suppress or ignore it. Healey (1997) noted that conflict should be embraced as opposed to suppressed. She believed that taking the negative energy and making it positive would come about through inclusionary augmentation (the process of providing collaborative processes to avoid excluding stakeholders).

In the case of Olympic planning, Ritchie and Hall (1999) comment that the profile of the Games is such that normal planning procedures are also often by-passed in the drive to get the Games running with resulting negative community social impacts. By encouraging and facilitating the exercise of citizen power through collaboration, research has shown that the opportunities for the existing local communities to benefit from the developments become a possibility, if recognised as stakeholders, and this could apply to the Olympic planning too (Booher & Innes, 1999; Kim & Petrick 2003). Without this collaboration and involvement there is the risk that the project becomes a gentrification exercise, benefiting a new social class and allowing the local authorities the opportunity for higher rental and rateable value income.

Rist (2000) suggests that policymakers, in order to understand community participation, need to have a clear understanding of the issues at hand based on data from previous policy efforts. To gain this information it is necessary to ask questions such as those in Table 2.5. Having developed an understanding of the local community through asking questions, it is possible to formulate a more perceptive policy of community participation. The policy needs to be constantly reformulated as local communities are constantly evolving. Despite the need for continuous monitoring, it is not until the end of the policy's life that it is possible to assess how successful the policy has been through critical reflection. Only through all stakeholders being committed to open, honest consultation and all working towards common goals can research be deemed to be unbiased and equitable. How achievable this is within the time frames of the planning of mega-events and in particular the planning for the London 2012 Olympic Games, is something this thesis intends to explore.

Table 2.5 Questions to be asked re community participation- adapted from Maginn (2007)

Policy issue at hand	Past policy efforts	Implications of past policy for current policy
<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Who/what constitutes the 'local community'? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What is the social structure of the local community? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What sense(s) of community prevail within the target neighbourhood? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What is the nature of community relations between the different communities (e.g. young/old; black/white; and homeowners/council tenants) that inhabit the target neighbourhood? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What does participation mean to the local community? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> How much and what types of participation does the local community want/expect?	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What types of participatory initiatives were tried? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> How long did these initiatives run for and what resources were allocated to them? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What was the local community's reaction, initial and sustained, to these initiatives? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> How did the 'local community' rate participation? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What types of groups participated and what were their motives for doing so? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What groups were excluded from participation and how and why were they excluded? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> How 'representative' was participation of wider community interests? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> In what way(s) did the local community feel empowered from being involved in decision-making?	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What were the resource costs of pursuing policy options X, Y and Z? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What were the political costs of pursuing policy options X, Y and Z? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> How (in)effective were policy structures and processes in delivering outputs and outcomes? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> What were the social and political repercussions of particular courses of action? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> How much and what type of influence did the local community exert over decision making?

2.10 Power concepts within Olympic planning

The term power has been used in different ways by different authors and thus has led to conceptual confusion. Lukes (1974) discusses the enabling of power based on the works of Foucault and Machiavelli whereby power has three dimensions: as a constraint on human action, that which makes the action possible and that which limits its scope. So there has to be the dichotomy of both constraint and enablement hence giving rise to the term of 'balance of power'; namely all parties in the relationship have some power and it is how that power is used that influences the outcome. However if all relationships could be described in terms of power, then the meaning would be diluted so it is vital to establish the level of *power of constraint* as much as that of power.

The idea of power relationships has two distinct dimensions. The first is one-dimensional with the power being measured in the outcomes of the planning decisions and exercised in formal institutions where the power resides in who makes the decisions and how they are made. A focus on behaviour in the decision-making process is used to overcome conflict. In contrast, if two-dimensional power is used then the decision-making would include influence, inducement and

persuasion before authority, coercion and direct force were needed. Mintzberg (1983) and Pfeffer (1982) believe power relates to how people are able to influence each other in organisations (the agent and target relationship) normally in a downward direction. In contrast, Greiner and Schein (1998) believe in some organisations, where upward power is exerted, that it is the subordinates who influence the decisions of the leaders; still exerting power but in a different direction. Furthermore, power does not have to involve coercion and is more common in relation to influence, yet Handy (1993) argues that there should be a distinction between power and influence as it is the means by which power is used.

There are many theories of power that have been discussed going back to the 16th century, however more recently French and Raven (1959) developed a representation of how power plays work in specific relationships dependent of the sources of power and they further distinguish power from influence. In this they suggest that for one person to influence another, the second person must recognise a quality in the first individual which would motivate them to be influenced. They developed five distinct categories of such relationships: referent (based on the target's desire to be associated with the agent); coercive (based on the target's belief that the agent has the ability to punish him or her); expert (based on the target's belief that the agent can provide him or her with special knowledge); legitimate (based on the target's perception that the agent has the legitimate right to influence the target and that he or she is obligated to comply); and reward (based on the target's belief that the agent has the ability to provide him or her with desired tangible or intangible benefit).

Different types of behaviours are used to exert influence and these behaviours are known collectively as influence tactics and can be categorised according to their purpose. Amongst these are political tactics being used to influence organisational decisions or otherwise gain benefits for individuals or groups. By stating how important decisions are and who should make them, can help to define actions and silence critics, and prevent deception, manipulations and abuse of power (Zanzi and O'Neill, 2001). Yukl and Falbe (1991) pointed out that control over information is also a power source for managers and this is particularly pertinent in the information led society of the 21st century and an issue for London. Information about developments in relation to the planning stages for those impacted is not always available as those tasked with the various stages do not have full information themselves. Successful collaboration based on legitimate power, but with clear guidelines on the relevance of the task would also be required to manage the change process which is not always possible within Olympic planning. Of relevance to this study is the type of influence relationships involved within the Games planning. At first sight these appear to be expert but, perhaps through lack of informational power, the relationships are arguably more coercive as opposed to the desired relationships of legitimate influence. Furthermore, within

Olympic planning, 'influence tactics' are likely to be less successful as the immediate task objective is to lead on a change in preference to gaining support for the changes.

Within community planning Reed (1997) points out that no single organisation or individual can exert direct control on developments but coalitions, through collaboration, often result in a mechanism to influence the developments (Jamal and Getz, 1995), however, this can lead to the confusion when the collaboration fails and is it then the mechanism or the individuals involved to blame? Relating this to the Olympics planning, in many cases, the blame for the lack of collaboration and results is often blamed on the people undertaking the processes rather than the mechanisms themselves.

Jamal and Getz (1995) suggest that there are different power relationships at different stages of the process, a crucial consideration for the different stages of the Olympic planning; the three different stages being, problem setting, direction setting and implementation. Within the first stage the access to power is shared with a balance of power evident. However, within the next stage of direction setting this power is dispersed amongst the stakeholders and within the implementation stage there is a further redistribution of power. This ultimately results in a dilution of the power as it gets redistributed amongst stakeholders. Furthermore, Taylor (2000; 2011) would argue that within the UK, the urban policy changes of the 1990's allowed local authorities to exert both reward and information power to co-ordinate approaches in order to control local delivery and policy. Yet because local authorities were encouraged to develop community plans in consultation with local stakeholders (governance and collaborative planning) many of these were formed and the whole process became fragmented. This confirms Jamal and Getz (1995) who suggest these mechanisms are the root cause of the problem and not those responsible for the tasking; an important notion to consider for London's planners for the Olympics. It is crucial to recognise that the outcomes may reflect the process, so there can be a lot of participation but the influence over outcomes may be minimal. Furthermore, the legitimacy in the power relationships is derived in different interest groups and therefore the power becomes divisive and contradictory *at the table but unable to influence issues* (Taylor, 2000, p1022). What are crucial within Taylor's views are the tensions that arise from the timescales involved to encourage widespread involvement, an important consideration for London's planning.

Therefore the very partnerships put in place to empower can have the opposite effect of reinforcing existing domination and control (Atkinson 1999). Therefore with respect to Jamal and Getz's (1995) model of power relationships, the community involvement is at the very later stages of the power forming process rather than at the outset. Atkinson further argues that by becoming involved at this stage, the culture of decision-making maybe alien to the community and they then

settle for achievements which are far short of their original goals. Therefore the power remains with those that have the sophistication and resources to understand and Taylor (2000, p 1024) argues these people often 'act as the interpreters of the boundaries within which the partnerships operate', hence the power is not devolved outwards and downwards and there remain barriers to equitable sharing of power. Middle management get the blame for the failure of joined up working and community engagement but the constraints within which they have to operate are imposed on them from above. Until new approaches to governance all around are introduced and multiple networks are developed to include all communities, then the ability to work in these collaborative partnerships will not work. In the Local Government White Paper entitled 'Strong and Prosperous Communities' published in 2006, there is a section that proposes new responsibilities for local authorities to give local citizens and communities a greater say over their lives, in the services they receive and the places where they live on a day to day basis as opposed to any major projects. The implication therefore for the Olympic planners is that they are not subject to this through the powers contained within the Olympics Bill and the size of the project needed for the Games.

2.11 Summary

This chapter has highlighted the lack of comparative event legacy studies and the difficulties in identifying legacy itself. Furthermore, the literature on event social legacies, including community impacts and housing issues, have been discussed with examples of the positive and negative impacts seen in previous Games. Through studying the urban regeneration programmes and how collaborative planning has been developing in the UK, the review has shown that there are planning practices available for communities. However, the literature has also shown how many government policies in relation to housing are failing to meet their objectives. Elements of power and the different types of power that exist within Olympic planning have highlighted the difficulties experienced, especially for local communities within the planning stages. The question is whether within Olympic planning the terms of engagement within the planning process change in order to facilitate the local communities' involvement and thus their ability to influence the planning. The following chapter introduces the theory for this research, stakeholder theory, and in particular how communities, once identified as stakeholders, can gain identification as being impacted by the Games developments.

3 Stakeholders in urban regeneration

3.1 Introduction

An explanatory theory is required to assist in clarifying the role that the local community has within the planning process for mega-events, despite events not always being for the benefit of the community (Hughes, 1993, and Hiller, 2000; 2006). However, in order to legitimise the event the organisers need to involve the local community through representation on the organising committee, wherever possible, and to recognise them as stakeholders in the entire process. An investigation into possible management/organisational theories highlighted stakeholder theory as a suitable theory to explore local involvement. On the basis that past events failed to recognise residents and communities around mega-events as stakeholders, stakeholder theory identifies those groups which are stakeholders of a corporation/organisation and both describe and recommend management methods which consider the interests of those groups. Furthermore, it would appear to be suitable for this thesis through the recognition it gives the 'community' as stakeholder.

The term stakeholder has different interpretations, but within organisational studies (Donaldson 1999; Gibson 2000; Phillips et al, 2003) the intrinsic worth of all legitimate stakeholders is recognised (Jones and Wicks, 1999) therefore allowing them all a role within governance. Stakeholder theory furthermore assumes that values are necessarily and explicitly a part of doing business and examines what brings the stakeholders together (Freeman et al, 2004). In business, the managers are then clear about how they want to do business but in the case of this research topic, The International Olympic Committee, being the 'lead' manager of the project, operates strict control and guidance through both informational power (gained through acquiring data and knowledge) and expert power (gained through personal expertise and skill) about how the 'managers' are to operationalise the Games, ranging from the delivery of the infrastructure to the delivery of the physical Games themselves.

The stakeholder interest within this research is that of the local community to the Games operations. Past studies of community involvement in the Games planning has been sporadic and very one-sided in that the community voice has been weak, leading to negative social impacts. Smith (2007) however believes that for sustainable developments, the community must be closely involved and that initiatives should be owned by local stakeholders. It is the aim of this thesis to develop a framework of urban regeneration legacy associated with the hosting of mega-events where the local community are key stakeholders.

3.2 Stakeholder theory

Jones (1995) suggests that stakeholder theory can be an integrating theme for business and society and, when trustworthiness and co-operativeness are involved, can give competitive advantage. However, in stakeholder theory the primacy is in creating value (i.e. some intrinsic worth) for the stakeholders involved. Sundaram and Inkpen (2004) criticise this because they believe there to be an inability to find satisfactory conflict resolution, as management are unable to work out how to treat all the different parties involved. Indeed, Freeman et al (2004) argue that it is the purpose of the firm that drives the rationale that brings all stakeholders together, thus in the case of the organisation of the Olympics, this could include leaving long-term positive social legacies for the local community. In reference to Jones (1995), providing that the trust and co-operation exists, then integration with the identified community as stakeholder should be possible. A further question arising from stakeholder theory is the responsibility management (i.e. the IOC) has towards its stakeholders, yet the IOC passes this responsibility on to the local organising committees and central government.

Before choosing the particular interpretation of stakeholder theory adopted for this thesis, several other theories were considered in light of the objectives of the research and considered on merit as to how they would support and enhance the research (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Alternative theories considered

Theory	Context	Reject/accept
Configuration theory (Mintzberg, 1990)	The history of configuration theory builds upon Weber's "ideal type" and Mintzberg's classifications. Configuration and complementarity theories are loosely related; both address patterns and how characteristics fit together and therefore what drives decisions and activities. It provides taxonomies of organisational species and how organisations interrelate.	Whilst the organisers of the Games have to follow strict guidelines, as decreed by the IOC, it is not the patterns or similarities of the organisers that are the subject of this study; it is how they plan for positive social legacies that is the focus –Reject
Business/organisational life cycle (Jawahar and McLaughlin, 2001 – apply to Stakeholder theory)	Relates to the growth cycle of a business/organisation and discusses the 'phases' these organisations go through from birth to maturity	Whilst each mega-event works within strict timescales evidencing many of the characteristics of life cycle theory, the very notion of the rigidity precludes any flexibility for the Games organisers and therefore for this study this theory is not applicable –Reject – however these authors apply the life cycle approach to the study of stakeholder theory which is applicable to this study
Kotter's 8 phases of change (Kotter, 1990)	How to "do" change forms the basis of Kotter's model through leadership and change management. The model suggests ways of overcoming common errors in change management.	More about the leadership of change than the managing of the change which would be more akin to the focus of this study – Reject
The purposive change model (Ten Have, et al, 2001)	What needs to be done in order to achieve the organisations objectives, i.e. what should be done and how it should be achieved! How to ensure organisations are arranged in such a way that they function properly.	Organisation dictated by IOC to such a degree that individual organising committees have little flexibility within organisational structure – Reject
Social exchange theory (Homans, 1958; Gouldner, 1960)	Social exchange theory explains social change and stability as a process of negotiated exchanges between parties based on quantifying rewards and costs.	Partly applicable but the control exerted by the IOC over the organisers blocks true social exchange. It is a possible theory to incorporate, however it is a scientific theory that relates to rewards and costs and therefore is difficult to quantify within this thesis – Reject

In summary, configuration theory studies patterns and similarities which relate more to the structures of the organisations rather than the communities that are central to this study. Organisational life-cycle theory could have relevance to this study, in that common areas could be identified for future mega-event planners. However, the identification of the community within legacy planning may not feature prominently in such a study. Kotter (1990) proposed eight

phases of change and the purposive change model both of which are too managerial in focus to meet the aim of this research. Social exchange theory is very important yet confers some exchange of rewards/costs between the parties. Whilst this could be true of the community in the Olympic legacy planning and community identification, it is trust and co-operation which are of more importance than exchange of tangibles. Finally, collaborative planning will be discussed within this thesis within a community setting yet acknowledging the strictness and rigidity of the IOC's planning guidelines. There is little flexibility afforded to the host nation, with the IOC controlling the infrastructure requirements for the purposes of running the Games however, what happens to them post the Games is entirely the host nation's responsibility.

3.3 Applications of stakeholder theory in events research

There are several writers who discuss stakeholders within event planning (for example, Bowdin et al, 2006; Gursoy & Kendall, 2006; Getz et al, 2007), but very few who specifically discuss the community as stakeholders. Indeed Getz et al (2007), examined community under the title of 'the impacted'. They argue that the 'impacted' can include discrete groups, the community at large or special interest groups. Roaf et al (1996) suggesting potential event impacts for a bid to host the 2004 Games in Cape Town SA, specifically highlighted community participation. They argued that there is a huge difference between receiving information and being integrally involved in the planning. They suggest that to gain stakeholder status, the latter is imperative, in the form of meaningful participation throughout decision-making. Thus, in transferring this suggestion to London and the 2012 Games, they suggest that for productive and meaningful participation, the receiving of information is not enough and active involvement is vital.

Haxton (1999), prior to the Sydney Games, undertook some reviews of community involvement within Olympic Games planning and recognised how planning with a community focus had shifted from a political approach, through a decision-making approach to a planning approach. However this was for general planning, but not so for Olympic planning which still has a very political base to the planning as the IOC still control much of the planning in conjunction with national governments. The participatory approach to planning from the community's perspective is gaining more prominence and even the IOC is aware of host communities questioning whether reported benefits are realistic. London is aware of this shift and has therefore been very proactive in recognising and attempting community involvement and, in so doing, trying to adopt a collaborative planning approach. The IOC themselves use public support as a criteria within the assessment of candidate cities, but how this is measured and what types of support are recognised, is open to debate.

A key problem comes with trying to identify who the community is. In business, managers are usually clear who their stakeholders are (Mitchell et al, 1997; Altman, 2000; Freeman et al, 2004) and therefore the structure of their business model. In the case of this research topic, The International Olympic Committee (IOC), being the 'lead' manager of the project, operate strict control and guidance about how the 'managers' (London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) and the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) - are to operationalise the Games. Therefore who takes the ultimate responsibility for the local community and who are the local community?

3.4 Community as stakeholder

The disruption from the building and construction associated with the Games, whilst inconvenient, could have a purpose and positive outcome for the local community as interested stakeholders. Thus, while the concept of stakeholder theory becomes important, the 'pure' stakeholder theory that dates back to Freeman (1984) does not recognise society as a stakeholder. Many critics of Freeman (for example Key 1999; Lepineux 2005), argue that this 'pure' form of the theory fails to include as stakeholders those communities local to the centre of operations of the organisation. They argue the theory must also apply to organisations such as those responsible for the 2012 Olympics where a two-way equitable partnership could allow for a win-win scenario to develop for all stakeholders involved.

Table 3.2 summarises the reasons for rejecting various aspects of stakeholder theory. Stakeholder theory, whilst intrinsically management focused (Freeman, 1984; Jones and Wicks, 1999) relies heavily on the 'purpose' of the firm that brings all the stakeholders together. In this case, this is firmly rooted in the need for the UK to produce an Olympic Games and Paralympic Games in 2012. The rationale for therefore choosing the Friedman and Miles model is based purely on the aspect of their interpretation recognising that stakeholder relationships can be negative and yet encompasses the recognition of all stakeholder positions. While other theories have relevance to this research it is purely on the grounds of the final theory having the best fit for this research based on the recognition of negative outcomes occurring too (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Selection of potential theorists on stakeholder management

Authors	Approach	Consider or reject?
Freeman (1984)	The principle of who or what really counts	More applicable to the shareholders of the firm. Tries to understand them and strategically manage those with a monetary stake. Does not recognise community as stakeholder REJECT
Donaldson and Preston (1995)	Categorises stakeholder management from three different approaches, descriptive, normative and instrumental	Again approach is purely to maximise shareholder value REJECT
Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997)	Stakeholder identification based on the possession of one or more of the following relationship attributes: power, legitimacy and urgency	Could apply to the thesis although does not explicitly recognise community as stakeholder yet they can have some of the attributes REJECT
Frooman (1999)	Stakeholder influence strategies are categorised and built into a model: through influence strategies and determinants of choice of influence strategy	Attempts to enable better understanding of management of shareholder behaviour and also highlight influence strategies of stakeholders but again very business orientated REJECT
Jones and Wicks (1999)	All stakeholders have intrinsic value but some are more dominant than others	Therefore the louder the voice the more able to influence and control. Not suitable for the smaller stakeholders REJECT
Gibson (2000)	There is a moral basis to consider all stakeholders irrespective of size. Discusses prudence, agency and deontological views	Corporate personhood underwrites duties to some not all, therefore not suitable for stakeholders within this thesis REJECT
Altman (2000)	Community as stakeholder given definition	First approach to identify community as stakeholder however discusses multiple communities and offers no solutions to how to deal in conflict situations REJECT
Jawahar and McLaughlin (2001)	The importance of different stakeholders depends on where the business is within its organisational life-cycle	Does not consider the social/soft impacts at all times as certain stakeholders only considered at separate times within life-cycle REJECT
Friedman and Miles (2002)	First model to identify that negative relationships can occur and that they need to be managed alongside the positive ones. Identifies a larger range of stakeholder relationships	Model is applicable to this thesis as it identifies all types of stakeholder involvement and explicitly acknowledges potential negative impacts of stakeholder relationships. ACCEPT

Within Table 3.2 it is clear that differential power is implicit in many of these alternatives and that stakeholder power can be limited despite the approach taken. Yet, it is necessary to discuss the development of stakeholder theory in recent years to answer those critics who believe communities are not stakeholders. Stakeholders were those individuals or organisations who had a stake in the business, represented monetarily, and mostly equating to shareholders (Freeman 1984; Donaldson and Preston 1995). This has evolved into a more contemporary managerial focus adapted to society's needs, with Mitchell et al (1997) developing the theory further by including

the concept of stakeholder being other than monetary, without expressly consider community to be a stakeholder. Frooman (1999), Jones and Wicks (1999) and Gibson (2000) all focussed their interpretations on a very managerial approach whereby community was not expressed as a stakeholder until Altman (2000).

The rationale for choosing Friedman and Miles's interpretation of stakeholder theory comes from the original identification of a local community as stakeholder from the research undertaken by Altman (2000). Altman (2000) analyses the concept of community as stakeholder, as historically it concerned only the geographical locale of the business. However, she further discusses that in current business climates this definition is no longer acceptable, agreeing with the earlier writings of Burton and Dunn (1996) that community stakeholder management must consider multiple communities, not just the community as a whole entity. Furthermore, Altman (2000) believes that individuals and community groups have not been considered powerful enough to be considered stakeholders until recently. The premise is that communities have moved beyond the distinction between traditional geographical communities to become a diversity of possible sub-groups, yet unity is needed and some form of homogeneity to gain collaborative power. The research she undertook frames stakeholder theory within corporate social responsibility and the responsibility within the corporate world to community as stakeholder is a moral obligation.

This supports Mitchell et al (1997) whose earlier theoretical interpretation identified the power, legitimacy and urgency needed to be a stakeholder, and that the 'stake' itself must have a legal, moral or presumed claim on, or capacity to, affect the organisations behaviour, direction, process or outcomes. It also supports Burton and Dunn (1996) who offer a considerate approach of community as stakeholder. Many companies now 'invest' time and resources back into their local communities, often being encouraged to do so by local planning authorities as in the case of the Arsenal FC previously mentioned as an example of how this can work in a London Borough context.

Friedman and Miles (2002) have developed a model of stakeholder theory based on a model of social differentiation (Archer 1995) and they have adapted the model to encompass stakeholder configurations (Table 3.3). These range from '*necessary compatible stakeholders (in terms of ideas and interests) to contingent compatible (in terms of structures and connectivity) to contingent incompatible (connected but a hindrance) to necessary incompatible (part of the social structure but a hindrance)*' based on the stakeholders' ability to explicitly or implicitly have contractual dealings, a pertinent consideration for the communities adjacent to the Olympic sites (Table 3.3) The four phases of configuration are important to consider. Of interest is the potential

for the community stakeholders in the planning of the 2012 Olympics to move from presently being ‘contingent incompatibles’ to ‘contingent’ or even ‘necessary compatibles’ through recognition of their role as stakeholder. Critical to this is identification of who the community are, how they are consulted and how legacy planning must consider and recognise the role the community can have within the planning framework. In addition, as previously mentioned, by encouraging unity and homogeneity amongst the many stakeholder groups, collaborative power i.e. agreements made about power sharing, can be exercised in order to gain recognition as ‘necessary compatibles’ from presently being considered as incompatible.

Table 3.3 Stakeholder configurations adapted from Friedman and Miles (2002)

	Necessary	Contingent
Compatible	shareholders top management partners IOC, LOCOG, ODA, Mayor’s office, LDA, HM Government etc., athletes and officials	The general public companies connected through common trade associations/ initiatives national and International sporting organisations, emergency services, media, spectators
Incompatible	trade unions low-level employees government and their agencies customers lenders suppliers and other creditors some NGO’s workforce, suppliers of goods and services, media,	<div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: red; color: white; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">local communities</div> some NGO’s agrieved members of the public Anti-Olympic protestors, political activists, local community, wider London community paying through their taxes for the running of the Games.

For an Olympic bid to be successful, Cashman (2006) argues that the host community and key interest groups must be involved from the very beginning as the bid is prepared, but he does not suggest the collaborative power forming of Altman (2000). He does though suggest that the consultation should continue even into the post games legacy period through recognising the stakeholders involved at all stages and thus becoming contingent to the successful planning, pre, during and post the Games, thus agreeing with Friedman and Miles (2002). Whilst the politics of the ruling government and also the politics of the organising committee may see several changes of personnel, some continuity must exist in key personnel to ensure effective management of the legacy. The mix of stakes and the political complexities of awarding contracts and sponsorships can be volatile if it is not managed with all the interests of the collaborating parties and stakeholders considered. Total compatibility may never be achieved as the diverging interests of the stakeholders may be too complex.

In order to facilitate the framework for this thesis, it is necessary to first identify the local community, what makes a community and who these communities are in relation to London 2012. At this stage of the planning for the London Games some communities have already been relocated.

3.5 Community identification

Bradshaw (2008) suggests that whilst theoretical studies of community include groups of people who share common interests as well as those who share locality, community now refers more to networks of people with shared identity and norms. It could be argued that these are the same as communities of interest and attachment, especially in relation to sustainable development (Ziller, 2004). However, Ziller's explanation offers an element of place and physicality, whereas Bradshaw denounces the need for physical presence and instead writes about identity and norms in an intangible sense. This further manifests itself in the belief that communities of attachment emphasise social relationships of belonging and a shared daily life, not necessarily living in the same locality. In addition, communities are dynamic and are in a constant state of flux so profiling these communities is paramount (Maginn, 2007).

Whilst the sense of community of place is broken down in the long-term through the redevelopment of the very surroundings which formed the place (Hall and Hodges, 1996), the argument centres around those communities who wish to be part of the collaborative planning that goes beyond those communities of just place. This will therefore also include groups of common interest, shared identity and norms.

Brennan and Brown (2008) believe that a focus on community development is crucial to understanding social well-being and more importantly social change. This is imperative in today's society, as much of the previous theory in relation to community was developed pre-globalisation and therefore a new conceptualisation of community is needed that goes beyond the old classification of geographic communities. In this respect, the suggestion by Kidd (1992) that each candidate city, prior to submitting a bid, conducts a social impact assessment involving public identification, thereby identifying the communities being impacted, is significant. This is imperative so as to be better informed in advance of the likely impacts and who will be affected.

However, the role of the local community may be problematic. They are often more concerned about the impacts the hosting will have on their community than the staging of the Games themselves (Hall, 1997). Therefore, according to Mitchell et al (1997) Freeman et al (2004) and Parsons, (2008), the extent to which the local community are true stakeholders requires examination. However, the IOC passes this responsibility on to the local organising committees and central government, thus avoiding the issues themselves. This thesis recognises that within

stakeholder theory the primacy is in creating value for the stakeholders involved. When this includes the community, problems arise in identifying who are the community as the definition is not so straightforward.

Communities are not necessarily formed just because people live in the same locale, but more because of the value and uniqueness of the locale. Stewart (2006) explains that '*place meanings characterize reasons that an environment is valued and describe the uniqueness of a locale*' (p, 405). The meanings for the community are formed through lived experiences and attachment to 'place' in a variety of forms (including open spaces), with little recognition for this being given in contemporary planning. These place meanings manifest themselves in stories and recollections, not just in the physical environment. These further allow communities a sense of collective self thereby strengthening, encouraging and supporting community cohesion, particularly in relation to having a voice as a stakeholder in future planning. This in turn will link stakeholder dialogue into environmental and sustainability planning, allowing community dialogue in relation to place meanings. The whole notion of transforming place and identity has already been seen in Barcelona from the 1992 Games. In Sydney, communities of interest arose, as a sense of community purpose was formed during the bid stages. Regrettably this waned once the bid was won, leading to the negative impacts seen in some sections of the community in relation to housing issues (Ritchie and Hall, 1999). This was manifested in the over ruling of planning legislation and the lack of participatory planning processes.

In London, the DCMS published *Before, During and After; making the most of the London 2012 Games*, in which they quoted '*It is important that local communities should have their say in what their area should look like beyond 2012*' without articulating what and who constitute the local community (DCMS, 2008, p4). This document, sets out the foundations that are being put in place for new neighbourhoods around the Olympic Park, as well as identifying the key principles for planning successful new places (ODA, 2008b, p3), but does not take into account consideration for the 'place' value or consideration of communities of interest, attachment or place. This is particularly true for London in the communities that have already been relocated, the Clays Lane residents, the gypsies and the allotment holders. Whilst it is now too late for these communities, it is nevertheless an important consideration for future mega-event planners.

3.5.1 Olympic Delivery Authority new community commitments

In July 2008, the ODA set out ten new community commitments to help reduce the impacts on the surrounding community of the on-going Olympic Park construction.

Jobs, skills, futures

We will promote local employment and training opportunities on the Olympic Park.

Winning contracts

We will provide and promote mechanisms to communicate opportunities for local businesses.

Listening to your views

We will operate a free construction hotline 24 hours a day, so that you have a direct line to our community relations team.

Respecting our neighbours

We will be a responsible neighbour, encouraging our staff to be respectful and accountable for their actions at all times.

Out in the community

We will continue to communicate to you about progress on the Olympic Park and the community engagement programme

Reducing congestion

We will encourage our workforce to use alternative transport modes to travel to the Olympic Park to reduce private car use.

Reducing waste

We will recycle, reduce and reuse materials on the site to minimise waste.

Going green

We will manage and minimise the impacts of our construction project by implementing an environmental management programme.

Deliveries to site

We will manage deliveries to site, by providing dedicated times and routes to the Olympic Park.

Safe and secure

We will provide a safe and secure environment across the Olympic Park.

(ODA, July 2007)

These commitments included the assurance of effective communication channels being available for any resident living or working around the Park. These commitments were made at the first Olympic Park Engagement Network (OPEN) meeting to which representatives from different parts of the community met with ODA officials and include: encouraging the workforce to use public transport, free construction help line, managing the impact on neighbours of site deliveries, communicating progress to the local community, promoting local employment, managing environmental impacts through recycling.

The degree to which these promises are being met will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, based on data collected from the interviews. It is the results of these discussions which will highlight areas of both good and bad practice in relation to community identification within stakeholder management. Ultimately this will affect the ability of the local community, however defined, to engage as a compatible contingent stakeholder within the planning of the Games and any future applications of this engagement process. This in turn will impact on the long term social legacies and how they affect the local community.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has introduced the notion of community as stakeholder and the importance of stakeholder theory to this thesis. The identification of community as contingent compatible stakeholder, in order to ensure positive long-term legacy benefits, is suggested as a useful strategy with regard to future event planning. Furthermore, this chapter and the preceding one have identified that there is a gap in previous research for a cross Games study of previous social impacts on the local community with the Olympic Games planning. Much previous research has focused on economic impacts from the hosting of mega-events, with some limited examples of social impacts, but not undertaken as part of a cross Games study.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Having undertaken in the preceding two chapters a review of the background issues that relate to this research, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a full description of the steps involved in the research process, ranging from the formulation of the research problem to the analysis and processing of data. To achieve this aim, this chapter starts by identifying the research philosophy. It then concentrates on the research approach, explaining the choice of methods (key informant interviews). A description of the sample chosen is followed by an analysis of the questions asked, highlighting the procedures for carrying out the interviews. Following this, the analysis of the data and issues of credibility, reliability, dependability and authenticity are discussed recognising any limitations faced in the research through a reflection of the entire process.

Creswell (2003, p 3) advocates that the general framework adopted will *'provide guidance about all the facets of the study, from assessing the general philosophical ideas behind the inquiry to the detailed collection and analysis procedures'*. In doing this he suggests asking three questions. What knowledge claims are being made by the researcher? What strategies of enquiry will inform the process? What methods of data collection and analysis will be used? This chapter will address these questions.

4.2 The research aims and objectives

The principal focus of this research is to develop a framework of urban regeneration legacy associated with the hosting of mega-events where the local community are key stakeholders. In order to meet this aim the following objectives were developed;

Objective 1: to critically analyse the role of Olympic legacy with particular reference to the long-term positive, soft social benefits for the host local community

Objective 2: to explore who constitutes the local host community influenced by the 2012 London Games

Objective 3: to analyse the application of stakeholder theory to community involvement in Olympic legacy programmes, where the community are active stakeholders

Objective 4: to critically evaluate 'best practice' frameworks of Olympic urban regeneration where the community gain positive long-term social benefits

4.3 The research paradigm

Research paradigms are the assumptions reflected in a particular 'worldview' stance (Creswell, 2007), that is reflected in the way the research for a project is designed and undertaken. This study

seeks to expose the processes undertaken in the planning of previous large scale mega-events in relation to the long-term social impacts and legacies for the local communities. It is interested in how the social world surrounding mega-event planning is understood by different participants. This research investigates the involvement and voice of stakeholders in the planning process. Jennings (2005) states that an interpretivist approach is one viewed as seeking what participants understand of their contextual reality and it allows for multiple explanations or realities rather than one relationship or theory. From an ontological perspective, this research recognises that there may be multiple realities through multiple versions of what has happened in respect of mega-event planning in the three cities studied.

An epistemological understanding involves the relationship between the researcher and subjects. In this study the researcher and subjects were not independent and it was recognised that the researcher can subjectively influence the research process. However, the researcher aimed to maintain a professional distance within the process but recognised there may have been a level of influence endemic in the questions asked.

The perspectives adopted in previous research on mega-event legacy studies of urban regeneration have often been positivist, mainly based on economic reports (Jones, 2001; Kasimati, 2003) and furthermore used a priori researcher conceptualisation, whereby questionnaire surveys were based on items of interest to the researcher. The reason many of these previous studies have failed to address the issues of the community within their studies was that they often lacked contextual knowledge through the inability to explore what participants understood about the situations they found themselves in. The interpretivist approach seeks to explore this as this research was interested in how the social world surrounding mega-event planning was understood by different participants.

In order to undertake this research a suitable methodological approach was required to uncover the participants' stories and their interpretations. An investigation was needed of those previous Games to evaluate the positive and negative long-term soft social legacy impacts. It was necessary to ascertain this knowledge through discussing real-life experiences of mega-event planning and to explore the social world surrounding this planning and how the participants understood the situations they found themselves in. Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p3) write that '*qualitative research, involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach*' '*qualitative researchers attempt to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them*' and argue that it manages to get closer to the individual's perspective, yet quantitative researchers argue that without statistical significance qualitative research results are more unreliable and ambiguous (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). However, in contrast, Leonardsen (2007, p15) argues that '*figures*

cannot speak' and that it is the interpretation that gives meaning thus facilitating the opportunity to discuss these meanings in relation to the research aims and objectives. This study therefore adopted a qualitative approach based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders from previous mega-events.

An interpretive approach was used in an attempt to unravel the meanings contained in the accounts through not just the interviews undertaken but also interpretive engagement with texts and transcripts as valuable archive material (Smith, 1997). Creswell (2007, p 36) purports '*Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world*'. Archive material facilitated further understanding of the event planning processes. The use of official documentation as a source of secondary data, whether from the state or from private sources, potentially offered a wealth of information, and care was exercised over the relevancy of that studied. The official reports of each of the respective Games depended on the authors' position within the organisation as to the perspective they took on what was written (Bryman, 2001). All IOC reports from previous Games are positive accounts of what went well; with little reference to any negative impacts. Nevertheless, despite the biased approach, the documentation was important in helping to plan primary data collection. In addition, mass media reports such as television programmes, newspapers and magazines were also valuable sources of information although again each came with its own bias.

4.4 Research Approach

The research for this study required a methodology suitable for the complexity of phenomena involved. It also called for a design to capture the knowledge from previous Games in relation to what did not work as well as planned in relation to urban regeneration impacts on the local population. There was a need to understand contextual factors through the examination of specific cases in order to develop context contingent knowledge. This called for an inductive approach. The use of in-depth, key informant interviews enabled exploration of complexity and for the experiences from those interviewed to be recorded in their own words as opposed to reliance on secondary documentation.

The Barcelona and Sydney cases were chosen as both are organised in western cultures and similar in regeneration ideals to the London bid. Each case has generated considerable academic interest from which to gain further insight into the planning of each Games and both provided an opportunity to interview individuals involved. Fussey et al (2011, p82) quote in their recent book on the London planning that "the ideal model for the London 2012 bid thus was Barcelona, widely seen as a successful model of a regenerative Olympics". A thorough review of

documentary evidence (see Chapter 5) helped develop interview protocols and ultimately helped contextualise key informant accounts.

The analysis of the documentary evidence was on the basis of thick description, in that this is a way of achieving external validity. Holloway (1997) describes thick description as detailed accounts of experiences that allow the researcher to make explicit similarities in the different contexts. Lincoln and Guba (1985) believe it to allow evaluation to the extent at which conclusions can be drawn and transferred to other settings, situations and people. This evidence does not claim to be representative but lends support to emergent theories and ideas.

Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that case studies are useful in the preliminary stages of investigation as they provide questions to be tested throughout the subsequent stages of the research. Thus chapter 5 includes a lot of background information for London as this provided context for the majority of the interviews undertaken and formed the main focus of this research. The Barcelona and Sydney background information provided context for those interviews and the other cases included, although on a much smaller scale, still provide valuable background information for the subsequent interviews. It would not have been possible to undertake the interviews without some prior background contextual knowledge.

4.5 Research methods - Key informant interviews

The primary data collection was undertaken through key informant, in-depth interviews. An in-depth interview is not an ordinary conversation; it is an opportunity to obtain information including attitudes, perceptions, expectations and feelings. Despite a conversation taking place it is more a one-way process with the interviewer guiding the process (Oppenheim, 2000). Creswell (2007) also refers to key informants as 'gatekeepers' as they often act as spokesperson for a larger group, but more importantly are deemed to be well informed and often provide leads to other information. The informants were people who all had a view of what was happening within their respective 'communities' whether they be residential or work-based. Key informant interviews allowed the collection of data from a range of people who had first hand, vital knowledge from their respective situations. Not only could they provide an insight into what has or is going to happen but offer recommendations for the future. Examples of research where in-depth interviews have been the main source of collecting data include Jones (1997), where the interpretive approach afforded a deep as opposed to a broad knowledge base in his sports fan research. Weed (2001), in explaining the lack of integrated policies for sport and tourism in the UK, used in-depth interviews for his data collection in order to understand and gain insight into the state of policy making in the UK at that time. Other examples of where in-depth interviewing has been used include Brown & Holloway (2008), who used in-depth interviewing believing it to offer a degree

of flexibility and spontaneity and furthermore the opportunity to explore unexpected directions. Karlsen and Nordstrom (2009) undertook interviews with festival stakeholders to investigate stakeholder relationships. All four quoted examples above show how this approach has been successfully used but other researchers have also illustrated the richness of data that can be obtained.

Purposive sampling was used as each individual interviewee was chosen for their role as 'stakeholder' within the different Games (see Table 4.1) and their involvement and knowledge of key issues, impacts and opportunities. The involvement ranged from managerial/organisational roles through Government (national and local) positions to local community representatives. These various respondents were found either using a 'snowballing' technique based on documentary evidence, initial key contacts, through other recommendations or through internet searches having read about key individuals. The choice of informant also allowed for insight, knowledge and understanding of the key issues pertinent to this study.

Purposive sampling is non-probability sampling in that the interviewees are not chosen randomly, but for a purpose (Clark et al 2002). The technique of 'snowballing' was also used, whereby each interview helped to gain introductions to further subjects through trust and credibility thus leveraging the opportunities for further interviews (Flick, 2006). In this thesis it is the depth of sampling through the in-depth interviews that is needed to understand and interpret the data because of the uniqueness of each successive Games, yet also a wide sample reach is also needed, to compare across different Games. Therefore there was no obvious point of saturation of data collection, other than the decision being made by the researcher when the data was analysed to ensure the aims and objectives of the research were met (Flick, 2009).

Both Denzin and Lincoln (1998) and Huberman and Miles (2002) propose that the goal should always be to choose subjects that replicate or extend the theoretical underpinning, in this case stakeholder theory, with the 'same phenomena' being studied at different times and places with different people through purposive and systematic selection. Flick (2009) also suggests the use of deviant or extreme cases, thus covering the whole spectrum of the phenomena. In this research that includes people who have forcibly been removed from the area through to those who make the overall decisions.

A literature search was undertaken to seek out key informants whose story would add useful knowledge to achieve the research objectives. It was important to secure a key high status first interviewee to allow the 'snowballing' effect of recommendation to take place (Cassell and Symon 2004), yet it was vital to conduct a relationship with them on a high professional level. In addition, the intention of the research was always to repeat the interviewees' roles within the

different Olympic cases. It was the researcher's responsibility to find the informants and gain their trust in order to consent to the interview (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). For an interpretive approach data must be collected in natural settings in so much as people are interviewed in a place of their choice, often their homes or offices as opposed to being collected under 'experimental' conditions (Jennings, 2005). The rapport comes from the interviewer being knowledgeable on the subject and to show understanding and interest. Furthermore any danger of influencing the interview can be *'counteracted and neutralised by ensuring any assumptions and premises are made clear at the outset'* (Flick 2009, p62).

Table 4.1: Details of interviewees

Chief Executive of Sydney Olympic Park Authority	Sydney: perspectives on long-term legacy planning in relation to Sydney and insights into recognition of stakeholders within the Games planning. Key individual who was used for snowballing
Mayor Of Auburn	Sydney: stakeholder identification and legacy planning from perspective of local community. Came into role very close to actual Games
Former Mayor of Auburn	Sydney: dealing with organisers in run up to Games, was Mayor up until final few weeks and had the most contact with organisers in relation to local community interests
Community representative of Auburn	Sydney: long term impacts for community as stakeholders and recognition as key stakeholder
SOCOG representative	Sydney: pre planning and recognition of stakeholders through consultation and negotiation
Sydney resident -	Sydney: impacts on housing and quality of life
Barcelona Olympics Planning Advisor and resident	Barcelona: planning, legacy and stakeholder involvements during planning and in post-Games legacy
Barcelona Olympic Scholar and resident	Barcelona: community as stakeholders within planning and post- Games legacy
Olympic Development Agency Spokesperson	London: lessons from other Games in relation to legacy planning and stakeholder engagement with London planning to date
Relocated resident	London: identification as stakeholder within legacy planning and experience of negotiations with collaborative planning
Allotment spokesperson	London: as above
Gypsy Unit Spokesperson	London : as above
London planning academic	London: lessons to learn from previous mega-event planning in relation to local residents and experience of London planning
London Housing Association manager	London: post Games housing management and experience of London housing needs
Planning activist	London: mixed tenure issues, lessons for London
Hackney Councillor	London: negotiations with organisers and residents
Newham Councillor	London: as above
Legacy Planning Consultant	London: consultation procedures
Newham resident	London: experience of Games planning on behalf of residents
Hackney Resident	London: as above
Hackney Council Legacy and Regeneration liaison officer	London: negotiation and stakeholder identification for London 2012 and post Games
Author of Key Note Report on Mixed Housing	London – housing issues post Games

As can be seen from Table 4.1, the interviewees included planners involved in past and future Games, academic planners, legacy managers, local Government representatives, organising committee representatives, residents, relocated community spokespersons, housing officers, and regeneration consultants – all stakeholders within the different Games relevant to social legacy. Undertaking in-depth interviewing does require certain skills (Denscombe, 2007), which often the

researcher already possesses, such as an ability to listen. In addition a good interviewer must be sensitive to the feelings of the informant, be non-judgemental whilst allowing silences to happen as well as use prompts and probes. Whilst there are many similarities between a conversation and an interview, the latter involves making understandings not normally expected from a conversation (Rubin & Rubin, 1995 & Silverman, 2006). Table 4.2 lists some of the benefits and limitations from in-depth interviewing with possible solutions (as shown in brackets) suggested by the author.

Table 4.2 Benefits and limitations of in-depth interviews, with solutions offered. Adapted from Frazer and Lawley (2000)

Benefits of in-depth interviews

- Detailed rich data
 - Can establish rapport, clarify questions and build good future relationships
 - Can contact after interview to seek clarity
 - Respondents can express themselves freely
 - Caters for respondents who like to answer in their own words
 - Interviewer maintains control of the interview through good traffic management
 - High ethical standards must be maintained at all times
 - Gain permission to tape interview so easier to transcribe
 - If interview goes well hardly need questions as conversation flows.
 - If questions need to be asked, make sure open, and where possible probe
 - Conclude positively and gain further leads
-

Limitations of in-depth interviews

- Need to ensure 'right' respondents used (prior research)
 - Respondents may speak at length (set time limits and stick to them, keep focused)
 - Respondents may reply too briefly (open questions, delve deeper, rephrase questions)
 - Need for post interview coding of answers (have a good system tried and tested)
 - Can be demanding on respondent (trained and prepared, accept part of interviewing process) need to be calm and organised
 - More time-consuming to complete (richer data compensates for time taken)
 - More difficult to analyse (good tools needed and experience and confidence to use them)
 - Choices may 'lead' the respondent (art of designing a good interview protocol and bias declared)
 - Must ensure all possible responses are mutually exclusive and exhaustive (good research design)
 - Ensure setting is amenable for a constructive interview (preparation)
-

Table 4.2 illustrates the important benefits of using in-depth interviews whilst highlighting some of the drawbacks. As long as these limitations and restrictions are acknowledged, all of them can be managed within an effective interview protocol design.

4.6 Interview design

Planning for the interview was paramount and vital to a successful outcome. Oppenheim (2000) believes that no other skill is as important as that of the ability to conduct good interviews through good planning and thorough interpersonal skills training, including the clear and interested manner in which the questions are asked, recording the responses and having a good rapport with the interviewee without bias.

When constructing the questions it was important to have the research aim and objectives available to constantly refer to (Daymon and Holloway, 2002) and to have an interview protocol/guide to hand (see Figure 4.3). The same general areas of interest were covered in all the interviews but standardised questions were not adhered to as the purpose was to uncover the participants' perspectives and experiences of the processes involved in their past, current and future roles. These roles were specifically in relation to community involvement as stakeholders within the planning for the respective Olympic Games social legacies. Therefore it was important to ask questions in relation to these roles and the relationship with community stakeholders. In addition, discussions were held in reference to examples of where stakeholder collaboration or the Games planning could have been done in a more productive way. An interview protocol was designed as a checklist of the topics and issues that needed to be covered. The protocol was adjusted after each batch of interviews as topics/themes begin to emerge – an iterative approach (Huberman and Miles 2002).

Interview Protocol

I am undertaking for my doctorate a study into the stakeholder role within the social regeneration impacts from the hosting of the Olympic Games. I am particularly interested in the voice the local community had within the planning process and any public/private initiatives that involved the local community as stakeholders. The rationale behind interviewing is to gain an insider's view of the experiences within the planning for your respective Olympic Games. You have been selected as a key informant in order for me to gain an understanding of the stakeholder perspectives within the planning. It is important to understand the issues from your perspective through our conversation which should last no more than 1 hour at the most.

I will be using the final research project to present papers at conferences and publish within academic fields. Your consent is able to be withdrawn at any stage should you have concerns. I will endeavour to keep your identity as vague as possible by not identifying you by name, but your job title will be included within the research. I will record the interview, unless you have any objections and make additional notes where necessary. The information I will record at the outset is:

- Date, time and place of interview
- Name of person and their organisation
- Role within organisation and length of time in the business
- What are they responsible for and to whom
- Need to know their background and previous experience in relation to Olympics' planning

Interview Guide – key areas to cover in conversation

- Current role in organisation
- Previous Olympic related role
- Views of social legacy planning from your Games
- Why was this course chosen?
- How was stakeholder identification handled?
- Who were the key stakeholders and why?
- How effective was the stakeholder collaboration
- How strong was the community voice and why?
- What forms of consultation were used?
- What worked and why? Similarly, what didn't work?
- What do you think of London's social legacy promises
- What two pieces of advice would you give to London based on your experiences
- What good initiatives for public/private partnerships are you aware of?

Thank you for your time and in agreeing to help me with my research

Figure 4.3 Initial Interview Protocol Guide

A method of handling this was to have key words listed such as planning, community involvement, stakeholder identification, public/private initiatives, regeneration legacy, so that it is

possible to cover themes and keep the interview on track without digressing away from the main research areas. It was also a means of checking how the interview was progressing. Building in summation periods also helped to focus where the interview was from both the interviewer and interviewee's perspective, who then had the opportunity to revise any answers. Once the interview was finished it was useful to revisit the aim and objectives to ensure relevancy and authenticity (Huberman and Miles, 2002), and in Bryman's view (2001) also credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability.

Within the interview, if at any time, the answers to any questions were not clear, it was useful to repeat what had been said and ask for further clarification or ask for examples. It is better to clarify any issues during the interview itself, rather than to try and remedy any queries at a later date.

4.7 Interview question types

Interviews can be costly to undertake, time-consuming and biased by the interviewer but in return they provide rich, in-depth data with the interviewer providing the context within which the participants can freely describe their experiences in detail. By adopting a more conversational style to the interview, it allowed greater flexibility with the minimum influence on the direction of the discussion. It is important to be neither judgemental nor critical as the interviewer but to keep an open mind at all times. This method also allowed the interviewer to refer to something already mentioned in the interview that they could pick up on later on (Daymon & Holloway, 2002).

It was important to use descriptive questions with "what?" and "how?" but most important are the "why?" questions to delve into more analytical understandings (Frazer and Lawley, 2000). It was also important to identify questions in similar areas and that those questions could be adapted and modified depending on the interview. Careful choice of wording to avoid ambiguity or vagueness, with single points being discussed to avoid double questions was key to eliciting valuable data. The level of knowledge of the respondent needed to be clarified in advance as some questions could have been either too simplistic and thereby created a perceived lack of research on behalf of the researcher, or too complex for the informant to answer. The importance of researching beforehand, through a good literature search, allowed the interviewer to immerse themselves in the subject area, thus affording the opportunity to interview at any level within an organisation with a required degree of knowledge. This research acknowledges a relationship between the interviewer and the subjects. This is in so much as it was necessary to have prior knowledge of the games' planning and therefore it is recognised this may have influenced the knowledge created within the interviews. However, the interview process sought to explore each interviewee's contextual understanding of the Olympic planning process.

The importance of asking the right type of questions through designing an interview protocol is vital. In an in depth key informant interview the list of questions (see Figure 4.3) should be minimal as the idea is mainly to prompt the interviewee into a discussion. The key question areas would then be developed thus taking a central question which was usually the main focus of the research and then amending it to answer the further objectives of the research. The initial design was refined and a pilot testing from the first interview undertaken and also each interview became iterative in that extra information could have been included from other interviews. For example, the question relating to community involvement led into stakeholder identification thus allowing for further probing around issues of stakeholder and community identification. This further allowed for discussions around collaborative planning and legacy identification.

4.8 Data recording

At the outset of an interview session, it is important to state the general purpose of the interview, the background to the research and an estimation of the length of the interview. The environment was very important as was the ability to listen and hear what was being said clearly and notes taken where necessary. All the interviews were recorded and the respondents had the opportunity to read a transcript at a later stage.

Each interview was recorded with a digital voice recorder with each informant expressly giving their permission for the voice recorder to be activated. The importance of recording and transcribing the interviews allows for the limitations in memory of the interviewer, but more importantly according to Bryman (2001) it allowed for a more thorough examination of what was said than can be afforded in the interview itself. It also allowed for follow ups with the respondents, if needed, on matters raised that they could then be reminded of in script or by listening to the taping. Furthermore it allowed the data to be used for more than one purpose by having a permanent record, subject to the respondent's permission.

4.9 Strengths and limitations of data collection

The strengths of the research came from all the interviewees approached agreeing to be interviewed, except one, and there were no time limits imposed on the interviewer during the actual interviews. From the practical side everything went according to plan, although in one case, interviewing next to a busy airport runway, it was hard to hear due to the noise and so difficult to transcribe at a later stage. In addition, it was observed that interviews in restaurants, however quiet they may seem, leads to a lot of background interference.

The research design proposed interviews to be undertaken in three Olympic cities, Barcelona, Sydney and London. The intention was for interviews to be undertaken across all 5 London host

Boroughs, with the same job holders, and spokespersons interviewed in Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Newham, Waltham Forest and Greenwich. However this proved impossible to manage within the timeframes. It soon became clear that the time taken not just to undertake the actual interviews, but the entire process of having to track down the correct individuals, arrange introductions, travel to undertake the interviews, conduct the interview and then transcribe them, involved a much bigger time frame than originally envisaged. The timing of the data collection was pre-determined by the ability to travel to meet the people to be interviewed. Whilst the majority were conducted on time, some delays were experienced when interviewees had to change plans due to other commitments. However, during the course of undertaking the interviews, further informants emerged and agreed to undertake interviews.

After discussions with supervisors, it was decided to concentrate on two London host Boroughs - Hackney and Newham. It soon became clear that 'snowballing' of contacts needed managing, as each interviewee suggested further contacts to speak to until the point that the same names started to be duplicated. Whilst it is acknowledged that many more people could have been included from within the two boroughs themselves, there was also the potential database of stakeholders from the other host boroughs too, yet time was limited to complete data collection from all 5 boroughs. The first stage of the research came about when the opportunity arose, earlier than initially planned, to visit Sydney. The preparations for those interviews (the protocols) and the site visits have subsequently been the basis of later visits, with interviews consisting of new material being added as each site visit was undertaken in an iterative approach.

A possible limitation of the data collection was trying to repeat the same individuals in each case study and in using Barcelona as an example as many of the individuals involved had retired or moved away. However, those interviewed provided much rich data.

4.10 Data analysis

It is important to consider several alternative types of analysis tool before deciding upon the one that best suits the research objectives, both manual and using computer assisted packages.

4.10.1 Consideration of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDA)

The use of computer assisted packages to help analyse qualitative research has become very popular due to the high volume of data that is often collected and the onerous process of analysing the data by hand. The analysis through software programmes assists in the process of noticing recurring themes and identifying possible linkages, as it is the words that are interpreted. However, it is important not to let, or rely on the computer to do all the work, as the package is only as good as the data and the process of coding that data. It is also vital to consider all the situational and contextual factors according to Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p 41). Bryman (2001),

argues that care should be taken with these packages in case the temptation arises to start to quantify the findings numerically instead. Care should also be taken not to over code and retrieve so that fragmentation arises, which will lose the narrative flow and actually end up decontextualising the data. What is important is that the use of these packages makes the whole process of analysis faster and more proficient, allowing for transparency, greater development of explanations and interconnectability of the themes (Bryman, 2001). Holloway and Todres (2003) sound a note of caution in relation to the role of computer aided analysis packages as they are concerned that these packages can focus on individual parts of the research rather than look at the holistic view.

The choice was made to use a manual analysis in preference to CAQDA. The act of being able to see and code on paper with the associated colour schemes, gave a sense of more control and ownership, which with memory capacity problems, the computer software did not afford the same level of confidence. In addition access to the software proved problematic.

4.10.2 Alternative types of analysis considered

Sandiford and Seymour (2007) in their study of qualitative data analysis recognise the problem of how to manage the volume of data that is collected and that reducing this data without losing richness is a common issue for qualitative researchers. To counteract this problem, they suggest the careful and systematic selection of data that best answers the research aims and objectives yet recognising how this relies on the subjectivity of the researcher.

Narrative analysis is one possible method of qualitative data analysis, but was not used here as it looks more at the long term stories of people's lives and events around them, which whilst relevant in relation to the Olympic Games, is more relevant to life histories and the interconnection between different episodes within the life study rather than the impact of one event, irrespective of size. This method is not the same as conversational analysis which involves speech as it occurs in naturally occurring situations and seeks to evaluate '*the underlying structures of talk in interaction*' (Bryman, 2001; Giles, 2002). Discourse analysis also studies naturally speaking texts, but also contrived forms of speech. However, this research will not be based on discourse analysis as the research will not be looking into the gestures, syntax, lexicon, style, rhetoric. What is different about this thesis is that whilst the interviews could be classified as contrived pieces of speech, in that they were pre-arranged discussions, it is the commonalities and differences that are of interest between the different Olympic Games, hence the use of thematic analysis.

Here a thematic analysis approach was adopted that focused on the participants, as stakeholders, understandings of the social legacy. Based around the research objectives as the core

focus of the analytical enquiry, the thematic analysis sought to identify commonalities and explore differences in the stakeholders' understandings.

The text can be coded after the interviews once they have been transcribed and it is possible to group statements and ideas that seem to be emerging from the data. The focus is on the data and the themes that emerge from the transcriptions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). These themes will require some form of data analysis and processing and then coding to identify comparisons and linkages. Creswell's model below in Figure 4.4 has been adapted for this research and is the basis for how the data analysis proceeded.

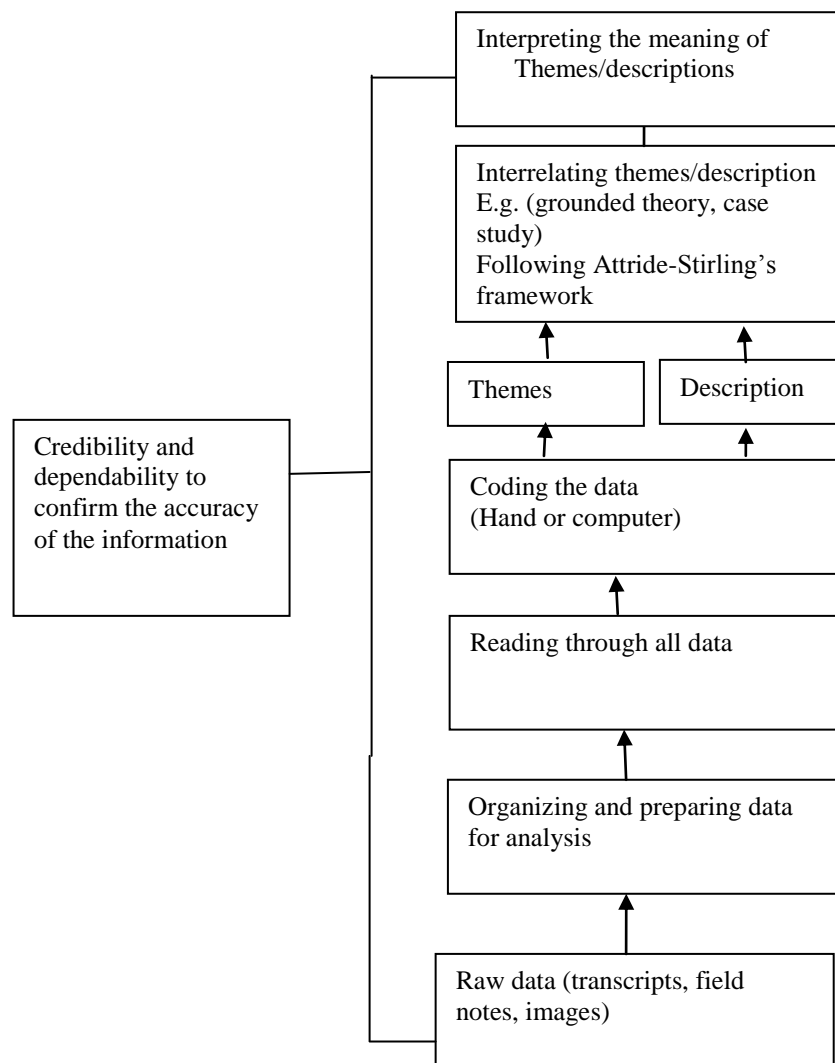


Figure 4.4 Adapted by author from Creswell's (2009) process of qualitative data analysis

The original analysis of the scripts, once transcribed, was undertaken through thematic analysis of the text as developed by Holton (1973; 1975; 2003). Holton applies a scientific approach to thematic analysis, yet his way of interpretation adopts elements in the concepts, methods, propositions and hypotheses associated with scientific work, but just as applicable to social science and humanistic disciplines and thereby dealing with tacit knowledge. A theme is a phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of analysis relates to and what it means. Boyatis (1998, p vii) states *themes 'at a minimum describes and organizes possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon'*. A theme is a unifier that converts experience into a meaningful whole (DeSantis and Ugarriza, 2000) and organizes a group of ideas (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003).

Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest themes are statements representing ideas or conceptual topics from the interviews, explaining why something happened and as such serve the phenomenological aspect of this research. As van Manen (1990) suggests phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of our everyday experiences.

In addition, the use of thematic analysis allows for the study of 'part meanings' as Holloway and Todres, (2003) describe them (in other words partial explanations that piece together later on) with a back and forth analysis, thus contributing to the holistic analyses whereas content analysis is concerned with a quantifiable measure, thematic analysis allows for the part meanings to come together to make up the whole. It is the various themes that emerge from the interview data that interests the researcher. A theme may only emerge a few times, but it could be the significance that particular theme may have for the London organisers that will be just as important as perhaps a theme that may appear more frequently. This significance relates to the importance of the themes in relation to stakeholder identification within the London 2012 planning.

Qualitative research, unlike quantitative pays attention to exceptional cases and does not discard them as quantitative research would, it actually uses them to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the situation being studied (Willig, 2001). Hayes (1997) argues that researchers should not ignore or fail to notice information which runs counter to the researcher's point of view.

4.11 Thematic analysis through Attride-Stirling's Framework Approach

Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to the line by line analysis of data and that in drawing conclusions, the researcher is looking for patterns, clustering, making contrasts and drawing comparisons whilst building a 'logical chain of reference' (p 245). This can be provided by undertaking thematic analysis and by incorporating Attride-Stirling's (2001) model of thematic analysis which uses thematic networks to illustrate the structure and depiction of themes (p387). Whilst the use of computerised packages allows for a method of storage and retrieval, manual recall due to the number of interviews involved, was still possible using colour coding and notations, with diagrammatic representations of the themes prepared to show the linkages developing. In Attride-Stirling's model, she believes a deeper understanding of the social phenomena and its dynamics is possible if the data is analysed in a methodical manner. A familiarisation stage was undertaken which according to Miles and Huberman (2002) is the stage at which the analyst gains an appreciation for the depth and diversity of the data as well as the opportunity to '*begin the process of abstraction and conceptualization*' (p313). Thus this stage allows for note-taking and emerging themes to be recorded, beginning the process of forming a thematic framework (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Each script was annotated and colour coded according to key themes. These key themes emerged once the author read the scripts many times to fully immerse herself in the data and checking the coding with a colleague to ratify understanding of the text. *A priori* codes, developed from the review of literature combined with emerging themes, form the basis for this framework. The themes are then categorised into basic themes, organising themes and then final global themes (see Figure 4.5). Eventually after revisiting the framework with each successive interview and logically processing the emergent themes by making linkages and judgments on relevance and importance, in relation to the research objectives, a clear framework begins to emerge. Additionally, ‘member’ checking was undertaken, asking the informants themselves during the analysis as a way of confirming the findings (Saldana, 2009). The coding and identification of key themes emerged highlighting important areas of data needed to meet the objectives of the research.

Thematic analysis is important as it focuses on identifying themes and patterns of experiences, behaviour and patterns of living (Aronson, 1994; Attride-Stirling, 2001). The emerging themes or networks are then pieced together to form a shared understanding within a vigorous and systematic analysis. It is imperative, whilst building the themes, to build a valid and sound argument for choosing the themes, by referring back to the literature (Aronson, 1994). Thematic networks also evaluate and seek to understand an issue rather than try and reconcile conflicting data and the focus is on generating rich descriptions of the phenomena. It must be remembered that the network acts only as a tool, not the analysis itself (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The key steps to analysis are:

Code the material: devise a framework, dissect text according to the framework

Identify themes: abstract and refine themes

Construct the networks: arrange themes, select basic themes, rearrange, deduce, illustrate, verify and refine

Describe and explore the thematic networks: describe and explore the network

Summarise the thematic networks

Interpret patterns, design models

(source Attride-Stirling, 2001, p390)

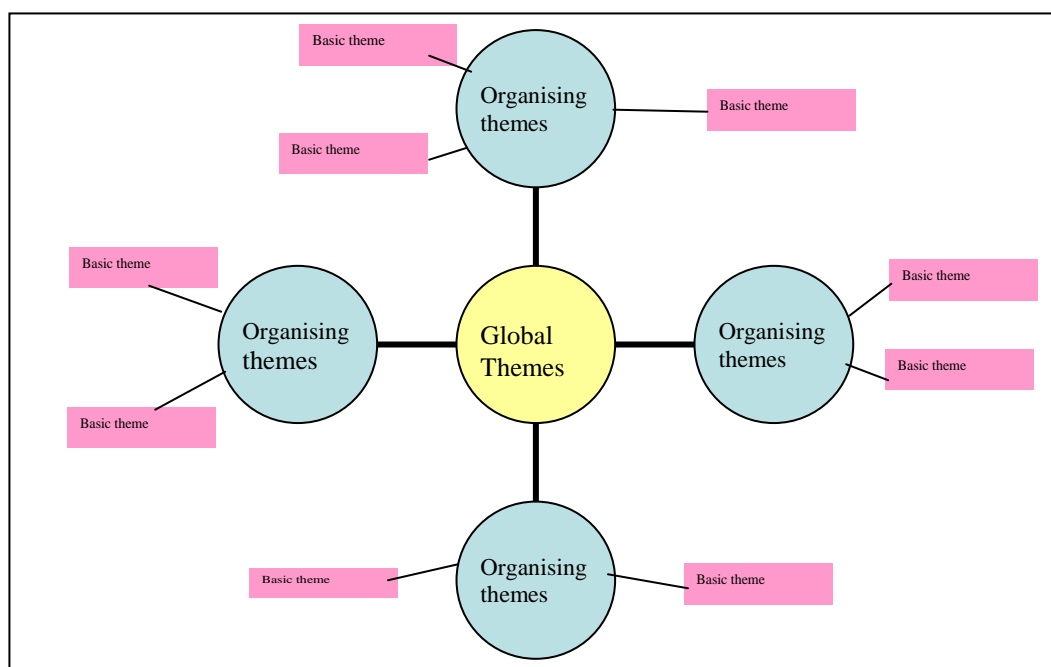


Figure 4.5 Structure of a thematic framework

Whilst other authors, including Ritchie and Spencer (1994) and Braun and Clarke (2006) have developed their own frameworks for thematic analysis, it is the Attride-Stirling approach that has been adopted here through its focus on interpreting patterns, thus allowing clearer linkages and identification of key connections to emerge.

Braun and Clarke (2006) believe thematic analysis to be a rarely acknowledged yet widely used method of analysis that is accessible and flexible. However, they warn of the pitfalls to using it which include the failure to actually analyse at all, using the questions raised as the themes, having a weak or unconvincing analysis and a mismatch between the claims and the data. Finally they warn of the danger of having a complete mismatch between the theory and the analytical claims. In other words, ensuring that there is consistency between the theoretical framework and the data interpretations by constantly referring back to the original aims and objectives of the research (Holloway and Todres 2003).

Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) argue for the importance of demonstrating rigour throughout the whole process and that the search for themes is imperative for the description of the phenomena and that through re-reading several times the data, pattern recognition will emerge. Saldana (2009) suggests that the necessary attributes needed for coding include being, to a large extent, an organised researcher, whose induction and deduction skills are complemented by evaluation and logical and critical thinking. Adding to this a level of perseverance combined with the ability to deal with ambiguity will strengthen the richness of the analysis. Flexibility and creativity with an ethical approach are important for the process of coding and the final skill must

be an extensive vocabulary which will support the quality of the final research findings, yet linking in clearly with the theoretical underpinning of the research.

4.12 Choice and structure of themes

The structure of the theming can be seen in an example used in Figure 4.5. The raw data is examined for quotes relating to the objectives of the research which are then classified into basic themes. Once these themes are listed they can then be grouped together into organising themes. Once all the themes are analysed the production of the main global themes for the final analysis emerge. This is similar to the coding as suggested by Saldana (2009), but he refers to preliminary codes and final codes. Because of the amount of data collected from all the interviews, it was also necessary to ‘lump’ and ‘split’ the data according to the themes emerging, as several quotes had more than one pertinent message. This is known as simultaneous coding (Miles and Huberman 1994), and is the application of two or more codes to a single response, or two or more codes applied to sequential data. Simultaneous coding has been attributed to indecisiveness and that there could be a lack of clear focus to the research, however the justification for its use in this thesis comes from the fact that much of the data is both deeply descriptive of what happened to the informants and also inferentially meaningful (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The very nature of undertaking semi-structured interviews was to give the informants the opportunity to discuss openly their experiences and it is through these discussions that many of the emerging themes have developed alongside the *a priori* codes required for meeting the research objectives.

It has already been acknowledged that the researcher had some influence on the data generated since data cannot be collected using interviews without a degree of prior knowledge on the part of the researcher. When deciding the coding to be chosen for this analysis, it was also acknowledged that the researcher has a degree of influence since analysis is driven by the need to meet the objectives of the research and hence some subjective judgements on the value of material. This does not mean that *a priori* codes are used; more that themes of relevance to the objectives are sought.

This exercise was repeated several times from the raw data and it became clear that there were 4 main organising themes emerging of issues with forward planning, identification of community, identification and problems with legacy management, control of legacy by the IOC.

Examples of theming relating back to Figure 4.5

In addition, a further example is:

Got to the point **2/3 years out** from the Games that there is **so much on delivering** the event with so much to do and it is one of those things **you cannot afford to get wrong** and consequently what they decided to

do was to take a **more flexible approach**..... ideally you almost have an organisation like ours in place at least three years out before the Games, to start thinking about those **post Games issues** and even just deciding on **what the Government structure is going to be**..... in London case still needs to be resolved and agreed but what I am seeing is that **there is a much clearer definition of what is the post Games vision in London than what we had at this comparable time**

Within this passage there are 8 clear points being raised which when compared to other passages from other interviews start to form clear themes, for instance:

“2/3 years out”

“you almost have an organisation like ours in place at least three years out before the Games”

“post Games issues”

These are all the basic themes emerging, that relate to **forward planning, the organising theme**, thus with further investigation, a possible theme is emerging here in relation to problems associated with in the forward planning. However this will need to be analysed further from within other quotes to what the exact nature of the theme is and how it relates to the objectives of the research, thereby forming part of a global theme

For instance

the LDA and **these people didn't really know if they were going to win** so they were hanging around, not sure if I go along with that because if you put a big bid in of this kind and invested a lot of money, even if you are slightly sceptical about your chances you still operate on the basis, I would have thought, that you are going to win and therefore you make plans

Again here issues of **forward planning** emerge, yet it is becoming clearer that the theme perhaps is also to do with communication (the global theme) and priorities and so the themes all become inter linked and co-dependent in order to support the interpretation of the phenomenon being studied. After a while, the need to diagrammatically represent these linkages becomes paramount to the analysis of the data and the representation of these linkages can be seen at the beginning of the two chapters of findings and discussions.

4.13 Personal reflection

Willig (2001) believes it is impossible for a researcher to position themselves outside of their research as the researcher will have a relationship with the phenomena being studied. The reflection upon the researcher's own standpoint in relation to the phenomenon in question will identify and explain the standpoint that has shaped the research process and findings. Personal

reflexivity encapsulates one's own values, beliefs, political commitments, social identities, experiences and interests and how it shapes the researcher's view. The researcher has no prior knowledge apart from a declared interest in the Olympic Games as a global phenomenon and, in addition, has little current direct contact with the social problems which she has investigated. The primary focus, however, was on studying how London 2012's organisers had placed the emphasis on regenerating this part of east London and whether based on previous Games examples and planning history in this country, their plans were feasible. The research was therefore pragmatic (neither involved nor detached), looking at the facts and interpreting them in light of the research aims and objectives. A certain level of involvement was needed to understand and converse with the interviewees but also the researcher was detached.

4.14 Credibility, dependability, plausibility, transferability.

According to Denscombe (2007), within qualitative research instead of discussing validity it is credibility that should be considered and also dependability in preference to reliability. The credibility of the data comes from comparing coding with a colleague as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). Dependability, in other words integrity and trustworthiness will be evidenced through keeping an audit trail of the research as well as all interviewees being told the background to the research and the potential audience for the findings and giving them the opportunity to change their minds at any stage. Gummerson (1991) discusses challenges facing qualitative researchers, such as access to reality; pre-understanding of the research phenomena; and ensuring quality. Denscombe (2007) further argues that transferability and confirmability need to be considered when doing qualitative research so that through keeping a clear audit trail and presenting thick descriptions, the design and analysis is clear for another researcher to explore the concepts elsewhere. These areas will be considered and followed, through the academic rigour engaged by the researcher in her professional approach, openness and honesty thus also considering the ethical responsibilities involved in this research.

The relevancy of the research will come from constantly referring to the aims and objectives at all stages. Plausibility, seeming to be valid and acceptable, will come from showing good and bad examples and not being biased in the reporting of the results. Reliability of research is not possible here as it would require the repeatability of the research to be possible so that the results are identical. In qualitative research with semi-structured interviews, it is the skill and ability of the researcher to encourage the recollection of lived experiences that encourages the data. Therefore, the same identical results could not necessarily be guaranteed if all the interviews were repeated.

4.15 Ethical considerations

Williams (2003) discusses the balance between an objective researcher and a morally bound researcher, one who wishes to cause no harm or distress. The need and moral duty of researchers to protect participants in research is well documented (Mason, 2002). All ethical issues raised in qualitative research should be anticipated to maintain integrity. In the case of this research ethical approval from within the researcher's school (Appendix 3) and informed consent of all the participants is paramount. '*Codes of ethics are formulated to regulate the relations of researchers to the people and fields they intend to study*' (Flick, 2006 p 45). At all times throughout the design and implementation of the research for this thesis, compliance with the Bournemouth University's Research Ethics Policies and Procedures was adhered to. It is imperative to always consider the moral implications of social science research (Bryman, 2001, Denscombe, 2007) and the results of the outcomes of the research. It is not only the ethics of collecting the data and undergoing the research but it is also the ethical considerations of the findings and their dissemination into the public forum, especially if political contests arise. The ethical responsibilities involved in this research are to be clear, open and honest with all those individuals who give of their time in order to be interviewed. Each interviewee gave their informed consent to participate by agreeing to the interview taking place with a full explanation given of the research project aims and objectives. In all cases agreement was given to have the conversation recorded. Once transcribed, all interviewees were offered a written copy of the transcript for their approval, and they were given the opportunity to change their mind, yet the confidentiality and anonymity has been waived due to the nature of the individuals agreeing to take part, even though Denscombe (2007) suggests that the interests of the participants should be protected.

There is no anticipated harm to any participant in the interviews or any invasion of their privacy or deception in being asked to be involved; the main ethical considerations according to Bryman, (2001) and Giles, (2002). A further ethical consideration must be the security of the data stored on a computer data base and the sensitivities of protecting this information from misuse and certain elements of it may be of a confidential nature. Informed consent was implicit through the agreement to be interviewed at the outset. The only request made to date is that the interview information is not made available to the tabloid press.

The research has an inductive theoretical perspective where the methodology takes thematic analysis through thematic networks, with the actual method undertaken being the in-depth semi-structured interviews. Interviews allow the researcher to discover the inconsistencies, contradictions and paradoxes that describe daily life and augment understanding of what has occurred, how it happened and why (Pettus, 2001). Furthermore, by using a qualitative method a

degree of elasticity permits emerging data to be iteratively integrated within the analyses, whereby findings develop and impact on further successive interviews alternating between theories and emerging data. Phenomenology, through its analysis of experience, explores and gains an understanding of what it is like to live a moment or situation (Willig, 2001), in this case the process of being involved in the planning of the Olympics from the community perspective.

4.16 The representativeness of the data and relevance of the research

Whilst transferability may be hard to achieve as the research itself will be unique in many respects, the hope is that the research forms the basis of future on-going research and is useful to the wider research community in relation to legacy planning for future mega-events. Therefore, the transparency will come from the way the report is written clearly and with direction so as to be easily understood.

Any issues of bias that may arise should be acknowledged within the research. Because the nature of this research involves some interviewees being asked about the past, and in the case of the Barcelona interviewees this is now 18 years ago, the positivity effect could appear as time progresses, people's memories are distorted in a positive direction and the negatives are forgotten unless mentioned during the course of the research. Researcher led bias can arise in the interviews so it is vitally important to try and avoid any verbal influences. Also in this interview design it is imperative to consider confirmation bias and therefore only selecting that data which supports the interviewer's own views.

4.17 Strengths and limitations of the research

The use of only three Games cases could be argued as limiting, but the way the research has been designed allows for further work to be continued into the future to expand the research. For the purposes of this thesis, the depth of findings from these three carefully selected cases (see Chapter 5) alone, has justified their use. To avoid bias in any of the interviews, the interview protocol and the interviewer behaviour must seek to overcome any possibilities of bias, whether implicit or explicit. That bias, which perhaps is unavoidable, must be declared.

The timeframes and the need to complete the research within parameters have caused anxiety and frustration, particularly in gaining access to some individuals which proved difficult, yet access was finally gained.

The London context interview data collected also only covers the experiences within two host boroughs rather than the five, yet the amount and richness of the data gained was sufficient to respond to the aims and objectives set at the outset of the research.

There are many other social impacts that were mentioned within the interview contexts which this thesis is not covering, yet could be deemed to be of equal importance. This thesis was situated within tight parameters but this data could be a valuable area for further study.

This research context is current and on-going, yet within such dynamic environments there will always be continued change and development. It must be recognised that this thesis is not a definitive study but an analysis of experiences of the pre-event planning. It is only further longitudinal studies that will be able to fully understand the long-term perspective.

4.18 Summary

This chapter has outlined the research design for the thesis from revisiting the aims and objectives, through to the actual design of the data collection, the data analysis and how the data is to be presented. The following chapter provides background to the cases based on a review of documentary evidence from Barcelona and Sydney. The subsequent two chapters present the data collected and the discussions surrounding that data before the final chapter that offers conclusions to the research with future recommendations.

5 Previous Games' social legacy

5.1 Introduction

In order to understand the Olympic planning context this chapter reports the findings from a documentary review of social legacy planning from previous Games, notably Barcelona and Sydney. This provides some case contingent context for subsequent interviews and primary data analysis. This chapter also includes a section of other examples from mega-events relevant to this study finishing with London developments. There has been a trend, seen throughout mega-event planning, to adopt more sustainable developments and this will be seen throughout the discussion in this chapter. In the case of the Olympic Villages and their post Games use, Millet (1997) quotes that there is no 'after' for an Olympic village without a well-planned 'before' and he further states that there is no point in building sports facilities for a fortnight of Games if no post use is clear from the start.

5.2 Barcelona 1992

Barcelona used the Olympic planning to focus on the long-term benefits for the city as a whole by having good transport links between the various sites and strategically planning for the whole of the city to benefit from the redevelopments. The Games acted as a catalyst in completing the modernisation and development of the city, that had already begun prior to the bidding (Hall and Hodges, 1996). The hosting of the Games condensed a 25-year plan, known as the Pla General Metropolitan (PGM) into a 7-year time span. The city had suffered a 40 year setback in comparison to other European Cities under Franco's rule and Marshall (2000) attributes this plan to the renewal of Barcelona.

However, in truth, the Olympic Games witnessed the relocation of many of the indigenous communities from the waterfront (Mackay, 2000) causing a breakdown in community structures. Through clearing the seafront area, many local businesses and associated communities were evicted even though they had significant social and cultural heritage in being positioned on the seafront in the first place, for example the 'sea gypsy' communities (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2007). The opening up of the seafront area, whilst welcomed by many residents and visitors alike, caused the removal of these enclaves and as they were outside the 'economic system' they did not have to be afforded any rights or protection (interview, Munoz, 2008). More Roma communities were evicted from other Olympic sites around the city although they were all offered alternative social housing. This is an important point to compare with how the Gypsy populations in London have been treated.

In addition, the same report (COHRE, 2007) argues that the Games had a negative impact on accessibility and affordability of housing as pricing increased and available rental stock decreased. Over 600 families were relocated for Olympic developments and new house prices rose by 131% in just the five years running up to 1992, compared to 83% across Spain as a whole over the same period (Kennett, interview 2007). Brunet (1993) reported that 59,000 people left the city to live elsewhere because of the rising prices and relocations. Hiller (2000) also writes about how in Barcelona existing communities were evicted through the inner city renewal and that they were replaced through gentrification by middle class residents and consumers. Similarly, Chalkley and Essex (2003) reported that ‘rapid’ increases were seen in prices in Barcelona, yet despite these negative legacy impacts, Barcelona is considered to be one of the best examples of urban remodelling through optimising an event and this has become known as the ‘Barcelona Model’.

5.2.1 Barcelona Model

Much discourse around the 1992 Games refers to the perceived success of the Barcelona Model as a planning template stimulating a new beginning for the city after years of Franco rule. The model focussed on developments in designated zones that were pinpointed as in need of regeneration through years of neglect: Montjuic, Diagonal, Vall d’Hebron and Poble Nou. The strategy was chosen to lessen the strain on one area having to take the brunt of all the impacts and also allowing more residents to benefit, but it did result in the whole city resembling a building site for 7 years. Gold and Gold (2007) would argue that the Barcelona model provides a blueprint for other Olympic host cities to consider in relation to regenerating the urban environment. They would further argue that in following this model, long term positive benefits can accrue from the correct urban planning and regeneration templates other than just short term financial gains for the organisers. Blanco (2009) however would contradict the existence of a model as such and argues that the developments were part of a bigger scheme not necessarily forming a design template for future planners. However, the recognition of a model template was acknowledged by the London Bid team. Other events have also shaped the city in addition to the 1992 Olympics (Smith and Fox, 2007; see also chapter 2). Barcelona is an example of how a city has used mega-events to revitalise the city for the residents, by renewing pride and community spirit as well as opening up public spaces (Mackay, 2000; Munoz, 2005). The intention was to reconstruct the city with a focus on individual neighbourhoods and smaller projects, whilst not linked to the Games itself, but by branding them under the Olympic umbrella, they received wide support (Smith, 2007).

The model included elements of inter-institutional co-operation and agreement not seen before with special administrative bodies, shared agreements between public and private bodies and a distinct separation between investment functions and operational functions (Brunet, 1995). In

addition, the agreement between the City, Government, the Generalitat (autonomous Catalonian Government), the Spanish Olympic Committee and the IOC was key to the success (Botella, 1995). A clear example of how public and private entities can work in partnership.

The resultant housing from the former Olympic Village became highly sought after property and led to the gentrification of the waterfront area (with a new community of young professional residents moving into the properties previously occupied by athletes) and ‘opened up’ the waterfront that had for many years been industrialised, to provide new restaurants, bars and marinas (Mackay, 2000), despite the criticisms already mentioned of the dislocated residents. However, what makes the ‘Barcelona Model’ so important is the way in which the time frame for the long term vision for the city was condensed into seven years through successful public/private partnerships and the support of the local municipal and regional Government. Monclus (2003) writes in particular about how Barcelona converted the 1992 Olympic Games into a lever and strategic instrument for renewal and regeneration of the city as a whole. The actual Barcelona Model was, in his opinion, an urban project stretching from 1979-2004 with the Games part of a bigger urban vision. Monclus (2003) believes the polarisation and social exclusion, seen in other city renewal projects, did not happen in Barcelona, but he acknowledges that insufficient focus was given in the planning to housing issues, thus disagreeing with Balibrea (2001) amongst others who argue that many inhabitants were expelled from historic communities, situated in parts of the city for a reason. Furthermore, in earlier writings, Marshall (2000) questioned whether a Barcelona Model actually exists. He believes that metropolitan regional planning is more likely to be behind the successes seen in Barcelona and that the model referred to does not have any distinct approach to urban governance, this comes from a wider strategic vision.

Despite these opposing viewpoints, the interesting point about the use of the term the ‘Barcelona Model’ is that the real success of Barcelona’s renewal comes from the longer term larger *Pla General Metropolitan (PGM)*, devised to renew the city after Franco’s dictatorship ended to give the city, its open spaces and parklands, back to the people, at their behest (Balibrea, 2001). Consultation with residents groups was undertaken by the municipal authorities and grass roots residents’ movements were very strong at this time and their views matched those of the local government with regard to the city redevelopments as there was a desperate need for more open space and improvements to the quality of urban life (Balibrea, 2001).

In summary, for Barcelona, the Olympics became an impetus to hurry along some of the schemes included within the original plan and instigated a new style of planning which has been copied in many other cities. It focuses mainly on the redevelopment of ‘brownfield’ sites into what is known as good urban form (Marshall, 2000), a precursor for sustainable developments

that have viable timescales but substantial land use change. The fact that many of these developments have resulted in gentrification, whereby an element of social change has occurred, is deemed as a by-product of the improvement. It is only recently that the social impacts of these developments have gained global interest, mainly through writers such as Hall (1997), Hiller (1998), Lenskyj (2000) and Cashman (2006). Therefore, the Barcelona Model failed in respect of social and cultural benefits, as it focused on city image to the detriment of the other impacts (Monclus, 2006), therefore questioning whether this model is one London should be copying.

5.3 Sydney 2000

Sydney 2000 is widely known as the ‘Green Games’ and Chalkley and Essex (1999) refer to Sydney as the pioneer of the relatively ‘new’ planning concept (at that time at the end of the 1990s) of sustainable development, (although as seen above, Barcelona did have elements of sustainable development) . The IOC has, as a result of the Brundtland report of 1987, adopted sustainability as the third pillar of the Olympic Movement after sport and culture. It was after the Lillehammer Winter Games of 1994, where all the developments were undertaken with rigid environmental planning, that the IOC felt compelled to adopt a similar approach. It is still not mandatory within the bidding system, just advisable where possible and various Games have adopted elements of sustainable approaches. Whilst Sydney did produce the ‘Green Games’ during the actual periods of Games activity, the long term plans for the Olympic Park were far from sustainable (Stamatakis et al, 2003) thereby raising the issue of whether they were in fact truly green in the long term. Searle (2002), also comments on the fact that the planning for the post-Games use of the Stadia was beset with problems between the public and private sectors, in contrast to Barcelona. The Sydney example shows how these relationships do not necessarily eliminate the risk of a poorly planned events portfolio. This ultimately leads to unviable stadium developments which impact on the local communities’ use of these facilities after the Games.

5.3.1 ‘Best Games Ever’

Lenskyj (2002), whilst writing about the social impacts of Sydney 2000, openly questions the ‘Best Olympics ever’ title given by the IOC President at the end of the closing ceremony of the Games. She highlights the negative impacts for Sydney, including the lack of consultation, race issues, rent increases and homelessness. Cashman (2003) purports that the benefits of hosting the Sydney Games on the local population were very vague especially in the case of Homebush, due to the benefits either being over-inflated or simply too complex to measure in monetary terms. In addition, there are often no post-Games monitoring in place to measure the long term benefits because all the focus has been on the pre-Games and actual Games planning rather than legacy after the Games has ended. The local residents were not consulted about the development plans

for their area and all they were told about were the positive benefits that would accrue as a result of the Games taking place. The developers/organisers often said they had public support from opinion polls undertaken amongst the community. By asking potential detractors and community representatives to join the bid committees, they claimed to have community support. Yet in the case of Sydney very limited constructive consultation took place according to Cashman (2006). Smith (2007) agrees that better community consultation would have produced a more robust legacy through meeting the communities' needs with negotiation.

Lochhead (2005) writes that at the time of the Games and during planning it is generally agreed by all authors that the post-Games legacy was little considered. The National and Local Government were criticised for not having a master plan beyond the Games, yet legacy was never a priority in Games planning even from the IOC. Two years after the Games, the Sydney Olympic Park was established and the Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA) to run it. The delay was due to many different reasons, including manpower issues, a lack of guidance, a sense of post-Games loss and therefore the planning for long term legacy became non-existent for a while (Lochhead, 2005; Cashman, 2006). The Park plan initially began with a 7-10 year focus identifying eight main sites and envisaged up to 10,000 workers and 3,000 residents. However, this was amended in 2007 to produce an even longer term plan called Vision 2025, which proposed a mix of uses within the urban area resulting in a critical mass of residents and workers as well as transport infrastructure improvements. Under the longer-term programme, the precinct would retain its current amenity and major event capacity, but its viability would be significantly enhanced with increased housing and business use.

The immediate benefits of the original design of the Park were for the athletes and competitors in that the housing and venues were in one location but this has been shown to be unviable in the long term as it has resulted in a rather isolated community. However, on a positive note, the original developments did give Sydney world class sporting venues, the largest remediation project in Australia with 9,000,000 cubic meters of waste cleansed and a former rubbish dump and industrial landscape transformed into parklands. In addition, the park also has one of largest wastewater recycling systems and at Newington, one of largest solar powered suburbs in the world, a best practice approach to environmental sustainability. What it did however lack was a mix of housing and access for the surrounding communities to the park facilities (Cashman, 2006)

5.3.2 Sydney urban governance

Owen (2002) compares the urban governance policies of three local government areas in relation to the social and political legacies of their involvement in the Games and how this

impacted on the local communities. All three areas, Auburn, Ryde and Waverley adopted quite different entrepreneurial styles ranging from co-operation with the authorities to outright opposition and thereby securing different benefits locally. Owen states that the case of Auburn Council was different to the other two as there appeared to be little tension between the council and the Olympic Organising authorities (a point this research will question). Even though the former Mayor Pat Curtin was involved in most of the negotiations on behalf on the council, prior to the Games themselves there was an election and Mayor Le Lam was elected. Despite many of the legacies at the outset being negative for the local communities, they managed to keep the interests of their residents in the forefront of all dealings, particularly any local community opposition was listened to but not always acted upon, as shown in the research. Many promises were made to the Auburn community about the large numbers of visitors who would be around for the duration of the Games and many spent hundreds of pounds in improving their businesses. This was all to no avail, as only the Turkish wrestling team visited the area, whilst all other Olympic visitors were bussed in and out via the city and other collection points (interviews undertaken by author, 2007).

Furthermore in Sydney, Auburn Council was encouraged to persuade their local businesses to upgrade their properties in preparation of the Olympic visitors passing through and many spent thousands of dollars on their properties and businesses (interviews 2007). During the Games period they had virtually no visitors because the spectator transport system was directly linked to the park and therefore no one came through the local community. The former Mayor, Pat Curtin warned against this over expectation of huge visitors as he had visited Atlanta, after the 1996 Games, where exactly the same scenario occurred and many shopkeepers were closing their businesses as they had spent so much money on upgrading their premises, but had not generated the income during Games time to cover their additional costs. He further tried to warn the council but because he had recently lost the Mayoral title to Lee Lam his warnings were dismissed as those of a disgruntled former official, who had on many occasions taken the organising committee to task and was therefore not the most popular figure within the administration, yet his dire warnings have proved to be true (interviews, 2007). In addition, in Sydney, although most Games reports describe the area used for the park as being derelict and wasteland, there were businesses that had been operating there, including an abattoir and in total the loss of rateable income amounted to over Aus.\$ 1 million. This was income that the council no longer had to spend on other services for the community (Cashman, 2006)

A shift in urban governance took place from a managerial approach to urban politics, to one in which entrepreneurial attempts to improve economic and social welfare took precedence over managerial concerns. This is an important process to compare with what is already happening in

London, as whilst Owen is writing about what happened in the run up to Sydney 12/13 years ago, there are similar comparisons to make with London's planning already. However, when considering the size of the planning involved in the staging of the Olympic Games, special planning agencies have to be established to oversee the efficiency of the process, yet it is the manner in which they exercise their powers that Owen investigated in her three case studies and offers some interesting comparisons for London.

In several developments for the Sydney Games, the infrastructure was not approved at a local level, but by the Minister for Urban Affairs and that the planning was from a regional and national perspective resulting in some areas experiencing rent increases and the ensuing homelessness. In addition as already mentioned, normal planning regulations were overlooked and many people who lodged appeals lost in court hearings. Even Environmental Impact Statement requirements were being overlooked in the need to rush through the Games developments despite the 'green' image Sydney's organisers wished to portray (Hall and Hodges, 1996). In conclusion, Owen believes that *'entrepreneurialism is not the hegemonic ideology that many urban geographers believe'* (2002; p 333) as managerial and democratic concerns operate still behind the entrepreneurial frontage because of local action through community empowerment.

5.4 Housing issues

During the period prior to the Games in Sydney, many people suffered above inflation rent increases on their properties and Beadnell (2000) suggests this could have been as landlords wished to capitalise on the money to be made from the Games. As already mentioned, Hamilton (2000) wrote that Sydney's newest Olympic Sport was the 'rent race', and McWilliams (2000) wrote at the same time that some tenants who had lived for 20 years in the same building were given 60 days' notice to move out. The establishment of the Social Impact Advisory Committee was supposedly to protect people from the effects of the Olympic developments, yet it could do nothing to stop the increases in prices thus making many forms of housing unaffordable to certain sectors of the community (COHRE, 2007). Despite all this, Sydney has remained an example of 'good' Games in the popular press whereby it has not received so much criticism as either Atlanta (1996) or Athens (2000). The acknowledged absence of long term planning for the stadia and the housing issues that have arisen (Lenskyj, 2002; Waitt, 2001, 2003) in Sydney are valuable lessons that London can learn from even though London 2012 organisers are basing much of their planning around Sydney.

In summary, when studying the past examples of Barcelona and Sydney it became apparent that for London the need of private/public partnerships for the long term sustainable legacy of the Olympic developments is crucial, as without these partnerships forming, the pressure on public

funding will not provide the long-term support needed to sustain these legacies. In addition, to protect the local communities from negative social impacts clear long-term legacy planning is vital to identify the possible impacts and to act quickly to mitigate their consequences. It is clear from the experiences of Barcelona that major developments have to be part of a wider, long term vision that the Games strategically 'fit' into as opposed to being the sole major driver for regeneration. Similarly, from Sydney, the message arises that every development has to have a long term post-Games plan. The closest example of this in the UK is the Manchester Commonwealth Games from 2002

5.5 Manchester Commonwealth Games 2002

In the UK, the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games involved initiatives, on a small-scale, that were designed to deliver softer social legacies not wholly reliant on the Games themselves. In Manchester, the sports events were strategically designed to achieve urban regeneration and this has been achieved through the New East Manchester project, an example of event themed regeneration, as opposed to event led, regeneration (Brown and Massey, 2001; Carlsen and Taylor, 2003). House prices in Manchester grew by 102% in 3 years up to the 2002 Commonwealth Games, considerably higher than the 52% increase in the North West over the same period (Carlsen and Taylor, 2003), yet the availability of social housing did not suffer as a result of the Commonwealth Games.

The rationale behind the hosting of the Commonwealth Games arose out of the failed bidding for the 2000 Olympics and how hosting a mega-event was an opportunity for regeneration, so the decision to go for another event was understandable and the initiatives for the regeneration ran parallel to the event planning (Smith, 2007). East Manchester was the preferred locale for the regeneration because of its deprivation and inequality (Ward, 2003). The area's unemployment rate was running at twice that of the rest of Manchester before the games and the mortality rate was 50% higher than the national average; interesting comparisons with London.

Since the hosting of the Games, and the completion of the New East Manchester Regeneration project, the living conditions and social status of the area has vastly improved. The gentrification, often seen in big city projects, did not materialise with the area being home to many middle and working class families. The costs of the Legacy programme, whilst several million pounds, came largely from national regeneration funding that the event itself helped to secure (Smith, 2007).

Manchester has become a popular example of good entrepreneurial urbanism (Cox 1992; Ward 2003) as well as an example of the civic pride of hosting a mega-event in the city. The public/private partnerships, the community consultation and the Government support for the regeneration have resulted in a 'best practice' model for London to study in that all the legacy

objectives were met successfully. The success of Manchester is partly attributed to the formation of the New East Manchester Regeneration Company, whose role was to be amongst other things, the conduit between the public and private sectors. In addition, the NEMRC was particularly engaged in consultation with the residents, enabling an empowerment that through collective decision-making, was as important lever of fulfilment and inclusion for the local residents (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). The overall focus on physical, social and economic change (NEMRC, 2007) in a holistic format, have helped make the project the success it is with the emphasis on helping the people who live in the area. Manchester has shown true regeneration for the working classes as opposed to renaissance for new middle class homeowners and the relocation of the working classes (Mace et al, 2007), a valuable lesson for London.

5.6 Other informative examples

Whilst this thesis has focussed on studying in detail the social housing impacts from both Barcelona and Sydney, for the reasons already stated, there are other notable examples from previous host Olympic cities as well as other mega-event hosts. These other examples, to be discussed below are by no means an exhaustive list but have been chosen for the reasons highlighted below to add gravitas to the thesis.

5.6.1 Seoul, Atlanta, Athens, Beijing

In Seoul, South Korea, for the 1988 Summer Games, 720,000 people were forcibly evicted with the urban poor, street pedlars, beggars and the homeless cleansed from the city before the Games began. A wall was built alongside the road from the airport to the main venues to hide the shanty towns behind (Jeong, 1999).

Malfas et al (2004) writing about how the Olympics may seem attractive through the positive economic impacts, and yet the social legacy impacts may be negative, highlight Atlanta as an example. Residents were forced to leave their publicly funded housing projects in order to make way for event infrastructure for the 1996 Games; 9500 units of affordable housing were lost and \$350 million in public funds diverted from low-income housing and social services to fund the Olympic preparation. This is often an accusation made about the hosting of these mega-events in that worthwhile causes lose their funding as monies are appropriated elsewhere for the Games (Hall, 1992). The event was criticised for the resulting urban neighbourhood sanitisation, specifically undertaken to produce media-friendly images (Smith, 2007)

Athens, in 2004, was well behind target with their Games planning in that the construction of the stadia missed many deadlines and in some cases test events, and since the Games finished much of the sporting infrastructure lays dormant (Lialios, 2006). This was due to a lack of post-

Games planning, and some have only recently being converted for public use. In contrast, the country benefited in tourism terms from the positive publicity of the running of the Games and the Athenians benefited from improved transportation around the city. In terms of urban regeneration, the Olympic Park rehabilitated 2,700 acres of neglected land, creating inner city parks and unified the city's archaeological sites. Athens environmental standards were not as good as Sydney, but the air quality in the city has improved in line with improvements in the transportation systems. In 2004 the public support for the Games reached 89%, evidencing the residents being in favour of the Games (Panagiotopoulou, 2005).

Interestingly COHRE reported in 2007 that they could find no evidence of significant increases in rental or property purchase prices in Athens as a result of hosting the Games. This is because there is no agency in Greece collating such data, yet research undertaken by the HBOS in the UK, reported house prices in Athens rose 63% in the five years leading to the Games, but in the rest of the country the figure was 55%. The only 'cleansing' reported was the removal of the homeless, drug addicts and asylum seekers from unofficial housing, yet very little has been reported about the Roma populations who were forcibly evicted and offered no alternative accommodation (being outside the economic system) (COHRE, 2007), in contrast to Barcelona and London.

Beijing underwent massive transformations within the city in order to prepare for the hosting of the 2008 Games. Unfortunately, within that process, there is evidence of forced relocations of some residents and the destroying of some cultural and historical artefacts and buildings (COHRE, 2007; Yardley, 2007; Shin, 2009). Some of the social legacies being reported from Beijing have focused on human rights and the poorer sections of the population (Black and Bezanson, 2004). However, the positive improvements to the city include environmental remediation programmes, transportation remodelling and upgrades of utilities and high technology (Ness, 2002). Shin (2009) however, writes that despite Beijing losing the opportunity to host the 2000 Games because of its poor human rights record, little changed in this respect before the winning of the 2008 bid. Black and Bezanson (2004) write of the how the western views of Chinese Human Rights practices has softened as closer relations with the Chinese Government have been sought by the west in light of 21st century security needs. The hosting of the Games however, became the opportunity for Beijing to show the rest of the world how much had changed within the country, yet the treatment of certain housing sectors seems to have followed the pattern from previous Games hosts.

Shin (2009) argues that the costs of hosting the 2008 Games have been disproportionately shared depending on the residents' socio-economic status and place of residence and yet again, the hardest hit have been the poorer neighbourhoods and residents, many of whom have been

relocated. COHRE (2007) estimated this figure to be upwards of 1.5 million households (it has been unable to substantiate this figure within the public domain since the Games; and that the Olympic Village accommodation will now be up-market residential housing stock thus according to Shin (2009), *'the state has failed and is likely to continue to fail to make full provision of affordable housing'* (p, 137).

5.7 London 2012

London as a candidate city adopted the 'Towards a One Planet Olympics' initiative; the intention being to achieve the first sustainable Olympic and Paralympic Games, a longer term vision than that proposed for the 2000 Sydney Games. This proposal is a joint programme between the London Organisers, the WWF, Bio Regional and One Planet Living.

The original bid documentation predicted that up to 40% of the available accommodation would be for key workers, however, the management and control of this availability, considering the ever increasing costs of the infrastructure, will require the organisers to recognise that there is an opportunity to realise much needed funds from the sale of all the properties, particularly when the proposed developers are having problems raising the money required from the banks. The global credit crisis has resulted in the Government having to underwrite more of the housing development than originally planned due to several banks' reluctance to lend to the preferred developers, Lend Lease (BBC online, 20/04/09).

London's bid has the title of the Urban three 'R's from Gold and Gold (2007) based on the premise that the bid will cover regeneration, renaissance and renewal, despite previous concerns in this thesis of the use of this terminology for London. It is acknowledged by Gold and Gold that London's bid places greater than ever 'before' emphasis *'on the legacy and after effects of the Olympic opportunities rather than the event itself'* (p 299). This in itself will present unique problems in that all the post-event planning will be dominated at this stage by the need to ensure the Games themselves run smoothly and to time even though much has been made of the post-Games legacy design. In common with Barcelona, there are on-going major regeneration projects already taking place within the locality of the Olympic area in London that were commenced before the bid was won and these include the Stratford City project and the Thames Gateway project. These projects were instigated prior to the winning of the bid in 2005, on the basis of improving the neglected and under invested areas around Stratford, and along the shores of the River Thames where the prevailing social conditions were very poor. These projects and their anticipated outcomes are often included in some of the quoted future statistics for the Olympic Park but the opportunities for the local residents are important regardless of the source of the benefits. These projects allow the Games organisers (LOCOG) and the legacy planners (OPLC) to

maximise future opportunities by leveraging across all the projects regardless of origination, to ensure long-term benefits.

In London the Lower Lea Valley (LLV) is a former industrialised area that spreads into 4 London Boroughs that have high levels of unemployment and incapacity claimants. In addition, there is considerable educational underachievement in the National SAT tests. If Greenwich is included in the statistics (as it is the 5th host London Borough) as seen in Table 5.1 social deprivation occurs in all 5 Olympic host boroughs.

Table 5.1 Social Statistics for London Olympic Boroughs - Source: Office of National Statistics – www.nomisweb.co.uk 2009

	Proportion of non-white population	Percentage claiming benefits for more than 12 months:	Working-age employment rate	Unemployment levels (%)	Sick and disabled %	Lone parents%
London Boroughs 2003/4						
Greenwich	62.6	19.6	65.2	9	7.9	3.9
Hackney	45.4	22.3	68	9.5	9	4.4
Newham	48.4	20.8	65.6	11.3	7.8	4.0
Waltham Forest	41.3	18.4	65.8	9.5	6.8	3.5
Tower Hamlets	47.9	20.1	70.1	11.9	7.7	3.2

In relation to the health of the area, Health in London (2001) identified Hackney, Newham, Waltham Forest and Tower Hamlets as having below average self-reported good health and that the infant mortality rates for 1996-2001 are significantly higher than average, especially in Tower Hamlets. In addition to the health issues, the area is also severely environmentally degraded (ODA, 2006) and in need of more housing stock, especially good quality social housing. The hosting of the Olympics may not solve the underlying social problems of the area, but the

regeneration plans could be leveraged to channel investments into areas that could possibly improve these figures (Games Monitor, 2007c). Within the £9bn budget, £2bn is for the preparation of the site and facilities, £2bn for the running of the Games leaving the remaining £5bn earmarked for the regeneration project showing the enormity of the project ahead and that for every £1 spent, 75p is for legacy (ODA, 2006). David Higgins, the Chief Executive of the ODA, has argued strongly that the ODA approach to regeneration must include a responsible approach to the Lower Lea Valley that exceeds the building of the Olympic facilities. This must include long-term legacy planning, especially in calling for more co-ordination between the ODA and the governmental departments intending to invest in the area (a lesson from both Barcelona and Sydney). However, The Olympics Minister, The Honourable Mrs Tessa Jowell, reiterated the importance of distinguishing between those commitments needed to satisfy the IOC in the building of the Olympic Park and those costs associated with the regeneration planning, which is the responsibility of the Department of Communities and Local Government.

'The task ahead for London is to embed the preparation for the hosting of the Games into a broader social policy agenda from the outset. Delivering social legacies are people based issues not facilities' (London Candidate File, 2005, p xi)

5.7.1 London relocations to date

In the area being developed for the Olympics, there have been the following relocations to date:

Hackney Marsh Football pitches (part loss of 11 pitches)

Local cycle tracks, running and walking routes

Three travellers' settlements

Artists' studios

300 Businesses with 15,000 workers

Clays Lane Peabody Estate with 420 residents

400 University of East London Students from Halls of Residence.

Marsh Lane Allotment holders

5.7.2 London 'Model'

The importance of embedding a wide range of projects in the delivery of a sound social legacy can be the impetus to radically develop one of the most disadvantaged urban areas in Europe. This 'model' could become an example of best practice which could have wide reaching benefits (Coalter, 2004, 2005; Vigor et al 2004) and go beyond that of the Barcelona Model to include social benefits as well. However, critics (Ball and Greene 1997; Olds 1998; Ritchie and Hall

1999; Lenskyj, 2002) argue that the benefits from these mega-event associated projects are not straight-forward, as these developments may increase social inequalities through increased costs of living and not necessarily improve the lifestyles of the most deprived members of the community, in some cases even moving them away.

The Barcelona and Sydney Olympics highlight the likelihood that house prices within the residual Olympic Village will follow the same pattern of rising prices and the ensuing relocation away for those residents who cannot afford the new prices. The impact this will have on surrounding property is uncertain as much of it is occupied on a rental basis by immigrant populations. The other issue which will need addressing is the management of the 'key worker' properties to be included in the housing developments and how the social mix of owners and occupiers will work in practice, as no other Games has had this type of mixed use housing. It is the organisers intention to turn the athletes' village into 3,600 apartments, with up to 25% being affordable housing for key workers (train drivers, nurses, police officers, teachers), yet confusion arises here as the original bid documentation mentions 40% social housing, but this figure also encompasses the developments in Stratford City.

As previously mentioned, development and change must consider cultural and social values of place. Businesses are often located in run-down areas for a reason, possibly due to lack of developer interest and low rents and consequently local community priorities get ignored as development partnerships become dominated by corporate partnerships, thus precluding the requirements for a participation approach (Hiller, 1998; Waitt, 1999). A 'bottom up' approach of participation promotes socially sustainable regeneration and it becomes development in rather than development of the area.

5.7.3 Legacy promises

It is evident from the literature review that the soft, social impact legacies seen from previous research into the Games, especially in relation to housing issues, vary greatly and are not always positive. What is not clear at this stage is how London and The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) with the task and responsibility of organising the London 2012 Games can make the long-term legacy impacts for the local residents positive. London's bid to host the 2012 Games was successful partly because of its legacy plans for the Games site area, yet the Mayor, Boris Johnson, has quoted in the UK press that London's chances of long-term legacy planning have already been lost because of time wasting (Kelso, 2008; 2009, Woolerton, 2008). The appointment of Tom Russell to be the Head of Legacy planning bringing his experience from Manchester 2002, where he was the Chief Executive of the New East Manchester Regeneration

Company, has been an important step in the right direction for London although his appointment was 2 years after the bid was won.

5.8 Summary

This chapter has discussed previous Olympic host cities and their respective social housing issues as a result of the planning and hosting of the respective Games in order to understand the Olympic planning context. It also highlights some examples from previous Games of how the planning becomes dominated by the urgency of the timescales and how normal planning guidelines and regulations become ignored in the need to plan the Games. It forms a documentary review of social legacy planning from previous Games, notably Barcelona and Sydney. This provides some case contingent context for subsequent interviews and primary data analysis. This chapter also includes a section of other examples from mega-events relevant to this study finishing with London developments. The following chapters are the discussions relating to the data findings from the interviews undertaken.

6 Olympic social legacy forward planning

The chapter discusses and analyses the two global themes emerging from the interviews, namely issues with forward planning and legacy identification, and the role of the International Olympic Committee within the planning of Olympic social legacies (see Figure 6.1). The discussion firstly focuses on event forward planning as it relates to long-term legacy design exploring the effectiveness of the methods of communication and consultation used. Secondly, the management of legacy planning and legacy identification are discussed. Finally, the transfer of knowledge between Games in relation to legacy management will be examined before relating back to the global themes of forward planning and legacy identification.

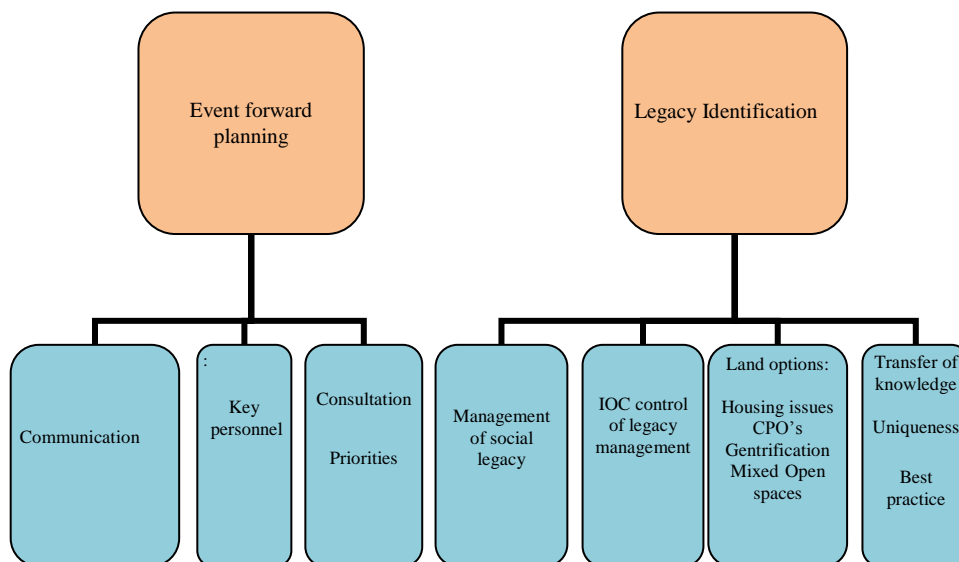


Figure 6.1: Summary of chapter findings

6.1 Event forward planning

Legacy has become a core issue for the successful staging of any Olympic Games (Cashman, 1998), with forward planning becoming a crucial component of any legacy development according to Bramwell (1997) and Getz (1991), who both suggest that the degree to which the potential for legacy is realised depends on the strategic planning involved. In addition, Ritchie (2000, p155) observes that *'unless the event is carefully and strategically planned with destination and community development in mind, it can be difficult to justify the large investments required'*. The organisers of the 2012 Games state that planning will *'accelerate the most extensive transformation seen in London for more than a century..... Our vision of the Olympic Games in London fits into our City's long-term planning strategy'* (London 2012 Candidature File, 2005), which clearly expresses the intention of the organisers to ensure that the

Games of 2012 are congruent with existing long-term planning for London, thus showing an awareness of the need for a coherent planning process.

Planning theory is always forward looking, with visions and potential consequences identified depending on the goals set (Getz, 2008) yet, in the case of the Olympic Games, the time period for planning is predetermined within specific time slots from decision to bid, through bidding, to winning and then hosting (Roche, 2003). At present there is little, if any, emphasis on post-Games legacy planning within the International Olympic Committee documentation. The Olympic Games Global Impact Study (OGGI), a longitudinal study approach suggested by the IOC themselves, divides physical legacy planning into four stages: conception, organisation, staging and closure. The word closure signifies finality and therefore no longer term legacy vision post-Games, an issue that needs attention (Poynter and MacRury, 2009). Dimanche (1996) further argues that the longer term view is paramount because the legacy cannot be evaluated or understood in the short-term. This is evident in the following statement from a Barcelona resident who was involved in planning talks about the longer term vision for Barcelona:

The first thing was we had a plan, the Grand Metropolitan Plan... So when the Olympics opportunity appeared we had a good master plan for the metropolitan region and also for the city of Barcelona which saved a lot of time in decision making... the Games came as a catalyst for development as they say that 50 years of development happened in 6 or 7 years,...there was a lot of work needed to convince people that the end benefit would be worth it and they did that by investing a lot in getting public support for the Games.

Here the resident refers to the planning being time dependent with long-term plans condensed due to the Olympic timescales, concurring with Roche (1994), Dimanche (1996) and Abad (2001), in that Barcelona's vision was part of a longer term legacy plan. In relation to forward planning the scale of disruption necessitated large-scale consultation to convince the residents that the long-term benefits would be worth the short-term disruption: a theme that will be discussed in Chapter 7. Barcelona was already undergoing major metropolitan redevelopment when the opportunity to bid for the Games arose. Therefore, when the bid was successful, the Games developments fitted in with pre-existing plans for the city. Similarly London organisers identified the 2012 Games planning as an extension of the Stratford City and Thames Gateway projects, thus agreeing with Ritchie (2000), who stresses the need to embed the Olympics within the processes of developing the host city. In contrast, at Sydney, whilst there had been ideas suggested for the derelict land at Newington, the planning was neither as detailed nor as advanced as the Barcelona plans nor embedded in any long-term vision.

Any event developments that form part of the longer term vision for the city should not be considered a legacy of the event itself (Preuss, 2007). This is contestable given that events the size of the Olympics have unique timeframes and accelerate developments that would otherwise take years to come to fruition (Poynter and MacRury, 2009). In contrast to Preuss (2006), Carriere and Demaziere (2002) and Smith and Fox (2007) support urban development where event(s) are included as part of the development, an event themed approach. The data from this study also supports such a view of events complementing a longer term vision. Furthermore, there is increasing recognition during projects to plan for the long term, as suggested by a Sydney Park official:

...got to the point 2/3 years out from the Games that there is so much on delivering the event with so much to do and it is one of those things you cannot afford to get wrong and consequently what they decided to do was to take a more flexible approach... ideally you almost have an organisation like ours in place at least three years out before the Games, to start thinking about those post Games issues and even just deciding on what the Government structure is going to be...in London's case still to be resolved and agreed but what I am seeing is that there is a much clearer definition of what is the post Games vision in London than what we had at this comparable time.

Here the official (responsible for the long-term vision as well as the day to day management of the Sydney Olympic Park) is recognising the importance of post-Games legacy planning. He is acknowledging that, as highlighted by Cashman (2006), the Games planners did not consider legacy identification until quite some time after the Games had finished, thereby losing some crucial legacy momentum, a view that is also supported by the London allotments spokesperson:

This whole use of the word legacy is very, very interesting because when you look back again over the Sydney Games and you look at legacy a lot of it didn't happen until they shut the final gate on the final day. (Interviewee 1 London – allotment representative)

The importance of legacy planning post-Games is now recognised by non-Olympic planners as well as academic writers (Coalter, 2005; Cashman, 2006; Wood 2006). The quotes above from two individuals with different roles in the development suggest the general message of the need to have a clear post-games legacy plan is consistent and therefore the need to plan post-Games is now a recognised part of the planning process. The acknowledgement that London is more focused and organised with regard to a post Games vision than Sydney was made by Sandy Holloway, the former Head of the Sydney Olympic Organising Committee stated in 2006 (London, 2012, 05/07/2006 media release):

“London has made a better start than Sydney did and we achieved an outstanding result...it has really hit the ground running” ...“my best advice would be to have an attitude of confidence, not one of arrogance” “It is pleasing for me that London has been keen to use the Sydney model, so if London does surpass us, then we will feel we have a role in giving London a leg up” “Learning from one Games to another is something which must be done”.

However, in London, there are issues already facing the planners in relation to forward planning and timescale obstacles within the bureaucratic process, thus contradicting the views of Holloway (London 2012, 2006), and also the planning strategy from the candidature file. A representative from the Allotments Association suggested that:

The LDA and these people didn't really know if they were going to win so they were hanging around, not sure if I go along with that because if you put a big bid in of this kind and invested a lot of money, even if you are slightly sceptical about your chances you still operate on the basis, I would have thought, that you are going to win and therefore you make plans.

This raises further questions as to what did the organisers think would happen should the bid be successful. Their ability to act was diluted through a lack of information power, an issue raised many year's previously by Yukl and Falbe (1991), in that at this stage of the planning the LDA did not have all the necessary information available to be in a position of power as soon as the bid became reality. In broader terms this finding shows how event forward planning is influenced by the decision making process operating at a higher level and the necessity to avoid wasting resources on aborted planning. Furthermore, to bid for something as large as the Games it is preferable to include post-Games plans, including an understanding of the stakeholders involved, in order to understand their potential issues and concerns. In terms of stakeholder theory and the need for power, urgency and legitimacy; the need for urgency and legitimacy is evident in this allotment holder's view given his situation right in the heart of the development area. A resident speaking on behalf of the 400 residents relocated from the Clays Lane area, who has become widely recognised within the media as a spokesperson for the residents, supports the above:

...you would expect them to invest time and money in thinking about what they are going to do with whatever is in the way; but they didn't do anything ...our point of view there was they had asked the questions and then just left it hanging in the air so when the bid was won they didn't come back and say we have been working on some options and identified some land etc. (Interviewee 2 London –relocated resident)

Thus, London planners appear to have lost valuable planning time and this situation could have been through a lack of their own position power and informational power in being dependent on IOC guidance and the resultant lack of knowledge as to what was happening, leading to a

fragmented approach (Taylor, 2011). This was perhaps due to the need to wait for decisions to be made within LOCOG before being disseminated, thus highlighting a pivotal event planning decision point that in order to not waste time and effort over a longer time period, some short-term delays are inevitable.

In addition the notion of legacy planning within constrained timeframes is also discussed with reference to Sydney, but in the context of decisions not being easily changed because of the reduced planning timeframes:

Because lots of things you need to plan ahead and whatever decisions have been made and it is very difficult to reverse or to change without major reorganisation of the position. (Interviewee 1 Sydney – Mayor of local Borough)

It is clear that within the timeframes, to change decisions or make amendments could delay or cause major disruption, so organisers feel an onus on trying to get the decision right in the first place because of the time pressure. Yet evidence has appeared already in London in relation to changes made in the future ownership of the stadium, that reversals are still possible at this stage. In addition, some of the senior personnel making the decisions had not been in their roles for long and with very little previous information on which to base their decisions, thus diluting their information power and influence over their teams and those affected by their decisions (Yukl and Falbe, 1991). Furthermore in relation to Lukes (1974), the power relationship appears as one-dimensional with the power being largely measured in the outcomes of the planning decisions as the one-dimensional view focuses only on the behaviour in the decision making. This is in contrast to the two-dimensional power which measures more the informal influence, inducement and persuasion in decision making before instigating the use of authority, coercion and direct force if needed.

Normal planning gets overtaken by the need to make decisions within constrained timescales; there is no opportunity to change these decisions. Everything has to be right first time adding to the pressure on the organisers. This reflects Cashman's (2006) views on how the Sydney organisers focused all their attention on the Games without any consideration for what would happen to the Games infrastructure afterwards, an observation based on many mega-events right up to Beijing 2008. Learning from Sydney's negative experiences, it is becoming clear that stakeholders feel it is imperative to plan legacy concurrently with the planning of the Games. Not planning the two aspects at the same time will result in many initiatives being lost post-Games (Ritchie 2000). This, however, requires a degree of coherence that is, according to one participant, lacking in London:

The master planning to do large scale events like this is very poor because actually the kind of investment and co-ordination which exists in the planning departments is so bad that often they mess it up. (Interviewee 2 London – a resident relocated from Clays Lane)

This resident is referring to the planning undertaken by the local authorities in consultation with the event organisers and how he believes it to be un-coordinated across the various organisations involved thus already potentially risking losing the legacy initiatives as suggested by Ritchie (2000). However, when contrasted with the fact that time pressures do not always allow for the co-ordination this resident identifies, it must be remembered that the ‘freedom’ to make decisions is lost through lack of power and governance constraints, thus agreeing with Taylor (2000; 2011) who believes that the legitimacy in power relationships can be both divisive and contradictory and that local level issues become periphery to the bigger issues - *at the table but unable to influence issues (p1022)*. Within such a context, all parties have some power but it is the subsequent influence that comes as a consequence of the use of power that makes the difference (Lukes, 1974). Thus, in this case the influence related to localised issues is diminished due to a greater distance from the ‘bigger’ more central issues that will be occupying the main Games planners whilst the local issues (for example the loss of use of sports pitches or the lack of access to tow paths) will be delegated to local officials. These issues of power were further supported by an allotment representative:

The planning conditions for the new site hadn't been met and there were all sorts of other things that hadn't been done...a big power struggle going on about who actually influences what is going on. (Following on in an email exchange)... Unless you can fit yourself into and understand the demands of the system and do everything right at the right time, it's held against you. (Interviewee 1 London- representative from allotments)

This highlights the strain of dealing with a planning system where the demands of the system preclude many individuals and organisations from being fully engaged. This is often through the complexity of the processes needed and normal planning guidelines being superseded. The research shows that this lack of engagement could be due to a combination of factors: power dilution, the unique guidelines set by the IOC; the lack of suitable training; the perceived lack of knowledge transfer from previous Games; and to the problems of considering the views of communities as stakeholders within the Olympic planning as suggested by Altmann (2000). O'Conner (2008) argued that some of the clearly identified legacy plans from within the bid documentation are being diminished due to lack of clear guidelines, ineffective cross-Borough collaboration, lack of knowledge, and financial constraints. and perhaps more widespread issues of communication. Despite the Government's attempts to form cross-Borough partnerships and

working parties on a local level, the research has shown that there appear to be power tensions in relation to the balance of power within these boroughs. This relates back to French and Ravens (1959) study and their identification of positional power (legitimate power) in that some boroughs (Hackney and Newham) could be seen to have a more influential position within the planning as both their Mayors sit on the OPLC board. It could therefore be argued that these two boroughs potentially have more power within the planning and the opportunity for better channels of communication, which needs further discussion.

6.2 Communication

Within the context of forward planning, an important theme that emerged was communication. More specifically the channels used the clarity and accuracy of the communications, the actual messages themselves, and impact on the forward planning of legacy. Clarity of communication is particularly relevant in regard to the forward planning. Margerum (2002) has also highlighted opportunities within the forward planning to try and get different organisations talking to each other. Taylor (2000), for example, believes that this move within urban policy making in the UK has resulted in more community level collaborative planning. Taylor's findings are supported by a councillor from one of the host Boroughs who talks about collaboration that might not have occurred within normal planning circles:

The communication is more of a shared collective... and suddenly agencies that should have been talking to each other donkeys years ago are now doing that and actually sitting down and sharing budgets and initiatives.

However, in contrast a council engagement officer argues:

...my info comes from the Council 2012 unit; I am not involved in a lot of cross borough initiatives that is done at a leader/director level. It is actually quite frustrating that there isn't a lot of cross borough co-ordination.

There are two contrasting pictures developing here, depending on council position and council hierarchy as policy makers believe consultation and co-ordination is achievable. However, those tasked with the interface itself have a different view perhaps as their ability and power within the planning is diluted through a lack of information, in that without the full information needed, their ability to influence is diminished. As Jamal and Getz suggest (1995) it is often the processes in place that causes the friction and not the individuals tasked with the consultation. The very partnerships put in place to empower can have the opposite effect of reinforcing existing domination and control (see for example, Atkinson and Laurier, 1998). It would appear from the interviews undertaken with council officials that discussions are taking place but perhaps only at

senior management level and not disseminated down to those interfacing at community level. As Ritchie (2000) suggests, strategic planning is important but it would seem it is how this strategy is communicated that is crucial. Management are following guidelines in consultation, but somehow the process is failing at the actual interface perhaps through a dilution of the message or through a lack of informational power and positional power of those tasked with the consultation. The research suggests that the 'grass roots' consultation is not always co-ordinated and reaching the residents. An allotments spokesperson in London talks about a lack of communication when it mattered most:

...what on earth ought to happen as it really felt like a death sentence for the whole area and then just nothing happened; there was absolute silence and no communication at all.

a finding supported by the Hackney community spokesperson:

As we got to know quite a few individuals, particularly in the community liaison team, when you send them direct letters and emails now we are basically getting ignored, we are not even getting replies from them anymore. So communications have almost actually at the moment broken down.

In these two cases, the interviewees believe that the lines of communication have broken down from what was originally promised. Anderson (2008) takes the view that planning is not the property of planners alone but needs to be collectively owned by the stakeholders affected by the plans. Despite the written commitments from the London 2012 team with management endeavouring to open up lines of communication, the actual processes are not always effective, perhaps through a lack of identification of community as the engagement officer recognised that many groups are hard to reach and therefore not part of the consultation process and furthermore through those tasked working with less than perfect information. These promised commitments include ensuring there are effective communication channels available for residents living and working around the park. A free hotline service is supposed to be available 24 hours a day for anyone who has any concerns regarding activity and work around the site (London 2012, 2008a), however the Hackney Borough spokesperson highlights where the system has failed to work as promised:

But then when the little higgledy piggledy things come up about noise or alarms going off at three o'clock in the morning on the site, that is when the communication starts to get a little more terse and why are you complaining kind of thing. They have a 24 hour hotline which originally somebody answered straight away and now it is on an answer phone and somebody gets back to you in a couple of hours after that and

even that is not as promised right from the beginning. (Interviewee 14
London Hackney resident)

This is in spite of the promises made by local Government officers from Hackney Council:

In the past there may have been anonymous civil servants working in a town hall and now that they are on the end of a telephone line and when there is a problem, car parking or van blocking or dust clouds, but all they know is that they can pick up a telephone and they know the person on the end of the phone. (Hackney Councillor)

These two quotes clearly contradict each other in that, the organisers' management level policy makers and those who need to use the actual facilities have different perspectives on how well the initiative is working. Whilst the councillor believes the initiative is working, the resident feels quite differently perhaps as a result of a lack of information and the ability to influence (Greiner and Schein, 1998). Those tasked with the job of communicating are not always the ones who have the power to influence the decisions on what actually happens. The councillor can influence as he has power as a result of his position, whereas the residents cannot; through a lack of power and knowledge as to what is happening. This lack of connection between those with decision making power and those charged with communicating to the community was supported by a Hackney resident who suggested that:

Oh there is a bit of bumph that comes out bi-monthly, called 'Your Park', and in the last one they said something that we took complete exception to as they said 'we are liaising with all the residents in Leabank Square and they are very happy with us' and one of the residents immediately shot off a freedom of information question 'how many times have the community liaison team actually been into Leabank Square?' and it has only been once since they started ...that is one thing, there is an official line and then there is what is happening on the ground so to speak which are vastly different...(Interviewee 14 London – Hackney resident)

This illustrates the resident's view of distinct differences between policy and practice thus in part agreeing with Lenskyj (1996, 2000 and 2002), who believes that the social impacts of mega-events, such as the Olympics, are often lost through the manufacturing of public consent, in that the right of citizens to participate in decisions that affect their futures are lost in the rush to plan the Games, or perhaps through not always having an opportunity to take part in any consultation. Having the power to influence can be related to the level of knowledge. However, a lack of knowledge or even incorrect information can lead to decisions being made which are not always in the best interests of those whom the decisions directly affect (Greiner and Schein, 1998). However, it must be noted that although the different levels of Games organisers do believe they are consulting, it is the style of communication and who is being communicated with and by

whom, where the process appears to letting people down. There seems to be a one-way process, whereby no audit is being undertaken to evaluate the success of the communication process. This section therefore raises the issue of how key messages are perceived to be communicated at the community level. Clearly, despite all bid documentation highlighting the positive legacy benefits for locals, there are instances, including some relocations, that appear were undertaken without open communication, such as the decisions on the site for the new allotments and relocating some of the gypsy families. Furthermore, the miscommunication of messages can be equally harmful to the local community as mis-sold messages or conflicting messages because priorities in the planning change. It would appear that the legacy messages are not as clear when they are disseminated to grass roots levels, which could be through lack of knowledge or even time constraints. Also, normal planning consultation, collaboration and governance cannot be expected within the remit of IOC planning guidelines. It is, therefore, pertinent to investigate how issues are prioritised during the strict timescales seen within Olympic planning processes with regard to legacy.

6.3 Key personnel

Respondents argue how crucial the appointment of both experts and good leadership are to the success of the Games planning. The following quote relates to voices being heard within the planning for the Games (by an academic) in the context of the 1992 Games:

It is logical that you are building on existing knowledge, latterly with the Games and the forum they knew how to manage public/private partnerships and use these events as catalysts for change (resident and academic)

Such views are based on experiences of being involved directly in the pre- and post-Games planning in Barcelona, especially building on experience in selecting the key workers within the Games planning (Maragall 1995). This supports the Sydney experience, where the former host Borough mayor indicates that the change of government and therefore personnel during the planning process resulted in a failure to ensure open and clear communication for Sydney. This echoes Hiller (1998) who identified concerns of who drives the developments. Furthermore, despite Government promises of active citizen involvement, there is a danger of development pressures (Waite, 1999), resulting in the consultation being rather 'tokenistic' as described below by the former borough mayor in Sydney:

The Governments changed soon afterwards and the other Government picked up the legacy of having the Olympics Games in Sydney..... when I was mayor, they would say we must consult, we must consult with everyone and you would go down to talk to them and then they would forget about it.

Unfortunately the evidence from London already speaks of changes in personnel resulting in the consultation being both delayed and seemingly unprepared perhaps through lacking the knowledge required. This is suggested by a London planning academic in terms of changes within the legacy planning team:

They put the team together to win the bid and then they had to remake the team bringing Higgins in and sothey really became concerned about making sure that the time pressures enable them to push this through and I certainly think that was the outcome. (an academic specialising in Olympic planning)

This is further supported in London with the following observation from a former Olympic Park resident who has been involved with negotiations during the Games period. He noticed a change in the personnel involved:

The people setting it up are different from the people doing, well that would also be true because politically they would be different but on top of that when you actually select your delivery authority that is new people and the original bid people will not be involved in administering it. (community spokesperson)

London organisers acknowledge the 'best practice' from the 'Barcelona Model' in several of the publications produced in the run up to the games produced by both the ODA and LOCOG. They further recognise they did not seek the continuity of personnel from bid to action that perhaps they could have and therefore ensuring the levels of knowledge required from the outset and avoiding unnecessary delays in decision making.

In order to ensure positive regeneration projects from events, it is important to have managers who are legacy aware (Smith and Fox, 2007). This is because they often have the experience on how best to leverage legacy as opposed to training new people in the short time frames available and this can come from transferring knowledge from other Games.

Furthermore, Thornley (2002) shares the view of the importance of elected officials being involved in the projects to ensure benefits for communities are integrated into the event plans in addition to having the experienced managers involved. Thus both the uniqueness of each Games and the importance of key personnel being used to transfer knowledge and skills between Games must be recognised as well as a local representation. The data suggests that the Olympic planners, from bid teams to Games planners, do not maintain the same personnel following through the plans made at bid time. However, the data is not equivocal, for example an Olympic Spokesperson from London suggests that:

We have learnt a lot and the person in charge of building Sydney Olympic Village is our Chief Executive and we have employed some of the Sydney planners... using a lot of Australian knowledge as they admit their mistakes.

The implication here being that the London bid team have acknowledged the expertise that the Australians have to offer to the London team in physical planning while the record of social planning from Sydney was not good (Lenskyj, 2002). There is not the expertise from previous Games available for the legacy planning element because long-term legacy has never had such a high profile (Poynter and MacRury, 2009). The IOC has acknowledged this as an important aspect of knowledge transfer from Games to Games, not just in paper form, but also in terms of personnel. This is evident in London with Australian personnel from MI Associates consulting on the 2012 planning. MI Associates was formed post the Sydney Games to capitalise on the knowledge gained from the planning of the 2000 Games.

Returning to lessons learned from the planning in Sydney, the Mayor of the local Borough warned of clashes between organising personnel that may arise for London based on her experiences:

The relationship between the State Government and Auburn Council collapsed in the pre-Games period as the Council felt that rather than Sydney City council we were the primary council associated with the Olympic Games as the Olympic site was in our area. (Interviewee Sydney 1- Mayor of Auburn during Games time)

There was a conflict as to who was the 'host' - the local population, or the city. This potentially provides an interesting dilemma for London considering there are 5 'host' boroughs each with a Mayor and also the Mayor of London, demonstrated in the following quote from a Government appointed Olympic official:

The five Boroughs partnership – ultimately there are different and difficult political climates within each borough and everyone thinks that their own borough is better than the neighbouring borough so that there will be tensions, sometimes constructive, sometimes destructive tensions between them it is something we have to live with...have recruited a lot of industry people in these roles so industry executives are dealing with government trained personnel and there are clashes.

This refers back to the need for clear planning guidelines and personnel (Cashman, 2002; Thornley, 2002; Smith and Fox, 2007). It would appear that legacies are better achieved when there is continuity of personnel between the bid stage and all subsequent stages. This could be achieved if personnel moved from Games to Games, bringing with them the required expertise as already partly seen in London. The London East Research Institute (LERI, 2008) stipulate that the

experience gained from planning and staging the Olympic Games should be used for future projects post-Games, and even for the planning of future Games

The reality is that everything is in the hands of the people who are going to develop the site which will be the LDA, won't be the ODA as they disappear, Government may want to secure its status but if it disappears you even lose the cohesion of the legacy development and you are back to square one. (Interviewee 2 London- relocated resident)

The data shows a distinct contrast between what the 'organisers' think they are doing well and what the community perceive with regard to the aptitude of the people they are dealing with, those who have the knowledge and the continuity of this knowledge through the various organising teams. Calvano (2008) suggests that the community may well recognise that there is a gap in the perception of their potential benefits as opposed to the perception of the Games organisers because of the different motivations of those involved. Organisers often sometimes overstate the potential positive benefits and in contrast underplay the negative impacts in order to gain public support (Cashman, 2006) and also because they often do not have a personal connection as they will not be the ones affected by the developments.

6.4 Consultation

Consultation is '*the involvement of the public in the planning process*' (ODPM, 2004). The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), published 'Community Involvement in Planning – The Government's Objectives' (2004), a set of guidelines designed to ensure that 'the views of local people have always been an integral part of the planning process and the case for the communities voice to be heard is clear' (p4). Yet, the passing of the Olympic and Paralympic Act in 2006, appears to surpass people's rights and therefore their ability to influence the developments and exert their power in planning. The Act specifically requires the ODA to 'Have regard to the deliverability of maximising the benefits to be derived after the Games from things done in preparation for them' (p12) (647), thus displaying a somewhat different approach to that suggested by the ODPM in 2004. Though this does not explicitly call for consultation, it does imply that stakeholders should have some power to determine benefits. The experience of consultation from London of a Hackney resident was that:

...you allow a person a question, you answer the question and then you need to move onto another and it was really one way communication at the time but we felt we needed it as we wanted to know a lot more about the legacy.

Here the resident realises that the consultation is not equitable. It is evident that the balance of power and the ability to influence is diminished. Cashman (2002) writes that as a result of fast

tracking of Olympic related projects ‘there is usually limited community consultation and the over-riding of local concerns are justified as being in the city and national interest’ (p6). Furthermore, the research confirms the findings of Chalkley and Essex (2003), who note that often the decisions to bid for the Games is undertaken by what they call the urban elite and that whilst the IOC like to see some form of consultation with the community, much of the evaluation is biased and fast-tracked with minimum if any consultation. Thus opposition is silenced through the exertion of coercive power by those making the decisions (Hardy and Clegg, 2004). The result being that often some parts of the community lose out because of the Olympics (see also Ritchie and Hall, 1999; Lenskyj, 1996, 2000, 2002; Cashman, 2002, 2006).

The IOC does not require, in their post-Games reports, any documentation or evidence of negative impacts as a result of the Games. However, in London, a consultant whose responsibility is to get the community to engage in the planning reports that:

I think there should be transformity or something so you need to create what people call social capital so you teach them where to go and they know who to contact. They know how things should be run as a community, that’s the social capital, if they know that they will feel more comfortable. And so you create the conditions for them to speak up as they know their rights, they know where to go and if you treat them tokenistically they know how to challenge it...there are levels of consultation that people need to understand especially at the LDA. People may not speak up because they may not have any sense to do so, if they knew they had the power to make change in design of things or money or wider power to make decisions, I think you would get a big turnout at consultation events.

Therefore, whilst the Government produce guidelines about how they wish to consult, the community are not engaging. Brennan and Brown (2008) suggest lack of engagement arises through the lack of community identification although this could further be compounded by the lack of social capital. The community do not feel they have the ability to contribute as they lack the connectivity through social networks. Perhaps the confidence to contribute would come from collective co-operation as stakeholders affording them the relevant social capital. It is evident from the research undertaken that this is perhaps the case as the regeneration consultant agreed that there were many different groups identified that make up the communities and trying to engage with them all proved difficult. Therefore the social networks were perhaps lacking that facilitate effective engagement, thus supporting Brennan and Brown’s view. A previous example is discussed by the ex-local mayor for the Sydney Games:

When I was mayor, they would say we must consult, we must consult with everyone and you would go down to talk to them and then they would forget about it.

In this context he is referring to the Games organisers and Government officials and how the officials would go through the process of consultation with the local Government officers on behalf of the local community, but that there would be no constructive outcomes. This directly contradicts Owen (2001) who wrote that Auburn had developed a more entrepreneurial style of governance involving open consultation. She emphasised that Auburn had '*strong managerial concern for its residents*' (p.45) which, whilst paramount, the open consultation and entrepreneurialism was not so evident. In London a relocated resident and spokesperson from Clays Lane, states:

When they first came to us they said, 'we are going to re-develop this whole area anyway and that they had a non-Olympic scenario', but in fact they hadn't even commissioned it, I think this was just to demoralise us...it was the attitude that bothered me, the ruthlessness of it and that the LDA has not thought through its plans with demolition.

Furthermore, the spokesperson for the relocated gypsy communities' states:

The ODA (Olympic Development Authority) implied in a written report that the health problems that they were complaining about skins complaints and the dust allergies were caused by a furnace on their site which was burning toxic materials. When I visited the site I asked them to show me the furnace and they pointed to a chimney coming out of a utility block that is a wood burning stove – now that is blatant discrimination, assumption based on prejudice.

These raise residents' issues with the handling of the consultation and communication and ultimately how they impact on the planning of the Games. This is shown particularly in identifying how the community are being treated within the forward planning phases. In Friedman and Miles (2002) terms, they are not compatible stakeholders in that their role as stakeholder does not allow them a legitimate bargaining position through a lack of influence and power as needed for these particular stages of the developments despite having urgency (Jamal and Getz, 1995). In order to become compatible stakeholders and therefore influence the planning; they need legitimate recognition as being affected by the Games developments. Being involved within consultation and planning would afford them the compatibility and legitimacy they seek alongside the power and urgency making them 'definitive' stakeholders. The data appear to contradict the promises made from London 2012, the ODA and GOE, despite The Legacy Master Framework promising an emphasis on consultation and collaboration with local people and organisations (DCMS, 2008) as evidenced in the following from a borough councillor:

My current role is to be prepared to go and talk and listen ...successful community engagement has to be about creating the places for the conversations to happen.

and from a regeneration consultant:

Local Government is fired up but, the practitioners and those involved on the ground, it has been a complete and utter disaster and the opportunity has been lost. It is kind of backtracking now, going through the motions doing what they consider to be some consultation, coming up with the answers they had in the beginning anyway and just going ahead.

This last comment (made from the consultant tasked with the role of community engagement within the London boroughs) is somewhat different to the view of the councillor, as he believes that the opportunities have now been lost, despite Government assurances that consultation is still on-going. The London 2012 team state, 'we will be a responsible neighbour, encouraging our staff to be respectful and accountable for their actions at all times' (London2012, 2008b), yet the two quotes above paint a contrasting picture for London with the exception of the consultant; the majority of the practitioners interviewed think it is going well, yet the residents have a completely contrasting opinion, again linking back to the literature from Lukes (1974) whose view of power involves a focus on behaviour in the decision-making. Where there are conflicting interests policy preferences are exerted by the organisers. This is because the power exercised by formal institutions and the power in the decision making is measured by outcomes and results against which the organisers are judged.

However a lesson from Barcelona, discussed by the Olympic academic who was also a resident during Games planning, could be:

....most things are controlled by city hall but there was consultation with neighbourhood groups and associations, as there are very powerful neighbourhood associations in Barcelona, particularly in the Olympic village project, that were involved in putting pressure on City Hall and the Barcelona organising committee to guarantee social housing to make sure that the local residents were heard and this is still quite active.

This supports Marshall (2000) and Balibrea (2001), who both identified the way that grass-root resident groups, urbanists and politicians formed alliances, post-Franco, to ensure the developments were democratic and progressive; an example of how consultation worked well in Barcelona. With this in mind, a report from LERI (2007, p5) suggests that the London organisers must pay '*more than lip service to local opinions*'. They argue that the consultation has to go beyond pre-selected stakeholders, be inclusive of all those affected (i.e. those with legitimacy) and that they be given adequate time to respond. This will need to be based on ensuring that all the stakeholders have adequate social capital to actually respond meaningfully and also to ensure it meets the needs of the local communities. In the UK, planning systems are being collectively owned by a broad range of stakeholders with issues of participation, responsiveness and relevance

vital to long-term sustainable planning (Anderson, 2008) yet the voice of residents indicate that these very ideals would appear to be abandoned in the name of Olympic planning. This is evident from the allotment spokesperson:

Yeah as legacy now has been totally given over to the LDA and LOCOG so ODA have had the legacy planning taken out of their remit and it is all with the LDA but obviously that is now, nobody knows what is going to happen as there has been a change of Mayor and quite frankly that is going to be as interesting as anything... Initially communication was poor and we had to resort to all kinds of freedom of information acts and things like that just to get their attention.

Yet, the view from an Olympic official on the above is:

The whole structure has changed, the board decided that they shouldn't actually establish a legacy subcommittee because the ODA decided it had enough to do with the construction side, getting the project finished and whatever we have to do in 2013 to bail out and give it all back to the LDA, so the legacy initiative is being run primarily by the GLA.

Thus, the change has caused concerns about the legacy initiative being lost. The concern is that with more changes in responsibilities the initiatives for legacy get lost or diluted. The winding up of the Olympic Legacy Board has resulted in other agencies being tasked to deliver legacy once the bid was won (Vigor, 2004). Yet, when asked about joint collaboration across Boroughs, the spokesperson in London for the relocated residents said:

Interestingly they (the boroughs) did have the potential to do that at one point because they had JPAT, the joint planning action team. That was displaced by the ODA as JPAT was very feeble and the power still resided with the boroughs, it was a co-ordinating body rather than a real alliance. Local politics being the way that it is I am not sure they are really capable of creating that kind of alliance.

Jack Lemley, the former Chair of the Olympic Delivery Authority, quit his post in 2006 and cited as one of his reasons "*the huge amount of local politics*", "*I went there to build things, not sit and talk about it*" (Mackay, 2006). This echoes concerns about local politics voiced above.

Returning to points made by Cashman (2002) and Chalkley and Essex (2003) about normal consultation being overridden due to the power of the IOC and those they have tasked with developing the Games in line with Olympic requirements, the following observation from London, from an academic planning specialist suggested that:

The local boroughs, democratically elected, are completely marginal to this whole process so there is no real kind of checks and balances and probably we are not talking at his point any way of a sufficiently

organised community presence on single issues but not an organised community presence that is going to say, hang on we want some of this housing for us and not the people who are coming in from the outside.

These comments illustrate how lack of communication and clarity within the communication and consultation process are leaving negative impacts already in London. In early 2009 'Legacy Now', a Government initiative reported that a six-week consultation on the latest legacy plans would take place, including drop-in workshops and road shows. The following observations about these road shows from an engagement consultant and a council liaison officer offer two contrasting views:

The road shows are all in English so if English isn't your first language you wouldn't feel comfortable to comment. But even if it is your first language, the way they talk about it and write, it turns people off as they don't understand it and it is just really shameful. I am quite sad as I like reading in detail and criticise it, I studied politics and I don't understand some of the docs and I have worked exclusively in regeneration for 6 years and if I find it hard, so how will others cope. (Regeneration consultant)

Another aspect is working closely with the ODA, to try and to promote the consultation in information events and making sure the voluntary sector and local communities are aware of these events Also in the long term I really want to set up a newsletter as I feel as though a lot of residents and community groups perhaps who are not aware of the developments of the Olympic Park and the opportunities that are available so setting up an e-bulletin, to residents, community groups and businesses is needed. (Council community liaison officer)

This raises issues about how the engagement and consultation is actually handled. Yet despite these concerns, in the ODA's Code of Consultation published in 2008 and in a speech made by Tessa Jowell in January 2009 (Jowell, 2009), they clearly state that they are aware that the consultation as proposed will need to involve cross sector collaboration for the consultation to be effective, yet this clearly isn't happening. It is evident that the balance of power is diluted through all the levels of consultation taking place, despite council officials understanding how to engage. French and Raven (1959) suggest that special knowledge gives expert power, yet here even the specialist consultant feels he lacks the expert power as this type of power is usually highly specific and limited to the area in which the expert is trained. Yet despite the training, he lacks the full knowledge he believes he requires to fully engage due to the complexity of the issues involved. Power must be differentiated from influence and here it would appear he only has the knowledge to have limited influence.

Looking back at previous Games, in Sydney the Mayor of the local borough noted:

...we are not going to let something as significant as the delivery of the Olympic Games be frustrated over local political issues and this is a project of great significance and it will be run by the State Government as to whether or not in the process of delivering the Olympic site the State Government and its various agencies engaged sufficiently with the Local Government and the community I don't know.

This shows how normal processes can be abandoned when a project the size of the Olympics needs organising (Owen 2001) because there are so many layers of people involved in the planning. It is not always clear who does have the knowledge and expertise. The urgency to develop such a complex event with all the accompanying infrastructure requirements in such a short timeframe means normal planning guidelines are discarded and alongside it the normal balance of powers and abilities to influence that form part of the British planning regulations in the UK. In London, the regeneration consultant tasked with community liaison states:

I have to be able to create some sort of conversation environment and offer some suggestions for change, I think at this time of things they are not going to let that happen because they have already set everything in motion.

Acknowledging that the opportunity for effective engagement may well now be lost in the need to proceed within the constrained timeframes of Olympic development has implications for broader models of planning in that strict and reduced timeframes can seriously undermine the effectiveness of some of the procedures put in place to allow open and two-way consultation. However, with reference to Barcelona, Marshall (2000) argued how projects were discussed by the architects with councillors that included in the discussions residents' concerns and demands. Only then were they made available for wider public discussion once they were implementable and not before. Sydney also had problems in cross-collaboration before the 2000 Games (Owen, 2002) but the former Mayor states:

The relationship between the State Government and Auburn Council collapsed in the pre-Games period as the Council felt that rather than the Sydney City Council they were the primary Council associated with the Olympic Games as the Olympic site was in there area.

Yet, the Mayor who came into office shortly before the Games has a different perspective altogether:

Why should we do all this when we are going to have no benefit so that's not the way it works, they collaborate between this and at the end of the day, win-win outcomes; how we can work the formula to benefit instead of saying why should I do it for you so that is why one of the

reasons we miss out a lot because we not willing to negotiate, we are not willing to co-operate. When I was the mayor at that time and I did seek an appointment as I said to you and from that 9/10 months, I was very heavily involved with them which was the purpose of things it gives you an internal knowledge of how things are going and how can effect and however we can minimise the damage to the community that is how we work and I appreciate the opportunity to be involved in that time and even though it was short.

These comments compare what happened before she took office and how she changed the style of negotiation with the Olympic authorities to minimise (in her opinion) the impacts on the local residents of the Olympic developments, a facet of the negotiations that she felt her predecessor didn't consider. This therefore highlights how different approaches to the negotiations can elicit vastly differing responses depending on the style of negotiation undertaken.

6.5 Priorities

Smith (2007), in proposing key principles for host cities to ensure effective urban regeneration, believes that strategies will only be feasible if the benefits are specifically directed at those who need most assistance and priority given. Hall (1997) and Ritchie and Hall (1999) believe that the political reality of the Olympics is such that the social impacts that arise are not a concern and that priority is given to development plans over welfare issues, supported by a London planning academic:

It seems to me that the Mayor's position (Ken Livingstone) in attracting investment in this form for the development of the east End was very much his kind of priority and he is quite influential in deciding it would be east London as a venue.

This is supported by a former host Mayor from Sydney, commenting on London about the prioritising seen so far:

I was talking about what we might call soft legacy rather than hard legacy and what distinguished London is the focus on the soft legacy ...I would be a little bit concerned at this stage that London has set its sights a bit too high in terms of what it can achieve in those areas.

And in addition, the Sydney Olympic Park official said:

...and the social planning from what I have picked up in the UK there are quite aggressive targets being set in terms of the employment targets being set for the Lower Lea Valley and I know that the organisation is being very proactive... jee I hope they achieve all that but it seems to me that some of the targets are pretty aggressive and optimistic.

This warning from Sydney's Olympic Official acknowledges London's approach to legacy development, but is warning of the priorities and focus needed at this stage. In relation to post-Games legacy initiatives Cashman (2006) suggests these must be transparent from the outset and planned alongside the main games. However, the same interviewee has acknowledged that:

We have said quite openly in talks in Europe and so forth that ideally you almost have an organisation like ours in place at least three years out before the Games, in London case still to be resolved and agreed, but what I am seeing is that there is a much clearer definition of what is the post Games vision in London than what we had at this comparable time.

However, in London, the allotment spokesperson believes that the lack of forward planning priorities has already lost legacy focus:

They were told that there would be eviction in April last year (07) that came and went and nothing happened because they originally wanted to get the whole of the Olympic Site cleared by then and then they said it would be July last year and that would be the last date.....they got so far behind schedule it was all done in a desperate rush and they wanted to for their own PR purposes that they wanted to make it appear that they were on schedule.

This suggests that the planners' priorities were unclear and ultimately rushed, yet the appearance of an organised relocation was all PR focused.

The councillor interviewed below, illustrates his concern over the time taken to finalise agreements and how it ultimately affects community liaison. This highlights the lack of expert power or even legitimate power (Handy, 1993):

With somebody who is drawing up a plan and then somebody comes up with this and you just want them to please finalise something so I can tell people and talk to them.

Further warnings about priorities for London include from the Sydney Borough Mayor at the time of the 2000 Games:

Many things slip off the priority list the closer you get to the Games and you will find that the event will take over, really got to the point where the focus, and this was 2/3 years out from the Games, that there is so much on delivering the event with so much to do and it is one of those things you cannot afford to get wrong and consequently what they decided to do was to take a more flexible approach.

What may win community support by being quoted in the bid documentation gets removed or amended at a later date, with a variety of excuses being given. In London's case, the global credit crisis is presently cited as a problem by a former park resident:

I mean technically it was a very good bid technically, not in terms of costing but technically linking into an existing huge regeneration project, ...the critical point about the structure of regeneration in terms of frameworks of development is based around the IOC bidding process and it seems to me that if you look at the relationship between bid books and what actually happened...you get all sorts of different interpretations of the figures at the end, the simple truth comes thorough, that bidding to win the competition has nothing really to do with then paying for your if you like project after you have won.

Therefore, in summary, stakeholders recognise that the planning priorities are already changing in London and therefore having an effect on the long-term legacy plans, which already differ from the bid documents. It is important to investigate further the identification of what legacy is, changes that are made to legacy plans and how it is viewed differently amongst organisers and residents before any attempts at cross sector analysis can be undertaken.

6.6 Management of social legacy

A commitment to legacy was at the heart of London's bid, and has underpinned the design of the Olympic Park and venues (ODA, 2008b) yet, as already mentioned, the Legacy Action Plan was not published by the Government Olympic Executive until June 2008 (National Audit Office, 2008). In their report of June 2008, the NAO also recorded that the legacy requirements for the Olympic Park infrastructure had not at that time been finalised, nor had the deal with the private sector in relation to the Olympic Village properties been finalised. An academic studying Olympic Planning believes:

The thinking of legacy in social terms in relation to, you can certainly say to have legacy planning now, 5 years before the event (interview undertaken in 2007) is not something that any other city has ever done...that is one of the areas where potentially the different kind of stakeholders or community interests can or should be reflected.....the critical issue for the community is legacy.

This is supported in part by the quote from a member of the Olympic Development Authority where the Government have recognised the importance of legacy planning but perhaps not the urgency or timescales required, in that they couldn't decide for some time who was going to be in charge of legacy in the long term. The Greater London Assembly report – *A Lasting Legacy for London*, written by the University of East London, warns that unless London learns from previous host cities and their experiences, then London too risks failure (2008). In particular they warn that

legacy momentum must not be lost, as the capacity to grow after the Games is immense, after the immediate post-Games downturn in economic activity:

...the whole structure has changed, the board decided that they shouldn't actually establish a legacy subcommittee because the ODA decided it had enough to do with the construction side, getting the project finished and whatever we have to do in 2013 to bail out and give it all back to the LDA so the legacy initiative is being run primarily by the GLA. (ODA spokesperson)

This is also discussed by the allotment spokesperson:

Yeah as legacy now has been totally given over to the LDA and LOCOG so ODA have had the legacy planning taken out of their remit and it is all with the LDA but obviously that is now...this whole use of the word legacy is very, very interesting because when you look back again over the Sydney Games and you look at legacy a lot of it didn't happen until they shut the final gate on the final day.

Sydney, despite running a very successful Games (Vigor et al, 2005), did no post-Games planning whatsoever, leading to 'white elephants' of stadia in Homebush and no community facilities (Cashman 2006), a situation acknowledged by a community spokesperson:

Nothing there that they can utilise as no spare rooms for community things at all... and not like a local community place and have to pay for it – no community legacy. (Community liaison officer)

This is in total contrast to Barcelona in 1992:

So they work with the project in the long term in the sense that after the Games the facilities were able to be used by people and also thinking in the area of step by step investing new projects after the Games, ...In a very complex way because they were not thinking only in their legacy created with physical constructions or facilities, they work very hard of the idea of the cultural Olympics, their Olympic Games could have a legacy thinking about culture and thinking about Barcelona as an entrepreneurial city and thinking in social and cultural project. (Olympic planner)

However, refocusing on London, the official view is having seen previous Games legacy examples:

Legacy is the first thing we think about. What is it going to look like in 2013? And then we work back from there, that has always been our mantra, proof will be in the eating....When we get to 2011 and finishing the park off we will sling some top soil on and grass it over and finish to a degree, we expect the LDA will say those 4 acres will be housing and we need some more retail there and it is anticipated that the strip of park that threads its way through will become narrower in

legacy as you have to have the people on site to stop the desolate feel like you have in Sydney. (ODA spokesperson)

In an interview undertaken with a Hackney resident, the above view has been contradicted as has the statement from the ODA in 2008 'There will be an indoor sports facility left in legacy in Hackney' (ODA 2006).

The original site for the handball court which is also in Arena Fields was going to be huge and we were going to be able to use it as a community centre in the legacy but that has been reduced in size and we are not allowed to use it as a community centre in the legacy. The swimming pool was going to have a leisure centre/splash pool alongside it, now the leisure centre has been taken off the legacy. (Hackney resident)

and furthermore from a London planner:

Yeah, legacy is non-existent at the moment, lack of planning into that is disgraceful considering amount of public money and disruption; only have remnant of park with bike trail.

These quotes show how legacy is changing from the original plans in London and not always for the benefit of the local population. Yet LERI (2007) believe that London have rightly recognised that regeneration is not a short term fix and that any negative consequences of the planning for the Games can be addressed in subsequent developments through a staggered investment strategy, thus maintaining the legacy momentum post the Games. Jamal and Getz (1995) suggest the different stages of development are not recognised together with the different power relationships at each stage. It is crucial to recognise within the management of the legacy that power relationships are not static and that at each stage where the priorities change, so can the power balance. This could necessitate a review of the different processes of consultation and communication and those involved need to ensure they have the power and influence to manage these developments.

6.6.1 International Olympic Committee control of legacy

Haxton (1999), prior to the Sydney Games, undertook some reviews on community involvement within planning and recognised how planning with a community focus had shifted in Australia. However, this was for general planning, not Olympic Planning which still had a very political approach. This, he believed, is due to the IOC still controlling much of the planning in conjunction with national Governments. The participatory approach to planning from the community perspective is gaining more prominence in the UK and the ODA is aware of this shift and has therefore been very conscious of recognising and including community involvement, in its planning approach. However, this research is questioning how effective this involvement at

community level has been. Lenskyj (1996) argues that to understand the mechanics of bidding and then hosting the Games it is important to remember that the Olympic Charter – the IOC rules and by-laws- allows the IOC to have supreme authority and jurisdiction over every person or organisation that plays any part whatsoever in the Olympic Movement, thus allowing the whole bid process to be controlled by corporations as opposed to national governments.

Ritchie and Hall (1999) warned of the entire Olympic Movement being in serious danger of losing its credibility as the result of disillusionment by the general public after years of on-going internal problems. He suggests the IOC must re-establish itself as a professional body furthering sport, culture and environmentalism but within sustainable development frameworks completed in the name of the Olympics. This is highlighted by the Barcelona academic planner:

The Games come as a catalyst but as part of a complex set of reasons connected to Samaranch and that he became the IOC President in 1980 he was part of our political elite in Barcelona suggested the idea that Barcelona should reapply to become and to bid for the Olympic Games and, under his presidency, if they bid for it they were likely to get it.

This supports Hiller (1998), who argues that often the Games are driven by political agendas and not for the community at large. In Sydney, the former Borough Mayor supports the argument further with the view that the Games are not for the local community:

Olympics have their own committee and the way they make a decision which is a completely different entity and they are separate from the local and state government - they are different body and quite a lot of decisions they make wouldn't consider other people affected...They [the residents] had been restricted by the decisions made so those are the disadvantages to the residents and I believe that the Olympic Authorities don't have much choice. They have to follow what the IOC tells them to do..... time we lose that restriction because of certain acts that the Olympic authority overrides.

Despite this, the Olympic organisers, and the IOC, wish to portray the Games in the best possible light in order to keep support for the event buoyant. In light of the criticisms that are emerging and the negative publicity already reported about the costs for the 2012 Games in London, this is proving ever harder to achieve on the global stage as evidenced by a number of respondents including the former Auburn mayor followed by the London allotments spokesperson and relocated residents' spokesperson:

The Olympic Games puts a tremendous strain on budgets, whether it's national budget or whether it is state budget ...so I am perhaps a bit cynical and the only people who gain is the Olympic committee...which is just a big business running it, Governments should be more involved.

...this is the other thing, a lot of people don't realise is that the Olympics are not about the host city, in fact everything is done as the IOC demands and people aren't aware of that because in the documents it is kept secret.

The reality is that the IOC has to put up with it as IOC won't pull plug, London should have been stronger...The problem is, the IOC has this obsession with a big park, route of design problem. Legacy didn't exist until 10 years ago and these parks are becoming harder and harder to work and meet IOC obsession. Either go down private enterprise US route as in Atlanta, was a disaster, or go for public master planning with public/private funding as in London.

This last comment supports the viewpoint of Chalkley and Essex (1993) who suggest that in order to maximise results, a mixture of public and private funding is required but as the IOC are not duty bound to assist the London organisers in their quest for securing private financial backing, this option is slowly disappearing for London. The IOC still have a strict control over the planning of the Games and therefore to a certain extent over the legacy as well, especially if it were to impact the Games themselves. They don't normally specify a need for legacy planning within the official documentation; the overriding emphasis must always be on the successful staging and managing of the Games themselves. However, they have made positive comments in relation to the London legacy planning as it appeared in the bid documentation.

6.7 Land options as they affect the community

6.7.1 Housing issues

In London the intention is for the Olympic Village, post-Games, to be a mixture of affordable housing available for Key Workers and housing available on the open market. The uncertainty in the financial markets made it very difficult to secure the necessary private finance. As a consequence the commercial viability of the whole deal has been reassessed thereby affecting the amount of housing available for affordable stock. As already mentioned earlier, in mid-2011 announcements were made by the landlords for the properties from 2013 and whilst some parts of the village have been sold to the Qatari Diar and Delancy estates, a smaller section is to be developed as affordable housing by Triathlon Homes (Kollewe, 2011)

In the document 'Demolish, Dig, Design' published by the ODA in April 2007, it is clearly stated that after the Games, 'the Village will become part of the overall Stratford City regeneration scheme, including a new regional shopping centre and additional leisure, office and residential areas'. This could therefore possibly break some of the legacy promises made within the bid documentation in relation to new opportunities when the Olympic developments are included in other longer term regeneration projects. At the time of writing their 2007 report, the ODA were confident of signing up the development partner by the summer of that year with

construction beginning soon after the Beijing Games but the chosen developers, Lend Lease, had major problems with their funding streams. The following interviewee, a London planning academic, points out that the statistics quoted by the Government are all part of a bigger development picture, such as that seen in Barcelona, and so the actual data for the ex-athletes' accommodation in relation to social housing is not clear:

...other research, that a colleague of ours has done had indicated even though a contract, may say 30%, 50% will be social housing, the actual outcome is that the proportion of social housing is smaller, so the capacity is there for the LDA and other agencies to say the proportion of social housing will rise or fall depending on the overall package at the end. The other small fact is that in relation to Stratford, you have got 2 major developments that are close to each other, one is the Olympics and the other is the Stratford City and so you can get double counting in relation to housing and that's why the confusion arises.

However, in Sydney, the Olympic park official was quoted as saying:

We recognise the importance of key workers but we want to use our affordable housing programme to support our arts strategy and try to engineer it so that at least half are affordable apartments and we are only talking about 3% by the way, go to artists to embed an artist's community within the precinct and build that but no I agree with you that unless it comes with covenants it will must have opportunity written all over it, people will be masquerading as key workers just to get the properties. Property prices shot up in areas around the park.

This official is talking about the plans for the park now and the new developments undertaken to make it a thriving community, something that did not happen after the Games and is only now being developed. However, he does mention that the property prices around the park increased in value. Australia does not have the equivalent of UK legislation in relation to developments having a percentage of affordable housing and, therefore, the onus is not on the developers in the same way. Nevertheless, it is important to see how they are trying to build a mixed community in the park by including artists and some element of affordable/cheaper housing units, as discussed by Baum et al (2010) in their work on strengthening and sustaining local communities in Australia. Yet, in London an Olympic Official was quoted:

Well with the 40k homes in the Stratford City development plus the Olympic village conversion, the target is for 50% social housing and the remainder being sold privately. The reason behind that is that the budget for that isn't within our £7.1bn, so we need a private developer to come in at their own risk with funding from the banks, which at this point is quite challenging so that will be sorted out in the next couple of weeks... Now if the lending/borrowing is expensive it is quite likely that the people lending the money will place conditions on the proportion of

social housing depending on what is best to guarantee the return on their investments.

Warning signs are already appearing here about possible gentrification of the Olympic Park as opposed to true regeneration for the existing locals, as the Olympic official is saying that market conditions will ultimately dictate the proportion of social housing. Whilst at present the impact on prices in the area remains unclear, previous evidence from other recent Games has shown how price rises are almost to be expected (COHRE, 2007).

6.7.2 Compulsory purchase options

The Deputy Prime Minister released the Governments objectives for ‘Sustainable Communities’ in 2003 and ‘Community Involvement in Planning’ in 2004 (ODPM, 2004) yet the passing of the Olympic and Paralympic Bill in Parliament in 2006, gave the organisers specific legislation to override any local planning by-laws. This was especially pertinent with Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPO’S) where necessary and when all other avenues have been exhausted.

The following quote highlights one resident’s experience:

Well I have my own personal experience as I have been through all the planning processes and the CPO and so on and of course have been kicked out and in the process have seen how they operate and I can’t say that is how organisations always operate like this but almost from day one they have set us up and then knocked us down. (relocated resident)

This highlights how the use of CPO’s has left people demoralised and feeling that they have been treated unjustly and furthermore no ability to influence the outcomes as they have lost their legitimacy within the power balances. In addition, Tessa Jowell, the Olympics Minister, quoted in a speech made in January 2009, in relation to legacy planning in East London ‘that the post Olympics Village needs to be connected to and rooted in the communities which surround it’ (Jowell, 2009). She also stated that the change, disruption and upheaval which accompany the preparations must be respectful to East London’s past and present, ensuring that sensitivity is ever present and is not lost in the immovable timetable and a fixed budget - contradicting the resident’s view.

6.7.3 Gentrification v regeneration

The Legacy Master Plan Framework for the Park post the Games, published in 2009 (as opposed to the Legacy Action Plan published in June 2008), sets out the strategy and action plan for the park’s transformation, but also for its integration with the surrounding communities. However, these communities may not be the same post the Games as shown in the quote below from a Barcelona academic:

What we have been doing in the last 10 years is nothing more than applying the Olympic formula in other territories/places trying to invest in one sector to promote development in other sectors but something that was missed from the project was the social approach. Let me give you one example- at the very beginning the Olympic village in the sea front was conceived to have 40% of social housing, at the very end this 40% was reduced to only 5%. It is true that the social emphasis was not very developed and this strong link between urban policy and social policy was not really well developed for the Olympic Games.

He continued:

...the gentrification effect happened because the people that move in were young, middle class and well educated i.e. high income people and many of them actually foreign, European Union, particularly immigrants to the area and that created an effect where you have this very high quality, high price accommodation. Some of the local people were moved on or the effect was that they were priced out of the areas which they were living in, and it became a relatively attractive area to live in there and rents went up, prices went up and the people, some of them, were forced out of their communities.

These two quotes show how the gentrification of the former Olympic Village in Barcelona not only impacted who moved into the area, but also had a knock on effect in surrounding areas. Similarly, in Sydney, a former borough mayor quotes:

The mentality of the people who live there is very big different from the existing community that we have had here for many, many years.

Garrido (2003, p9) writes about 'islands of gentrification' that develop in Olympic cities post-Games and how they are a negative side to the infrastructure developments. Lenskyj (2002) agrees, but goes further in her criticism, talking about the Olympic corridor that developed out of central Sydney to the Games site, and how property prices and rental rates increased causing many people to lose their homes in surrounding areas. Both these writers giving stark warnings for London, but already the warning signs are appearing within these views of a 'mixed housing'

Government advisor:

Initially, the housing set aside for these key workers and social housing will be actually below market value. This is the grey area as it hasn't been said whether they will be given the opportunity to buy them or whether it will be let out by housing associations... But they would have housing in an area which doesn't necessarily cater for them... They will have facilities to hand which aren't necessarily to their needs. Gastro-pub rather than a fish and chip shop.

and a regeneration consultant:

The park will become elitist and around it will be gentrified so community before and after change. History has shown that with other mega-events.

Interestingly the Olympic Official suggests:

When you talk about community, people automatically think it is for the community that is there now but the community afterwards is completely different and you can't describe it as any other than gentrification as you move it up a social level. The prime tenant in the shopping centre must be John Lewis and John Lewis is not a shop of socially deprived people, it is a shop of young upwardly mobile.

Gentrification is not bad; it is very good and the reason why is because you use it as an inward investment tool beyond that of the group that you would describe as the gentrifiers, so you use their spending power into that neighbourhood. (Borough councillor)

History has shown that the host of mega-events such as the Olympics can result in rapid price increases, particularly in the housing market, whether through ownership or rentals (Hall, 1997; Ohmann et al, 2006). Often, as a result of mega-event planning, the long-term benefits from the developments do not always accrue to the original residents. However, 'sustainable regeneration will require a genuine increase in the local employment rate – not just the result of a highly skilled population moving in and displacing the indigenous lower skilled one' (Vigor, 2006, p15). Therefore consideration must be given to the needs of the existing area residents within the planning stages especially if the legacy plans improve their living conditions and their skill set. Here however, the Borough Councillor appears to be supporting the influx of additional spending power into the neighbourhood which could come from the new population. A mix of tenancy would be possible to satisfy both the councillor and sustainable regeneration through still satisfying the needs of the original population but welcoming the financial input from the newcomers.

In Barcelona, Balibrea (2001) discusses that whilst the targets for urban developments were located often in very run down areas, the developments were not designed to cater or benefit the existing local population and therefore many of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods have lost these historic communities, being unable to afford the rents of the improved buildings or their homes being demolished and replaced. In turn this has resulted in progressive gentrification, as Balibrea describes it, and ironically more restricted access to public spaces as they become privatised. However, some stakeholders believe the councils are anticipating gentrification because of the bigger revenues expected from the higher value properties as discussed in this quote from the allotments spokesperson:

I think the attraction for getting these very posh apartment blocks which are going to be part of the legacy of what is left from the athletes village alone and the rateable values they can probably get from those has blinkered them (the councils) a bit.

and the relocated resident spokesperson:

So if it was the case that people were concerned about gentrification then they would be saying no that this would be damaging our people but actually most of the boroughs probably think that gentrification is a good thing as it means they are going to get more money from council tax so they are not going to necessarily be thinking about the impact on their residents in that way despite saying so in their public statements.

Continuing:

The justification for this is tackling local deprivation and all those stats are going to change and in 2020 they will be able to announce that stats for deprivation in these 4 boroughs have altered, as there will be a lot of new people living here and new social classes... but this is leading to pretty heavy gentrification so the stats will change, the jobs will not be suitable for locals now, private rents will rise and affordable rents will go up as they are tied to the private market with new housing association policies so many people will move out. All of this is that local people will find it much harder to live in Stratford so what is the local community is simply people who happen to be living in this locality and they don't have to have any connection.

This raises the important issue of community identification, to be discussed in Chapter 7 as without being able to identify who the communities are, it is harder to assess the community benefits, especially since many of these benefits are intangible. Often promises made at the time of the bid are not kept. Lenskyj (2004) goes even further with her criticism to say that certain sections of the community such as the underclass, the homeless and low cost rental groups (social housing in UK terms) are those who suffer the most as a result of the Games. They are, as a result of a lack of social capital, the most unable to respond through the consultation processes. She believes that the Olympic Games can lead to the erosion of human rights for the citizens of the country as well as the city. Therefore, the evidence emerging from this research is pointing towards certain social groups being negatively impacted by the Games developments in London, both now and in the future. This will be through the regeneration plans resulting in relocations away from the park area. Sydney did not suffer such relocations in relation to the parklands as they were derelict but the surrounding areas were impacted. However, a warning for London from Sydney's former Host Borough Mayor:

In a way we benefited from the physical isolation and in that it wasn't tied into the local community as maybe as much as the Lower Lea Valley is in London.

6.7.4 Mixed open spaces

Urban renewal occurs as much through the renewal of spaces, such as parks or town squares, as through new housing and retail developments (Hiller, 2000). This was particularly true in Barcelona as a result of the 1992 Games and the ‘opening up’ of the seafront (de Moragas and Botella, 1995). However, Balibrea (2001) suggests that the ‘Barcelona Model’ should be regarded with some caution and scepticism, as there has been increasing social polarisation as a result of the Games. This is partly dependent on the attachment of communities to place, especially open spaces. Much as in nature, the loss of ‘natural habitat’ can have enormous negative consequences, particularly the relationship to the space and the material and symbolic associations therein as seen in the views of an academic planner from Barcelona:

What I am saying is we can ask the urban policy what to do, but you cannot ask the urban policy to solve social problems. My point is what we should do and this was not done very well in Barcelona, it’s just focusing on a social policy going hand-in-hand with a policy then you can solve more problems. Normally when we talk about gentrification we talk about people that leave the places because they cannot compete with the new prices of structure so we focus on who is able to buy property or buy a flat. We don’t take into consideration for example access to public spaces. Important in the case of the city like Barcelona where new public spaces in the sea front are nowadays used by a majority of people not only for people living there. Other cities in the world didn’t focus on this and the idea of keeping the city as space used by the majority and different people and in the end they developed ghettos in different ways.

He continues:

Also they were clever enough to think about the public spaces that could be used by all the people apart from residents..... It is very difficult to get mixed housing, but it is exceptionally easy and cheaper to get mixed public space... I’m not saying they don’t have to worry about it, but I would say they should definitely explore this different way.

This moves the focus away from mixed housing and the possibility of ghettos and polarisation as discussed by Balibrea (2001), into the realms of mixed use of open space which is also discussed in Sydney by the former Host Borough Mayor:

...the bottom line is Auburn didn’t get much out of it at all....so there wasn’t much activity during the pre/post or when the Games were on for Auburn, but the stadium is there...we don’t control it, the other part of it where the Olympic athletes lived, it has been just a source of problems, as when it was built the streets were narrow ...a couple of other issues

as they didn't have enough open space out there. Most of them have young families and there is not a lot even space out there for soccer fields and other things.

In London there is already concern about the park post the Games from a relocated resident:

They (the LDA) are of course worried about the cost of maintaining all that fancy park stuff and one way they want to solve that is to charge the landowners in the area extra rates to maintain the park. That is actually a way of semi-privatising the park as the large land owners are going to want to have influence over what goes on in the park if they are paying for it. It will end up with them carving off pieces of the park and having it managed under public realm agreements with the local landowners...And the point is to argue that the site is productively used by local people for local people.

and the Hackney resident spokesperson who has not been relocated:

I think for Leabank Square it is generational, the kids want sports facilities, they want pools and handball, volleyball or basketball courts, and athletics tracks and a place to kick a football around and that kind of thing, the people that have lived here for more than 20 years want green space as they are really still upset about losing Arena Fields, they really want to make sure that there is going to be just a nice place to have a leisurely walk and take the dog along and have a picnic, that type of thing.

The Olympic Official has said:

How you blend what is around the people is crucial, otherwise you totally displace the social housing.

What is clearly emerging here is the need for mixed open space and that it is as important as the need for mixed housing. Problems that arise with mixing accommodation may be overcome by giving all people access to the open spaces that will be available in the park post the Games irrespective of where they live and the type of housing they live in.

6.8 Transfer of knowledge

Knowledge is rooted not only in the need for power and acceptance by social groups, but also in the interpretation of that power as being the universally accepted frame of reference, whereby the transfer of that successive knowledge potentially gives legitimacy (Foucault, 1980). It is in the attainment and transfer of knowledge that the power is gained and then interpreted and recognised by social groups. Translating that notion to the research being undertaken in this thesis, the conclusions drawn are that each 'successful' Olympic Games believes itself to become the blueprint for successive Games. Along the journey the International Olympic Committee adopt successful best practices within the planning of successive Games, in that each Games' frame of

reference is based on that which has worked well in the past through the Olympic Games Knowledge Service.

The Olympic Games Knowledge Service (OGKS) was set up as vast amounts of Olympic information and documentation prior to 2000 was 'lost' to the IOC and the Olympic movement in general, through poor record keeping and co-operation between host nations. The OGKS will continue its role through all bid processes and also accredit experts in particular fields of Olympic planning and encourage them to pass on their experience (Toohey and Halbwirth, 2001). Cashman (2002) suggests that greater investment and time should be donated to legacy planning and that this must be supported by well researched development plans, thus reducing any possible burdens and that the knowledge gained in the staging of the Games should be developed into a valuable export for future Games planners and other large scale mega-events. The IOC President Jacques Rogge set up the Olympic Games Study Commission shortly after he was installed as President in 2001, to investigate and propose solutions to the size, complexity and costs of hosting the Games, as confirmed by the Barcelona resident academic:

It is logical that you are building on existing knowledge, latterly with the Games and the forum they knew how to manage public/private partnerships and use these events as catalysts for change, if that what you call the Barcelona model. Other cities have used this kind of strategy too, Melbourne and Manchester have used something similar and other cities around Europe have done the same thing.

Here the recognition from Barcelona about building on existing knowledge and the management of development partnerships have combined into what is arguably a best practice example for future organisers to follow. Cartalis (2004), writing about the then approaching Athens Games stated that to capitalise on the development opportunities afforded from hosting the Games would depend on the objectives set, the planning promoted and the administrative processes established. He further stated at that time that 95% of all Olympic projects "have post-Olympic use". However, the following interview from the Sydney Park official undertaken in 2007 highlights a different scenario to the one proposed in 2004:

I was approached by an arm of the Greek Government, Hellenic Dev Corp., one of two organisations that have been asked by The Greek Government to look at what they can do with the sporting facilities and they are looking at Barcelona, Sydney and Munich...am sure you know the story about Athens and so on couldn't come at a worse time for the IOC you think we would have learnt more by now. It is a wonder more guidance is not given to avoiding situations like that so you could review processes earlier.

Therefore despite intentions to provide positive legacy planning for the post Games use of the infrastructure, this didn't happen and now Greek officials have to ask other nations for help with their stadiums. Australian expertise is now being requested yet for their own Games very little information was available from previous host cities as confirmed below by a Sydney games organiser:

I suspect it was just a little bit of naivety, missing the full long-term implications. All the Government was focused on providing was what was best for the Olympics. It was understood but not enough resources put into and if you look at previous Games, for instance Atlanta and Barcelona, there wasn't a lot of learning in that sense to go on.

This was confirmed from London by an Olympic studies academic who is also a local resident:

The role of consultants and consultancy and the professional management that move around these mega-projects has really been witnessed by a significant increase over recent years, so in a sense Government offloads its thinking to consultants through procurement arrangements and as a consequence there is no-one taking an integrated holistic view, nor thinking through social consequences. That is an argument that I heard this weekend and an argument that was presented really effectively in relation to evaluations of bids that are currently being prepared from Chicago. Riding on the back of the successful Sydney Games, a number of agencies have presented themselves as experts/consultants particularly in the training and skills development field.

In London, the National Audit Office (2008) reported that the Government Olympic Executive adopted best practice (recommended by Cashman 2006) by holding workshops which examined risk information from other mega-events projects, especially the Manchester Commonwealth Games, so as to evaluate risk for London 2012. Indeed, the IOC themselves have recognised the importance of transferring knowledge between Games and encourage expertise to move with each successive Games.

6.8.1 Uniqueness of each Olympics

The uniqueness of each Games legacy makes direct comparison problematic as evidenced from Barcelona and an Olympic planner and academic, yet this is the only basis of comparison:

I would say there are two main legacies/lessons to be considered, but every context is different and every city is different and of course every moment is different, so I think we cannot directly compare the Games for Barcelona in the 80's with the Games in London at the present moment because not only the political situation, but also the state of art of processes as globalisation makes a difference.

In addition, the four year cycle of the summer Games, combined with the pressure for each successive Games to try and, 'out-do' previous Games, results in the drive to market legacy as a sweetener for hosting the Games. Most 'research' is undertaken prior to Games to justify their bid/hosting, far more than is undertaken post-Games, to see actually just what legacy remains. There are strong theoretical arguments about the potentially positive contribution which sports can make to a range of social issues (Coalter, 2004). However, there is also a lack of systematic monitoring or evaluation'. In Sydney, the borough mayor, acknowledges that it is an ever evolving task:

You'd have to be a real visionary to have understood what the impact would be and even today we are continuing to refine and revisit.

Yet, the regeneration plans must be unique to each city and not necessarily guided by what may have worked in a different city thus reiterating that each city's needs and approaches will be unique (Monclus, 2003). It could be that smaller scale projects perhaps may reverse the trend of conventional all encompassing mega planning. This was seen in the development of small public spaces as a key driver of the regeneration of Barcelona from hosting the 1992 Games.

The IOC Symposium in 2002 welcomed the initiatives taken regarding past legacy for future games and in particular the transfer of knowledge and OGGI initiatives, to raise awareness about the importance of long-term legacy (IOC, 2003). The IOC are particularly concerned about 'white elephants' remaining after the Games are over and in particular Rogge questioned why the Sydney Olympic stadium was built so big, particularly as it was costly to build and then downsize after the Games.

In discussing the task ahead of the Sydney Organising Committee from the moment the bid was won, Holloway (1999) believes that the transfer of knowledge has to be the biggest element of the success of any mega-event planning. A lot of money could be saved for each Games with many basic planning codes being available and the expertise being made available, which it is in the case of London with many Australian experts helping the ODA and LOCOG. However, there is a question mark over what can London learn from Beijing. An important lesson described by a Barcelona academic is:

They have a system here called the 'protectione official', which is like official protected housing, which is a sort of housing if you have a new housing project and a percentage of that will have to go to low income housing and the agreement is for a fixed number of years and that property must remain rented to or if you bought it, as you can buy it, it can't be resold within a certain period, to avoid people speculating.

followed by Sydney's former Borough mayor who says:

...we represent the community for the benefit of the community and for the development of the Games. You can't just win-win all the time, you win and lose but by sitting down and working together, it doesn't matter if we agree or not as you are going to go ahead anyway, but to my knowledge and in what I have been involved so far for the last 15 years I have been in the council, we put on the table if we have a chance to make a comment, if we have a chance to make it better, right, when we have that right, why not use it?

There are also examples from London of groups that are trying to engage with those hard to reach groups, including from a council community liaison officer:

Working closely with Hackney Refugee forum as they want to work closely with us and capitalise on the training opportunities for their members (60 diff refugee groups) and they then filter the information out. Looking at working closely with Hackney homes and linking in with different tenants and residents associations, resident panels and I think that is a really good way of plugging in.

These best practices can be incorporated into any knowledge transfer processes set up to disseminate successful initiatives for future mega-event planners and also for the London team, in the design and maintenance of legacy proposals. This means that in future mega-event planners should look at previous events to see what lessons can be learned but at the same time recognise the unique qualities of the event they are planning.

6.9 Summary

This chapter has highlighted the need for clear identification and management of three main issues; legacy, timeframes and community. In addition, the transfer of knowledge from Games to Games and the use of personnel with relevant experience from working on similar projects is a key component in the successful management of legacy planning. It is evident that the identification of legacy and for whom the legacy is intended are crucial issues that need to be resolved when planning mega-events. The research has highlighted examples of good and not so good legacy planning from previous Games. In addition to this, interview data reveals examples of ineffective consultation and identification of the community as a contingent stakeholder demonstrating that this hampers legacy management. This chapter leads into the next chapter, which more specifically covers the identification of community, in particular communities of place and how this can be affected by the stakeholder role and identification that the local communities have within the Olympic Planning.

7 Community identification

This chapter discusses the themes surrounding community identification before leading into the final two chapters where the main global themes emerging from the data are synthesised to develop a number of conclusions. Figure 7.1 outlines the key themes related to community identification emerging from the data.

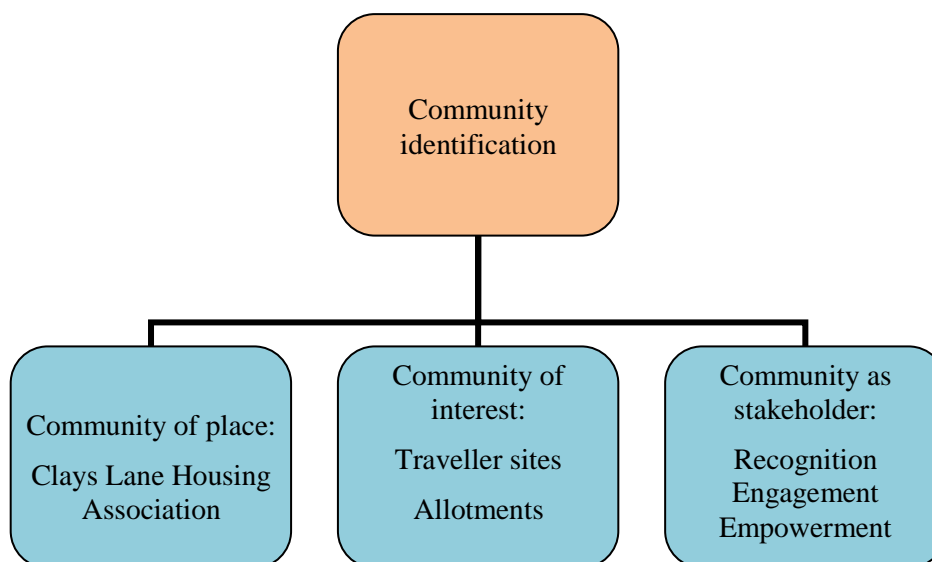


Figure 7-1 Summary of chapter findings

The question of what actually makes a ‘community’ has already been discussed in Chapter 3. In all of the literature from the ODA and LDA, the idea of community is mentioned, but without actually articulating what is meant by, and how to classify the concept. There have been several studies on community attachment and neighbourhood community, but little has been written in relation to identifying a community. Whilst the idea of place identification has been discussed by authors such as Cuba and Hummon, (1993), and Lepofsky and Fraser, (2003), the literature to date has still yet to identify conclusively what constitutes a community. Burton and Dunn (1996) suggest that for true community stakeholder management, there needs to be an identification of the many different types of community. This is crucial for this research as to understand and investigate the socio-cultural impacts of 2012 on the local ‘communities’.

The allotment spokesperson highlights a lack of clarity in the terminology used by the ODA:

The LDA talk about ‘extensive community’, ‘vision for legacy communities’, ‘community engagement and consultation strategy’ and ‘stakeholder identification’ yet they don’t articulate what they mean by these terms.

This respondent clearly believes that widely differing terminology is used by the organisers, thus leading perhaps to confusion over whom, or what, are the community and stakeholders. If the plans are meant to be for the 'community', it is important to clearly state who the community referred to are. By leaving definitions open, it leaves the opportunity for the Games organisers to gentrify the area, defined by Lees et al (2008) as *the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and /or commercial use* (pxv), as seen in Sydney as a result of not clearly defining community within the planning stages. This occurs by selectively focusing on the community that has the most power or alternatively the community that best suits the organisers' needs regardless of the impacts on others as evidenced from the data collected in Sydney. The implication of this for future mega-event planners is to clearly identify in the early planning stages who these communities are by understanding how to classify a community. In showing consideration for who are existing communities Hamnett (1991; 1994; 1996; 2003; 2008) argues that existing communities are often ignored when traditional theories of neighbourhood remodelling are challenged because of a growing interest in gentrification. It focuses on the communities who will be the 'new' residents in that it automatically suggests a change of social makeup, which is the concern of several interviewees. As already discussed, true regeneration from the perspective of the existing local people involves collaborative planning as a strategy to facilitate the shaping of their future through their identification as contingent stakeholders being impacted by the developments.

An issue identified for organisers is that, no matter how community is defined, the make-up of a community will change as a result of the planning process. A former Sydney Borough Mayor (in office during the run-up to the Games), in relation to post-Games use of the park facilities, makes it clear that the community referred to is not the original community from before the Games, an important warning for London in relation to warnings of gentrification:

....since it is a new community of people who are positive about the area and fully aware of the potential as they moved in because they see the potential of it, the lifestyle quality is offered.

The Mayor from the actual Games period observed a 'new' community in the sense of new residents when asked about the residents of the former Olympic Village:

Yet the residents in Newington obviously did benefit as they have got a new community out of it.

This is referring to a community of place yet in London, possible concerns are being raised about who are, and will be, the subsequent local community, as reported by the allotment spokesperson:

London's bid was 'we are going to plan legacy from the outset and the community will benefit from the hosting in ways that are unprecedented' and so far the majority of the legacy that has happened has been very negative and that the community that they talk about regularly in lots of the documentation to me, is a very clever way of covering the fact that the community before and the community afterwards will be completely different.

Therefore, there is a perceived need for the London 2012 organisers to identify the communities involved, both in terms of existing and likely future communities. As already mentioned, Burton and Dunn (1996) argue community stakeholder management must consider multiple communities, not just one, but they need to be recognised as per Kidd's (1992) social impact assessment. . This is undertaken in advance to highlight the likely impacts and to identify who will be affected, with the intention being to ensure that a full and open audit is carried out at bid stage so as to consider every conceivable social impact, much like economic impact studies. Subsequently once the bid is won, it will become clear what the impacts, both positive and negative will be, and thereby inform legacy planning. This is also an ideal opportunity for the community to be involved from the outset. An audit would help in identifying community impacts and give communities a level involvement within the management of these impacts. A former resident of Clays Lane Housing Co-operative who was evicted from his home as part of the London Development Authority's Compulsory Purchase Orders discusses how the importance of his community was not recognised by the Games planners:

Now it is all about mixing people so you have families with single people and the rest of it and it doesn't make any difference at all as we had a community that was mainly single people and yet there was real communication between people which whatever kind of community you have often doesn't exist.....I don't really think the boroughs see their residents in that way. Personally I don't think, what is the community? As I don't know, is the interest of the borough the same as that of the community..... so I think the boroughs see themselves almost entirely as speaking for the resident. (former Clays Lane Co-operative resident)

This former resident does not believe that the local community were recognised by the council as stakeholders as they were not perhaps considered legitimate stakeholders through being viewed as individuals with special needs rather than as an organised network of support. Legitimacy comes from being socially accepted which outside their housing co-operative they were not. He talks about the sense of community identity and belonging that his former home held; something he believes cannot be recreated where he lives now and is therefore lost forever. He believes the sense of community came from not the actual physical location but more the belonging and support which could have been maintained if they had been relocated in bigger groups as opposed to being split up. The data links to Mohan and Twigg's (2007) exploration of how neighbourhood

quality is linked with socio-economic conditions, particularly because of the social connectedness and support the community had as discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to social capital and issues of gentrification and also consultation. This links with the idea already mentioned in the previous chapter that their ability to be part of the consultation process was hampered perhaps as they lacked any social capital. It goes beyond the physical space and infrastructure as Mohan and Twig believe that the social conditions play as crucial a role as any physical structures. The reason for this comes from the social capital that can be created from this support and is an important factor to consider in mega event planning in the future. Social capital has the ability to provide networks across communities that allow them all the co-operation and confidence to deal with the planners. These social networks provide value, which here equates to the engagement within the event planning and being able to be part of the process, thus possibly influencing the outcome of the social impacts. For this interviewee, the community support came from the residents all living in similar circumstances with similar backgrounds providing a network of support, which is not the case where he lives now so the community wasn't necessarily attached to the physical space, rather to the feelings of support and belonging. If an audit had been prepared (Kidd 1992), then the relocation, if still necessary, would have considered the reason these people were living in a community allowing the organisers to make alternative arrangements to try and move them as an entirety. Their community identity came from their mutual support for each other, whereby the community cohesion was part of their rehabilitation process and should have afforded them an element of collaborative power.

Collaborative power can come from the homogeneity and cohesiveness of different sub-groups coming together as a community stakeholder, and using their collective voice to influence as opposed to smaller individual claims. The opportunities and the power to influence decisions being taken could be enhanced through a more cohesive collaboration (Reed, 1997). In this case, referring to IOC and ODA planning for the Games, the local communities' stake must be based on legal and moral grounds with an ability to affect or be affected by the outcomes of the legacy planning. This supports Cashman's (2006) suggestion of host community and key interest groups being involved from the very beginning as the bid is prepared. Furthermore, stakeholder acknowledgement would support the undertaking of an audit of social impacts as to identify who will be affected by the impacts. The ability of groups to come together in collective planning will afford more power than in individual groups and therefore through the cohesiveness gain more influence and control over the anticipated impacts and outcomes.

7.1 Community of place

Stewart (2006) explains that *place meanings characterize reasons that an environment is valued and describe the uniqueness of a locale* (p, 405). The meanings are formed through lived experiences within the unique place and are unable to be recreated elsewhere and that, in modern planning, and in particular leisure planning, little acknowledgement is given to this, perhaps suggesting a need to re-visit mixed open space (as discussed in chapter 6) and the reasons behind attachment to place. This may be too late for the communities relocated already from the Olympic Park, but is an important consideration for future Olympic planners and London planners in the surrounding areas.

The whole notion of transforming place and identity has already been seen in Barcelona:

A large proportion of them (new residents) are economic immigrants as they come here to workand they are locating themselves in certain areas of the city as a ghetto sort of effect and also indirect consequences of the Olympic project, they wouldn't be here if it wasn't for the transformation of the city as part of the Olympic Games.... then who is benefiting from the Olympics...., it seemed more like it was a political, social, economic elite in the city that had benefited. (resident and Olympic planner).

This interviewee thus believes that the benefits from the Games have transferred to the new residents and community showing that the Games organisers have perhaps disregarded, or been unaware of Brennan and Brown's (2008) suggestions that it is time to reassess the idea of 'community' in contemporary life and in particular the need to understand social well-being within social change. This is further echoed by Sydney's Former Borough Mayor:

They (new residents) don't have a conflict in a way in terms of the local Government but in terms of status so for example Auburn Council, as somehow some of them don't want to call themselves Auburn they want to call themselves a different suburb, Newington or Olympic Park; it's snobbery.

Here the new residents have no attachment to place (as in the name), as they want to disassociate from the old title and therefore they have more attachment to new beginnings, that is to say a new community. This reflects Bradshaw's (2008) idea of networks of people with shared identity and interests which do not need to have a place identity, instead there is collective social identity and interests (Mohan and Twig 2007). This is an important consideration for the London organisers in how they deal with the Olympic Village accommodation and also other mega-event planners in the future. As of 11th August 2011 the village has been sold at a loss of £275m to the British taxpayer to become high-end apartments for rent from 2013. This is in addition to a separate deal involving 1400 residences being sold for affordable housing. Yet, this can be

contrasted with what has been happening in London already with a regeneration consultant suggesting that:

It is really interesting, as need to tailor how you approach different communities, when they say communities they talk about the people who live in the five boroughs and they appreciate that there are lots of different communities within the boroughs, ethnic minorities, young and old people.

In London there are questions being asked as to who the community are and how they will be consulted. The DCMS have suggested in a report entitled 'London 2012 the Next Lap' *that it is important that local communities should have their say in what their area should look like beyond 2012*' without articulating who are the local community (DCMS, 2008, p3). This document sets out the foundations that are being put in place for new neighbourhoods around the Olympic Park, as well as identifying the key principles for planning successful new places, but does not take into account consideration for the 'place' value or consideration of communities of interest, attachment or place. This is particularly true for London in the 'communities' that have already been relocated, the Clays Lane residents, the Gypsies and the allotment holders, with the latter being left *in situ* as part of the new park landscaping, echoed in the views of a Hackney resident:

We didn't come off anywhere near as badly as the people who lived on the site.

And further in the views of a London Housing Manager:

It's alright on mixed tenure; it's where you are mixing the usage. Never mind the communities living in the new housing, are there going to be facilities left over, they are supposed to be for full public access, how accessible are they going to be for anybody. Boris Johnson has been questioning it himself as well. The thing we are concerned about, talking about leisure facilities and stuff like that, in regards to maintaining the communities, are the Government expecting the housing association developing the homes in particular to take actions to make sure this happens.

The interviewee believes that instead of using resources to encourage mixed housing that does not engender community, the use of mixed spaces will form communities of place and interest in the former Olympic Park relating back to the previous discussion on mixed use of open spaces and how this can create a more stable social environment across social groups than mixed tenure housing. This shows how future event planners could focus on the use of mixed space as being a positive, long lasting legacy. The following quote from an Olympic academic in London echoes the importance of location and history associated with the place and discusses the different communities who were given compulsory purchase orders:

Some, it is suggested were happy with that (compensation offered), others because of the importance of location and history and so on were not happy and it is certainly true there were compulsory purchase orders given.....The students were evicted from Clays Lane and the second group of people in Clays Lane were the social housing for homeless people that have certainly been in some of the worse social circumstances and the people moved and thirdly there is the traveller communities. Plus the allotments, those are the 4 communities directly affected by the CPO's and developments.

However, one interviewee from London, a Borough Councillor, appeared unaware of the history of the park, as he said:

The problem is you can talk and you can talk and you can talk but this is completely new as no-one lives there, they may live around it, but no-one lived there in the first place and you are creating something new from absolutely nothing and that is quite challenging.

This illustrates how sometimes officials, tasked with making the decisions, hold contrasting views than those dealing directly with the communities. It is perhaps due to information he has been given by the LDA, he is not a local person or because he has not been in direct contact with the people and places he is referring to. Thus better and more open communication channels are required. Those communities that have been impacted most by the Park developments in London need further discussion to highlight the individual circumstances.

7.1.1 Clays Lane Housing Association

The Clays Lane Housing Association was a housing co-operative for particularly vulnerable and dependent adults comprising flats and cottage style housing provided through the Peabody Trust. The original relocation plan, according to a resident interviewed, was to try to move them altogether as the importance of the communal support was recognised as being as crucial, if not more, than physical locality. However, because of fissures in the management structure that affected their positional power, their bargaining position was not unanimous. In terms of stakeholder theory their power and urgency were therefore diminished, thus affecting their stakeholder position within the planning and their ability to influence the decisions and developments affecting them.

A survey undertaken within the community in 2004 showed that over 50% of those interviewed wanted to stay together, yet many did not respond due to the on-going disputes between members (Cheyne, interview 2008). Thus, without a united front to form a cohesive group to gain recognition as contingent stakeholders and, as Reed (1997) suggests, more legitimate power to influence decisions, their ability to negotiate was very weak when the relocation went ahead. This all took place, despite the ODA promise of 'New mixed-use

neighbourhoods offering homes, jobs, shops, and cultural and leisure facilities for local people' (ODA, 2008a, p2). The developments have done the opposite by moving local people out of the areas. However, a councillor connected with the Clays Lane Association believes:

The majority of the residents from Clays Lane actually benefited from being moved and instead of shared accommodation they have all got their own individual properties now, maybe paying a little bit more, but changed their lives and been the kick that I say some needed.

This is in stark contrast to the following quotes from a resident relocated:

I miss it in a sense of being able to walk down Clays Lane and know 200 people, whatever the local intrigue is you would get told.

There is all this stuff about sustaining communities, and I have no idea what this means, and we lived in an extremely diverse community and it did have a genuine community life. There are a lot of places that they call communities, like I live in this street here and I know virtually nobody here. There are people who live together and I knew a lot of people in Clay's Lane who did go and visit each other and sit down and have cups of tea and you really did visit and talk and have meals together.

Unfortunately for those residents relocated, the loss of community of belonging has been a major upheaval in their lives and they have not been able to recreate this community elsewhere. This echoes Bradshaw (2008) and Brennan and Brown (2008) in relation to post-place community, with the linkage coming from the solidarity and sharing, and Mohan and Twigg's (2007) suggestion that social capital and community identity come from the solidarity not the physical locale *per se*. The implications here suggest that community identification in mega event planning must consider more than just physical locality of community. In the case of the located residents, the community support and power was diminished with the splitting up of the core and even those that have moved in small groups have not been in a position to keep this solidarity and to preserve the community. Therefore, an opportunity was missed for a social impact assessment to be carried out before the bid was won to allow more time to support such groups on grounds of social well-being. It was almost immaterial where they were relocated to, so long as they were relocated together to offer the mutual support. The importance of undertaking an impact assessment should not be under-estimated for future event planners as to identify all communities being impacted by the event.

7.2 Community of interest

Ziller (2004) and Hargreaves (2004) argue that social and economic networks are not primarily place based anymore as a consequence of societal changes and that the important linkage is

through common interests. Thereby they suggest that communities of interest and attachment are more important than communities of place, especially in relation to sustainable social development. This further manifests itself in that communities of attachment emphasise social relationships of belonging and shared daily life, as seen in the Clays Lane Co-operative Housing and the allotments, in addition to its place value. Furthermore, Bradshaw (2008) takes the view that urbanisation and industrialisation have weakened traditional community solidarity and therefore community refers more to networks of people with shared norms and identity, known as post-place communities. It could be argued that these are the same as communities of interest and attachment as described by Ziller (2004) who includes an element of place and physicality. Bradshaw, on the other hand, denounces the need for physical presence and instead writes about identity and norms in an intangible sense. Both are important ways of identifying communities but in the case of mega-event planning for the future, Bradshaw's explanation expands the classifications of groups that need to be included beyond those attached to tangible infrastructure into intangible communities too, such as communities of association through shared interests or situations as opposed to specific locality. This is important as it further manifests itself in the belief that communities of attachment emphasise social relationships of belonging and a shared daily life irrespective of place attachment but that which can be seriously negatively impacted by the event planning.

In Barcelona, a resident believes that the community comes from the social connectedness in the open spaces and thus moving beyond community of purely place in the need for physical structures.

The city people and their communities are based there... they want to spend time with their friends or neighbours or whatever; it is all there in the street and the parks and in the squares of the city.

Interestingly, from Sydney, the former Borough Mayor commented:

The other part of it where the Olympic athletes lived, we have picked that up now, but it has been just a source of problemsa couple of other issues as they didn't have enough open space out there.... They knew most of them have young families and there is not a lot of space out there for soccer fields and other things.

This supports the view of 'open spaces' as places for community to form cohesion, as do the views of a local councillor from London, who believes it to be as important to consider the communities need for meeting and gathering spaces. This comment supports creating community from 'belonging', an important lesson for London in relation to the post-Games use of the park:

A community has a sense of these names and they understand because you may live in them or know them or have a special resonance of a place that goes back through generations, not always positive, but that actually for a lot of people there is a generation growing up saying it is cool. And so you have things like that you need to capture as part of a neighbourhood, a community and to them it is about investing into their street and their open space, their meeting spaces, their gathering spaces.

This has interesting implications for this study, in that it is place based values that give the community a sense of belonging here beyond just their housing stock, and how they come together to enjoy the open spaces; thus supporting Bradshaw (2008) and community solidarity coming from social connectedness through shared interests. This further supports the idea of community as not just place related as the place based value here relates to the use of open-space and the common interests, hobbies and past-times that can be enjoyed in these spaces that also form the basis for community connectedness and sense of neighbourhood as much as where they live. This is possible when social background becomes irrelevant and everyone has the same rights to use the space away from housing segregations. Furthermore, the community who have access to this space can become stakeholders in how the space is managed and run, as opposed to what happens in their living locale where there may not be that sense of community as discussed below.

7.2.1 Gypsy Sites

In Barcelona, Oriol (1997) highlighted the ‘communities’ that had been based on the ‘derelict’ land needed to construct the Olympic Village and which had to be cleared for the opening up of the seafront. COHRE (2007) report that there were communities of gypsies (Roma) living along the seafront yet, below is a discussion with a resident and academic who did not seem to be aware of any ‘communities’ on the site:

There seems like there was not much that was destroying the community that existed there as there was very little there, and what was there was in very poor condition in terms of its level of degeneration issues and it needed something doing to it.

This comment is similar in context to what was said by the London Hackney Councillor in regards to the London site, but a former Olympic planner from Barcelona quotes:

The sea front which at that time had informal housing -You have an informal house, very poor people or gypsy people living there. You also have if you focus on regeneration, if you have people that are inside the economic system it is easier, but if you have people outside the economic system, then it is impossible to implement policy because it is a problem in Barcelona that we still have today that we have people who

are squatting in flats. The coast line the problem was the really poor people were living there because nobody was taking care of this area.

The 'residents/gypsies' had attachment to place but being outside the 'economic system' meant they had no protection, despite Barcelona introducing its quality plan as a living project of continued improvement. Amongst its key directives was 'The Citizen Attention Service' directed at satisfying the citizens-clients-users and considering their needs, demands and preferences (Maragall, 1995; 2000). However, this was only for those 'within' the economic system, as noted above. The area in Barcelona was known for its 'utopian' community and the stipulation from the planners was to ensure that the neighbourhood did not become an urban ghetto. It has developed into an enclave of well-educated, young and affluent professionals (Carbonnell, 2002) with apparently no social housing available despite government assurances. However, there are open spaces that have been developed and whereas the opening of the seafront was supposed to be for the whole community (Mackay, 2000), the expensive marinas and restaurants dominate the area in front of the Olympic Village. Mackay (2000, p6), writing about the recovery of the seafront, suggests the site chosen was 'practically abandoned' intimating that it was not as derelict as the organisers claimed. This is supported by the views of the Olympic planner, who whilst recognising the displacement of some communities points out how the subsequent use of the area for mixed-use open spaces has enabled all sections of the communities to engage:

In the case of Barcelona, it is true that you have people were displaced from their neighbourhoods, but if you go there from the end of March till the end of October when we have good weather and you see all these nice very well designed public open spaces you go on a Sunday afternoon and you will see all these poor people that have colonised the area with tables and chairs and they spend Sunday there eating fried chicken and this is not forbidden. The renovation of the sea front of course forced so many people to leave but at least the public spaces that were built up afterwards they are used by people who were displaced.

This example from Barcelona supports the notion for London of developing the open spaces to afford the opportunity of community cohesion through the use of this space as argued by both Mohan and Twigg (2007) and Bradshaw (2008). It is the breaking down of barriers and the social connectedness that can come from sharing the open spaces through shared interests that gives the cohesion.

7.2.2 London Gypsies

In London, within the boundaries of the Olympic park there were two Gypsy Sites; Clays Lane and Waterden Road. Unfortunately both sites were where major construction was required for the Games infrastructure. The twenty families on the Waterden Road site had lived there for fourteen years and under the Race Relations Act, Travellers of Irish and Romany Gypsy Heritage are

officially recognised as ethnic groups. Furthermore, the Housing Act of 2004 and Department of Communities and Local Government Circular give councils a duty to assess the needs of travellers and provide appropriate accommodation.

However, there was not one site large enough to take all twenty families, and so they have been split up into smaller units (Sadd & Jones, 2008). The relocation has been a two stage process, with a temporary move in 2008, before relocating to the new purpose built housing in 2009. Each new pitch consists of a three bedroom bungalow and outside space for a caravan and cars. The plots have all been landscaped and relocating just eight families is reported to have cost the LDA £2 million (Levy, 2009; Widdup, 2009). The question of community identification still is not clear as shown in the following quote from a council liaison officer:

When you talk about community, what do you refer to? generally community of place and community of interest. At the moment through community and voluntary groups, for example travellers groups so not so much community of place more community of belonging and ownership, there are lots of different interpretations.

This respondent is trying to articulate what she believes to be the identification of community, recognising that there are many interpretations, yet even having legislative protection for their 'community of interest', or 'community of identification', has not protected the gypsies from relocation or even being kept together. Their attachment to place was not paramount as their nature was to be mobile, but recently with the agreement and assistance of the local council they have begun to seek permanency, yet even this was overridden by the Olympic Bill as discussed by a London planner:

The power of the Olympics Bill overrides all other legislation because I was talking to Gill Brown from the Gypsy liaison unit in London who went with some of the gypsies to challenge their rights at the Court of Human Rights and it was thrown out as being overridden by the Olympic Bill - powerful stuff!

However, the view of how they have been treated though is highlighted in the comments made from a local council official:

The ODA initially in their former guise of the LDA, just before the announcement of the bid that we had won and after it, they were less than helpful as they would just come along and say we are buying this land, they weren't very good at negotiation, even some of the things they said for the people who were decanted, the travellers site and The Clays Lane site, they were made promises initially and a lot of those promises were diluted.

Guy Nicholson, Cabinet Member for Regeneration and the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games for Hackney Council, whilst being interviewed by the travellers himself, suggested at the time of the announcements that:

“I can’t tell you exactly when you’ll be moving because it’s tied up with all sorts of things happening, least of all getting your new homes ready for you. But, rest assured, everybody is talking to everybody about it” (Headliners 2007).

However, the move has not seen the dispersal of the community in the same way as that of the Clays Lane Housing Co-operative. Interviews with both the councillor involved and the gypsy spokesperson, indicate that the ODA have spent much on relocating the gypsies and in trying to keep them together, yet would not for the residents of the Clays Lane Housing Co-operative. The only difference highlighted from the research is the legal onuses placed on councils when dealing with Gypsies under the Race Relations Act, and the Housing Act of 2004 and Department of Communities and Local Government Circular. This protection was not afforded to any other Gypsy communities relocated from other Games sites globally (COHRE, 2007).

Sadd and Jones (2008) suggested that the relocation of the travellers will bring no benefit to the local community, with genuine concern about the negative consequences, thus, supporting the views of Monbiot (2007) that democratic processes can be truncated, compulsory purchase orders invoked, and homes and amenities cleared in order for Olympic developments to take place. This is a powerful statement to make within the context of mega-event planning as to the possible implications of future hosts using powerful legal rulings to control their respective planning. The following sections highlight the experiences of some relocated ‘communities’.

7.2.3 Allotment plot holders

The land the allotments were on was originally bought/acquired by Major Arthur Villiers, who was an old Etonian philanthropist. He set up the Eton Manor Trust, which undertook work in the area building mainly sports facilities. He also established several allotments and the Eton Manor Trust owned the site up until the 1970s when it was then sold to the Lee Valley Parks Authority. There were originally eighty two plots with established planting of very mature trees, crops and other foliage. The new site offered has only sixty three plots, so it is significantly smaller. Originally the first planning application was for the same number of plots and when that fell through the LDA put in a new application and reduced the sizes of the new sites in order to lessen the impacts on the surrounding area. A number of allotment holders were discouraged by the move to the new site in an area people did not know and which would be awkward to get to, as evidenced in the following quote from the allotment spokesperson:

The whole issue of starting from scratch in a new allotment which under ideal conditions if you are purely just interested in growing a crop in a very functional way, starting from fresh soil might be easy but a lot of people would rather go to a place that has character and established plots around and so on.

However, in relation to Bradshaw (2008) and his explanation of communities of identity and norms, and also communities of interest, the allotments spokesperson identified what community meant to them:

I think that there is this wider community of people at the allotments who are not necessarily all allotment holders but were occasional visitors and a community built around the place and that is quite important as often when you hear about these issues on the Olympic site its presented very much as facilities for the people who are actually the official occupants like the plot holders and actually it goes much wider than that as there are many people who're not themselves plot holders who wouldn't get compensation or actual relocation, but who were attached to the place.

The respondent is clearly articulating here that communities are wider than just the official plot tenants, but should include other people who have an association with the community of official tenants, linking back to Bradshaw and the social connectedness and belonging that this association supports. He continues that in relation to the alternative site offered perhaps the community of place also applied to the allotments as well as the belonging and shared interests:

Much of the community value of the old allotments was tied to its special sense of place, which fascinated visitors and made its social events very popular...Loss of a place of stability - for many plot holders their plots were a place of security, a place of constancy.

Thus discussing an interesting perspective of the social aspect of the community as much as the usage of the land, supporting Crouch (2000), who writes extensively about the community building value of allotments and the contribution they make to society from historically providing good food for people of lower income. They are mostly owned by local authorities who encourage the aesthetic and cultural values as well as the community building allotments offer. However, he also acknowledges that they are often 'soft' targets for development with little if any legal protection as they provide good land for redevelopment which often needs little remediation. Even those who might have protection provided by the legal system can have this overturned within an Olympic Bill, as was the case in London.

The case of the allotments holders brings together the community of place and the argument of community of shared interests, as being equally important. The physical allotment is needed to provide the connectivity, but the shared community interest comes from the toiling of the land as

opposed to shared housing. The other communities discussed from London are also examples which are not necessarily just communities of place and that for the various impacted communities to be recognised and considered within the planning, it would have helped if they had been recognised as community stakeholders from the outset. This has important ramifications for future event planners, in that ‘communities’ need identification as stakeholders at the outset of the planning.

7.3 Community as ‘stakeholder’

For an Olympic bid to be successful, Cashman (2006) suggests that the host community and key interest groups (including other classifications of community) must be involved from the very beginning as the bid is prepared, and acknowledged as being stakeholders (see also, Kidd 1992). COHRE (2007) believe that some stakeholders

‘are able to control the means through which others participate in the mega-event project.... and that stakeholders have a responsibility to ensure that all those interested and effected individuals including communities, are able to engage with dialogue and the consultation process’ (p.12).

They further argue that stakeholders should ensure that the benefits accruing from the event should be dispersed down to community level, particularly in relation to housing needs, and that the neediest should benefit directly from the Games. An Olympic academic writer, focusing on London, discusses the role of the community within the consultation and how they were not treated as genuine stakeholder:

I would argue that this form of consultation is always at the margins, we have made the major decisions now here is some options for you in relation to the ultimate outcomes, do you want Plan A or Plan B, element a or element b, it is consultation, it is not genuine participation in the process as stakeholders

However, in contrast a Local Government official said:

I think our activity in stakeholder engagement is really quite good, we have got a team of people in the communications department who have been recruited from the local community so a range of different cultural backgrounds who are our community engagement team. We are establishing Olympic Ambassadors in local communities who will be the link point of that person in those communities.

This displays two contrasting views about what is actually happening with regards to stakeholder identification with the local official believing it to be good on the basis of recruiting the ‘right’ people to undertake the engagement. However, the academic focuses on the actual

types of engagement and the content. The local official is making the necessary plans for the identification and acknowledgement to take place, but it would appear that there is a discrepancy between process and outcome for a variety of reasons thus preventing the proper full identification occurring. An official makes the decisions about what consultation should be taking place in order to identify who to engage with, but in reality at grass roots level the engagement is not happening. This is for a variety of reasons, some of which the official may be unaware of such as not being able to reach or communicate effectively with all communities impacted. Therefore this is exposing an important issue for mega-event planners. Whilst there are opportunities for the setting of consultative programmes and identification of where to undertake the consultation, this would appear to be not enough. More focus needs to be given to the types of engagement and the content of the engagement. David Higgins, Chief Executive of London 2012 in a published document entitled 'Working Together-Community Commitments' suggests:

'As a responsible neighbour we want to minimise the effects as much as possible. The local community is very important to us and we will continue to meet with local residents and business to engage, listen and communicate the benefits and challenges of the construction programme as we move forward'. (London 2012, 2008b, p3)

Yet, Vigor et al (2004) believe that for the Games to deliver any sort of lasting positive legacy, then the local people must feel a part of the process, whether at the initial construction phases or the post-Games planning, through actively shaping and contributing to the process. Yet, from the following quotes from London residents, this appears to not always be happening in their experience:

Almost everything I am going to say as I represent the residents association and talk about the feelings' of the majority of us and a few of us did quite a lot of really positive PR work on behalf of the ODA, convincing sceptical residents of Leabank Square that we didn't have any choice, the Olympics were coming, so let us turn it onto a positive thing and see it as a force for good regeneration in our area,..... yet when practical help was needed and we wanted questions answered, we felt treated completely differently and now we do not feel stakeholders at all.

and

In case of Newham residents they read something in the newspaper that the Olympics were going to be on their site and they had to go and find out about it themselves.

Both show a lack of opportunity to engage as active stakeholders which, within mega-event planning, would seem to be a crucial component and therefore they lose the power to engage. In

considering Freeman et al's (2004) definition that it is the 'purpose' of the firm (organisation) that brings all stakeholders together, here the planning and organisation of the Olympic Games in London in 2012 becomes the 'purpose', yet for the allotment holders:

I don't think the Olympic developers would consider us to be stakeholders, definitely not, though having said that they did have this legacy launch thing and they did invite the chairman of the allotment society, Mark, to attend that so it is interesting that they do as far as the legacy is concerned include the allotments as stakeholders, but that is presumably as they had pencilled in this new allotment site as part of the Olympic park, so it would seem a bit ridiculous not to include or attempt to invite anybody.

The developers on behalf of the London Development Agency should, in terms of Freeman's definition, have perhaps considered the allotment holders as stakeholders throughout the whole process in addition to the other stakeholders. Freeman's definition refers to those 'impacted by' the actions of an organisation with which the allotment holders comply. In contrast, from a company tasked with arranging 'community engagement':

By having a stakeholder events and talking to them about legacy use, they have influenced the final design, but we had to do that very early on so as to incorporate that into the swimming pool that had to be incorporated into the ground works early on.....can't influence how, being careful from the beginning to decide what we can influence and change and only go public on those things we can totally influence and change and be totally honest about it

This shows that some stakeholder engagement was undertaken very early on, yet only consulting on certain items and perhaps not making sure the identification of all the communities being impacted was undertaken. Key (1999) and Lepineux (2005) argue that this 'strict' form of the theory fails to include as stakeholders, those communities local to the centre of operations of the organisation in question. The theoretical importance stems from the identification of who are stakeholders and therefore who needs to be considered within the planning depending on the definition of stakeholder adopted within that planning. Yet, the ODA do quote that all consultation must be inclusive and will proactively reach out to a diverse range of people, who may be seldom heard, without again identifying exactly who. However, they advise that consultation should only be undertaken where there is the possibility of influencing decisions and not where decisions have already been made (ODA, 2008a; 2008b), supported by the above quote as being the only workable solution at present. This has implications for future event planners whereby some decisions need to be undertaken in what the organisers' term productive timetables, thus preventing consultation and engagement. Hence conflict exists over those decisions which are truly necessary within these stringent timescales and those that are placed

within these terms to avoid consultation. Interestingly, a regeneration consultant tasked with engaging the local residents states:

The concept of stakeholder is very interesting as what does it mean and it is always organisations, if for example, community stakeholder is going to be a residents association, the people who are going to get invited to things are chairs, secretaries, of residents associations. I have nothing against that, that is fine, but residents associations don't exist in the way they used to, so those elements of the community don't exist, so who else is it? The other invitations are going to go to local community centres that may mean there is a charity or something that runs a community centre, which may have a council grant, so will probably have a paid worker may not live there and the same thing will apply to the person from a local church. Stakeholder is another word for interest groups. Therefore you end up with as in the past in a community hall full of local residents; it will be a select gathering of stakeholders.

This regeneration consultant is tasked with the consultative process and, in trying to recognise the stakeholders, acknowledges that it always becomes the same people who engage and they may not even be residents but people who represent the residents. The regeneration consultant's experience shows, in his dealings so far, that it is not the residents nor the communities most affected that are involved in the consultation and therefore they are unable to maximise the benefits from the event. This view agrees finds support from researchers such as Hughes (1993) and Hiller (2000; 2006), in that events are not always beneficial at what is known as 'grass roots level' and that it is those most impacted who should be involved. Theoretically, representatives become involved to speak on others behalf but these people are not always personally affected. Therefore, for future planners, careful consideration must be given to ensure that those involved in consultation reach beyond the gatekeepers to consider the views and hear the concerns of those directly affected by the developments. It is crucial to recognise and give recognition to those community members who can influence decision making by forming a cohesive group to gain power in order to have their voices heard and speak on behalf of those communities most in need of consultation.

7.4 Friedman and Miles's Stakeholder theory model in relation to London

Communities are often more concerned about the impacts the hosting of the Games will have, than the staging (Hall, 1997). Therefore, according to Mitchell et al (1997), Freeman et al (2004) and Parsons (2008) the extent to which the local community are true stakeholders require examination. In London, in relation to the Friedman and Miles theory of stakeholders, the residents should ideally be *necessary compatible* (in terms of ideas and interests) stakeholders, as opposed to *necessary incompatible* (part of the social structure but a hindrance) stakeholders based on their ability to explicitly or implicitly have contractual dealings. This is a pertinent

consideration for the communities adjacent to the Olympic sites, as discussed in the following quote from a council liaison officer:

I have some documents from the ODA around their Codes of Consultation and I know that communities are recognised as key stakeholders in their engagement plans so yeah they are definitely recognised.

However, being recognised, according to the Friedman and Miles' (2002) model is not enough, as it is the compatibility that is crucial for the long-term positive legacy benefits to accrue. Yet lessons to be learned from Sydney, voiced by a former Borough Mayor include:

The ones who are going to be affected by it, have a very tiny voice in the whole process (if any) and part of my work was to find a way whereby their voice could be heard, not so much in the everyday planning, but to make sure the legacy left them with more benefits than not, once the Games had finished..... anything.... yet the residents in Newington obviously did as they have got a new community out of it!!

From this, it is seen that the 'stakeholders' who did benefit were the new incoming residents of the ex-athlete accommodation and not the residents from the local area as they were not recognised as stakeholders at all during the planning stages. In London, the allotment spokesperson discusses the allotment community's role as stakeholder:

I don't think for a moment they consider the actual previous occupants of the area to be in any way stakeholders, there was the whole attitude all along has been as people have been, at best, people who need to be cajoled and persuaded to get out of the way and at worst as nuisances and there has never been any attempt to involve them proactively in any way in the process.

Thus, in the view of the ODA and LDA, the allotment holders were, according to Friedman and Miles' model, 'contingent incompatible' in that they were connected to the project as they had land the organisers needed but were considered to be a nuisance. With more open consultation and communication, this situation could have been handled in a more compatible way as seen in Greenpeace's approach (Friedman and Miles, 2002) and adapted their stakeholder position depending on the actions required to compromise on the developments taking place. This is in stark contrast to the way in which the Gypsies were treated, as the allotment holders had no legal protection once the Olympics Bill was passed in 2006. What was missing was the empowerment to engage as recognised contingent stakeholders (through being effected by the developments), as they couldn't exert their power within the negotiations, because they were 'occupying' the land for 'past times and hobbies' as opposed to housing. The land they were

occupying was crucial for the park development and therefore the urgency lay with the organisers as they required the land before any other developments could begin.

7.5 Stakeholder empowerment

Lenskyj (1994, 1996) discusses how social contracts between the organisers and the local community signed at bid time, can become levers on which the community could bargain in order to ensure participatory planning and therefore the ability to engage as stakeholder. The social contracts provide a form of legitimate power to them. Altman (2000) analyses the concept of community as stakeholder and she reviews how individuals and community groups have not been considered powerful enough to be considered stakeholders until recently. Historically, stakeholder identification concerned only the geographical locale of the business. However, she further discusses that in the current business climate this definition is no longer acceptable, agreeing with Burton and Dunn (1996) that community stakeholder management must consider multiple communities. Calvano (2008), by defining stakeholder through dimensions of geography, suggests that communities of place, interest and practice emerge, as suggested by Brennan and Brown (2008) and previously discussed in section 7.2. Through this, the disadvantage of lack of power can be overcome when smaller stakeholder groups combine together to gain a stronger bargaining position (Reed, 1997) and gain influence, legitimacy and increased power by forming a more cohesive unit. For London the opportunities have been made available to form these groups as voiced by a liaison officer:

The Ambassador programme from across the borough from different communities to come and really understand a lot more about the Olympics and to get the chance to work alongside some of the team on certain projects and to understand the detail of what we are trying to do and then go out in their communities and spread the word.

Following on, the regeneration consultant has recognised that:

I understand our role is going to be within the greater scheme of things, within LFM (Legacy Master Framework), need identified within stakeholders/partners to involve an organisation that has experience of involving communities within the process, so we have almost 35 months left to the Games and if people are questioning about bringing people into the legacy framework and involving people and making sure they own the Olympics, this is quite worrying from my point of view.

I read the framework and it is quite detached from people...you get clued up as an independent agent to go back to your community or group to involve them in the process and let them know how to contribute to and create legacy, so as a group then can continue and follow through until 2020 but they didn't create any of that. So what they are doing with this legacy framework is a tokenistic approach and

they are going to ask you and then they say they have consulted all these people and they are going to force it down onto communities.

This demonstrates and supports the view of Calvano (2008) whereby the stakeholder power comes from corroborative action, yet the consultant identifies that much of the engagement is detached and imposed onto communities rather than being consultative. This is allied with Chalkley and Essex's (2003) notion of decisions being taken by the urban elite without community involvement as highlighted below by the regeneration consultant tasked with the consultation:

The problem with all top to bottom projects is that they see communities as the beneficiaries so they are to be asked what they think and they tell you and you are not necessarily taking it into hand. Then you go back and deal with professionals who know all about these projects and are clued up as opposed to communities or just not really in line with or have any sort of experience in the subject and then you make decisions which I think is totally, totally wrong.

Normally what people do is they send you an A3 sheet with a drawing of the site and they tell you what they are going to do and ask you, 'what do you think of it?' and then what they get is nothing in most cases,.....at the road shows are they all in English because if English isn't your first language you wouldn't feel comfortable to comment. But even if it is your first language the way they talk about it and write it turns people off as they don't understand it and it is just really shameful.

I am quite sad as I like reading in detail and criticise it, I studied politics and I don't understand some of the docs and I have worked exclusively in regeneration for 6 years and if I find it hard how will others cope?

This explains where he believes the consultation and the ability to act as stakeholder within the London planning is going wrong. The use of the pure form of stakeholder identification does not encompass all the other stakeholders' impacted (Key,1999; Lepineux, 2005). The communities' views are often suppressed by the professionals' viewpoint, in that the 'top down' approach predominates. In addition, the consultation is very one-sided, particularly if English is not the first language and even if it is, the complexity of the consultation makes it hard to express an opinion. Future event planners must consider these issues and use the consultation process to be open and two-way where possible and to understand the different cultural needs within the consultation.

Roaf et al (1996) illustrate some examples for enhancing stakeholder empowerment, including: independent information sources: on-going participation in decision making and on-going impact assessments. They are supported by a council regeneration officer who stated that:

I am also looking at eventually setting up a community ambassador programme, which is also community engagement and volunteering, so perhaps identify some key individuals within different communities across the so that is something I am hoping to develop soon.

This initiative has the potential to empower the residents to become stakeholders but only if the process is on-going and inclusive and her peers allow her to consult in this form. Yet in contrast, a local councillor highlights the issue of engaging stakeholders as not being adequately resourced enough so the engagement, in effect, is one-sided, therefore the stakeholders lack power through a lack of resources:

...someone comes along and talk about the 2012 programme, all those sorts of formal and informal engagements, invitations, one offs and then repeats, but also it is not through one route. So on the one hand we have deliberately tried to ensure that the council is resourced up to keep that flow of information going through all of those various routes ... actually our partnerships were nowhere near mature enough nor were they anywhere near resourced enough to meaningfully sit down and talk.

This supports the idea proposed by Lenskyj (1994, 1996), that the use of social contracts may be a useful lever in the concern for legitimacy of potential benefits. The councillor does though suggest that the consultation should continue even into the post Games legacy period through recognising the stakeholders involved at all stages and thus becoming contingent to the successful planning. Whilst the politics of the ruling government and also the politics of the organising committee may see several changes of personnel, some continuity must exist in key personnel to ensure effective management of the legacy. The mix of stakes and the political complexities of awarding contracts and sponsorships can be volatile if not managed with all the interests of the collaborating parties and stakeholders considered. Total compatibility may never be achieved as the diverging interests of the stakeholders may be too complex.

7.6 Summary

This chapter has continued to highlight the themes emerging from the key informant interviews. The themes discussed included the identification of what is community in a contemporary mega-event setting – the Olympic Games, and then led into stakeholder identification, with examples seen from London. It is important to identify the communities being impacted by the developments needed for the hosting of the London 2012 Games. What is not so clear, is the identification of who make up the very different types of community, and therefore who the organisers are referring to when they discuss community. The analysis of the interviews has acknowledged that community identification has moved beyond that of place to further suggest that for London, the use of open space will help to develop strong community cohesion.

In addition, many different types of community have been identified, each with their own needs and issues, yet have not been afforded the identification of contingent stakeholders within the planning. Furthermore, the power of being an active ‘contingent’ or a ‘compatible’ stakeholder within mega-event planning comes from recognition through a social impact audit. This may now be too late for some of the London communities, as a lack of co-ordination and community cohesion has led to the weakening of the negotiation position but the analysis is providing valuable lessons and potential frameworks for future mega-event planners. The opportunity to form alliances with other stakeholders to increase bargaining power can also be developed through the social audit. This chapter leads into the final section where all the themes identified are combined and relate back to the original objectives set for the research in order to facilitate the meeting of these objectives. Finally, the thesis will then draw the conclusions from the research, guiding the way forward for future on-going research.

8 Implementing theory into practice

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to develop the framework proposed within this thesis. The framework itself has been developed from the preliminary conceptual framework presented at the outset of the research and further expanded based on the themes developed from the analysis of the interview data.

8.2 To critically evaluate ‘best practice’ frameworks of Olympic urban regeneration where the community gains positive long-term social benefits

To date, there are few examples of ‘best practice’ frameworks in relation to Olympic urban regeneration planning. However, the East Manchester regeneration project from the Manchester Commonwealth Games of 2002 shows long-term positive urban regeneration resulting from a mega-event. No previous Games have focused on urban renewal as London has in their bid documentation. Many of the interviewees in this research have made suggestions as to how the urban renewal could be realised, particularly in light of auditing the social impacts in advance, recognising the various different communities as stakeholders, and by clearly identifying what ‘legacy’ is in relation to social impacts.

One key theme from the data is the perceived need for continuity of personnel from bid stage through to event delivery time. The continuity of personnel, where possible, is vital to achieve sustainable long term legacy and nowhere more so than in terms of knowledge transfer with expertise moving from Games to Games. The data shows how those responsible for making key decisions have changed several times, whereas with the personnel who have the knowledge and associated informational power in place earlier, perhaps some of the negative social impacts could be avoided. In addition, concern arises as to who drives the developments, as local communities’ priorities get overshadowed by the domination of the ‘movers and shakers’ in the developments, namely the ODA, LDA and LOCOG (Hiller, 1998), particularly if they come with existing knowledge on Olympic developments which then presents a paradox. Whilst the obvious knowledge base is important from the expertise level and also from the time saving involved with shorter learning curves, the lack of local connectedness could be a problem in considering the local communities within the developments. Furthermore, the question of where the balance of power lies within the planning process can have implications for the local community. Within the local councils in London, the research has shown that whilst strategic levels of management are discussing cross-collaboration amongst the host councils, practitioners at grass roots are finding

this collaboration unworkable for a variety of reasons, as they are lacking power through a lack of information and authority. The balance of power resides with those who make the decisions as opposed to those who have to carry them out.

The research has highlighted, in the case of Barcelona, the strength of the leadership within the Pla Metropolitan in recognising the community needs and how these were also highlighted within the Olympic planning process. In the case of Sydney this was not so apparent or clear due to confusion over roles and changes in Government, and less of a long term vision for the communities. This is a clear warning for the London organisers, considering relatively recent political changes in the UK, and where the interviewees have highlighted the lack of continuity in personnel and the negative impacts this can develop. Even the cross-borough partnerships, which at management level seem to be on-going, are less successful at practitioner level. As discussed above, this appears to be in relation to lack of influence and also possibly due to lack of clarity and reluctance to co-operate.

London needs to be continually planning and reviewing the post-Games legacy responsibilities as all facilities are supposed to be designed with post-Games use in mind and the formation of the Olympic Park Legacy Company in 2009 has the remit to manage the legacy. The disruption from the building and construction, whilst inconvenient, should be offset ultimately against ensuring positive outcomes for the local community. More importantly though, the legacy planning for the post-Games period and in particular the use of the Olympic facilities once the Games have finished, should include local consultation. This is where Stakeholder Theory becomes important in terms of stakeholder identification within the consultation and planning approaches used. This is important if some of the stakeholders' roles may appear incompatible with the organisers at the time of planning, as in the future they could, through the consultation processes with their views being considered, become compatible. The importance lies in identifying all those who can affect or be affected by the planning developments into the longer term. For future mega-event planners, the implications are to ensure all stakeholders once identified, however they may conflict or disrupt, have a role to play within the consultation in that they feel they have a voice and are being heard by the organisers. Furthermore, that they understand that there may have to be relocations or disruption, but through being part of the decision making process they feel they have more control and influence, possibly leading to more power to have their views heard and considered.

8.2.1 Uniqueness v similarities in forward planning from Barcelona, Sydney, London

The research undertaken for this thesis has been carried out across three different Olympic Games: Barcelona, 1992; Sydney, 2000; and London 201 with data collected within a timeframe

of 2004-2009. Whilst the forward planning for each Games has followed guidelines issued by the IOC, the interpretations of these guidelines has produced many differences in approach but also several similarities (Table 8.1). However, what works well for one city does not automatically mean it will work well in other cities. What was important about Barcelona's regeneration of the city was that the benefits accrued more to the locals than to tourists (MacKay, 2000; Munoz, 2005). The Olympic Legacy for Barcelona resulted in the creation of projects in areas that would not normally seem immediately suitable. In particular, the focus is on the planning for the Olympic village post Games and where the planning vision situates itself in relation to the communities impacted by the developments. These are all important considerations highlighted within the research. Table 8.1 highlights the different approaches across the three villages studied and shows how in the planning of the villages, post-Games usage must be part of a larger city wide planning agenda focussing on the longer term needs of the wider community in addition to the local needs. A long-term vision must take precedence over short-term Games planning.

Table 8.1 Comparison of forward planning in relation to Olympic Villages

Barcelona	Sydney	London
Village housing designed for post-Games use	Village designed with environmentally high standards but with little post-Games use in mind	Village plans are to be both environmentally sound and with post-Games use clearly in mind at time of design
Part of long term vision for city with mix of public and private money and part of major political plan too!	No post Games planning Change of Government during planning phases.	Part of long term vision for whole area and have viable post Games occupancy with mix of public/private finance – also had a change of Government during planning phase.
Separate site around city to spread impacts but part of long term planning condensed into shorter time frame	Majority of development in one site with no infrastructural developments for local community.	Majority of development in one site but part of larger Thames Gateway and Stratford City developments

8.2.2 International Olympic Committee control over legacy

The IOC has commented that the Games have reached a critical size which may put their future success at risk if further expansion is not checked. Steps must be undertaken and serious consideration given to effectively manage future growth, while at the same time preserving the attractiveness of the Games. If unchecked, the current growth of the Games could preclude many cities from bidding to host the Games (IOC, 2003). This research has demonstrated in Chapter 6 how using expertise from one Games to another, even within the bid preparation, could lead to a more uniform approach. The IOC have discussed the development of a Games 'template', which would include all the technical specifications needed to stage the event and also the promotion or transfer of knowledge between host cities. The research suggests that this should be extended to

include sharing of knowledge and best practice in relation to all legacy management together with the physical planning and a compulsory social audit to identify all communities impacted by the planning.

Any review of the Games planning would possibly allow existing communities to benefit more from the post-Games legacy if the size of the developments was reduced. This could also allow other countries and cities to bid for the hosting of the Games using existing infrastructure with small technical improvements. One recommendation is the discussion of shared venues much like that observed in the Euro Football 2008 tournament hosted by Austria and Switzerland. A solution could be to run the main Games over a three week/twenty two day cycle, thus requiring fewer stadia, allowing more ticket sales to be generated and giving more potential income for the host nation. The disruption to the local community can be negated by their involvement from the outset in the planning. Temporary facilities are to be encouraged because they can then be relocated elsewhere and the research suggests that permanent facilities should only be built if they have a proven post-Games legacy, for example the ex-Olympic Stadium in Atlanta, USA which became home to the Atlanta Braves Baseball Team. One example of stadia becoming 'white elephants' is that seen in Sydney Olympic Park, where the two main stadia compete not only against each other for major sporting and arts events, but also against a whole host of major stadia in the Sydney metropolis that were already constructed and operational before the Sydney Games were won.

8.2.3 Social legacy identification

There is the need to clearly identify what constitutes social legacy and who is impacted because any identification of the impacts on the community should afford the community stakeholder status according to Friedman and Miles (2002). This should allow the consultation to be based on these communities being contingent and if possible compatible stakeholders. The importance of stakeholder identification and the application of Friedman and Miles' model emanates from the understanding that not all stakeholders are compatible and contingent from the outset. Through collaboration and consultation, and gaining a degree of power aligned to having knowledge, their position within the negotiations becomes more compatible, even if the outcome is not exactly as they desired at the outset. In many examples of planning the outcomes are not always as desired by all stakeholders. However, there is within this model, scope for them to become part of the planning process (through compatibility) and through this involvement have a greater say, knowledge and therefore an element of power to negotiate the outcomes (contingent). The planning for social legacy developments and its outcomes must strive to benefit the existing communities in a positive manner. A process to identify and plan for realistic legacies must

involve all relevant stakeholders and include as much information as possible, especially any potential ‘non-positive’ social legacies. Many of these initiatives should be put into place before the Games, as distinct from those following the Games, to ensure ‘true’ regeneration as suggested by the proposed model of best practice.

8.2.4 Developing a best practice model for community consultation

The research has identified that in many examples the consultation is not effective nor is the identification of impacted communities clear, resulting in uncollaborative planning. The research has also highlighted from the interviews and the review of literature, possible solutions to enable the communities involved to become recognised as stakeholders; thereby becoming compatible with the organisers according to Friedman and Miles’s (2002) model. Through this compatibility they can assert their position, and influence the negotiations needed within the legacy planning. A framework to assist with this empowerment is shown in Figure 8.2.

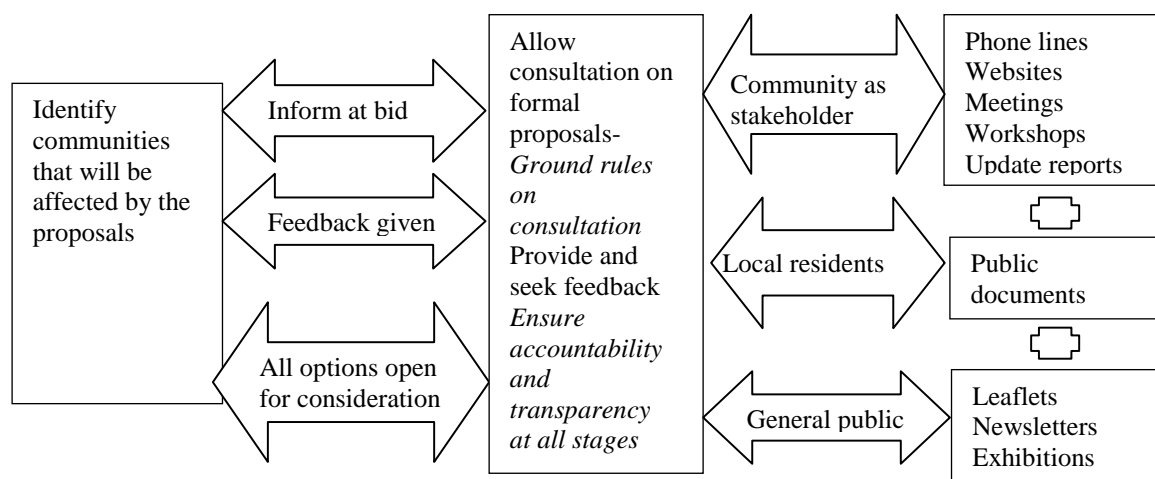


Figure 8.2 Suggested framework for negotiation. (Developed by author from the research (2009) based on UK Government PPS1 Delivering Sustainable Development)

This framework offers the opportunity to get involved in the event legacy planning and therefore possibly lead to better outcomes through reflecting the views and aspirations of the community. The power ultimately resides with the organisers, as the experts, yet the communities legitimately have the power to continue to influence decisions and should be allowed to be a part of the consultation by treating the power as relational and relative rather than something one side has and the other does not have. The public involvement allowed in a democratic society can help to improve efficiency and quality, as it avoids time and money often spent in fighting local opposition. Having local knowledge can be of use to the organisers, who may not be local

themselves, and convey an element of expert power on the local community if used pro-actively through achieving a working balance between those that have the Olympic event experience and those that have local knowledge. This is often an issue in planning where the expertise required goes beyond local capabilities, but the local knowledge and the involvement of local people can often form cohesive groups to gain the power needed within stakeholder management. These power relationships change during various stages of the developments and therefore they must be periodically reviewed.

There are, however, some negative impacts to community involvement, the main ones being cost, the additional time involved and lack of suitable expertise, especially where some decisions have to be taken in very short timescales. The level of bureaucracy and language difficulties, including not being sufficiently knowledgeable to understand the terminology, may be barriers to consultation. The organisers must consider this in the preparation of their respective documentation and the research has shown how policy makers set the guidelines for consultation. However, the practitioners tasked with the actual delivery find consultation unworkable within certain communities, thereby suggesting they need to have more input in the actual formulation of the consultation and to harness the expert power these local communities possess. Finally the identification of community and how they are reached is paramount to constructive consultation (adapted from OPDM, 2004). Table 8.3 gives a template for comprehensive consultation stages as used by a major UK company as an example which could be used with the OLMCAS framework. This framework is included because in addition to recognising the statutory consultative bodies, it has clearly considered in detail the non-statutory bodies. Furthermore in addition to local councils and other organisations, it has identified individual residents/businesses as stakeholders, from the outset. It also encourages and welcomes two-way dialogue by allowing for feedback within the consultation process, particularly from the non-statutory bodies, and supports these at all stages of the developments.

Table 8.3 Template for consultation stages taken from Thames Water

		PRELIMINARY STAGE				STAGE 1				STAGE 2				STAGE 3			
1. STATUTORY	National Government/Agencies	☎	☎	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄
	Regional Government		☎	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄
	Local Authorities	☎	☎	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎
	Landowners			📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄							📄	📄
2. NON-STATUTORY	National Bodies	☎	☎	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄
	Regional Bodies		☎	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄
	Local Councils (Parish/Town)	☎	☎	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎	☎
	Other Local Organisations			📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄
	Individual Residents/Businesses			📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄	📄

KEY					
📄	Document	📄	Newsletter	📄	Feedback forms
📄	Leaflets	📄	Exhibition	📄	Workshop
		📄		📄	Panel
				📄	Technical meetings
				☎	One to one meetings for key stakeholders

Source: Thames Water, Strategy for Community and Stakeholder Development, 2006

If the above types of consultation had taken place more widely in London, for those communities already relocated within the proper bureaucratic channels and within the necessary timeframes, then many of the negative social legacy impacts could have been avoided. There is evidence that many communities had to be relocated but with more equitable consultation and planning the whole process could have been handled more efficiently. The guidelines suggested above in Table 8.3, if followed, might avoid such negative social impacts for future event planners or at the very least save time and cost in handling necessary relocations. A list of possible approaches to community involvement can be seen in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Possible future approaches to community engagement (author adapted from Thames Water Consultation Document, 2006)

Mode of communication	How implemented	Success factors
Main documents available for Inspection	Websites, town halls and other public access buildings	When all community members have ability to openly access, irrespective of culture or educational background
Internet	Reports available, newsletters, but also sites given balanced views and opposing arguments (i.e. freedom to explore)	Openly available data to give informed opinions and allow public to read a balanced argument
Media	Local, regional and national Keep in regular contact with media	Positive stories appear regularly with articles focussing on all aspects and not just financial impacts
Leaflets	Local communities to receive information in several different languages	Only useful if reach all local communities on a regular basis – need to be door dropped (maybe with local free newspapers) and not left in public spaces
Public exhibitions and meetings	Widely advertised, open to all, translators in attendance and plans to be in layman language	Need to be well advertised and well attended by as many local residents and stakeholders as possible
Surveys	Only of use if conducted properly and openly, questioning must be unambiguous and readily translatable	Need to be representative and match the socio-demographic breakdown of local communities, and only then will they be representative
Hotline	Must be constantly manned and if not, answers to queries within 24hrs	When feedback from users is positive and avoids unnecessary paperwork and man hours to solve issues
Focus groups/panels	Need to be representative of the makeup of the local communities and therefore formed from these people and not their community leaders who may not come from the local areas	Only if the members of the panels are truly representative of the residents and the consultation results from the focus groups is balanced
One to one meetings with shareholders	Identification of stakeholders needs to be undertaken via stakeholder audit and then open and free consultation WITHOUT decisions being made pre-meeting	Open and honest with ability on the part of the stakeholders to influence the decisions made and to get decision reversed/amended if necessary
Workshops	Only useful is attended by people who need to be involved in decision making to be equitable consultation rather than policy makers and community employees	Locals must feel involved in the decision process and even negative impacts should be worked through in the workshops
Open days	Crucial where they are held to get as many people attending as possible to make the consultation meaningful	Only successful if well attended with constructive feedback allowed

In recognising that mega-event planning often has strict deadlines, which means that the planning and preparations can often bypass normal democratic principles, some negative impacts are likely to occur as planning takes precedence over welfare issues. Table 8.4 offers solutions to, and processes to mitigate, these negative impacts as far as possible with wider opportunities for all types of planning processes beyond just the Olympics and other mega-events. It gives the opportunity for adaptation in situations where there may be friction and resistance but offers a framework for recognising these conflicts and working to a resolution as seen in the above table.

8.3 To analyse the application of stakeholder theory to community involvement in Olympic legacy programmes, where the community are active stakeholders

Altman (2000) recognised the idea of community as a stakeholder, defining a stakeholder as someone who is influenced by or can influence the actions of an organisation. Research from previous Games has shown how the local communities are affected by the actions of the Games organisers and thus should automatically be considered as stakeholders. The crux comes from the adaptation of Friedman and Miles model, in that at present the nature of the community stakeholders is that they are incompatible, necessary stakeholders through a lack of effective and two-way dialogue therefore leading to a lack of knowledge and power in relation to negotiations surrounding the developments. The communication is out of necessity, with an element of ‘as they are there we have to deal with them’, as opposed to meaningful and constructive dialogue. The communities themselves often lack the knowledge or the ability to influence the planning through a lack of information being available to them, as evidenced through the comments made by the allotment spokesperson and the Hackney Community spokesperson in Chapter 6.2. However, the consultation objective is to enable them to be empowered in order to become compatible contingent stakeholders and to be included from the outset in the planning of the Games, thereby having open communication, collaboration and a voice within the development plans, especially in relation to their perceived social legacy impacts, even if they are not the initial desired outcome.

The findings suggest that the London 2012 organisers view the consultation to be a communication exercise, whereas the residents want participation and a more active role in the decision-making processes, in order to have more power over the outcomes. It is not unrealistic to try and bridge the differences in perception, but however the major decisions are made, the conundrum lies in how much involvement and knowledge to give the local community. Interviews have highlighted that there is no point in having consultation when the decision has already been made, which in many respects is a sound and realistic approach when working within time constraints. In addition, it emerged from the interviews, that whilst policy makers and

councillors are openly discussing how they consult, those tasked with the actual consulting are finding it hard to carry it through successfully and meaningfully. This leads to the frustrations expressed and a lack of control over information and therefore a lack of power for those tasked with the consultation.

The interviewees most affected by the developments in all three cities welcomed the events, but only if they had positive benefits to be gained for the existing populations who live in and around the parks. Mihalik and Simonetta (1999) carried out a trend survey of resident perceptions of the Atlanta Games and found that the residents ranked intangible benefits higher than the economic ones in terms of level of citizen support. The lesson for future Games is that it is imperative to garner, foster and maintain community support, especially if they perceive they are not getting value for money out of the infrastructural improvements in comparison to the negative impacts. The IOC has not yet made any requests within their bid books for the social agendas to be included and their record in this area is not always positive (Lenskyj, 2000). However, they are now engaging in dialogue to consider this as a pre-requisite of future host bids. Until now the responsibility has rested with the host nation and, with the enormity of the requirements currently included within the IOC directives for each bidding city, there is very little focus on regeneration policies. The IOC require the infrastructure to be built and ready on time and then after the Games, focus on the next host city. As already mentioned in discussing the previous objective, the IOC could consider including elements of urban regeneration as part of the bidding documents in future, with a specific focus on social legacy outcomes through the regeneration.

By being involved and consulted from the outset and by being identified can potentially enable all community stakeholders to work in co-operation and cohesion in order to present a united and strong approach to the organisers. The engagement of local communities, particularly on issues such as environmental and social standards, should become part of the whole bidding process as required by the IOC. As already mentioned, an international network should be created, including COHRE and other interested groups and organisations in order to see that the housing and human standards are adhered to, despite the inevitable relocations that may have to take place. To ensure that the lasting social legacies are mostly positive, no matter what they may involve, the public/private partnerships that are formed for the urban regeneration must not exclude community participation. There will always be an element of opposition, but it should be mitigated as far as possible through collaboration and consultation with all parties. Thus the local community becomes active, interested, engaged and necessary/compatible stakeholders as far as possible, ensuring mostly positive outcomes in the long term (Table 8.5). There will always be different political regimes involved within the Olympics and mega-events planning because of the global demand for these events. However the IOC could, by building the requirements into their

documentation, encourage all governments to recognise the importance of stakeholder involvement, whatever their political stances within the event planning.

Table 8.5 Stakeholder configurations adapted from Friedman and Miles (2002)

	Necessary	Contingent
Compatible	Shareholders top management partners IOC, LOCOG, ODA, Mayor's office, LDA, HM Government etc., athletes and officials	The general public companies connected through common trade associations/initiatives national and International sporting organisations, emergency services, media, spectators
Incompatible	trade unions low-level employees government and their agencies customers lenders suppliers and other creditors some NGO's workforce, suppliers of goods and services, media,	<div style="background-color: red; color: white; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">local communities</div> some NGO's aggrrieved members of the public Anti-Olympic protestors, political activists, local community, wider London community paying through their taxes for the running of the Games.

8.4 Developing the conceptual framework

A conceptual framework, according to Miles and Huberman (1994), explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied and how it can further develop from the data that has been collected. This includes the key factors, concepts and variables and the presumed relationship between them. The placement of the framework within the research could change according to the underlying paradigm. For the purposes of the research an initial framework was designed at the outset, which was amended as the research progressed, until the formation of the final framework within the findings. A conceptual framework should provide an explanation of the boundaries of the work and, within that, act as a reference point/structure for every aspect of the research. It should also act as a filtering tool for selecting the research questions and the data collection methods. Finally, it moves beyond description into the fundamentals of the research.

The use of social legacy impacts, as well as urban regeneration, was incorporated within the framework to include the intangible elements of the regeneration model rather than just the hard infrastructure. Mega-events have also been included even though this research is focusing on the Olympics; many of the themes emerging could readily apply to mega-events and other events with large scale planning.

At the outset of the research, and to understand the processes involved, the initial conceptual model (Figure 8.6) was designed to illustrate the subject areas to be included within the study and the linkages between the key variables identified at that time. It was the community, as

stakeholder within the planning of the Games and the soft social legacy impacts that arise through the urban regeneration associated with the Games, that formed the initial basis of this study.

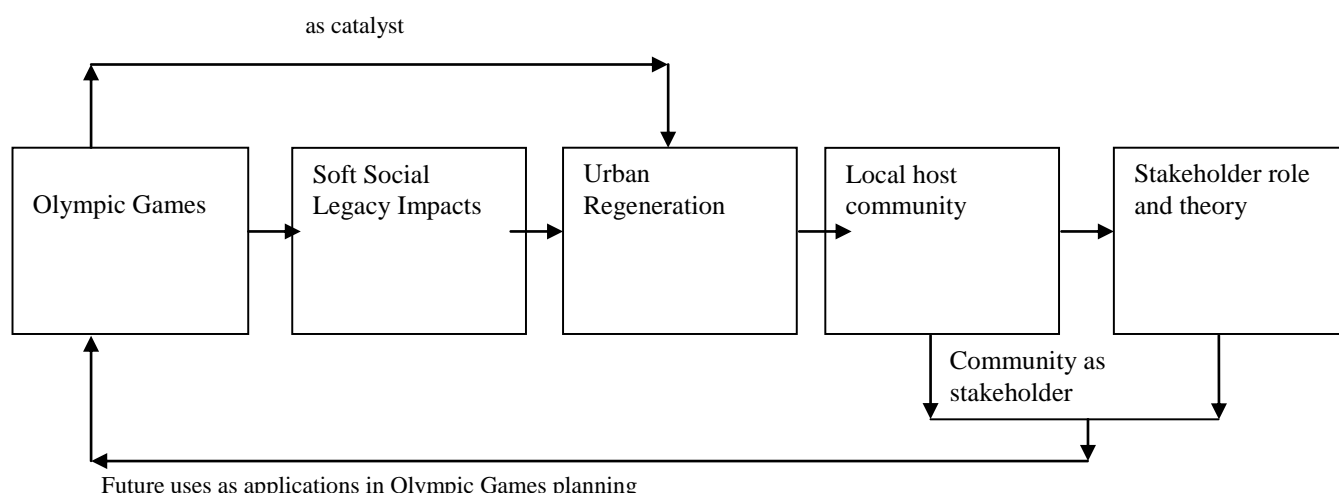


Figure 8.6 Original conceptual framework.

The concepts began with the overall context of the study being based around the Olympic Games. It was intended from the outset to investigate the ‘soft’ social impacts that relate to legacy planning as this is an area that lacks a depth of research in relation to the Olympic Games in recent years. Through both secondary and primary research it would appear that the causes of many of these impacts were the urban regeneration initiatives undertaken in tandem to the planning for the actual Olympics and shown in Chapter 2 and further discussed in Chapter 6. How these plans impacted on the local host communities and their identity, not just as community, but also as stakeholders (community as stakeholder) within the planning were also explained. One of the key issues here was the conceptualisation of the ‘community’, and identifying what makes a community. This is discussed in Chapters 3 and Chapter 7 in relation to the research findings.

It was made clear following the literature review and from the initial interviews undertaken in Sydney in 2007 that this framework would need to be amended to include the community as a stakeholder throughout, rather than just at the final two stages. It became imperative within the research that the importance of stakeholder identification was crucial from the outset to maximise the chances of positive legacy development for the local community and an identification of the power relationships involved. At any other stage of the event development would be too late for the local community in many respects as many decisions would then be irreversible or at worst already be having negative impacts on the local community. The framework was then amended as seen in Figure 8.7

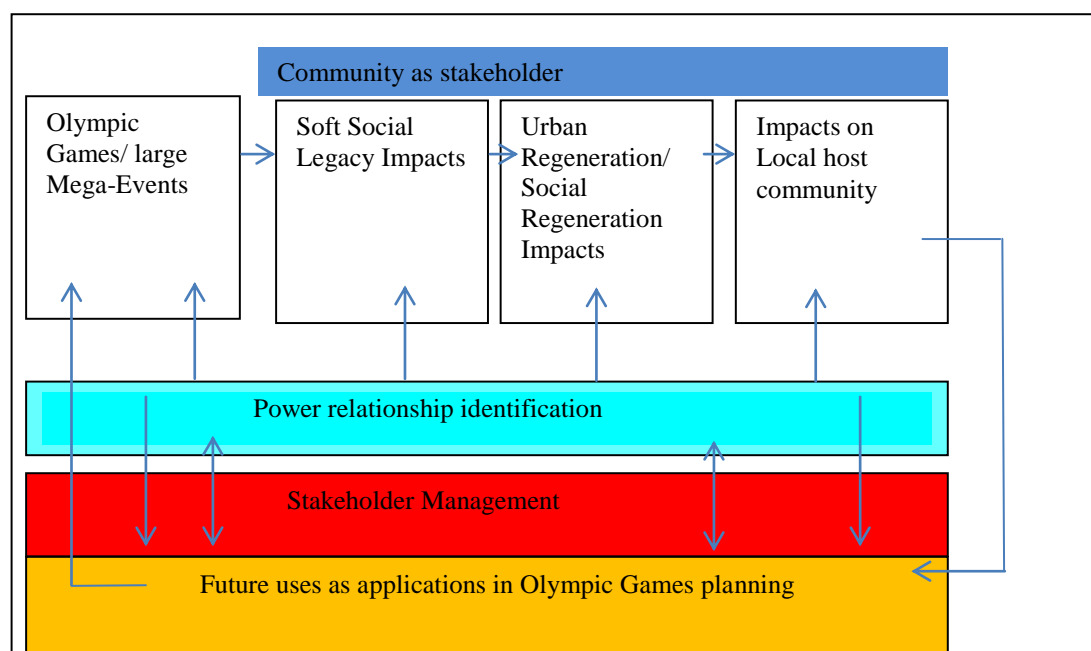


Figure 8.7: Revised conceptual framework

The revisions to this framework focus on the power relationships that are crucial to consider within the analysis of the data as discussed in chapter 6. Power became a key element throughout the framework as the different types of power and the changes in power relationships greatly impacted on the legacy developments. Many of the issues raised from the data relate to how the different types of power were or were not used throughout the time periods examined within this research. This is a crucial element of this research as the power struggles and the examples of the different types of power exercised by the various parties involved impacted greatly on many issues. These included the ability to be recognised as a stakeholder or even the opportunity to be part of the consultation processes. The stakeholder management runs throughout the whole process too as the impacts change throughout regardless of when the identification as stakeholder takes place. This links back to the power relationships, as when these change so can the powers of the various stakeholders.

The use of social regeneration in addition to urban regeneration was incorporated to include the intangible elements as this is the area which has emerged more from the data with issues of communities and relocations rather than just the hard infrastructure.

8.5 OLMCAS framework

The framework was then amended as seen in Figure 8.8. The conceptual framework evolved into a continuous loop, linking together the findings from the two key themes of Olympic Legacy

Management and Community as Stakeholder so that the overall vision brings the two distinct, but related, areas together with a linkage that comes from shared knowledge and power relationships. Within the planning for a mega-event there appear to be several stages that need to be undertaken in order to maximise the positive social legacies from the event, which have emerged from the data collected (Chapter 6). To start to manage these legacy developments the data suggests an audit of possible impacts, but in order to undertake this audit identification needs to take place of those who may be impacted (the stakeholders). Furthermore, these stakeholders may include different types of communities who further need identifying (Chapter 7). All these stages are not mutually exclusive, but can naturally follow on from each other at the beginning of the planning to provide a framework that shows the elements that need to be considered, but not necessarily in any particular order. Therefore the framework becomes a continuous loop that any potential mega-event planning team can begin their process of identifying the communities which are being impacted and therefore recognised as stakeholders, or look at best practice from other examples first, but then undertake their own audit by following the linkages in the framework. See Figure 8.8 OLMCAS framework.



Figure 8.8 OLMCAS framework developed by author

Practitioners need to be aware of power relationships and the influence gained by knowledge and negotiation. This framework has been developed from the previous linear framework into a cyclical design that allows for mega-event planners to consider the process at any stage they prefer. Thereby allowing, for instance, a planner to begin with previous best practice or, alternatively, by identifying a social legacy. At whatever point the framework is joined the whole process needs to be completed in order to gain the long-term positive social benefits for the community as stakeholder in the event development, and in conjunction with the necessary social impact audit.

8.6 Reflections on the theoretical approach

Stakeholder theory was an appropriate theory to adopt as it identifies those groups or individuals who in previous events have not been recognised as being impacted. By acknowledging the concept of power within stakeholder identification, clarification of some of the underlying conflicts impacting the planning processes can be understood. Using this framework has shown that the planning for mega-events should have a strong linkage into stakeholder theory and that stakeholder management and the recognition of the power relationships that underpin the stakeholder relationships need consideration at every stage of the planning. The consultation and collaboration that form part of the planning process will need to consider these stakeholder relationships in order to try and avoid confrontation and conflict. Whilst not every decision will be universally popular, the identification of power relationships, stakeholder relationships and early recognition of the communities impacted in whatever shape and form, are crucial elements in attaining positive long-term social impacts. The impacts may involve relocations but by being part of the consultation process, the negative impacts can be mitigated as far as possible and perhaps outweighed by the positive impacts they can influence. The research has identified key concepts that can be adopted within major event planning and even into the wider field of any consultation with communities that may involve collaborative planning. The theoretical understanding of a stakeholder, as originally developed by Friedman and Miles, has been further developed to offer a framework that supports any community regardless of physical attachment from gaining an element of power within negotiations through knowledge and influence.

It is crucial that all planners of mega-events undertake an audit, and then the community will be identified as those whose impacts are the greatest in terms of social legacy management via stakeholder management according to Friedman and Miles (2002) model of contingent, compatible stakeholder. Only then can effective community consultation occur which can then feed best practice into further mega-event planning, as shown within the framework.

8.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has explained the development of the OLMCAS framework, in addition to other examples of best practice consultation, to demonstrate possible ways of practical use of the framework for mega-event planners. It is designed to not only help identify those communities impacted by the planning of the mega-event, but also to offer them the opportunity within the consultation to be compatible stakeholders within the Friedman and Miles categorisation. Throughout the consultation and identification of both communities and stakeholders, the notion of power relationships must also be recognised as a crucial element within the planning process. The final chapter follows with the concluding comments in relation to the overall thesis.

9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The focus of the thesis has been to develop a framework of urban regeneration legacy associated with the hosting of mega-events where the local community are key stakeholders. The interviews undertaken with key informants from previous Olympics and the London 2012 Games have highlighted key themes which have been discussed in the preceding chapters. This chapter seeks to conclude the research with key recommendations being proposed as a potential framework to use for future mega-event planners and local community stakeholders. This is not only for Olympic planning, but also for further research development within the area of mega-events. The final framework has evolved into the OLMCAS structure, as seen in the preceding chapter, to be suggested as a tool for future mega-event planners in their legacy plans.

9.2 Research Aim and Objectives

It is important to revisit the aim and objectives as set out in Chapter One to evaluate the extent to which they have been met.

Aim: to develop a framework whereby the communities affected mostly by the urban developments gain long term positive social legacies.

9.2.1 Objective 1 - To critically analyse Olympic social legacy with particular reference to the long-term positive, soft benefits.

At the outset of the decision to bid for the Games, or any mega-event, the organisers of the bid should arrange as a compulsory part of the bidding process, for a social impact assessment to be undertaken thereby identifying who are the community stakeholders and the possible social impacts (Kidd 1992). This is in order to identify all the stakeholders as per Freeman's definition of being affected by the actions of the organisers, whether they be contingent stakeholders or not (Friedman and Miles, 2002). Early identification of communities impacted by the planning can ensure that even if relocations are inevitable, they can be undertaken with open and honest communication and discussion within the decision making. This open communication offers the stakeholders a level informational power that can be used to influence decisions being made of, as long as they are deemed to have social capital and be accepted and have social connectedness to gain the legitimacy needed to respond to the planning in a meaningful manner. It is important to recognise that there are three distinct phases within mega-event planning and that each phase has different power relationships at play.

Within the planning there will be process and outcome discrepancies whereby officials tasked with making decisions often have different power relationships and information to hand from

those tasked with the face to face consultation with communities and residents. Therefore those carrying out the consultation sometimes have diminished power themselves within which to conduct their negotiations as normal planning processes are truncated due to the urgency of timelines and conflicting priorities. Furthermore, management fissures, through lack of information, can also lead to lack of power within the negotiations and planning processes. Therefore middle management can get the blame for the failure of joined-up working and community engagement, but the constraints within which they have to operate are imposed on them from above. The communication is sometimes rushed, through the urgency of the planning, and therefore power over information is not gained. Normal consultation processes and procedures are abandoned in the urgency of the planning and the focus turns to what suits the needs of the organisers the best.

The urban regeneration social legacies are often very specific to the Games in question, but initial research is finding common areas of impacts and is highlighting the importance of 'stakeholder' identification. This research has highlighted several negative previous Games social legacy impacts which have not been written about widely, in particular how the term urban regeneration is used, whereas it is often gentrification that occurs.

Planned urban regeneration can instead easily become an example of urban gentrification if no protection is given to the local 'working class' population. The notion that the area changes its social class and becomes a more upmarket area, thus possibly forcing out the original resident, is becoming prevalent in mega-event planning. Gentrification could be of benefit to wider society and the economy but not necessarily so for the local communities and local economy. From the research, it is clear from both the Barcelona and Sydney examples that the communities who now occupy the Olympic village accommodation are middle class, professional people. The consequence of this is that the ancillary services are often priced towards this demographic with the result that any working class communities left in the area are then unable to afford those services. In addition, their rents often increase as a result of the newer residents moving in and some landlords recognise the financial gains to be made from improving their properties in order to rent out for higher incomes. The local government appears not to object to this as the better the property, the more rateable income they can collect in support of the benefits to the wider society and the economy. This is a contentious subject as planners often have the intention from the outset of gentrifying an area and in modern town planning it is considered a positive development to improve run down parts of towns and cities. However, more consideration needs to be given to either the relocation of the existing communities or plans incorporated to support their being able to stay.

9.2.2 Objective 2 - To explore who constitutes the local host community influenced by the 2012 London Games

This is perhaps the most difficult aspect to predict as in past Games the community before and after the Games is different. Furthermore the question of who are the community is an important one to analyse, as residents are not always the community. It is better to ask “who are the community stakeholders”, as theoretically it is easier to identify them because they are anyone who is influenced by, or who can influence, the work of the organisation (Freeman et al, 2004), in this case the ‘organisation’ being the IOC, ODA, LDA, and LOCOG as well as the various other Government agencies and local councils. Yet, as already mentioned an audit of the likely social impacts of the event will highlight all those communities who are impacted by the event. In order to secure long-term positive social legacies, the impacted communities (once identified) need to be involved in open collaborative planning. This identification must include post-place communities too. It is vital to consult to find out what the communities believe to be important to them, yet it is possible where power inequalities exist, that participation may not make any difference and that community participation will not change anything. Yet, in relation to the Friedman and Miles model of contingent stakeholders, whilst the outcomes may not always be desirable to all parties, having a voice within the planning could possibly influence the results. It is further acknowledged that there is a huge difference between receiving information and being integrally involved in the planning and that participation can result in having no influence on outcomes, but a more collegiate approach can lead to local involvement in decision making.

The community power lies in those who can influence and often these can be representatives of the various communities impacted who need to come together to form a cohesive representation. The answer to gaining legitimacy would appear to lie in this co-ordinated formation of a cohesive lobby group (Lenskyj, 2000). As the residents of the Clays Lane Co-operative in London had internal disagreements within the co-operative, this weakened their bargaining position and therefore their recognition as contingent stakeholders. The Gypsies established a stronger position, and thereby their bargaining power, by presenting a united front and perhaps recognising their powerful bargaining position. The former Clays Lane residents are not a community of place, but rather a community of association, or interest, and their community could have been recreated elsewhere if only they had been allowed to stay together as a supportive unit. This again highlights the strength of their community of association rather than place. This association, if a cohesive strong unit, should afford a strong bargaining position irrespective of other issues of class and income.

The allotment holders on the other hand, are communities of interest and place because of the historic attachment to the land that cannot be easily recreated with another piece of land, due to the years of investment within the land and soil itself and more importantly to the land's productive qualities (Crouch, 2003). Therefore moving the holders as a group to another site is not a viable solution. Space should have been made available within the architect's vision of the park to retain these unique British land users within the greening of the park. The wider message coming through the research is that for the urban social regeneration to succeed it should be entrenched within a bigger, longer-term urban strategy. Furthermore, it must consider the needs and particular requirements of any communities that have been identified as being impacted by the developments whether of place or post-place. Before the bid was won in 2005, The Thames Gateway and Stratford City projects were already progressing and the logical extension of the area covering the Olympic Park project was conceivable. After the Games are over there will still be continued developments in the park and six stadia already have their future secured, despite the present global economic downturn. Such investment is needed for the success of the long term viability and sustainability of the Park, not just in respect of infrastructure, but for the human social legacy. Continued development in and around the area will be paramount in the continuing regeneration of the area and in particular the social policy agenda for this part of London, as such protecting against gentrification. This is now the responsibility of the Olympic Park Legacy Company which was formed too late for the communities mentioned above, but is *in situ* for those communities which live around the extremities of the park. This research has not focused on these communities in any detail but they will be the communities who could benefit from the long term social legacies.

The IOC has embraced environmentalism, particularly after Lillehammer and Sydney, as well as placing more emphasis on legacy and perhaps it is now time to embrace the opportunities for regeneration in economically deprived areas as a possible prerequisite of hosting the Games. Whilst this proposition may not receive support from all countries, particularly North American cities which often host mega-events in order to justify new stadia, the opportunity to make permanent improvements in social welfare through positive social legacies should not be readily discounted. The interviewees most affected by the developments in all three cities welcome the events, but only if they have positive benefits to be gained for the existing populations who live in and around the parks

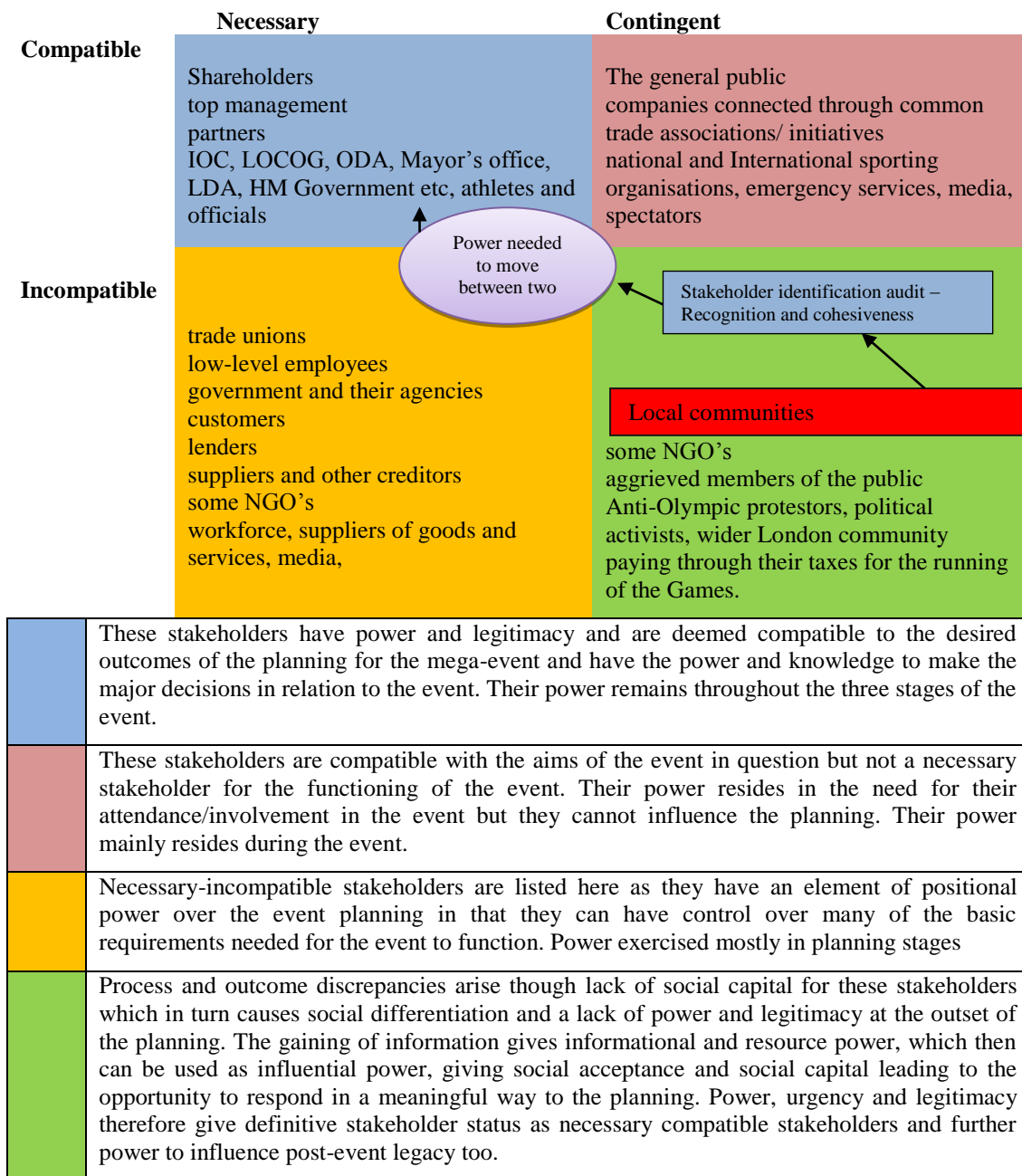
Regrettably for those communities of place, of interest and attachment that have been evicted and relocated, it is too late. The social structures have already broken down and the loss of community for many is now beyond redemption, but there are many lessons to be learned from what has happened for future bid cities. There is no doubt that the Olympics mobilises people,

interest and resources (Vigor et al, 2004) and therefore allows the suspension of business as usual in favour of other initiatives. Included in these initiatives, must be the opportunities for existing local communities to benefit from additional investment in their social infrastructure through being active stakeholders within the planning phase. Examination of past Games and what is already happening in London, points the way to yet another example of gentrification of the area, that is to say moving in upwardly mobile, young professionals, in place of the socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. From this research it appears the use of open space is of great importance, particularly in a densely populated area that is losing much green space through the Olympic developments. The demand for new social housing would appear to take second place to the call for high quality open spaces which can be used by everyone. This highlights the notion that the communities will form themselves perhaps more readily in the use of shared open space than in trying to bridge social divides within mixed housing projects.

9.2.3 Objective 3: to analyse the application of stakeholder theory to community involvement in Olympic legacy programmes where the community are active stakeholders

The OLMCAS framework also helps to develop further the Friedman and Miles' (2002) model of stakeholder identification in allowing the local community to become necessary compatible stakeholders through recognition and empowerment within their dealings with event organisers. The social differentiation highlighted within the Friedman and Miles model reflects the lack of social capital which in turn relates to a lack social acceptance and connectedness. This ultimately affects the power relationships within the stakeholder identification. What the OLMCAS framework offers is, through the identification of communities, recognition of possible impacts, identification as stakeholder, and knowledge shared through consultation, and that there is the opportunity to develop social capital, social acceptance and power to influence the developments. This is shown as an enhancement to the original model in Table 9.1. As this affects the level of power, through gaining more power within the negotiations, this will make the community more compatible within the planning. The formation of social contracts will afford the communities legitimate power as opposed to a lack of resources and thereby a lack of power. It is hard to lose urgency as this pervades throughout the whole planning due to the timescales involved.

Table 9.1 Stakeholder configurations adapted by Sadd (2011) from Friedman and Miles (2002)



The Friedman and Miles (2002) model, has been adapted by the author, as in previous Olympic Games planning cycles the local community, at the time of the bidding of the Games, are often incompatible/contingent stakeholders as the planning is happening to them and not shaped by them (Smith and Fox, 2007). Stakeholder identification could be achieved by representatives of this community being engaged and actively involved within the planning phase. Not all decisions taken will be to their benefit and there may have to be some upheaval involved, but the very fact of being actively consulted and included in decision-making can radically change

people's perceptions of the outcomes of these negotiations. To take an antagonistic stance from the outset, because of the lack of consultation and ineffective communication provides little benefit in the long run. Whilst the outcome may be for a successfully staged event, from the spectators, media, athletes and officials' viewpoint, the long term ramifications of bad decision making can have on-going consequences for years to come. These impacts may ultimately cost the host nation far more in support services than if the correct consultation and communication had occurred at the outset.

The community local to the site of the Games, whether they are residents, businesses, societies, clubs or communities, must be identified and consulted to hope to achieve any form of long-term sustainable positive social legacy outcomes. The Department of Culture, Media and Sport (2008) in a publication entitled "Before, During and After: making the most of the London 2012 Games", clearly stated on page 37 that the 'Local people, businesses and third sector organisations will have real input into the plans at every step'. The research has shown that this has not happened in many instances and, quite clearly despite promises that '*hosting the Games will help us tackle disadvantage and improve opportunities for these communities*', many have experienced the opposite to date and the long-term ramifications are as yet unknown.

Stewart (2006) explains that place meanings characterise reasons that an environment is valued and describe the uniqueness of a locale (p, 405). The meanings are formed through lived experiences and in modern planning, little acknowledgement is given to this in leisure planning in particular, perhaps suggesting a need to re-visit mixed open space and the reasons behind attachment to place. These place meanings manifest themselves in stories and recollections, not in the physical environment. It further allows communities a sense of collective self and thereby strengthening, encouraging and supporting community cohesion, particularly in relation to having a voice as a stakeholder in future planning. This in turn will link stakeholder dialogue into environment and sustainable development, allowing the community dialogue in relation to place meanings. Maybe it is too late for the communities relocated already from the Olympic Park in London, but is an important consideration for future Olympic planners. The research has clearly supported that the concept of community of place has now evolved into other types of community, including that of association or interest (Bradshaw 2008).

9.2.4 Objective 4: to critically evaluate a 'best practice' framework of Olympic urban regeneration where the community gain positive long-term social benefits.

The OLMCAS framework has been discussed in chapter 8 and its application to future mega-event planners explored throughout the chapter. The development of the OLMCAS framework is a potential future tool for large scale event organisers to use in order to maximise positive social

legacy impacts. The applicability of this framework will be tested over future mega-event planning. One of the themes that arose from the research was concerned with forward planning and the lack of it in many cases. As discussed by Bramwell (1997), Cashman (1998) and Getz (1991), event forward planning is a crucial component of any legacy development and as such the degree to which the potential is realised depends on the strategic planning involved as legacy is a core issue for the successful staging of any Games. Ritchie (2000) further points out that without the strategic vision, particularly where the community are concerned, it can be very difficult to justify the huge investments needed to stage the Games. This is where the adoption of the OLMCAS framework will be crucial.

9.3 Reflections on methodological approach

The research has used in depth interviews to collect the data, but has used a relatively new form of analysis in identifying themes via Attride-Stirlings's framework. The use of in-depth interview was to ask the respondents to recall their experiences, and add meaning to what happened in the preparation and subsequent years since their experiences of being involved in each respective Games. The use of a wide cross-section of individuals from residents through to Olympic officials has covered a wide spectrum of experiences and personalities and produced a rich stream of data. The cross-section of those interviewed through purposive sampling, whilst not reaching everyone who has been impacted by the previous Games in question, the intention has been to try and replicate those interviewed in the case studies used, from organiser to resident.

The analysis of the data has always been undertaken with the research objectives to the forefront of the interpretation of the data. It is through the comparison of what has happened within a thematic framework that has allowed the development of key areas of findings which have enabled the construction of the final research framework.

9.4 Strengths and limitations of the research

The strengths of the research include the willingness of all the respondents, apart from one, in taking part and speaking openly and freely about their experiences. The opportunity to 'snowball' the respondents, in that further recommendations arose regularly from those being interviewed, even resulted in the author being approached directly by people wishing to be included in the research. Furthermore, the method of evaluation via a new thematic framework has resulted in a very usable method of presenting the data in an organised and structured manner and some interesting themes have emerged to be considered within future event planning of whatever scale. The study has raised a number of issues pertinent to legacy planning. In the future the intention is to continue the research up to and beyond the London 2012 Games and to other mega-events.

Finally, the level of knowledge required to gain access to certain senior, high profile individuals, necessitated researching in depth the subject matter which could bias the data collected by leading the interviewee. However, this is an area that was deemed to be vital within the research to gain credibility by interviewing such important informants who could give unique insights into the Games planning. Furthermore the research is only reporting what those interviewed said and therefore is not making any claim on causality

The weaknesses include the limitations of only reviewing the experiences across three Games where in fact there are far more Olympic examples available to review as well as a vast source of other mega-events. Even in the cases used, not everyone who had been impacted was interviewed, neither did the research interview all the officials who have been involved in the planning.

9.5 To investigate the potential use and value of such models for other large scale events.

As already mentioned, one finding emerging from the research is that for the urban social regeneration to succeed it must be entrenched within a bigger, longer-term urban strategy. After the Games are over there will hopefully still be continued developments in the park, despite the present global downturn. Such investment is needed for the success of the long term viability and sustainability of the Park, not just in respect on infrastructure, but for the human social legacy. Continued development in and around the area will be paramount in the continuing regeneration of the area and in particular the social policy agenda for this part of London. These developments are public/private partnerships vital for sustainable development.

It is clear that management of the planning of any mega-event is crucial, as failure to have this manifested itself in the comment made about how the decisions already made could not be reversed under any circumstances because of the time pressures involved. In addition there was a lack of clarity over who were the 'hosts' of the Games. In the case of Sydney was it the city or the local boroughs? This problem did not manifest itself in Barcelona as the siting of the various components of the Games were spread around the city and therefore the city took ownership. Implications for future planners of mega-events include clear identification of who has the power within decision-making and how to gain power to influence the decisions being made.

The terminology used within the description of the urban remodelling is crucial for regard to how this remodelling affects the local community, who must be considered as stakeholders with Freeman's definition. It must be 'urban regeneration' for it to benefit the existing community, not necessarily the 'local community' as this can change substantially in the post-Games period. The term 'gentrification' was developed in the UK to describe changes in social structure and housing markets seen in London in the 1960's onwards (Hamnett, 2003) often resulting in middle classes

moving into former working class areas whilst regeneration implies change for the existing community.

These legacy impacts can be both positive and negative but for a sustainable legacy, all the objectives of the various stakeholders need to be addressed. An holistic approach needs to be taken to the development and management of the mega-event facilities, to leave overall a long-lasting positive legacy impact through the OLMCAS framework. Stakeholder theory provides an appropriate framework within which the local community are recognised as stakeholders within the planning process and includes the soft, social impacts/legacies that affect the local residents of the mega-event site, often as a consequence of the physical urban regeneration developments.

The research has sought to understand and clarify the issues of the community voice as stakeholder within the social legacy planning from mega-events, both in the UK and overseas. At the outset, it was apparent that there had been few comparative studies undertaken across several Games before, neither had there been much research undertaken into identifying the role of the community within the planning of mega-events, despite Kidd's suggestion of a social impact audit. Whilst there have been studies undertaken (Hughes, 1993; Olds, 1998; Fayos-Sola 1998; Chalkley and Essex, 1999 & 2000; Hiller, 2000), on the social impacts of mega-events, there have been few comparative studies involving in-depth interviewing of key stakeholders, including communities affected by the hosting of the respective mega-events, thus exploring commonalities and focusing specifically on those communities most affected by the Games. With the growth of mega-events predicted to continue and the emphasis still placed on the economic benefits from these events taking precedence over other impacts, there is a need for research into the softer social impacts. Even the IOC is recognising that there is now a moral obligation on the Olympics organisers to prevent the local communities from suffering as a result of these events having taken place in their areas. More importantly, this research adds to the work already undertaken by many writers including Cashman, Chalkley and Essex, Hall, Lenskyj, Smith and Fox, and it also adds to literature on events in general and community identification.

9.6 Emerging issues for further research

The timeframes involved within this thesis have necessitated the completion of the research before the London Games have actually taken place and the data collected was focusing on events between 2004-2009. Further developments are taking place on a daily basis, which will affect the legacy planning for the local communities and some of the issues raised within this thesis have been covered subsequently within the planning and the remit of the OPLC. It is the timing of these latter developments that needs to be considered as earlier requirements by future mega-event planners to protect the communities within the planning areas.

It would greatly complement the research if the interviews in London could be repeated after the Games in 2012, to provide longitudinal data to examine what the long-term social impacts have been. For both the Barcelona and Sydney interviewees, the questions asked were based on reflections on what happened and advice being given for London. Further research could revisit these interviewees as well to see if their predictions for London come true.

The local business people, whilst told prior to the Games that they had much to gain from the close proximity of the event, should be pragmatic in relation to the expected influx of visitors based on previous examples. The facilities developed for the community within the park should be priced for the existing community to use post the Games and not developed for private ownership via clubs and societies. For true mixed communities to exist, the planners should encourage mixed use open spaces alongside any mixed housing allowing the regeneration of open spaces for all as opposed to gentrification.

The conceptual framework has been developed into a continuous loop as the planning does not have a definite starting point. Future planners can begin the process at any point within the framework as long as the social audit is on-going. What is important is that all the stages are considered within the overall framework and the prevailing power relationships. There are several levels of power through both knowledge and influence and power through information and consultation at the grass roots. This is all linked together in this research with the two key themes of Olympic Legacy Management and Community as Stakeholder so that the overall vision brings the two distinct, but related areas together with a linkage that comes from shared knowledge (See Figure 8.8 OLMCAS framework).

9.7 Community as stakeholder within mega-event planning

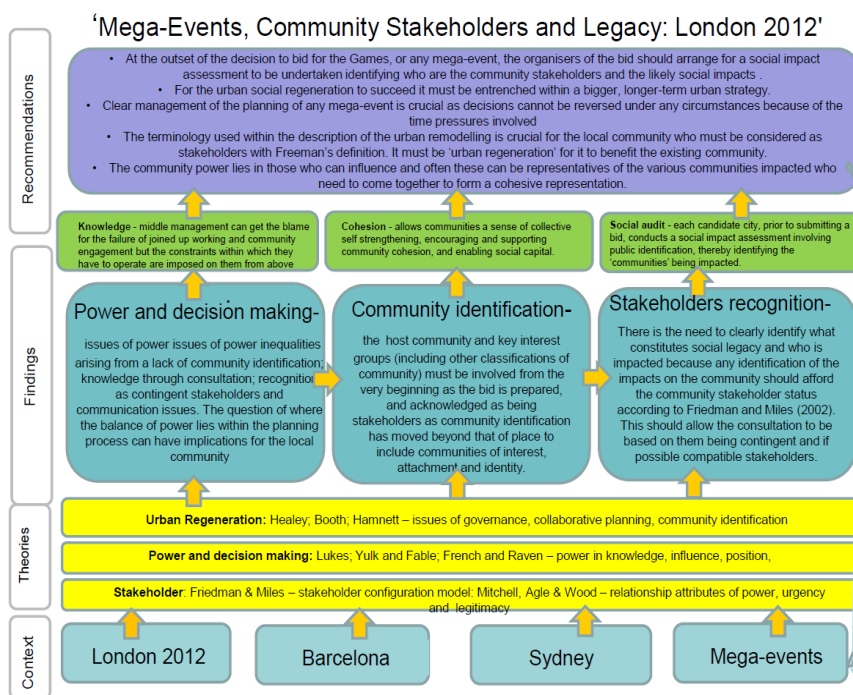


Figure 9.2 Diagrammatic representation of PhD study. (Sadd, 2012)

The main themes that have emerged are inter-related (see Figure 9.2) and can therefore be further conceptualised into a workable framework that has a viable applicability within event planning. Once the themes had been explored from the interviews undertaken and the results analysed, the research highlighted the need for a more cyclical than linear approach. This was because the literature, combined with the interviews, pointed to a more cyclical understanding of the whole process where information from previous Games is useful to future planners and that each Games should not be treated in isolation. Regeneration policies are more successful when they form part of a longer term, more widely planned and focused sustainable redevelopment plan to which the hosting of the mega-event is but one aspect yet concentrating on social issues as a priority.

The use of personnel and planners from previous Games should also be considered, as London is already doing with Australian advisors and also using some best practices from Barcelona. Whilst each Games takes place in unique surroundings, the very fact that the Games themselves are run to strict guidelines laid down by the IOC, should mean that future Olympics Planners should save time and money by buying in the expert planners rather than plan every new Games from scratch. In 1999 Haxton wrote that community involvement in the planning for individual Olympic Games was a relatively new phenomenon and that research in this area was limited, as most of the previous research focused on bids rather than leading up to the actual Games. In the

intervening 10 year period, there has been limited additional literature produced despite their having been three more Olympic Games with their respective organisers. There has been a shift towards community involvement in mega-event planning through a 'planning approach' to mega-event production incorporating participatory democracy (Getz, 1991), yet this approach is difficult to implement beyond the bidding stage in relation to the Olympic planning. London does appear in some respects, to be incorporating this approach but only where the outcomes suit the IOC. The growing community concerns over the real benefits to be achieved from the hosting of the Games has led to host communities questioning further the costs and opportunities lost where funds are being diverted for use on Olympic projects rather than on welfare. This research recognises the local community as stakeholder within the planning of the London 2012 Games and suggests ways in which the existing local communities can confirm their position as contingent stakeholders. For those communities there are lessons to be learned from the way these relocations were carried out, which will be invaluable for future planning of mega-events and in particular the Olympic Games.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Comparison of Barcelona, Sydney and London based on Ritchie's (2000) 10-point plan for legacy

1	All stakeholders must be inclusive to the development of any legacy planning.	Barcelona had three separate institutions set up to manage the Games legacy which gave rise to confusion and duplication. Barcelona became a 'second' tier city that gained valuable exposure worldwide, but more importantly within Europe. Opportunity to reinvent itself from urbanistic view.	Whilst the City of Sydney was involved at all stages, the local councils had mixed success within their negotiation with the Olympic organising committee. The host community of Auburn has a change of Mayor and political leadership a few weeks before the beginning of the Games.	Mayor of London 's office in charge of co-ordinating between various stakeholders to deliver benefits of Games to London and a 'cross-Whitehall' approach for the rest of the country. The change in Mayor and political focus has already had implications for London 2012. A review is underway into the spending for the regeneration project and legacy planning. Formation of OPLC.
2	All planning must build upon the values of the residents and stakeholders and be in tune with these values.	From October 1986 when the bid was won, to July 1992, the general rate of unemployment in Barcelona fell from 18.4% to 9.6% (50% drop almost). New suburban highways and tunnels reduced downtown traffic by 15%. (www.athens2004.com) Only 10% of the development for the Games was sport related the rest being for better social environments. Planning the city from Olympic Legacy is on-going and requires important changes; one being the organisation of public/private partnerships. This was especially poignant in Spain after years of rule under the fascist regime of General Franco where the state controlled so much. Also important for Barcelona was the consensus of identity that the Games afforded the local people in that the Olympic torch remained lit long after the Games had ended (an example of consensus over identity (Munoz, 2005).	Sydney already had major sporting venues around the city and despite criticism of potential white elephants, pursued its plans for a new community to be built in Sydney Olympic Park. The local community were not involved in any decisions, although the council were in name only, as they had no powers to influence any major decisions. The local community gained no benefits from the Olympics being hosted in their borough. The visitors were transported direct to the park, the media focus was on the city of Sydney and not its boroughs, post-Games legacy planning didn't exist and the residual athletes' properties became much sort after properties for young professionals.	Mayor of London has created a London 2012 Employment and Skills Taskforce for the local residents to compete in the job market. Plans for housing after Games to be given priority to key workers and new developers secured. Two new agencies boosting employment opportunities created by the Olympics. Action to address the shortage of affordable housing. Multi council task forces in operation across the five boroughs involved in the Games.

3	Other cultural, educational and commercial events must run in parallel with the main events.	In Barcelona, the economic and cultural revitalisation showed the potential for sporting events to bring considerable social returns. Also an opportunity to reinvent itself and reposition itself in the global arena (Munoz, 2005).	Whilst Sydney made every effort to embrace its multi-culturalism, the underlying problems of the states' attitude and treatment of the indigenous aboriginals tribes was allowed to over shadow the hosting of the Games.	London Cultural Olympiad began at Beijing 2008 Closing Ceremony when Olympic Flag handed to London 2012 team. Educational directives being rolled out to schools.
4	Make the event as 'regional' as possible.	Munoz (2005) points out that the Barcelona games were principally for the city first, not for Catalonia or Spain, unlike the GB bid which is the London Games hosted by the UK.	The vastness of continental Australia would at first site have made this impossible, however, many other states benefited financially by making available training camps and supplying goods and services to the Games. The national marketing strategy for the whole country was extremely successful in bringing international visitors to other parts of the country during their visit to the Games. Exposure to brand Australia increased as a result of hosting the Games. Whilst the Games were held in Sydney the whole country celebrated the exposure to the world.	Creation of Nations and Regions Group, unique to these Games.
5	An event can become 'cold' very soon after it is over and any legacy planning must anticipate this phenomenon.	It was the regeneration opportunities, and in particular the investing in deprived areas, that allowed the Barcelona developments to become a byword for good Olympic regeneration. Physical aspect of regeneration is of paramount importance through its potential legacies.	'The Carnival is over' (Cashman, 2005) summarized the feeling of deflation and depression that enveloped the city after the Games were over. There were no post-Games legacy plans in place, hence the financial burdens that the two main stadia have imposed on the city. Only in 2007 did the new vision for the park get released, prompting much development within the	Legacy planning began with the bid process and impressed the IOC enough to award London the bid. Legacy plans include post Games use for the Stadia (still an on-going issue). The appointment in 2008 of Tom Russell, to spear head the legacy planning has been critics by Mayor Johnson as being too late and that much of the legacy initiative has been lost

			park to transform it from just a sporting venue onto a thriving business and residential community.	as the Games were awarded in 2005 Valuable lessons to be learnt from Manchester experience (Mace et al, 2007) (Since left post) Baroness Ford now spearheading Legacy, OLPC formed.
6	Training of residents to be agreeable hosts is a mammoth undertaking.	The 1992 Barcelona Olympics were the catalyst for \$8.1 billion of investment in infrastructure and housing that significantly revitalised the city's Mediterranean seafront (French & Disher, 1997).	The Sydney Volunteer programme is one of the biggest success stories to come out of the 2000 Games with many local people proud to volunteer as ambassadors of their home city.	London 2012 site already has thousands of volunteers registered. Skills training given under Mayor's initiative. £35m to raise the skill level of workers The 2012 volunteer register closed May 2008.
7	Satellite events and conferences help enhance the event especially in economic, social and technological terms.	The creation of 'Brand Barcelona' also helped to capitalise on the Olympic connection.	Brand Australia and its whole re-branding exercise proved to be extremely successful in attracting more visitors to Australia. Sydney 2000 was the first Games to truly embrace the advances in communication through the Internet (O'Brien, 2005).	Many regions throughout the country are already planning their contribution to the Games and how they could benefit economically (Locum Consulting, 2006).
8	Can engender community cohesion and understanding.	Barcelona residents discovered the sea in 1992 (Mackay, 2000).	Little evidence of this apart from the volunteering programme as main site was out of the city centre. The local population were alienated from the Games and saw no material benefits despite the organiser's promises. More likely to have opened up old wounds with the indigenous population.	New developments in Lower Lea Valley to become a new town the size of Exeter with community facilities. More measures to tackle crime including extending the use of anti-social behaviour orders.
9	The younger elements of the population can quickly 'turn-off' after the event has finished and move on to the	However their creative archive legacy planning has resulted in 10,000 schoolchildren per year visiting the museum under the Olympic Stadium. These visits are part of an active sport and	Educational programmes were developed for all Australian school children surrounding the Olympic Ideals. The Australian nation is very sport focussed but research by Veal (2002) showed that during	Educational programmes developed to engage youth and also develop increased participation in sport and sporting achievement. At least 60 new academies and at least 15 new sixth forms or sixth form centres being created.

	next big thing.	educational programme and during the visit they get to see Games memorabilia and participate in some interactive activities.	the Games sports participation fell as everyone sat down to watch the Games happening.	
10	Legacy Synergy can greatly enhance regions awareness by affiliating another major event onto the back of the Olympics i.e. Calgary Olympics named their mascots with western style names to affiliate with the Calgary Stampede.	Prior to the 1992 Games Barcelona was ranked 16th most popular European destination and after the Games added \$16.6 billion to the Spanish economy between 1986 and 1993 and rose to third most popular.	No immediate post-Games legacy planning, although the hosting of the Rugby World Cup in 2004 and The World Masters in 2009 re-awakened the festival spirit within Sydney and the on-going marketing campaign for Brand Australia continues to bring visitors to the country.	Plans underway for other events to take place around country to coincide with Olympic and Paralympics. Torch Relay to traverse whole country. Building on events such as London Fashion Week, London Film festival to create a single season showcasing the capital's cultural wealth (Ipsos-Mori, 2006; Coalter,2004) Adapted by author (2007), from Ritchie (2000).

Appendix 2- an abbreviated history of urban planning in the UK - adapted by author from McKay and Cox, 1979; Hall, 1989; Carley, 2000; Booth, 2005; and English Partnerships

Industrial Revolution	<p>Aristocracy and merchant classes dominated town planning with their legacy being formal residential quarters built around developed squares e.g. Mayfair, Marylebone and Bloomsbury, ignoring the social deprivation in other parts of the town. Most industrial development town based, with ensuing pollution levels. Many of the wealthy relocated to live in the countryside leaving behind the poorer sections of the community for whom the town planning could not meet their basic shelter and hygiene needs, hence big outbreaks of cholera in 1832, 1848, 1866.</p> <p>The Royal Commission on the State of Large Towns (1844-5) recommended single public health authorities. 1880's onwards saw several Acts of Parliament passed giving local authorities power to plan their own communities with Housing by Laws: the minimum standard requiring two storey houses, streets standard width, outside toilet and back alley. Densities controlled but began to drop post 1861 census when better public transport system introduced, spreading populations away from the cities.</p>
Garden cities and philanthropists	<p>At end of 19th century and into the beginning of the 20th century, two different schools of development emerged, the Anglo-American and the Continental European Groups. The Anglo-American model encouraged growth away from city centres, with industrialists and philanthropists financing the construction of factory villages, e.g. Bourneville and Port Sunlight, later becoming known as Garden cities, with the encircling land becoming known as Green belts. When the town reached a certain size it stopped growing and a new one began with socially mixed communities. The Continental European design was for high rise apartment blocks with broad boulevards, public parks and very linear street patterns, e.g. Champs Elysees.</p>
Between Wars	<p>Suburban growth escalated driven by economic, political and social forces, with ownership of properties increasing. Technological developments in transport systems allowed further migration from city centres. However, people still needed to live in the centres with growth in office and shop workers.</p>
Planning post war	<p>Post war depression and economic downturn forced planning to concentrate on regions suffering serious economic problems. The Town and Country Planning Act (1947) was fundamental in establishing that planning permission was required in the UK for land development. These local authorities were given wide ranging powers including the use of compulsory purchase orders and permission to protect buildings under threat with listings.</p> <p>The Planning Act of 1968 set up a two tier planning system split into local and regional. In 1968 the white paper, 'Old Houses into New Homes' highlighted the need for special attention to be given to inner city areas and called for a shift from renewal to rehabilitation.</p>
1970's onwards	<p>Planning-programming-budgeting systems (PPBS) imported from USA which considered people and their needs above physical policies, but in 1972-6 the Government introduced Community Development Plans (e.g. London Docklands) to bring deprived areas back to being economically viable. Unfortunately, these ignored local planner's requests and suggestions and were later abandoned in 1976. In 1979 Urban Development Corporations and Enterprise Zones were established and new town development was phased out in support of inner city projects. The city challenge programme replaced the UDC's and returned control to local authorities but with a focus on involving local communities.</p>

Public/private partnerships	By the late 1980's, planning had become market led with the private sector becoming a vital component of much planning. Urban regeneration as a term started to become used with the question of whether these developments should be managed by specialists' agencies or the local authorities. Despite many changes of Government the emphasis on urban regeneration has little changed. Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) developments, relying on co-ordination between communities and enterprise, including plans for social and physical regeneration, continued until 1997.
Labour since 1997	The Labour Government has increased commitment to community involvement with Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP's), separate from elected Councils, involving Neighbourhood Renewal and Community Development Programmes. An Urban Task Force reported on the need for Urban Regeneration Companies to deliver urban renaissance in central city areas. The Urban White Paper of 2000 was the first new piece of legislative direction for urban regeneration since 1977, with a variety of organisations tasked with responding to the needs and wants of the interested parties. 20 URC's currently operating in UK (English Partnerships, 2007).
Regeneration today	Most regeneration projects are a partnership between local government, business and voluntary organisations and are charged with the responsibility of running national urban policy objectives. There are governance and other factors which directly influence the success of these partnerships, i.e. the modernisation of local government, the regional development framework and the need for effective national policy.

Appendix 3 Initial Research Ethics Checklist

Note: *All researchers* must complete this brief checklist to identify any ethical issues associated with their research. Before completing, please refer to the BU *Research Ethics Code of Practice* which can be found www.bournemouth.ac.uk/researchethics. School Research Ethics Representatives (or Supervisors in the case of students) can advise on appropriate professional judgement in this review. A list of Representatives can be found at the aforementioned webpage.

Sections 1-5 must be completed by the researcher and Section 6 by School Ethics Representative/ Supervisor prior to the commencement of any research.

1 RESEARCHER DETAILS						
Name	Deborah (Debbie) Sadd					
Email	dsadd@bournemouth.ac.uk					
Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Staff		
School	<input type="checkbox"/> BS	<input type="checkbox"/> CS	<input type="checkbox"/> DEC	<input type="checkbox"/> HSC	<input type="checkbox"/> MS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SM
Degree Framework & Programme	PhD Scholar					
2 PROJECT DETAILS						
Project Title	Mega-Events, Community Stakeholders and Legacy: London 2012					
Project Summary <i>Sufficient detail is needed; include methodology, sample, outcomes etc</i>	Qualitative study of three games stakeholders, across Barcelona, Sydney and London. Research includes visiting all three sites and neighbourhoods surrounding parks to carry out interviews on a one-to-one basis with between 20-25 individuals. The outcome will be a framework of best practice for future mega-event planners where the community are compatible stakeholders.					
Proposed Start & End Dates	October 2006- September 2010					
Project Supervisor	Dr Keith Wilkes, Dr I Jones, Dr J Dickenson					
Framework Project Co-ordinator	Mrs Karen Ward					
3 ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST – PART A						

I	Has a health & safety evaluation / risk assessment been conducted?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
II	Is approval from an external Research Ethics Committee (e.g. Local Research Ethics Committee (REC), NHS REC) required/sought?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
III	Is the research solely literature-based?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
IV	Does the research involve the use of any dangerous substances, including radioactive materials?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
V	Does the research involve the use of any potentially dangerous equipment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VI	Could conflicts of interest arise between the source of funding and the potential outcomes of the research? (see section 8 of BU Research Ethics Code of Practice).	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VII	Is it likely that the research will put any of the following at risk: Living creatures? Stakeholders? The environment? The economy?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VIII	Does the research involve experimentation on any of the following: Animals? Animal tissues? Human tissues (including blood, fluid, skin, cell lines)? Genetically modified organisms?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
IX	Will the research involve prolonged or repetitive testing, or the collection of audio, photographic or video materials?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
X	Could the research induce psychological stress or anxiety, cause harm or have negative consequences for the participants or researcher (beyond the risks encountered in normal life)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XI	Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use, criminal activity)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XII	Will financial inducements be offered (other than reasonable expenses/ compensation for time)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XIII	Will it be necessary for the participants to take part in the study without their knowledge / consent at the time?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XIV	Are there problems with the participant's right to remain anonymous?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XV	Does the research <i>specifically</i> involve participants who may be vulnerable?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No

XV I	Might the research involve participants who may lack the capacity to decide or to give informed consent to their involvement?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
4 ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST – PART B			
Please give a summary of the ethical issues and any action that will be taken to address these.			
Ethical Issue: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consent given explicitly through agreeing to be interviewed and protocol provided for each interview. • Storage of data (interview transcripts) • Confidentiality of data if requested • Ethical approach to interviewing outside UK • • 		Action: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview Protocol provided • Secure and confidential • None requested • All respondents provided with interview protocol and agreement obtained before interview 	
5 RESEARCHER STATEMENT			
<p>I believe the information I have given is correct. I have read and understood the BU Research Ethics Code of Practice, discussed relevant insurance issues, performed a health & safety evaluation/ risk assessment and discussed any issues/ concerns with a School Ethics Representative/ Supervisor. I understand that if any substantial changes are made to the research (including methodology, sample etc), then I must notify my School Research Ethics Representative/ Supervisor and may need to submit a revised Initial Research Ethics Checklist. By submitting this form electronically I am confirming the information is accurate to my best knowledge.</p>			
Signe d	D SADD	Date	July 2007
6 AFFIRMATION BY SCHOOL RESEARCH ETHICS REPRESENTATIVE/ SUPERVISOR			
Satisfied with the accuracy of the research project ethical statement, I believe that the appropriate action is:			
The research project proceeds in its present form		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
<p><i>* The School is reminded that it is their responsibility to ensure that no project proceeds without appropriate assessment of ethical issues. In extreme cases, this can require processing by the School or University's Research Ethics Committee or by relevant external bodies.</i></p>			
Reviewer Signature	R Vaughan	Date	July 2007

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