



Newham London

Olympic Legacy lessons

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Foreword

The 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games represent a fantastic opportunity for Newham and the entire east end of London. Never again in our lifetime will there be a single chance on this scale to deliver lasting improvements in the lives of local people.

The five host boroughs represent the most concentrated area of deprivation in the country. Despite our proximity to the wealthy financial heart of London, we lag well behind the rest of the capital in terms of employment, poverty, health and education. The promise of addressing this imbalance and regenerating the area - what has come to be known as convergence - was a central part of our bid and one of the decisive factors in securing the Games.

In order to deliver on this promise, we need to learn lessons from previous host cities. With just two years to go until the Games, we hosted an Olympic Symposium to share ideas and find out more about the experience of former host cities and, crucially, their communities. We were delighted to have representatives from Beijing, Vancouver, Athens and Sydney. They offered invaluable lessons and insights and I'd like to thank them all for their contribution. We also heard from speakers from the Olympic Park Legacy Company and Westfield who helped add the local context.

Key lessons from the Symposium are outlined in this report. For me, the crucial lesson is that a positive legacy is not inevitable.



The physical regeneration of the borough and the new infrastructure will not necessarily deliver social regeneration and convergence in the opportunities and circumstances of our residents compared to other Londoners. Far from being an afterthought, social legacy needs to be put right at the heart of planning for the Games. To ensure that we do achieve our goals, we need strong and focused partnerships with the community right at the heart of decision making.

We also need to harness the power of the Olympics. They are more than just an elite sporting event. The Games have the potential to inspire people to better themselves and to achieve their best.

So, where now? We believe that learning from former host cities will be crucial to understanding how the Games will affect our city and our community. We are committed to continuing our partnership working - with fellow host boroughs, with central and regional government and with the organising bodies. Crucially, we will work alongside the community, both to secure the best possible legacy for local people, and to deliver on our promise of convergence for the people of east London.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Robin Wales'. The signature is fluid and stylized, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

**Sir Robin Wales
Mayor of Newham**

Introduction

As one of the five host boroughs for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, the London Borough of Newham organised an Olympic Symposium to investigate the sort of legacy we can expect and how it can be delivered.

The aim of the Symposium was to:

- review and reflect on the national and local impacts of the Games on previous host cities
- establish the positive and negative impacts of the Games on the host communities
- form recommendations on the key things that need to happen to deliver on the promise of regeneration for London's east end
- develop an action plan for legacy planning.

The event was attended by delegates from previous host cities including Sydney, Athens and Beijing, as well as Vancouver who hosted the 2010 Winter Games, and senior stakeholders from local and national government, academics and members of the press.

This paper represents the lessons of the Symposium. It sets out the key messages from the day, followed by summaries of each of the presentations. Finally, it includes research commissioned by the London Borough of Newham and carried out by the University of East London, into the impact of the Games on the communities in previous host cities.

1. What sort of legacy do we want?



The 'bricks and mortar' legacy

Participants at the Symposium recognised that the Olympic and Paralympic Games will leave a lasting physical legacy for the east end which will change the face of the area for good. These include:

- new sporting venues such as the Olympic Stadium, the Aquatics Centre and the Velopark
- new housing, with the Olympic Village providing 2,800 new homes, 1,379 of which will be affordable homes
- a new park which we hope will be designated the first Royal Park in east London
- new and improved transport links
- new community facilities.

This new physical infrastructure will provide a huge boost to the regeneration of the area. However, although the 'bricks and mortar' investment is important, it was agreed that this alone will not improve the lives of residents. We have seen how in other areas massive investment in infrastructure has not delivered real and lasting benefits to the local community.

A prime example of this can be found right here in east London with the development of Canary Wharf. Joe Duckworth, Chief Executive of the London Borough of Newham, explained that although Canary Wharf had been a huge success in terms of attracting businesses to locate there, widespread deprivation still exists. Despite a clear commitment and improved performance on using local labour and supply chains, Canary Wharf had not achieved the regeneration it should have.

Tower Hamlets remains the second most deprived local authority in London and the third poorest nationally. Instead of trickling down to the rest of the borough, there is a 'cliff-edge' - both in terms of geography and in terms of wealth - between Canary Wharf and the surrounding community. Joe Duckworth emphasised how important it was to avoid these 'cliff edges' as a result of the Olympics and ensure that local people saw real and lasting benefits from the investment in the area.



The social legacy

More important than the ‘bricks and mortar’ legacy, it is the social legacy that counts. As Sir Robin Wales, the elected Mayor of Newham explained, the east end lags far behind the rest of London in most of the key indicators of quality of life.

The table below demonstrates the scale of the problem.

Furthermore, this is not a recent phenomenon but a problem with deep historical roots. As Sir Robin demonstrated, by looking at the current distribution of

poverty in terms of the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007, you can see how little has changed in over a century since Charles Booth’s Poverty Map of 1898-99; the maps were almost identical. Despite all the investment and effort that has gone into the problem, poverty and deprivation remain endemic in the east end of London. London’s bid for the 2012 Games made a great deal of this inequality in terms of opportunity and outcomes between the east end and the rest of the capital. The Bid Book devoted much attention to the promise of regenerating the area.

Indicator ¹	Five host borough average	London average
Working age population economically active	70.7%	75.5%
Working age population on out of work benefits	20.2%	15.2%
Gross weekly full-time pay	£558.80	£598.60
Residents without qualifications	17.7%	12.0%
Male life expectancy at birth	75.7	78.1

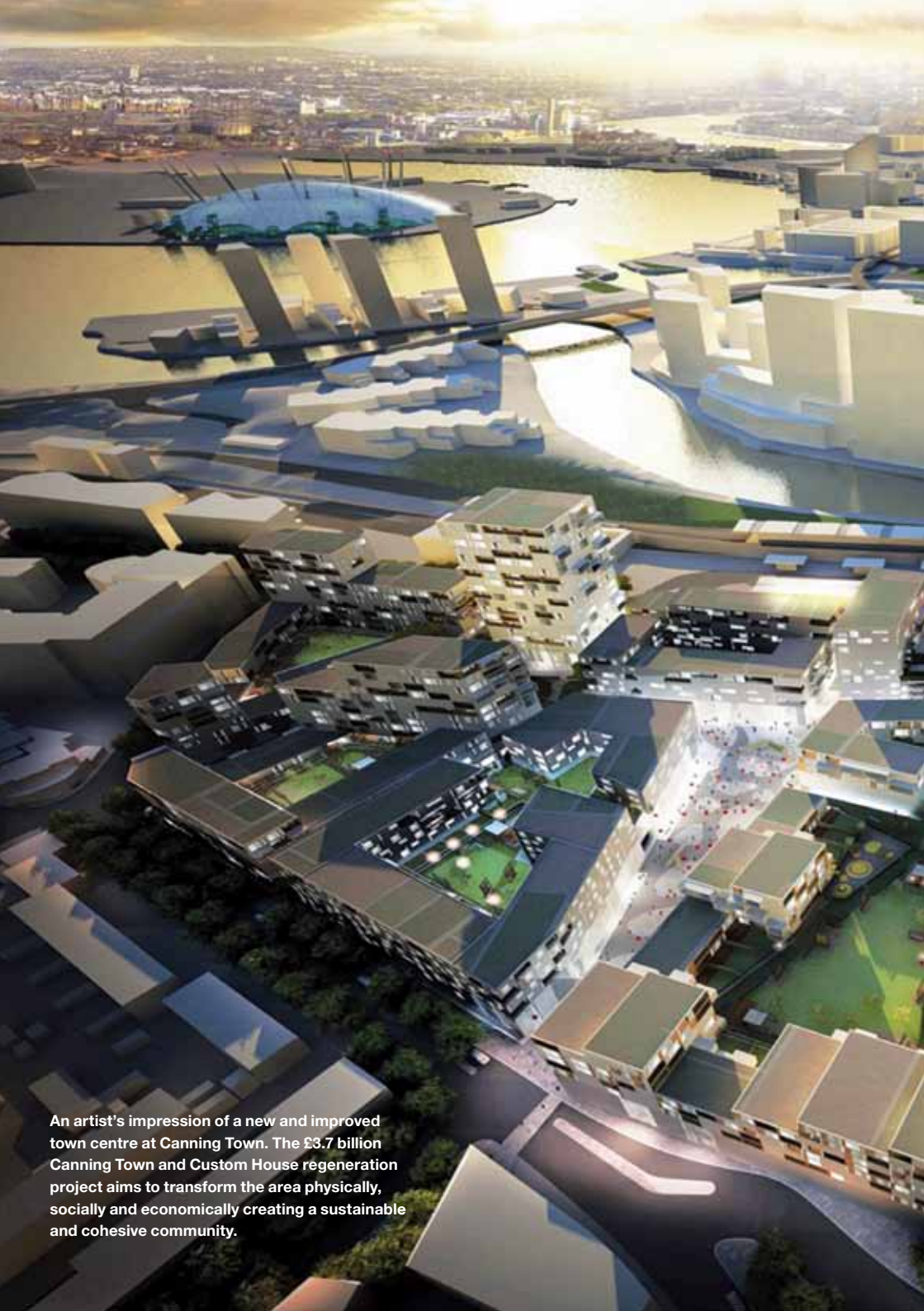
¹ All statistics taken from Nomis, ONS Official Labour Market Statistics (<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/>) apart from Life Expectancy which was taken from Office for National Statistics (<http://www.statistics.gov.uk>).



“Staging the Olympic Games in the Lea Valley will stimulate a vital economic regeneration programme in London’s poorest and most disadvantaged area. The Olympic Park will provide local people with significant improvements in health

and wellbeing, education, skills and training, job opportunities, cultural entitlements, housing, social integration and the environment.”

(London 2012 Bid Book, V1 Theme 1 Olympic Games Concept and Heritage, p. 23)



An artist's impression of a new and improved town centre at Canning Town. The £3.7 billion Canning Town and Custom House regeneration project aims to transform the area physically, socially and economically creating a sustainable and cohesive community.





Thus regeneration and improvement in the quality of life of local people was a central part of the narrative of the London 2012 Games. More than just delivering a host of new and expensive physical projects, the Games aimed to deliver real benefits for local people.

Convergence

Sir Robin Wales explained how The Five Host Borough Unit was set up to help make the promise of regenerating the east end a reality. It brings together the London Boroughs of Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest, who between us will host the vast majority of the events as well as the Olympic Park itself.

Together they have developed the ideas set out in the Bid Book into the principle of convergence:

“Within 20 years the communities who host the 2012 Games will have the same economic chances as their neighbours across London.”

(Strategic Regeneration Framework, October 2009)

As Sir Robin explained, this principle has been adopted not only by the five host boroughs themselves, but by the Mayor of London, and national government. Convergence therefore forms a central part of the aims of the 2012 Games.



Legacy planning and the Olympic Park

Securing the best use of the Olympic Park itself was a key concern of the Symposium. Baroness Ford, Chair of the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC), explained how they are aiming to make the best use out of the Olympic Park after the Games have finished.

Key to this approach was ensuring that the Park is open to and used by the local community. In order to get the best out of this land, it is vital to integrate the Park fully into the area, she said. Far from being a discrete and separate area, Baroness Ford described how they wanted it to feel instinctively part of east London, avoiding the 'cliff edges' that we have seen emerge from previous large-scale developments such as Canary Wharf.

Critical to this is taking an 'outside-in' approach. Rather than looking solely at the Olympic Park itself, she explained how the OPLC is considering it as part of the wider region. This means looking at how people will move in and out of the area, and how they will travel through it. This also involves working with all the boroughs in the region, not just the ones who are connected by the Olympic Park.

Delegates also recognised the importance of providing adequate facilities for the community in the Park once the Games had moved on. The local population will swell both as a result of the development of the Olympic Village and other local projects including the regeneration of Canning Town and Custom House. The host boroughs will require new services and infrastructure to meet the increased need and the Park must help provide these. This includes projects such as the Chobham Academy - which will provide top quality education for 1,800 students aged three to 19.

In addition to the facilities available, the mix of housing provided in the Park in legacy was highlighted as an issue of central importance. Sir Robin insisted that there must also be a balance of housing available in the new developments. In order to have sustainable, mixed communities there needs to be a mix of class, ethnicity and tenure in each neighbourhood. This means providing enough affordable housing, as well as units that will appeal to different groups such as families and older residents.



To ensure that the local population can benefit from the Olympic Park itself in legacy, it is important that they are given ownership of the decisions that are made. They must be included in the planning to ensure the shape and contents of the Park reflect local needs. This includes considering the needs of local people during the reinstatement of the Park - the massive process of reshaping after the Games. As Baroness Ford explained, this will need to be done gradually and carefully to ensure local people can still use the Olympic Park and its facilities.

The Games and property prices

Previous host cities demonstrated how holding the Games could have a dramatic impact on property prices locally. The vast investment in the local area and the new infrastructure, along with the boost to the area's image could send house prices soaring. Dr Michalis Christakis, General Secretary of the Municipality of Amaroussion (the area of Athens that hosted the Games), explained how the Olympic Village there had become an exclusive community aimed at high earners.

We have already seen the effects on house prices in the east end of London following the successful bid for the 2012 Games.

A recent survey carried out by Nationwide Building Society found that in the last decade the increase in house prices in Newham of 190 per cent was the largest of any borough in Britain.²

Although this has been good news for homeowners, it also represents a challenge as it risks pricing local new buyers out of the market. As Sir Robin explained, in improving the area we do not want to drive out deprived communities, but keep people in the community and help them raise their aspirations and become more prosperous. The goal must be regeneration, not just gentrification. This makes the provision of new affordable housing all the more important and requires innovative solutions locally to help residents get a foot on the property ladder.

² <http://www.stratford-today.co.uk/tn/news.cfm?id=1023>

2. Embedding legacy planning



No guarantees of a positive legacy

A strong theme of the Symposium was that, although there will be a legacy of some sort from the Games, there is no guarantee that this legacy will be beneficial to the local community.

This was demonstrated by Councillor Le Lam, former Mayor of Auburn District Council, which was the site of the 2000 Sydney Games. She explained how, immediately following the Games, the facilities of the Olympic Park were not put to good use. There were poor transport links to the Park and a lack of inclusive events for the local community. Furthermore, there was also a conflict in terms of the use of the Park, with events such as rock concerts and car racing causing noise and disruption. The area came to be seen as too expensive and exclusive, cut off from the community.

It is vital that we avoid this in London - we must ensure that the local community benefits both from the use of the Park itself and in terms of the wider effects of the Games. Sir Robin Wales and Joe Duckworth made it clear that the key to securing this positive legacy is conscious and purposeful planning; the commitment of all those responsible for delivering the Games is essential.

Planning for the future, not the present

In order to ensure that the massive investment in the Games pays off in terms of delivering lasting benefits for local people, plans must be focused on the future, not the present. This was a clear message from both the Symposium and a key finding of the International Review of the legacy impacts of previous Games undertaken by the University of East London.



Vancouver represents a prime example of a Games which has put legacy right at the heart of its planning throughout. In 2000 it created 2010 Legacies Now to build support for Vancouver's bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. Since winning the bid, the organisation has been dedicated to developing community legacies in the run up to and beyond the Games.

A not for profit organisation, 2010 Legacies Now aims to develop not just sports and the arts, but also to use the Olympics to inspire people and drive literacy, healthy living and volunteering. It has played a key role in legacy planning and developed strong links with the organisers of the Games, as well as with sports and community groups and the private sector across British Columbia.

Involving the community

Vancouver highlighted the importance of engaging the community in planning and delivering the Games. Bruce Dewar, Chief Executive of 2010 Legacies Now, explained how 'community champions' would be needed to drive the community agenda through. This was vital to help local people understand the benefits of the Games,

encouraging them to get involved and securing the benefits for the community. He also argued there had to be a clear focus on what is to be delivered and this vision had to be grounded with what the community want.

It was acknowledged that only through effective community engagement will the Games achieve their full potential. As Sir Robin showed, the London Borough of Newham is working to involve the community in the planning of the Games and it has built up the largest volunteering programme of any local authority in the country to support the delivery of the Olympics.

Ongoing development

Of course the drive to deliver a lasting legacy does not stop when the Games are over and the show moves on. Delegates agreed on the need to continue to drive development and regeneration for many years after the Games.

Athens has embraced this principle and demonstrated how the Games can be just the start of the story. For Athens the Olympics were about much more than just sporting competitions, they were part of a

One of the world's largest moving sculptures, The Shoal, will form part of a £12.9 million environmental improvements scheme across Stratford town centre. The sculpture will have 180 polished titanium leaves mounted on metal posts along Great Eastern Road. The leaves will move gently in the breeze.





much wider process of regeneration which continues to this day. Dr Michalis Christakis explained: 'Our vision is to create enduring legacies by turning the 17 days of Olympic Games into 17 years of development for the city and its residents.'

We are ambitious and believe that this can be done in London. We hope to be seeing the benefits for much longer than 17 years.

Joe Duckworth showed how this is particularly relevant for Newham as the Games are only a small part of the wider regeneration of the east end, which includes the new Westfield Shopping Centre at Stratford City as well as the

redevelopment of Canning Town and Custom House and the regeneration of the Royal Docks. He also pointed out that there was a great deal more activity in the wider region including Crossrail, the extension of Canary Wharf and the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley. It is vital to integrate the Games vision into this wider programme so that it fits with local and regional economic planning.

Delegates recognised that, although the Olympics are of vital importance and can act as a catalyst for regeneration, it is not the only show in town and the process of developing the area must continue after the Games.

3. East London makes business sense



A key message from the Symposium was that east London is in a fantastic position to benefit from the Games, which represent a once in a lifetime opportunity to change the area for good. East London is not just the passive recipient of regeneration, but an area with a great deal to offer the world. The Games were identified as an opportunity to showcase this.

We are well placed to become a local leader of economic development. Joe Duckworth demonstrated how London's focus is moving east. The traditional centre of the City has been in Westminster - the heart of government and the centre for business - but things are changing. The growth of Canary Wharf will mean the area increasingly challenges the City as the financial centre of Britain and Europe. The immense development opportunities in the east end will bring hundreds of thousands of jobs and homes to the area. If Newham and the other host boroughs can seize this opportunity, we can become a regional hub and a local leader of economic development.

Central to this is getting the right infrastructure. John Burton, Director of Westfield Shopping Towns Limited, who are building the new Stratford City Shopping Centre, explained how crucial this would be. He demonstrated how the new transport developments, including a high speed rail link to St Pancras and Kent, a Eurostar International Terminal at Stratford and extra capacity on the Docklands Light Railway, were crucial in making the business case for Stratford City, which will be the biggest urban retail development in Europe. This new infrastructure will help attract further investment, providing more jobs and opportunities in the area for Newham residents and others wanting to work in the borough, and making it a new metropolitan centre for east London.

As well as Newham and the east end having a great deal to offer, the Games themselves offer a fantastic opportunity for businesses to add value to their brand. Through association with the Games, businesses can expose themselves to a global audience and reach billions of potential customers across the world.

An aerial view of London City Airport, ExCeL London, the Thames Flood Barrier and the south west of Newham.







This will represent a huge draw for businesses and encourage many of them to relocate to the area. In turn, as more businesses come to the east end it will become increasingly attractive, allowing for further sustainable growth in the future. Dr Michalis Christakis showed how the areas hosting the Games can seize on these opportunities to become a local leader of economic development. He explained Athens' growth: 'Hosting the Olympic Games acted as a catalyst for the city's redevelopment, enabling changes which might normally have taken several decades to be completed over a seven-year period.'

We have a similar opportunity in London. The 2012 Games offer a chance to accelerate the process already under way.

However, as Sir Robin cautioned, it is important not to forget the impact of these new developments on existing centres in the region. The new shopping centre at Stratford City will draw in a great deal of business and customers but we need to ensure that this is not to the cost of other areas.

We do not want existing centres such as Green Street to be driven out by competition from new areas, Sir Robin said. John Burton echoed this sentiment and insisted that we must avoid a divide between the existing centre of Stratford and the Westfield development where 'the new laughs at the old and the old laughs at the new'. These centres must be supported so that they can maintain their own distinct identity and share in the benefits of the regeneration.

4. Strong, focused partnerships are key to delivery

Delegates agreed that despite the original focus of the bid on regeneration and delivering a lasting social legacy for the people of the east end, this goal was almost lost in the initial planning of the 2012 Games.

The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA), headed by John Armit, was created to build the Park and the venues. They would provide the ‘theatre’. The London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (LOCOG), led by Sebastian Coe, was set up to host the Games. They would provide ‘the show’.

However, this left a crucial part of the jigsaw missing. As Newham’s Executive Member for the Games, Councillor Paul Brickell highlighted, neither of these organisations were explicitly focused on delivering legacy. The ODA’s job would be done when the Park is complete and they are well on course to do this. LOCOG’s job will have been fulfilled when the Paralympics Games finishes on 9 September 2012. The ‘third leg’ of the stool was missing.



The creation of the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC) went a long way towards redressing this balance. Their remit is explicitly to focus on the future, not the Games themselves, and to ensure that the Park is put to the best use for all Londoners in legacy.

Working together to deliver legacy

Now we have an agency specifically dedicated to delivering legacy, we need to put our plans into action. The consensus of the Symposium was that partnership will be the key. There are a plethora of bodies and individuals who are in some way responsible for delivering the Olympics and securing their legacy; the ODA, LOCOG, the OPLC, the GLA and the Mayor of London, the five host boroughs, the British Olympic Association and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. In addition to this there are the private sponsors and the third sector partners.



For the Games to be delivered effectively, and to secure a lasting legacy, there needs to be close cooperation between these organisations and, in the words of Baroness Ford, no 'red lines' between them. Even if the public policy is coming together through the recognition of convergence as a key aim of the Games, there is much more we need to do. Strong partnership with a clear vision to deliver will be needed to make the promise of convergence a reality. Finally, delegates

recognised that it is essential that all members of the partnership delivering the Games, including commercial partners, recognise the central role of the community. The community are not just the beneficiary of the Games; they must also be involved in the Games as partners and included in consultation and decision-making. In order to deliver lasting benefits to local people there needs to be a strong community partnership with a clear community vision that everyone is signed up to.

5. Inspiration and pursuit of personal best are key values



A belief shared by all delegates at the Symposium was that the Olympic and Paralympic Games are about much more than a sporting competition. Although the focus of the Games is elite sport, they also represent a unique opportunity to drive public engagement, involving everyone in the community, irrespective of their interests or abilities and over a breadth of activities.

Instead of being a spectator event for people to engage with passively, delegates agreed that the Olympics have the potential to have a significant impact on people's lives. The Olympic values of commitment, self-respect, fair play and excellence can inspire people to achieve their best and to improve their situation.

The potential for the Games to engage people and deliver mass-participation was highlighted by the Symposium visitor from Beijing. Ms Wang Zhilling, Governor Assistant of Chaoyang District People's Government where the Games were held, explained how over one million people had volunteered to help at the Beijing Games. Bruce Dewar explained how they have managed to harness the energy of the

Games to get people involved in a variety of diverse projects from sports and community activities, to literacy projects and volunteering.

Harnessing the power of the Olympics

It was also recognised that the type of intransigent, long-standing problems that we face in the east end need to be tackled at their root cause. Sir Robin pointed out that despite a great deal of money being spent in the area over many decades, problems still persist.

The Five Host Borough Unit identifies worklessness as the root cause of poverty, which is why tackling unemployment and long-term worklessness form a central part of the Strategic Regeneration Framework, which represents our blueprint to achieve convergence. Sir Robin explained how Newham was hoping to tackle these problems for good through innovative employment support programmes such as Workplace and the Mayor's Employment Project.



The Olympics were identified by the Symposium as a golden opportunity to drive employment in the east end of London. We can use the Olympics to inspire people to develop new skills and to improve their qualifications, to undertake voluntary work and to look for paid employment. As Councillor Paul Brickell explained, we know the Olympics can help bring jobs to the area but we must also ensure that local people have the skills and the motivation to benefit from these opportunities.

However, although the Games represent a fantastic opportunity, Bruce Dewar emphasised the importance of managing community expectations. We know that the Games can help us improve the area and increase opportunities for local people but they are not a magic wand and they will not solve all our problems instantaneously. The problems the area faces are long-standing and well entrenched. It will take many years of sustained effort to address them and to deliver on our goal of convergence.

Telling the Story

Finally, delegates recognised that the message has not yet got through to all Londoners. Although there is popular

support for the Games, the public has not yet fully bought into the vision of the Games as an opportunity to transform the east end and improve the lives of our residents.

It was acknowledged that there is some public disquiet about the cost of the Games. This is particularly the case since the onset of the recession and the damage it has done to the country's finances. Many people are concerned about spending so much money on what, they believe, represents merely a brief show.

As Sir Robin explained, we all need to make it clear that the Games are about more than tickets and a six-week spectacle. This requires communicating more clearly the opportunities and potential benefits of the Games, particularly the idea that the Games are about regenerating an entire region, unleashing its economic potential and achieving convergence. We must also make clear the Olympics have the potential to deliver social regeneration, offering real and lasting improvements in people's life chances.

Achieving this buy-in means redoubling our efforts to sell the vision and the success stories of the Games to partners, investors and, most importantly, local people.



Front row, left to right:

**Councillor Conor McAuley,
London Borough of Newham**

Councillor Le Lam, Auburn City Council, Sydney

**Baroness Ford, Chair, Olympic Park
Legacy Company**

**Wang Zhilling, Governor Assistant of Chaoyang
District People's Government**

**Dr. Michalis Christakis, Secretary General of the
Municipality of Amaroussion, Athens, Greece**

Back row, left to right:

**Bruce Dewar CEO, 2010 Legacies Now
Joe Duckworth, Chief Executive,
London Borough of Newham**

**John Burton, Director of Westfield Stratford City
Sir Robin Wales, Elected Mayor,
London Borough of Newham**

**Councillor Paul Brickell,
London Borough of Newham**

**Martyn Lewis, Master of Ceremonies
for the Symposium**



£9 million will be spent improving paving and road surfaces in Stratford with new lighting, signs and trees as part of the High Street 2012 programme funded by London Thames Gateway Development Corporation.



The view from previous host cities, the Olympic Park Legacy Company and business

Planning for Legacy - The Olympic Park Legacy Company

Baroness Ford, Chair, Olympic Park Legacy Company

Introduction

The Olympic Park Legacy Company has been created to help plan for the use of the Park after the Games and ensure that the area is put to the best use possible for local people.

I came to my post in April 2009 and in August we appointed Andrew Altman as Chief Executive. We welcome this Symposium as a fantastic opportunity to learn from previous Host Cities in terms of the good, the bad and the ugly in their experiences.

Some have questioned why we have been created so long before the Games whereas others have asked why we weren't around 3 years ago. However, I think we're on exactly the right planning horizon for the Games.

Jointly owned by the Mayor of London and the Government, we've been working closely with the Five Host Boroughs and have been humbled and warmed by their response. We've dubbed ourselves the 6th Host Borough as we want to feel part of the tapestry and work seamlessly with partners.

1. Planning

We are currently at the planning phase where we are working with key partners and developing our vision of what we want out of the Park after the Games.

Although our remit is focused specifically on the park itself, we are taking a wider view. We want to ensure that, in legacy, the Park is instinctively part of East London rather than a separate and isolated area, avoiding the 'cliff edges' we see with Canary Wharf. We want the Park to knit well with the surrounding area and act as a catalyst for the wider regeneration of the East End.

What happens around the Park and in the wider area is as important, if not more important than what happens within the boundaries. In recognition of this we will make sure that there are 'no red lines' in the way of our work. Instead of working from the Park out, we are working from the boroughs in.

2. Re-Instatement

Immediately after the Games we have got a massive job on our hands to re-size and scale the Park to fit with the needs of legacy. This is a very important process, familiar to previous Host Cities that will take roughly 15-18 months and involve a great deal more building and activity.

During this time it's vital that we don't lock people out of the Park and prevent them from using it. We want to avoid a hiatus in activity as happened with the Millennium Dome. This was because there was insufficient planning in the years leading up to the opening for what would happen after the Millennium. We are determined to avoid this mistake and we want the Park to be open for use consistently from the day after the closing ceremony of the Paralympic Games.

We will call the shots during this period to decide what happens when and ensure that as much of the park as possible is accessible and used over this period. The worst thing that can happen is for that blue fence to go up again- we want to give people as much access as we possibly can throughout this period.

3. The Long-Term

For the next five years from 2013-14 the Park will be fully open with commercial and residential developments progressing apace. During this phase we will need to manage the continuing development and change within the Park without causing unnecessary disruption to the area and the local community.

A crucial concern will be to attract businesses to use the space that will be available in legacy. We will build on the work already done by a number of organisations such as the East London Business Alliance to identify what business activity could take place to complement the residential areas and sporting facilities in the Park.

Getting good tenants into the area will be essential to securing the Park's economic viability and sustainability. We will be working hard over the next few years to get people to sign on the dotted line. It is fine to generate good will but it is also pretty important to get people to sign on the dotted line.

We're confident this will be possible.

The combination of the investment for the Games, the beautifully landscaped Park, great residential offer and the multi-billion pound private investment from Westfield is to die for and we've had people interested already at this early stage.

We're very anxious that we work closely with the Five Host Boroughs and that everything we do in the Park is viewed through the prism of convergence. The work we will do will have immense potential to add value to the local community. We will work tirelessly with anyone who wants to work with us to bring employment

opportunities and training opportunities to the Park. Everything we do in the Park needs to be improving things for people in this area of East London.

Conclusion

We're raring to go and our first board meeting will be on 16th December 2009. This is a once in a lifetime opportunity to use the amazing investment focused on the Games to spill out and change this part of London. We are looking forward to taking forward our work and helping to deliver a lasting legacy for the local community.

2012 Legacies Now and the Vancouver Games

Bruce Dewar CEO, 2010 Legacies Now

Introduction

2010 Legacies Now is a not-for-profit organization created in 2001 to support our bid for the Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. Based in Vancouver, British Columbia, we aim to harness the energy and expertise of the voluntary sector to deliver a lasting legacy from staging the Games.

Olympics as a catalyst for change

We believe that legacy should drive social change, touch people's lives and inspire people. Looking beyond the vision for 2010 we want to create sustainable legacies that will benefit all British Columbians as a result of hosting the Games.

Winning the bid for the Games was a major achievement. We need to use the same energy and commitment to deliver legacy. We must all step up and take action, be leaders, and guarantee legacy whether we win or lose in the sporting competitions.

This is about much more than sport. The Olympic and Paralympic spirit and opportunities can be used as a catalyst to reach new heights in a wide array of areas:

- Active, Healthy Living
- Volunteerism
- Sport and Recreation
- Tourism
- Arts
- Literacy
- Accessibility

2010 Legacies Now - what we do

We actively assist communities to discover and create unique and inclusive social and economic opportunities leading up to, during and beyond the 2010 Winter Games.

A provincial government strategic investment of 32.5m dollars was used on community engagement programmes and focused on a range of areas including sports, accessibility, arts and literacy.

We have expanded our mandate post-Games. Since our branding is different to the Olympic brand we were able both to start working on projects to do with the Olympics early and continue to use the brand post games.

Maximising opportunities

The majority of residents recognise the importance of securing a lasting social legacy. 68% of British Columbians believe it is important for the Games to leave behind a “Non-Bricks and Mortar” legacy in their community. A legacy is something that goes beyond a photo opportunity.

We wanted to enable people. The power of information and contributing to decision-making is important, as well as more employment opportunities and access to literacy.

2010 as a Catalyst - Working in Partnership

Our approach involves innovation, collaboration and investment. We work with the private sector, voluntary and community organisations as well as the government. We are valued by all of them and are trusted by the community to represent all sides.

2010 Legacies Now works with over 4,000 organizations and groups, from collaborating on projects with us, to taking the lead on programs in the community.

Enhancing Existing Programs

Enhanced partnerships
Heightened engagement
Repackaging/repositioning
Expansion
Increased value

Developing New Programs

Need or issue identified
Research-based
Create new partnerships
Horizontal integration
Expanded reach & engagement
Increased value

Our impact

Local legacies are creating a greater impact than we could have ever imagined. These legacies include:

- Over 4,000 families learning life-altering lessons in literacy and early childhood learning.
- More than 200,000 people participating in new sport programs
- 95 Spirit of BC committees creating Olympic and Paralympic legacies in their communities.

- 108 communities improving accessibility for people with disabilities and seniors.
- Over 475,000 students making healthy choices through Action Schools! BC.
- 99 task groups working with over 1,000 organizations to improve literacy for people of all ages.
- Over 420 arts and cultural projects which engaged British Columbians throughout the province.
- Over 1,900 organizations using VolWeb.ca to find volunteers and volunteer opportunities.
- More than 1,300 high-performance athletes supported by Game Plan BC and the Targeted Sport Strategy each year.
- Over two million British Columbians are benefiting from these and other 2010 Legacies Now programs.

Success factors

With the 2010 Winter Games just a few short months away, we can offer some lessons from our work:

- Start early. Dream big, start small.
- Be a trustworthy, consistent partner
- Be a solution provider
- Determine measures and monitor regularly
- Collaboration through partnerships. Fill gaps – don't duplicate
- Use a high engagement approach
- Plan for the future, not the present.

We wanted to be the first host city to use the Games to make a difference to local people. We believe we are doing this already and we will continue to strive for lasting and positive legacies for the community from the 2010 Games.

Questions for a Sustained Impact to the Local Community: The Case of Olympic Games 2004 in Amaroussion, Hellas

Dr. Michalis Christakis, Secretary General of the Municipality of Amaroussion, Athens, Greece

Introduction

Earning the right to host the Olympic Games through a successful bid requires a lot of time and money. Being an Olympic host city is a great privilege, the value of which can be measured in terms of national pride, world status and a grand platform to promote a destination. Furthermore, hosting the Olympics is a key factor in realizing economic growth, bringing tourist revenues and achieving a better quality of life.

Five years after hosting the Olympic Games, Athens and Maroussi in particular, have changed a great deal and are continuing to change. The legacy of the Olympics isn't just improved infrastructure – new public transport networks, upgraded communications, improved road networks – but also renewed interest in the city among foreign visitors and, more importantly, among its inhabitants. The big issue for the municipal authority is how to sustain the positive impact from the Games to the local community.

Profile of the City of Maroussi

The Municipality of Amaroussion is located in the northeast region of Athens and at the present has a population of 120,000 residents. It initially constituted a suburban area that has seen a large growth in both residential population and businesses during the last three decades. Today, it is the second most important regional centre of Athens in terms of

retail and office surface area available. Location and transportation infrastructure are the competitive advantages of the municipality.

Maroussi and Olympic Games 2004

The preparations for hosting the great event served as a trigger for significant changes in almost every aspect of the city's life, ranging from built environment and urban regeneration projects, transport networks, tourism services and even culture and society itself. Hosting the Olympic Games acted as a catalyst for the city's redevelopment, enabling changes which might normally have taken several decades to be completed over a seven-year period.

The city of Amaroussion inherited 'Olympic Properties' which proved to be very valuable for future exploitation and sustainable economic and cultural growth. Specifically, the heritage includes the Olympic Athletic Centre (OAKA), the International Broadcasting Centre (IBC), and the Main Press Centre (MPC). The efficient management and utilization of these properties offers us fantastic opportunities and they have brought considerable social, cultural and economic benefits.

Advantages and Benefits for the Municipality

The venues built for the Games improved the image of Maroussi. They allowed the region and its hinterland to develop as an international destination for year round tourism, convention business, sporting competitions and other major events. Our city enjoyed great recognition and increased its awareness globally. During the Games, we showed a different, more attractive image of Maroussi to the whole world.

The post-Olympic use of infrastructures, facilities and equipment will generate substantial economic and financial benefits for the region. For example, the Museum of Greek

Olympic Games in IBC will promote, among others, the historic and cultural character of the city.

Also, the size and distribution of the Olympic venues around the city offered an opportunity for their development to have a significant impact on the city's planning. We wanted to both assist the city's development and preserve the value and prestige of the Olympic venues.

A New Philosophy for the City

Five years have passed since the Olympic Games 2004 and the key issue is to sustain high rates of growth and employment. The vision of the municipal authority is to become the metropolitan centre of the north Attica region. Many challenges remain including:

- the completion of infrastructure
- the regeneration of business centre
- more public transport and parking space
- environmental protection
- social cohesion
- entrepreneurship and local economic development

In order to face those effectively, the municipal authority is undertaking further steps regarding the strategic planning of the city and regeneration of the historical centre.

Concluding Remarks

The Olympic Games are the biggest sports event in the world as well as a major tourist attraction. If the branding and image of the host city is managed effectively, it can consolidate the host city as a tourism destination. There are economic, socio-cultural, and organizational benefits derived from hosting such an event. However, for Amaroussion, Athens and Greece, the Olympic Games had a deeper meaning and a historical dimension as they constitute one of the points of reference for the ancient Greek civilization.

Maroussi managed to use the hosting of the Games to boost its development, and to make these gains sustainable in terms of the city's economy, environment, society and culture. We were able to improve our public spaces and physical environment as well as quality of life in the region. This improved the attractiveness of Maroussi for investors making it a business centre with an important regional, national and international role.

The next big challenge of our city is to sustain and accelerate the growth by reinforcing financial and economic activity and to further strengthen infrastructure. The task requires innovative approaches to converting and managing land and buildings to achieve long-term economic and social benefits for the various parties involved such as residents, local government and private investors. Our aim in the future is to become an international venue and for tourism to become one of the pillars of the city's growth. Our vision is to create enduring legacies by turning the 17 days of Olympic Games into 17 years of development for the city and its residents.

Stratford City, Newham and the Games

John Burton, Director of Westfield Stratford City

Introduction

Stratford City is one of two major projects being undertaken by Westfield around the world at the moment. Originally we only had a 25% stake in the project, but it is now 100% Westfield and benefits from more coherent leadership that this brings.

The £1.5bn investment is a fantastic opportunity to capitalise on an under-served market served by fantastic transport links. The centre will be a mixed development,

including offices, hotels and residential properties in addition to retail and leisure space. We have just passed the half way point in construction and when finished, the centre will become the largest urban retail development in Europe.

Throughout our history we have been focused on delivering profit from our investments. Here we believe this project will also visibly produce returns in terms of social change.

London Borough of Newham

The regeneration and investment happening in Newham offers a fantastic opportunity to improve conditions for local communities and change the area for good. Westfield Stratford City therefore represents a significant contribution to the realisation of a dream. The construction of Stratford City, along with the other development projects in the area, notably the Olympic and Paralympic Games, will help Stratford to become a new metropolitan capital for East London.

The development will help create thousands of sustainable opportunities in the local area in retail, customer services and hospitality. We want to talk about opportunities and careers rather than just straightforward jobs.

We welcome the clarity and consistency of Newham's message around employment and we are working closely with the council to ensure local people benefit from the development.

This includes providing a Retail Academy which will link training and employment, helping local residents access job opportunities, including the 8,500 positions there will be with retailers on the opening day. We will use the Academy to train local people to ensure they are ready for these jobs and we are getting commitments from major retailers including John Lewis to recruit previously unemployed Newham residents.

The Stratford City Centre

The scale of the market that Westfield Stratford City will serve is immense. The shopping centre will serve approximately 4.1m people in the northeast quadrant of London from central and north London right across to the east and into Essex. There has been an absence of a quality development of this size and scale in this part of London for many years. This market is currently relatively un-tapped and has a potential retail expenditure of £26bn.

In addition to this huge market, Westfield Stratford City will benefit from unrivalled accessibility and provision of public transport. The area already has extensive transport links to the surrounding area with the Central and Jubilee lines, the DLR and numerous overground lines. This will be added to by the High Speed Rail Link to Kent, Crossrail and the Eurostar International Terminal. This will bring a much wider area within a quick and convenient journey of Stratford and the new shopping centre.

Stratford City and the Games

I'm the first to admit that we couldn't live without the Games. The 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games represent an amazing opportunity to sell our wares and to show the Stratford City Project to the world. Similarly, Stratford City is itself an opportunity for retailers and businesses to show themselves to the world. Nearly 70% of all visitors to the Games will pass through the shopping centre on their way to the Park. This represents unparalleled footfall and a fantastic opportunity to drive sales and increase brand awareness.

However, this is not just about the Games helping Stratford City. The shopping centre itself will be essential to providing facilities to help stage the Games. The project includes the delivery of roads, walkways and bridges that will help connect the venues and the transport links,

as well as car parks and other facilities.

The centre will also significantly add to the look and feel of the Games.

Stratford City was in planning long before the Olympics were awarded to London and the Games have learned to fit around what we are doing here. We are working together with the ODA, LOCOG and the OPLC and we very much recognise that we need each other.

Sustainability

The Games and the Stratford City development share a co-ordinated approach to sustainable development. Both projects put sustainability right at the heart of their work.

In Stratford City this permeates through everything that we do. By the time we open the centre, it will be a role model for large-scale regeneration in a sustainable form. We are providing an energy centre, capable of using renewable fuel to generate 75% of all our power requirements and we have used environmental design to maximise efficiency. This is allowing us to have a carbon footprint lower than any benchmark you could reasonably set for a development of this scale.

Finally, the location of the centre itself will ensure it has a sustainable, low-carbon impact. Positioned right next to a transport hub with extensive local and regional connections, we expect the majority of customers to use public transport and minimise their impact on the environment.

Conclusion

It's not too early to start talking about legacy as legacy has to start now. It seems that London doesn't get it yet. People have been slow to recognise the opportunities that are being created through Stratford City as well as the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

However, although London doesn't get it, Newham does. Westfield will continue to work closely with our partners to ensure Westfield Stratford City is a success and local people see real benefits from the changes in their area.

Auburn City Council and the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games

Councillor Le Lam, Auburn City Council, Sydney

The area of Auburn City Council, situated 20km west of the centre of Sydney, was the site of the Olympic Park for the 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games. It was an honour to host the Games and they led to significant changes in the area. We welcome the opportunity to share our experiences and lessons with you as you prepare to hold the 2012 Games.

Infrastructure Legacy

The most significant legacy for the Auburn community was the physical infrastructure left by the Games. We have a 1500 acre site full of world-class facilities and extensive recreational land on our doorstep. We have the Olympic Stadium, International athletics and Aquatic centres, and a range of world class facilities and infrastructure.

In addition to the sports venues, there is also an employment hub and residential precincts as well as a greater number of entertainment venues to cater for the local area, the region and Greater Sydney

These facilities have the potential to enhance the liveability, employment, entertainment and recreational choices for residents in and around Auburn. They have helped Auburn become a major commercial and industrial hub within Sydney and we are continuing to evolve, attracting a range of major businesses to the

area. Auburn is the third fastest growing local government area in New South Wales with an average population increase of 3.3% each year since 2002.

Issues with the Legacy

Despite these successes and the positive nature of the physical legacy, we had to face a number of challenges in our legacy planning:

- Accessibility and Perception

Following the Games, many of the venues were not readily accessible to small sports and community groups. Residents viewed the site as "too prestigious", "too expensive" and "too exclusive". This led some residents to say that the site "appears gated" and cut off from the rest of the community.

To combat this we would encourage local schools to use facilities as part of their sporting programme, allowing free or reduced entry for local residents and encouraging more frequent events for the local community, and partnering with local interest groups to increase interest and participation.

- Transport

There was poor provision of transport alternatives to connect people with the Olympic site. We recognised that better transport options were required, for example, shuttle buses. The full range of transport options detailed in the Master Plan were not delivered and private parking contractors proved resistant to reducing charges to family and community focused events.

We found this limited the use of the Park for local residents. It was particularly negative for job seekers in Auburn who rely on public transport to access employment opportunities in the area.

- Poor Planning in Physical Legacy

A lack of meaningful consultation and the exclusion of the Council from many aspects of planning led to considerable problems with the physical legacy of the Olympics. An attempt to implement a Memorandum of Agreement between the Olympic Authority and Auburn Council, which should have happened early in the planning process, failed. This meant there was no mechanism in place to ensure the interests of Auburn were protected in the master-planning.

After the Games, we acquired a great deal of infrastructure without full design plans. It soon became clear that the construction was not always of the highest quality and was done with little regard for ongoing use in legacy. Substandard materials were often used creating ongoing maintenance issues and nine years on from the Games significant stretches of local roads require redesign and reconstruction.

- Land use conflicts

The use of the Park and the events and activities that occur there was a cause of conflict after the Games. The biggest issue was noise. Major events such as festivals, rock concerts and car racing caused disruption to local residents, both within and outside the boundaries of the Park. This demonstrated the critical importance of meaningful engagement and consultation.

- Branding

Prominent branding of location within a local government area is important. People didn't realise Sydney Olympic Park was within the Auburn local government area. Many viewed the Park as exclusive or not freely accessible. In this sense it was a lost opportunity for raising positive awareness of Auburn Council.

The Master Plan

Moving forward, we have ambitious plans to make the best of the physical legacy from the Games. By 2030, we are looking to have:

- Built 6000 additional dwellings for 14,000 residents
- Created 31,500 jobs
- Attracted 10 million visitors per year, providing facilities for 250,000 patrons at any one time.

Conclusion

The Olympic Games were a fantastic opportunity for Auburn and for Sydney. There were some mistakes which we have identified in the planning of the Games which led to problems in the subsequent years. Despite these issues, Auburn has still benefited hugely from the Olympics and we continue to make the most of the fantastic physical legacy of the Games.

Sir Robin Wales, Elected Mayor, London Borough of Newham

Introduction

In November 2009, with just under 1,000 days to go until the start of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, the London Borough of Newham organised the Olympic Symposium to focus thinking around the question of legacy.

We hope that we can learn the lessons from other Host Cities and we were delighted to have representatives from Athens, Beijing, Sydney and Vancouver with us, along with delegates from the Olympic Park Legacy Company and Westfield.

The Promise of Legacy

The East End of London is the most concentrated area of deprivation in the country. Residents of the five host boroughs lag far behind their neighbours in the rest of the capital in terms of employment, skills, income and health. Whereas 76% of Londoners are economically active, only 65% of Newham residents are. In Newham over one in five adults have no former qualifications compared to only one in ten across the capital. This is not a recent phenomenon. The pattern of poverty and inequality has changed little in over a century, despite efforts to alleviate it.

London's bid for the 2012 Games had at its heart regeneration and community benefit. The Bid Book declared that "the most enduring legacy of the Olympics will be the regeneration of an entire community for the direct benefit of everyone who lives there".

Three elements are vital in order to deliver the Olympics effectively - building the venues, planning the Games and securing the legacy. This represents a 'three-legged stool' with each leg being vital both to the success of the Games and to delivering on our promises.

However, in the years following our successful bid, the promise of legacy got sidelined and was at risk of being forgotten. Planning for the Games was centred around two organisations with The Olympic Delivery Authority building the venues and The London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games planning for the delivery of the Games themselves. However, neither of these organisations were focused on what happens after the Games leaving the stool unbalanced.

Planning for Legacy

This gap has been filled by the Five Host Boroughs who provide the 'third leg of the stool'. We have come together with Greenwich,

Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest to put legacy back where it belongs - at the centre of planning for the Games. To this end, we very much welcome the creation of the Olympic Park Legacy Company who will be responsible for ensuring the best use of the Park after the Games. We hope that the Olympic Park will be designated a Royal Park – the first in east London. This would be a major draw for visitors coming to the area.

Convergence and the Social Legacy

The Games are bringing unparalleled investment to the area and will leave a considerable physical legacy of new venues, housing and other infrastructure. However, that does not necessarily mean that the community will inevitably benefit.

We have seen this before on our own doorstep. Unfortunately, despite a commitment to use local labour and supply chains, the vast amount of investment in Canary Wharf has not done enough to improve the situation for the majority of residents in Tower Hamlets. The borough remains the third poorest in the country. We must avoid stark inequalities and 'cliff edges' in terms of wealth and geography.

Although the physical changes to the area are important, we need to focus more clearly on the social legacy of the Games. This means delivering on the promise of improving peoples lives and transforming the deprived communities that are hosting the Games.

Our goal, and the goal of the Five Host Boroughs is convergence. This means improving the social and economic chances of people in the East End, raising them up to the London average. Our aim requires us to increase employment and skills and reduce poverty and health inequality.

Ours will be the first Games to put social regeneration right at the heart of the legacy. This is a bold aim and it will require

commitment from all the major partners involved in the Games. To this end, we are delighted that the Government and the Mayor of London have both signed up to Convergence.

Newham the East End and the 2012 Games

Although we face considerable challenges in Newham, there are also fantastic opportunities. The Games are just one part of the transformation of the Borough and the wider region. Other projects include the new Westfield shopping centre at Stratford City and the regeneration in Canning Town and Custom House and the Royal Docks.

This is mirrored by the regeneration in the wider East London area which includes the extension of Canary Wharf and the development of the Thames Gateway. In addition to this there will be considerable improvements in the local transport infrastructure with the introduction of Cross Rail and the high speed rail link.

These changes will accelerate the process already underway whereby London is moving East. The focus and centre of gravity in London is shifting gradually from Westminster and the City to the East of the capital. We have to secure the best results possible for local people out of all this change and investment.

Our Role

Our vision is to make Newham a place where people choose to live, work and stay. To achieve this we need to help people develop the personal capacity to choose as well as the economic capacity to choose. Aspiration is key and we want to help people to raise their ambitions.

As a local authority we need to provide exceptional leadership and place-shaping for Newham. We need to market our area and demonstrate the opportunities available here.

Also, we must continue to provide excellent value for money services. By doing all this we can create the conditions for success.

Employment

We believe that regeneration must benefit the local community. The Games will bring thousands of jobs to the East End and it's our role to help local residents access these opportunities.

We've created Workplace, our one-stop-shop employment service that can help local people overcome their barriers to work. For the hardest to help long-term unemployed we created the Mayor's Employment Project. This offers intensive support and the guarantee that residents will not be worse off in work.

These services have been hugely successful and have to date helped almost 4,000 residents into work. We are scaling up our service and will soon be opening a retail academy which will train local people for the jobs that will become available at the new Westfield Stratford City Shopping Centre.

Inspiration and Engagement

We want the excitement and energy around the Olympics to inspire local people to improve their situation. We are using the Games to get people more active and to improve health.

At the elite level, we have created the Newham Sports Academy to give professional training to talented young local athletes. The Newham Swords, a team of local fencers, have shown that given the right support, Newham residents can compete with and beat the best.

To encourage mass participation we are providing the largest free offer of sports and activities in London. From our Newham 10k run to free swims for the elderly, there is something to suit everyone, irrespective of background. We have a lively calendar of events including

the Newham Town Show and the Under the Stars music festival. Last year these were enjoyed by 200,000 residents. We also have the largest volunteering programme of any local authority in the country.

Conclusion

We face great challenges in Newham and we must not underestimate these. However, the changes happening in the borough and in the region represent a once-in-a-lifetime chance to change this part of London for the better and for good.

We're not looking for more resources than have already been committed. All we ask is that all parties involved commit to the goal of Convergence and work together to make it a reality. We need to seize the opportunities available and ensure that the Games deliver Convergence and a sustainable social legacy for local people.

The Experiences of Chaoyang District in the Beijing Olympics

Wang Zhilling, Governor Assistant of Chaoyang District People's Government

Introduction

We welcome the opportunity to attend the Symposium in order to share with you the experiences of successfully hosting the Beijing Olympic Games of 2008. Both Chaoyang and Newham are host to the Olympic Park which includes many of the venues for the Games. Our experience will help the Borough of Newham to learn lessons for the Olympic and Paralympic Games of 2012.

Chaoyang District

Located in east Beijing, the Chaoyang District is the largest and most populous urban district in Beijing. It is the diplomatic centre of Beijing with all but two of the foreign embassies to China located here along with a large number of foreign financial institutions, news agencies and hotels. The Beijing Capital International Airport and Central Business District (CBD) are also located in Chaoyang District. In this sense, Chaoyang District enjoys the highest degree of internationalization in Beijing.

In 2008, Chaoyang District realized regional GDP of RMB 190.62 billion (about USD 28 billion), accounting for nearly one-fifth of aggregate GDP of Beijing.

The Olympic Common Zone itself is located in Chaoyang and covers 3.15 square kilometers. It hosted the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Olympic and the Paralympic Games.

Two of our major experiences of the Olympic Games were Municipal Construction, and Periphery Service Support.

Municipal Construction

In addition to building some of the competition and training venues, there was a great deal of construction in the area to prepare for the Games. This included everything from building new roads, pipelines and supporting facilities to landscaping around venues and planting trees and flowerbeds. This has given us a considerable legacy of infrastructure in the area.

This huge construction effort required a great deal of coordination and organisation. Teams were set up specifically for this task and to ensure that construction projects were completed on time.

Periphery Service Support

Another key role was to provide a high-quality and safe external environment for the venues during the Games and to ensure the smooth operation of events. This included providing security protection, traffic management, environmental management, communication support, and strengthening of community-building.

We established a Security Command Centre which had 24-hour surveillance of the district and could respond to any issues as they arose. There was a 'three-tier prevention and control system' of security around each venue to ensure safety.

Volunteers played a crucial role in the Games. More than 200,000 social volunteers provided services in a variety of areas including traffic and the environment. 100,000 city volunteers were based at 127 service stations to provide information to visitors and services such as foreign language translation.

Legacy

The success of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games was a unique opportunity for the development on the part of Chaoyang District. The legacy has benefited us in three main ways:

- Infrastructure - in the past year, a series of major international events, such as the China Tennis Open, Italian "Super Cup" Soccer Tournament, Beijing International Marathon, Race of Champions (ROC), have been successively staged in the Olympic Green, which has seen significant economic development since the Games.

- Investment - the Games gave us the chance to show off our city to the entire world. So far 112 companies from the Fortune Global 500 have come to Chaoyang district along with 131 foreign investment companies and 229 foreign financial institutions.
- International ties - we have also increased our international profile and established sister district relationship with 26 cities and districts in 18 countries. This includes the London Borough of Newham in the UK.

In the future, we will continue to strengthen friendly exchanges with these areas and strengthen economic and social ties and cooperation. At the same time, we also sincerely welcome all friends to tour, go sightseeing, invest and develop in the Chaoyang District.

Let us seize the post-Games economic development opportunities in the Chaoyang District in order to fully cooperate and jointly harvest substantial results from development.

Summary of findings

The Olympic Symposium was of considerable value to the planning of the 2012 Games. It highlighted lessons from past host cities and improved our understanding of the problems and choices we are likely to encounter.

The discussions intensified the focus on convergence and the social legacy of the Games and, crucially, how we are to deliver and make this a reality.

A key theme of the Symposium was the commonality of experiences across all host cities. Despite having very different aims for the Games, they experienced similar challenges and changes as a result of hosting the Olympics.

However, it became clear that no host city has ever placed regeneration and social legacy at the heart of its planning for the Games. This represents the key challenge for the London Olympics of 2012 - being the first host city to use the Games to systematically regenerate an entire region, delivering real benefits to local people.

There were some very clear lessons from the Symposium as we work to deliver convergence and the social legacy. There is no doubt that the Games will leave a legacy, but there is no guarantee that it will be a positive one. The

buildings and physical development left behind from the Games will not inevitably deliver improved conditions and opportunities for local people. In order to ensure that the Games benefit the community and leave permanent social legacy, planning and partnerships are essential. This includes all tiers of government, the organising agencies and partners in the private and voluntary sector. However, we must not neglect the role of the local community. In order to ensure they benefit from the Games themselves, the community must be engaged, consulted and involved in decision-making.

The Games are a unique opportunity for London - one which will never be repeated. The promise of regenerating the east end and delivering convergence was both a central part of Newham's bid and a key factor in our success. It's now up to us to seize this opportunity and to deliver on these promises, ensuring that the Games deliver real and lasting benefits to the communities that will host them.

London 2012: Newham Community Impact Study

London East Research Institute
November 2009

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Executive Summary

Aims:

This literature review is designed to:

- Evaluate the positive and negative impacts on communities before, during and after the Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing Games – briefly reviewing a range of sources and drawing summary conclusions concerning ‘good’ practice for use by key decision-makers and stakeholders at the borough level;
- Contribute to the development of an action plan for successful community engagement, providing the basis for Newham to launch the plan at its Olympic Symposium.

The review is structured thematically, with the themes derived from the five host boroughs’ Strategic Regeneration Framework.

The themes are:

- Creating a coherent and attractive city – place making and shaping;
- Improving educational attainment, skills and raising aspirations;
- Reducing worklessness, benefit dependence and child poverty;
- Building homes for all;
- Enhancing health and wellbeing
- Reducing serious crime and anti-social behaviour
- Maximising sports legacy.

We have also included a short overview of tourism as an appendix to the main report, as this was a theme in the original brief from Newham Council.

The main sources for the review are derived from:

- Official evaluations and reports of the host city organising or project management committees;
- Official reports/progress reviews undertaken by funding agencies, public authorities and auditors;
- Consultancy and ‘think tank’ reports, typically prepared for and published by key stakeholders engaged in the governance of the Games;
- Independent evaluations from community groups and academic institutions;
- Press and media reports;
- Whilst there is an extensive literature on host cities and major projects and sporting events, it is important to recognise that:
- Community engagement has rarely been extensively and critically reviewed, especially by the key participants/stakeholders;
- There is an expanding literature on community engagement but it tends to be ‘ex post facto’ rather than designed to inform policy makers and help review and revise existing governance arrangements;
- Community engagement achievements and outcomes are best evaluated over time via longitudinal studies;
- Data collection and analysis is not consistent across host cities, nations and major projects;
- There is a tendency for studies to polarise between the ‘supportive’ and the ‘negative’;
- Comparative analyses must recognise the diversity of host city visions and achievements and the specific social, economic and political conditions in which they arise.

Community Engagement

Community engagement has two main dimensions:

- Evaluation of public support for hosting the Games;
- Gauging the involvement of communities in event-related activities and the broader process of urban development and regeneration that accompanies hosting the Games;

Public support – at the bid preparation phase, public opinion may play a decisive role in determining the extent to which authorities progress a bid or commit public funds to it. For the Los Angeles (1984) Games, it was clear from the outset that an important section of the California public was opposed to public funds being used to underwrite the bid and in the previous decade, Denver citizens rejected the opportunity to host the 1976 winter Olympics. Recently, host city populations have been more willing to support the Games coming to their town. Typically, over time for the host city and nation, the pattern of support has been high at the bid phase, fallen during the preparation phase (especially when financing arrangements have come under pressure) and restored to a high level of public support during the year of the event itself.

Community engagement with urban regeneration

– There are several obstacles to community engagement with the wider process of urban development and renewal associated with hosting a mega event:

- The governance frameworks established to use the mega event to catalyse more rapid change than would normally occur, tend to mitigate against effective community involvement; communities often feel that the event, in all its phases, happens to them rather than involves them (Burbank et al 2001);

- Public/private partnership approaches often replace the legal and democratic processes that facilitate community dialogue at the planning and development phases (Minton, 2009);
- The ownership and control of the Olympic Park and its environs passes to special authorities with powers that often preclude direct public involvement, especially those special powers to compulsory purchase land and amenities (Preuss, 2004).

Volunteering

Volunteering is a very important component of strategies aimed at enhancing community engagement, hence its prominence in this summary.

- Volunteer programmes are an integral part of the Olympic and Paralympic Games and have generated large numbers of participants involved in a diverse range of activities associated with the event. The summer Olympic and Paralympic Games may create opportunities for around 50,000 volunteers with programmes commencing typically two years prior to the event itself. Over recent Games, volunteering has involved the training of a 'core' of paid volunteer organizers (Sydney, Athens) and the provision of training opportunities for unpaid volunteers to engage in a diverse range of activities including the provision of services to visitors, sports-related organisational and administrative tasks, cultural Olympiad activities and broader educational programmes, especially for young people and specific groups such as the disabled. Manchester (Commonwealth Games, 2002) provided opportunities to lend volunteering a new dimension based upon its association with promoting social inclusion.
- Volunteers were drawn from the young living in the most socially disadvantaged areas of

North West England and they participated in training programmes that offered educational qualifications aimed at demonstrating participants' readiness for employment. The volunteer programme helped generate a database of volunteers whose activities continued after the Games through their involvement with a network of third sector and existing volunteering agencies within the region. The use of volunteering to strengthen civic engagement after the Games and to associate its projects with social objectives designed to improve the public realm, enhance health and wellbeing, improve social awareness and provide practical support for, for example, accessibility, are relatively recent and more innovative approaches to attaching volunteering to achieving positive post-Games legacies.

Theme 1: Creating a Coherent and Attractive City Within a World City Region

- Sustainable development has only been part of any city's candidature since the bid for the 2006 winter Olympics (Chappelet 2008:91), and London is the first summer Olympics city to consider sustainable development.
- Each Olympic host city has built or upgraded sports facilities and open spaces to host the Games. Sports facilities have to be of the highest quality; the Olympic Park has to accommodate tens of thousands of people; the village has to house at least 15,000 people and have a transport infrastructure capable of transporting thousands of people (Preuss 2006:191).
- Inevitably the real success of these facilities and open spaces will be measured by how they are used by the population after rather than during the Games event; however

legacy has often been an afterthought (Cashman 2009:137). A legacy is "only thought of as positive if the venues are sustainable and used by the community" (Cashman 2006:179).

- Thus, ensuring the facilities will be available to use by the local community is a key factor. Olympics planners have in general assumed benefits from 'hard' infrastructure will translate to local people automatically, whereas in practice, these benefits have not happened (Vigor 2006:14; Evans 2008:315).
- Facilities built to the scale Olympics events require – i.e. swimming pools or stadia – are expensive to maintain. However, iconic buildings and structures do attract visitors post-Games and continue to do so as long as they are maintained. Nations hosting the Games may capitalise on the possibilities if in the venue design they have sports participation as a priority and facility after use (Cashman 2006:83).

Evidence suggests:

- if Olympic Parks are integrated appropriately into the life of a city, they will be well-used;
- there is less evidence on who is using them – people who live very locally to them, or tourists visiting;
- in most but not all host cities the Olympic Parks become the success story of the Games provided facilities and the landscaped park are available for use by the public (Gold 2007:282);
- the most successful development of Olympic Parks arise from special purpose organisations overseeing the development of the whole Park and not discreet parts of it.

Examples:

- Athens: “The Olympics provided Athens with public parks, esplanades, surveillance systems, cleanliness - all those amenities that are considered inseparable from the contemporary notion of civility... the Olympics acted as a new means of modernization for Athens” (Traganou 2008:204).
- Sydney: Sydney’s park lessons also suggest that legacy can be mixed, especially with relation to public spaces. Sydney’s organisers did not meet their ambitious environmental targets in creating the park from a brownfield site. However, the ecosystem of the area was improved, and released for public use, is now considered one of the world’s foremost recreational parks. The park is now the focal point of a new suburb of Sydney, Newington, as well as a recreational focus for the wider community (Cashman 2006:180-1).
- In previous host cities there has been goodwill towards the Olympics with relation to the various issues connected to inconvenience, such as pollution, noise and traffic/congestion. In Sydney researchers found that post-Games people bore quite positive attitudes towards the Olympics as an event and remembered it fondly, even if they displayed apathy or were ‘sick of it’ pre-event. This research also suggested that some of the community were more likely than others to take a ‘socially altruistic’ approach, coping with the changes positively believing that they are in the interests of the greater good. A social impacts study carried out in Sydney showed that: those more likely to accept any inconveniences with equanimity included: younger people, families and ethnic minorities who took up and enjoyed the sense of inclusion and community spirit the Games offered (Waitt 2003).

Themes 2 & 3: Improving Educational Attainment, Employment, and Skills to Reduce Worklessness and Benefits Dependency

This section focuses upon the impact of the Olympic and Paralympic Games on employment skills and employability (and worklessness).

The Spatial Dimension

The scale of the city economy in relation to the regional and national economy is an important determinant of impact; the larger the city and the smaller the national economy, the greater is the potential impact (e.g. Athens 2004). The industrial structure of a city’s economy may also be significantly changed as the hosting of the Games facilitates a wider process of transition from traditional to new industries, such as, financial and business services (Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney), event management (Sydney) and tourism and high technology industries (Barcelona).

The Temporal Dimension

Equally, the position of the city and regional economy in relation to the cyclical nature of the national and international economy is a significant factor in determining the economic legacy of the Games. A host city may partially offset downward cyclical trends or benefit from a wider pattern of economic growth. Barcelona benefited from the Games taking place during the expansion of the European Single Market (1992), becoming an important location for companies seeking to establish regional head offices to support their activities across the Iberian peninsula; while Beijing’s economic development reflected the wider process of urbanisation and economic development that enabled China’s capital city to reflect the

patterns of dynamic growth achieved across the whole economy. Recent host cities have typically allied the potential economic gains of the Olympics with the expansion of the service sector, facilitating a model of consumption-led economic growth (Barcelona, Sydney, Beijing).

Employment Summary

- Employment rates in each of the host cities increased in the six year period prior to the Games, with employment levels rising, in particular in construction and related industries;
- Sustained improvements in employment post Games depend on the dynamic trajectory of the wider regional/national economy (Atlanta, Beijing and eventually Barcelona) or new inward investment to the Olympic Park area and its environs (Sydney);
- In the two years immediately following the Games employment rates fell back to the regional or national average (Barcelona, Sydney) or declined significantly in the city and region (Athens);
- In cities experiencing a wider process of economic growth and inward investment (Atlanta, Beijing), permanent employment continued to rise in the post-event period or began to rise after a brief hiatus (Barcelona, Sydney).

Skills Development Summary

- The evidence available from past host Olympic cities is not systematically captured or reliable;
- The main focus of skills development programmes was upon construction and service industries (retail, tourism, hotel and leisure, event management);
- Beijing introduced programmes targeted at disabled people, providing training opportunities to enhance employability in a range of Beijing service industries;

- The Cultural Olympiad provided an important vehicle for the engagement of young people in performing arts projects and activities in all host cities and across the nation (Beijing, Athens, Sydney);
- Legacy facilities in the Olympic Park area included access to sports facilities for local communities, young people and elite athletes and incorporated city-wide, regional or national 'academies', colleges and higher education facilities focusing upon sport, health and recreation (Sydney);
- The city of Manchester, in collaboration with regional and local institutions, targeted young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, to become volunteers and associated the training with the accreditation.

Raising Aspirations and Place Making

Legacy achievements for most Olympic host cities have not been focused specifically upon raising the educational attainment and expectations of socially deprived areas. There has been little evidence of the Games providing opportunities for local enterprise development or of significant improvements being achieved in relation to tackling worklessness and the conditions that give rise to benefit dependency. There is some evidence, however, of the Games providing a positive impetus to peoples' expectations about their city and its social, economic and environmental development particularly where the legacy is associated with clearly specified outcomes.

Where there is confusion over objectives that emerge from within the host city's organisational network, public expectations can be adversely affected and, as a consequence, significant groups within a city may perceive themselves as having lost out from their city hosting the Games.

Theme 4: Homes for All

Housing is a major issue for local communities when they assess the legacies achieved by hosting the Games. Past Olympic host cities and their organisers, whether their goals have been regenerative or speculative, have achieved mixed outcomes when taking into account the needs of local residents, particularly those living in the immediate vicinity of Olympic stadia or facilities. However each Olympic host city has had a different cultural and policy context rendering comparison difficult.

Because of their impacts on local communities, it is not uncommon for Olympic housing schemes to be unpopular (Gold 2007:7; Weed & Bull 2004:36). In each Olympic city there have been direct and indirect impacts, especially with relation to housing. Land and house prices tend to rise. Displacement also rises when cheap accommodation is put under pressure through demand or through rises in rents (Shaw 2008:215).

Risks:

- housing impacts caused by the Olympics and the displacement of local communities through them can have such extreme results that they spur widespread political mobilisation and changes in voter patterns (Newman 2002:30);
- in the modern Olympic era the development of Olympic sites and villages has become the responsibility of public/private partnerships. This corresponds to an entrepreneurial model which became popular in the early 1980's which sought to profit from the Games, by combining the event with urban development; it may lead to an increase in social inequalities within the vicinity of the Olympic Park area rather than the achievement of sustainable mixed communities (Waitt 1999).

Although Olympic cities make enthusiastic bids, which openly promote a sustainable development and 'greening' agenda, as well as the provision of public or social housing, by the time facilities are built, these promises may have been modified or abandoned (Cashman 2006).

A positive example:

- **Sydney:** The Olympic Village and Park created a new suburb and new housing for families; land was already owned by the Government and had no previous residential occupancy so no relocation was needed; Newington is now a successful suburb (Cashman 2006; 2009) of medium density, middle income housing, and planned along sustainable lines. It has provided 5,000 new housing units which were privately sold, creating a profit of \$25 million (Cashman 2006:237). (Searle 2005:44). The success was attributed to the area benefiting from a re-imaging as "Sydney's new heart" rather than being associated with the Olympics (Waitt 2003:107).

Theme 5: Enhancing Health and Wellbeing

Summary – Health and Wellbeing

- There is very little evidence from previous Olympics that there are any long term health benefits to local communities, aside from where there are changes to infrastructure that might affect health (e.g. Barcelona's updated sewage systems).
- It is unlikely that the Olympics will have any effect on life expectancy – there are no international comparators, and changes to life expectancy rates are complex, require very long time frames, and the effect of a single mega-event cannot be disaggregated from any changes here.

- The best way to ensure any health or wellbeing outcomes from the Olympics would involve using the Olympic brand to promote very localised community programmes aimed to improve diet, physical activity and mental wellbeing. Early evidence from the Well London project shows that this approach is effective.
- The Cultural Olympiad can be used to increase arts participation, which is seen to have a link to wellbeing.
- local people have come under considerable scrutiny in Olympic cities because of anxiety about their behaviour and the image it might give of the city. This might involve worries about crime, vagrancy, vandalism, hygiene or even levels of friendliness (Shaw 2008:213-4). Beautification undertaken for cities to host the Olympics tends to engender increased security or concern about the social makeup of new residential units;
- more generally social change in the community due to the remediation of land for different purposes is an inevitable impact (Preuss & Solberg 2006:398). Improvements to a city's fabric and infrastructure for the Games (such as beautification or population change due to regenerative policies) have had an influence on the way in which people perceive their city, and how others perceive it with relation to safety and wellbeing. The most successful efforts in place arise from policies designed to enhance the public realm throughout the area of the Games and not just within the Olympic Park and its immediate environs.

Theme 6: Reducing Serious Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour

Since Munich in 1972, the security of people taking part in the Games has been paramount. Security levels tend to rise exponentially in host cities (Shaw 2008; Hiller 2006). This is a product of the need to defend the event from attack (Hiller 2006:323). This has influenced the design of Olympic Villages and Parks (Laio & Pitts 2006:1240), and these measures, such as increased surveillance, may be expected to remain post-Games.

An important issue is the balance achieved during and post the event between safety and security on the one hand and the creation of public spaces that local residents feel 'at home' in. This sense of belonging is a key to effective place making:

- as it impacts local residents and their perception of the Games, security personnel are usually deployed in key areas where visitors are expected to accumulate. Fears of terrorism and security concerns geared toward protecting tourists from residents may lead to harassment or an increase in routine checks of the local population (Hoffman 2004:184).

Theme 7: Maximising Sports Legacy

Sports participation is heavily influenced by cultural and social factors such as gender, age and ethnicity. Overall sports participation levels of particular communities are very difficult to predict as local contexts may inhibit or encourage participation, for example local areas with inexpensive sporting venues and well used open spaces may well encourage physical and sports activity while conversely a lack of these facilities will naturally discourage these activities.

There are two main issues with Olympic Sports participation legacies – firstly the provision of inexpensive community facilities, and secondly

is the encouragement of the population into being more physically active. The second may well be dependent on the first; however the complexities between local infrastructure and local habits need to be considered.

With regards to sports participation and the Olympics, there are difficulties in assessing previous Games' legacies in this area as the definition of participation varies considerably from country to country.

Sports Participation Summary

- There is no basis for the claim that hosting the Olympics results in a positive and prolonged sports participation legacy (Cashman 2006, Hamlyn & Hudson 2005).
- After the Olympics there is no sustained rise in mass sports participation (Downward & Ralston 2006:338).
- It is doubtful that there are any health and social benefits for the host population (Hamlyn & Hudson 2005:882).
- Olympic events do provoke interest in sport, and people say they want to participate more, whether they do or not (Hamlyn & Hudson 2005:882).
- In some studies, a short-term (about three month) bounce in sports participation after the Olympics has been noted.
- However, other studies have noted a sports fatigue effect and a drop in physical activity and participation after them (Veal 2003, Coalter 2004b).
- Common factors influencing levels of physical activity are: gender, ethnic, social, cultural, and age differentials (Coalter 2004:79).
- People are often prevented from participating more in sports for economic reasons or lack of facilities

- There are risks to participation such as injuries from lack of expertise and the lack of relevant healthcare professionals to deal with them (Hudson & Hamlyn 2005).
- Broader sports related research suggests that social, economic and ethnic diversity influences sports participation, but appreciation of diversity is not reflected in Olympics research (Coalter 2004; Laker 2002; Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel 1999).
- A low socio-economic status/position in society negatively impacts sports participation (Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel 1999).

Introduction

The evaluation of community engagement has a vital temporal dimension. The ambitious and transformative vision for London 2012 is conceived and implemented over a considerable period of time, including the pre-event, event and post-event phases. Each phase involves a review of achievements, the evaluation of performance against targets and the refinement of action plans to address gaps and omissions. 'London 2012', and specifically the host boroughs, placed community development at the centre of legacy planning from the moment that London secured the right to host the Games. The Games were firmly located within a wider context of urban regeneration and community building.

This approach has ensured that London has lent the concept of 'legacy' a new dimension, one that carries with it many positive social benefits as well as the necessity to effectively manage aspirations and minimise risk; especially those risks that arise from changes in the wider economy and the financial frameworks that underpin the London 2012 project. An analysis of community engagement in past host cities provides an evidence base

for comparing and evaluating the responses of, and engagement with, London 2012 from within the local communities of the five host boroughs and, in particular, Newham, the primary location for the Olympic Park.

Aims and Scope of the Literature Review

Aims:

This literature review is designed to:

- evaluate the positive and negative impacts on communities before, during and after the Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing Games – briefly reviewing a range of sources and drawing summary conclusions concerning ‘good’ and ‘bad’ practice for use by key decision makers and stakeholders at the borough level;
- Contribute to the development of an action plan for successful community engagement..

The review focuses upon the direct and tangible impacts upon communities while also recognising that indirect and intangible affects are important components of people’s feelings toward, and perceptions of, the Games. The review is structured thematically, with the themes derived from the five host boroughs’ Strategic Regeneration Framework. The themes are:

- creating a coherent and attractive city – place making and shaping;
- improving educational attainment, skills and raising aspirations;
- reducing worklessness, benefit dependence and child poverty;
- building homes for all;
- seizing Olympic opportunities through tourism, cultural activities and enhancing health and well-being.

It is recognised that these themes are specific to the London 2012 project but many also have an immediate resonance with past host city aspirations, especially those cities that hosted the Games since Barcelona. Barcelona sought to use the Games to catalyse a process of urban regeneration and social and economic development, providing, according to many commentators, a ‘model’ that others have since sought to emulate.

Scope

The main sources for the review are derived from:

- official evaluations and reports of the host city organising or project management committees;
- official reports/progress reviews undertaken by funding agencies, public authorities and auditors;
- consultancy and ‘think tank’ reports, typically prepared for and published by key stakeholders engaged in the governance of the Games;
- independent evaluations from community groups and academic institutions;
- press and media reports.
- Whilst there is an extensive literature on host cities and major projects and sporting events, it is important to recognise that:
- community engagement has rarely been extensively and critically reviewed, especially by the key participants/stakeholders;
- there is an expanding literature on community engagement but it tends to be ‘ex post facto’ rather than designed to inform policy makers and help review and revise existing governance arrangements;
- community engagement achievements and outcomes are best evaluated over time via longitudinal studies;

- data collection and analysis is not consistent across host cities, nations and major projects;
- there is a tendency for studies to polarise between the 'supportive' and the 'negative';
- comparative analyses must recognise the diversity of host city visions and achievements and the specific social, economic and political conditions in which they arise.

Explaining Community Engagement

Community engagement has two main dimensions; first, in relation to evaluating public support for hosting the Games and, second, in gauging the involvement of communities in event-related activities and their engagement with the broader process of urban development and regeneration that may accompany hosting the Games. The evaluation of public support is often captured by quantitative (e.g. opinion polls) and qualitative (e.g. focus groups) approaches as well as being reflected in the extent to which active engagement with the event is encouraged through volunteering. Involvement with the wider process of urban regeneration is reflected in the ways that community representatives may be directly involved in the governance framework or are engaged with policy makers via consultation. Public support – at the bid preparation phase and public opinion may play a decisive role in determining the extent to which authorities progress a bid or commit public funds to it. For the Los Angeles (1984) Games, it was clear from the outset that an important section of the California public was opposed to public funds being used to underwrite the bid and in the previous decade, Denver citizens rejected the opportunity to host the 1976 winter Olympics. Recently, host city populations have been more

willing to support the Games coming to their town. Typically, over time for the host city and nation, the pattern of support has been high at the bid phase, fallen during the preparation phase (especially when financing arrangements have come under pressure) and restored to a high level of public support during the year of the event itself.

Volunteering

Volunteer programmes are an integral part of the Olympic and Paralympic Games and have generated large numbers of participants involved in a diverse range of activities associated with the event. The summer Olympic and Paralympic Games may create opportunities for around 50,000 volunteers with programmes commencing typically two years prior to the event itself. Over recent Games, volunteering has involved the training of a 'core' of paid volunteer organisers (Sydney, Athens) and the provision of training opportunities for unpaid volunteers to engage in a diverse range of activities including the provision of services to visitors, sports-related organisational and administrative tasks, cultural Olympiad activities and broader educational programmes, especially for young people and specific groups such as the disabled. Manchester (Commonwealth Games, 2002) provided opportunities to lend volunteering a new dimension based upon its association with promoting social inclusion. Volunteers were drawn from the young living in the most socially disadvantaged areas of North West England and they participated in training programmes that offered educational qualifications aimed at demonstrating participants' readiness for employment. The volunteer programme helped generate a database of volunteers whose activities continued after the Games through their involvement with a network of third sector and existing volunteering agencies within the region. The use of volunteering to

strengthen civic engagement after the Games and to associate its projects with social objectives designed to improve the public realm, enhance health and well-being, improve social awareness and provide practical support for, for example, accessibility, are relatively recent and more innovative approaches to attaching volunteering to achieving positive post-Games legacies.

There are several obstacles to community engagement with the wider process of urban development and renewal associated with hosting a mega event:

- the governance frameworks established to use the mega event to catalyse more rapid change than would normally occur, tend to mitigate against effective community involvement; communities often feel that the event, in all its phases, happens to them rather than involves them (Burbank et al 2001);
- public/private partnership approaches often replace the legal and democratic processes that facilitate community dialogue at the planning and development phases (Minton, 2009);
- the ownership and control of the Olympic Park and its environs passes to special authorities with powers that often preclude direct public involvement, especially those special powers to compulsory purchase land and amenities (Preuss, 2004)

The evaluation developed below, examines the extent to which past host cities have overcome these obstacles.

Theme 1: Creating a Coherent and Attractive City Within a World City Region

A principle success of past host cities is that through the Olympic planning processes, attractive places have been created. This can be said to be the case in the majority of host Olympic cities and is a reason why Olympic host cities bid to host the Games.

In attracting visitors to the city through leveraging tourism and branding associated with the Games, public spaces, previously unresolved planning issues such as transportation, or unsightly or 'no go' public areas, are remediated, rectified and presented to outsiders as 'new' and ideal features. Mega events organisers are increasingly committed to using the hosting of events to leverage positive outcomes for local people with reference to physical environment. Here, through the centralised powers afforded to Games organisers, and the overall ethos of the Games there is a rare opportunity for a city to broker positive change and design excellence (Punter 2004:410).

At the least planning will involve beautification schemes in areas expected to attract visitors (Gold 2007:278). Olympic planners want to make the right kinds of associations between place, space and their city; those that encourage investment and consolidate the city image. Previous cities have built well on place-making and its association with culture or activities, for example, Barcelona and Sydney, to encourage MICE and other forms of tourism.

This 'impression' or touristic presentation of the city through the Olympics as the same but better has some basis in fact. Due to the Olympic planning process – speed, regulations, the passing of laws very close to the Games – changes and developments happen more

quickly and are more comprehensive than they might have been without the momentum provided by the Games and the centralisation of planning and development bodies in the host cities (Poynter 2008:62; Veal & Toohey 2007:225). We should also note that because of the tight timetables, promised landscaping and environmental or place-making benefits may be only 'shades of green' (Prasad 1999:83; McGuirk & Dunn 1999:27).

Usually however, Olympic bids tend to trigger much more comprehensive attempts at urban transformation and improvements in the built environment, not just remedial work (Short 2004:108). The Olympic Games have even improved hygiene and general health and safety in some host cities, for example, in Barcelona there were major improvements to sewage systems (Liao & Pitts 2006:1242).

In Athens and Barcelona there were major improvements in transport, as new metro and tram lines were built to link the main Olympic sites with other districts which improved the quality of life (Liao & Pitts 2006:1244; Symes 1995:124). The improvement of Athens' service infrastructure, including the building of a new air terminal, hotels and plazas, could be said to be its major positive legacy (Liao & Pitts 2006:1244). In Sydney the hosting of the Paralympics engendered consideration of disability and mobility which meant real changes to transport planning and delivery, and the awareness of disability in wider society (Darcy 2003; Hargreaves 2005; Preuss 2004:22).

The flurry of work accompanying the Olympics means that people living in proximity to the Olympics venues will inevitably be inconvenienced by their hosting. Impact studies of the Sydney Olympics found that the closer the Games got, the more inconvenience suffered and the more the irritation of the local community with the Games grew (Waitt

2003:200). This may explain some aspects of local opposition to the Games, of which a key focus is anxiety and protest about disruption caused by construction and other related impacts such as environmental problems or displacement of wildlife (Toohey and Veal 2005:71-2; Cashman 2009:136).

However, for the past fifteen years the International Exhibitions Bureau has adopted a protocol to "guarantee that Expos will contribute to the quality of life, to the quality of the environment and to the preservation of resources" (COHRE 2007:25). This has been a focus of the International Olympic Committee (Chappelet 2008:91) and forms part of an agenda of sustainable development.

An increased understanding of the impacts of hosting the Games and the impacts of general construction (i.e. 'considerate construction), especially in the UK, suggests that minimising the tangential effects of construction and mega event hosting, taken with the direct impacts (road closure, sound pollution, traffic), is a real aim of event organisers. Nonetheless, host cities sometimes fail to accommodate experience with ideals; it may be that all construction is disruptive.

Making changes to the local area can become a contentious issue during the Games and tends to upset locals; beautification can sometimes be aggressive and suggests the changes are not meant for their consumption (Gold 2007:276), and may displace them from areas they usually use. In Sydney there was no traffic calming nor ease of congestion and thousands of local residents famously left the city during the Olympics (Punter 2004:432); transport issues with relation to the Olympic Park were not resolved until some years after the event.

This doesn't have to be the case. For example, while Athens is often thought of by international critics as a poorly executed Olympics, Greeks

saw it as a tremendous success (Tanganou 2008). An impact study of the Athens Olympics by the World Wildlife Fund found that it scored highest on public awareness, improvement of the built environment and public transport, all issues which are seen to profoundly impact city dwellers. Moreover, tourists and visitors were impressed by the delivery of extended and beautified passageways throughout the city; and significant modernisations to transport which reduced traffic and congestion that had long term benefits (Gold 2007; LERI 2007).

Olympic Villages and Parks

The majority of Olympic host cities focus most attention on their Olympic Parks and facilities, creating showcasing and impressive venues. This can be to their detriment or, if leveraged well, provide them with attractive sites that will encourage tourist visits post-Games. Ensuring that cities which host the Olympics find a use for their venues, once built or if re-used is a key concern, both for the IOC and each host country. For the host city it validates their bid and the expenses (Chappelet 2008:90). For most analysts the most tangible and direct legacy of any mega event is the facilities built to host it and left post-event. However, sustainable development has only even been part of any city's candidature (bid) since the bid for the 2006 winter Olympics (Chappelet 2008:91), and London is the first summer Olympics city to consider sustainable development.

However, each Olympic host city has built or upgraded sports facilities and open spaces to host the Games. This is a responsibility: sports facilities have to be of the highest quality; the Olympic Park has to accommodate tens of thousands of people and the Village has to house at least 15,000 people and have a transport infrastructure capable of transporting thousands of people (Preuss 2006:191).

Inevitably the real success of these facilities and open spaces will be measured by how they are used by the population after rather than during the Games event; however legacy has often been an afterthought (Cashman 2009:137). A legacy is "only thought of as positive if the venues are sustainable and used by the community" (Cashman 2006:179).

Thus, ensuring the facilities will be available to use by the local community is a key factor. Olympics planners have in general assumed benefits from 'hard' infrastructure will translate to locals automatically, where in practice, these benefits have not happened (Vigor 2006:14; Evans 2008:315).

The 'winner's curse' is the fact that host cities have to build spectacular facilities that aren't needed, and are expensive to run post event (Preuss 2006:190; Hiller 2006:326). This is partly a corollary of the problem that "the pressure to provide such infrastructure gets confused with the pride of presenting the city to the world and therefore there is a risk of overestimating the need for permanent structures" (Preuss 2006:192). Facilities built to the scale Olympics events require – i.e. swimming pools or stadia – are expensive to maintain. However, iconic buildings and structures do attract visitors post-Games and continue to do so as long as they are maintained. Nations hosting the Games may capitalise on the possibilities if in the venue design they have sports participation as a priority and facility after use (Cashman 2006:83).

There is a tension here between elite sports facility and accessibility for the general public (Hiller 2006:328). However, 'momentum' in this case cannot be decided overnight, and Sydney, the most famous 'white elephant' stadia in modern times, is now well-used after a problematic initial period (Cashman 2009:136).

Evidence suggests that if parks are integrated appropriately into new areas, they will be well-used; however there is less evidence on who is using them – people who live very locally to them, or tourists visiting. Much of the evidence relates to tourist footfall. In most host cities the Olympic Parks are and become the success story of the Games, with the exception of Athens. In Athens there was little attempt to integrate pre-existing neighbours and facilities and although much was made of ‘legacy’, permanent post-event use for facilities was confused with political bargaining. Most facilities and the landscaped park are not available for use by the public (Gold 2007:282) and a lack of consultancy over the siting of Olympic venues, and a failure to consider ‘green technologies’.

However, Athens also acts as a useful reminder that away from the centralised image of the Olympic Park are other facilities for leisure, recreation, physical activity and enjoyment of place: “The Olympics provided Athens with public parks, esplanades, surveillance systems, cleanliness — all those amenities that are considered inseparable from the contemporary notion of civility... the Olympics acted as a new means of modernization for Athens” (Traganou 2008:204).

Sydney’s Park lessons also suggest that legacy can be mixed, especially with relation to public spaces. Sydney’s organisers did not meet their ambitious environmental targets in creating the Park from a brownfield site. However, the ecosystem of the area was improved, and a released for public use, now considered one of the world’s foremost recreational parks. The Park is now the focal point of a new suburb of Sydney, Newington, as well as a recreational focus for the wider community. The New South Wales Council initially had problems in under-usage of the facilities, but the watersports park is the only venue in the Southern hemisphere, and is well used (Cashman 2006:180-1).

Partnerships: were local people included in planning?

Despite the successes of investigative journalism, local people are unlikely to have knowledge of the ‘full picture’ of Olympic development, lacking an overview or knowledge of sometimes secretive planning processes, or lack of time to investigate (Preuss & Solberg 2006:401). Consultations may be sited in inconvenient areas and at inconvenient times. There is evidence to suggest that the middle classes are able to mount more influential protest about disruption, being possibly better educated or able to couch their feelings in terms more commensurate with organisers of large events; alternatively they may be able to access political elites in host cities (Short 2004:107; Andranovich 2001b:165; Lenskyj 2002; Waitt 2003). Local opposition to the Olympics is most often ignored or trivialized (Gold 2007:47; Lenskyj 2006:205), couched as unpatriotic, or suppressed as unnecessarily ‘negative’, meaning that any community consultation in planning may be surface level only (McGuirk & Dunn 1999:28).

It is important to act on local feelings about inconvenience, as this is one of the primary forms of opposition toward the Games – either the experience, or the fear of it (Preuss & Solberg 2006). And surprisingly for local authorities, who often assume that their communities are tired of being consulted because of low response rates, local people tend to think that their experiences and wishes are being ignored (Cashman 2006:239; Darcy 2003:750). Suppression of these experiences leads to ill will (Andranovich 2001:127).

There are sometimes inevitable impacts through construction that not only impact the organisers of the Games but for which the local population may see the local boroughs and authorities as responsible for, even if they have no jurisdiction over them. At the same time,

local authorities or city authorities are 'locked out' of decision making; or have only tokenistic involvement (Andranovich et al 2001:17).

Key issues include:

- construction of facilities
 - traffic and transport timetabling changes/ heavy usage/ congestion
 - noise/ environmental pollution
 - level of scrutiny by media
 - culture shock to outsiders and untraditional cultures.
- (Preuss & Solberg 2006:396)

However, in general in previous host cities there has been goodwill towards the Olympics with relation to the various issues connected to inconvenience, such as pollution, noise and traffic/congestion. In Sydney researchers found that post-Games people bore quite positive attitudes towards the Olympics as an event and remembered it fondly, even if they displayed apathy or were 'sick of it' pre-event. This research also suggested that some of the community were more likely than others to take a 'socially altruistic' approach, coping with the changes positively believing that they are in the interests of the greater good. A social impacts study carried out in Sydney showed that: those more likely to accept any inconveniences with equanimity included: younger people, families and ethnic minorities who took up and enjoyed the sense of inclusion and community spirit the Games offered (Waitt 2003).

Place shaping: coherent and attractive places

In general this is an area of success; regardless of whether local people have been able to access resources, the majority of post-Olympic cities, villages and venues are well-used post event, contributing to the attractiveness of the area and urban renewal.

All Olympic bids, organisers and cities have faced some issues of incoherence in their actualisation of legacy, venues and facilities. In Sydney and Athens, plans to create environmentally friendly ecosystems for parks and stadia were abandoned due to costs, and a lack of considered planning for post use. In Sydney there was a mishmash of planning after the bid had been won once the green agenda had been abandoned (Weirick 1999:80), and in Athens, it is possible that preventable mistakes were made, such as using the Games to achieve constantly changing politically led 'soft goals'. It may be that continual changes in planning for open spaces and stadia result in less than the sum of the original bid.

However, an Olympic city can be more than the sum of these parts. In Athens, changes to the landscape and environment were the most successful aspect of Olympic development – presenting Athens with new public spaces and parks, and widened boulevards (Tanganou 2008). In Sydney the Olympic Park was not the only area of attention either. As well as the development of the Olympic Park there were also over 30 new beautification projects of public space outside the Park operating under a 'City Spaces' scheme that converted and refurbished public, cultural and recreational spaces and facilities, and supported public art projects (Punter 2004:430). City Spaces was deemed a success – the most important and successful legacy of the Games: "The City Spaces Programme delivered an important democratisation of space – a reclamation of pedestrian space from traffic and the provision of a wide range of accessible high-quality public amenities (sports halls, swimming pools, and cultural venues) which respond more to the needs of city residents and workers than to international tourists" (Punter 2004:441).

Middle classes, political elites and tourists may gain from infrastructural reforms, economic

investment and social activities and interest in the city as a result of the Games. By comparison, the city's poor tend to suffer and sometimes become poorer as a result of the Olympics (Preuss 2004:23; Short 2004:107). It has also been the case that some "sports related regenerative projects require the demolition of at least some low-income housing to make way for facilities, infrastructure or development" (Weed 2004:36).

These impacts suggest that there is no longer term beneficial impact to local neighbourhoods because of the Games. However, as we have discovered, even with uncertainties about Olympic Parks and facilities, there are infrastructural improvements that will be permanent and have positive results for the city. In the long-term infrastructural developments, the provision of revitalised public spaces and the improvement of the built environment may benefit local people more than the provision of an Olympic Park.

Community consequences

The goals and ideals of the Olympics and Paralympics are inclusive and participatory, whatever the outcomes. Although they are hard to qualify, in some cases the Olympic Games may act as a catalyst to promote social changes and policy development beyond the norm as they inspire policymakers to create exemplary solutions (Black & Bezanon 2004:1245). There is a small amount of evidence to suggest that Olympic Parks are exemplary because of the need to host the Paralympics; further that the perceptions of disabled people change through the hosting of the Paralympic Games (Darcy 2003).

It is important to carry out a social impact study; a past failure of Olympic cities, with the exception of Sydney before the event, is that they have not done so, before and/ or after. For example, although there was no

formal social impact assessment carried out after the Barcelona Games by the organizing committee, critics believed there had been serious social costs to the working class community. They made their analysis based on the fact that 20 per cent of Barcelona's community moved out of the city over two years and that the working class stronghold had been relocated to accommodate the Games (Weed 2004:36). Here the impacts are unclear and can be debated.

Themes 2 & 3: Improving Educational Attainment, Employment, and Skills to Reduce Worklessness and Benefits Dependency

This section focuses upon the impact of the Olympic and Paralympic Games on employment skills and employability (and worklessness), in host cities, drawing upon evidence from Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing. Reference is also made to Manchester's hosting of the 17th Commonwealth Games (2002) since the official report on the Games specifically addresses training and employment opportunities for young people. This section:

- briefly outlines the research approach to the literature review, drawing attention to the range of issues raised by the available evidence sets;
- summarises the findings thematically – employment, skills and aspirations;
- provides some conclusions concerning best practice approaches to improving employment opportunities and enhancing the employment aspirations of local people.

It is important to recognise the spatial and temporal dimensions of analysis when considering the impact of hosting the Games on employment, skills and worklessness. These provide the context for evaluating the success or otherwise of the Games in catalysing change within the city's labour market.

The Spatial Dimension

The spatial dimension of employment impact focuses upon the host city and the structure of its economy. It is most useful to distinguish between the 'one-off' impact of hosting the event and the longer term legacy and its sustainability – the capacity to provide an enduring legacy of economic growth and development. The scale of the city economy in relation to the regional and national economy is an important determinant of impact; the larger the city and the smaller the national economy, the greater is the potential impact (e.g. Athens 2004). The industrial structure of a city's economy may also be significantly changed as the hosting of the Games facilitates a wider process of transition from traditional to new industries, such as, financial and business services (Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney), event management (Sydney) and tourism and high technology industries (Barcelona).

The Temporal Dimension

Equally, the position of the city and regional economy in relation to the cyclical nature of the national and international economy is a significant factor in determining the economic legacy of the Games. A host city may partially offset downward cyclical trends or benefit from a wider pattern of economic growth. Barcelona benefited from the Games taking place during the expansion of the European Single Market (1992), becoming an important location for companies seeking to establish regional head

offices to support their activities across the Iberian peninsula; while Beijing's economic development reflected the wider process of urbanisation and economic development that enabled China's capital city to reflect the patterns of dynamic growth achieved across the whole economy.

Recent host cities have typically allied the potential economic gains of the Olympics with the expansion of the service sector, facilitating a model of consumption-led economic growth (Barcelona, Sydney, Beijing). The historic context of the economy is also important. Los Angeles (1984) had a relatively vibrant private sector, it was possible to undertake a mainly private sector funded Games. By contrast, Sydney (2000) and London (2012) located the Games in relatively deprived areas, hence, public sector investment was/is important to produce a sustainable economic legacy.

Employment

Employment data has been drawn from a variety of sources to measure the direct employment impact. Direct employment divides between the pre-event and post-event phases and may be further divided into temporary and permanent forms of employment arising from hosting the Games. The data available varies in reliability, being more accurate when measuring the temporary jobs arising in pre-Games period and less reliable when measuring the permanent employment gains achieved by a city in the post-Games period.

The pre-event phase provides data on employment creation in industries typically associated with the planning, development and construction of the event related facilities and the infrastructure developments that would not have taken place if the Games had not come to town. Indirect employment arising from the Games, within the wider regional or national

economy, is more difficult to estimate since it arises from the contracted supply chain for services, materials and products related to the event and the infrastructure development. The focus here is on the data available to measure direct employment impacts.

Barcelona (1992) Labour market trends in Barcelona and its surrounding region between 1986 and 1992 revealed a significant decline in unemployment, with the unemployment rate dropping from 18.4 per cent to 9.6 per cent (for Spain the equivalent figures were 21 per cent and 15.5 per cent). Unemployment fell from a record high in November 1986 of 127,774 to 60,885 in July 1992. It is estimated that event-related infrastructure developments provided employment for 20,000 persons over the same period. Immediately following the Games unemployment in Barcelona returned to the national average but fell significantly in subsequent years. The Olympic permanent employment legacy was around 20,000, sustained by private sector investment in new jobs, particularly in service industries (Brunet, 2009).

Atlanta (1996) The employment impact of the Games on Atlanta is recorded by the State Of Georgia as a direct impact of 36,000 jobs and an induced impact of 41,000. This data has to be placed in context. The Atlanta regional economy produced significant job growth in the 1980s and 1990s. 500,000 net new jobs were created, for example, in the period 1980-90. It is likely that the Olympic employment effect mainly generated temporary employment opportunities with the overall employment impact of the Games being 'overwhelmed' by general trends such as corporate relocations to the city and corporate expansion in the region. In the decade following 1996, Atlanta achieved a 30 per cent increase in international companies being located in the city (a total of 1,600 companies by 2006).

Sydney (2000) The overall estimate of the temporary and permanent employment impact of the 2000 Games in the region of New South Wales and Australia is unclear. In 1993 KPMG estimated that New South Wales would achieve an annual net increase in jobs of around 10-12,000 per annum in the ten years spanning the Games (1994-2004) – this estimate included induced employment effects around the growth in tourism and inward investment. The evidence of post-Games evaluation studies indicate that 1,150 permanent jobs were created by inward investment in 2000 and a special post-Games initiative to secure the relocation of companies to the region led to 19 companies establishing offices that created a further 1,219 permanent jobs. In relation to temporary employment, the peak achieved in the construction industry was 24,000 jobs in the two years preceding 2000. A 'second wave' of investment in Sydney's Olympic Park took place between 2003 and 2006 under the guidance of the Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA). The master plan seeks to 'achieve by 2030 a daily population of 28,500 workers, 14,000 residents, 5,000 students and 15,000 annual visitors' (Cashman 2008):

Sydney Olympic Park case study

'The sports precinct for the Sydney Olympics was created between 1993 and 1999. There was a legacy vision but no specific vehicle for its delivery. Between the close of the Games in 2000 and 2002, the Park became a 'white elephant'. In 2002 the Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA) was created by the New South Wales Government. A legacy master plan (Sydney Olympic Park Master Plan 2030) was developed which led, according to the Sydney Daily Telegraph, to 'a second building boom' from 2006 to 2008. The plan involved the development of the Park for a mix of commercial and public use, including:

- ensuring on-site employment for a 10,000 daily workforce;
- residential development of 685 apartments, centrepiece of a new town centre development;
- \$276 million development including two hotels, three commercial buildings, a further 208-unit residential development, a specialist hospital, a childcare centre and community leisure facility;
- the move of Commonwealth Bank to three seven storey towers, shifting 3,500 employees to 60,000 sq m of new office space (completed 2009) and the development of a retail area linked to the towers development;
- the creation of three youth-oriented facilities, including a skate park and BMX park;
- creation of an international centre for excellence in sports science management (Sport Knowledge Australia);
- creation of elite sports facilities to house higher education institutions, including the Australian College of Physical Education

The master plan seeks to achieve by 2030 a daily population of 28,500 workers, 14,000 residents, 5,000 students and 15,000 annual visitors'.

Source: Cashman R. (2008) 'The Sydney Olympic Park Model: Its Evolution and Realisation, Mega Event Cities, a publication for the 9th World Congress of Metropolis, http://www.metropolis-server.com/metropolis/sites/default/files/reunion/sydney_2008/publicaciones/MEGAEVENT_intro.pdf; accessed November 1st, 2009.

Athens (2004) The effects of the Games on employment in Athens and the Attica region were significant in the pre-Games period. For example, in 1998 the country's labour force expanded from 4.5 million to 4.8 million

employees, an increase of seven per cent. In the Attica prefecture, the rise was from 1.59 million to 1.78 million, an expansion of 11.8 per cent. Equally, unemployment in Attica stood at 12 per cent in 1999 but fell between 2003 and 2005 to nine per cent, one per cent lower than the national average for that period. The sectors most benefiting from an expansion in full-time employment were construction and hotels and restaurants.

Immediately following the Games, the positive employment effect moved into reverse. In the three months after the Games, September-November 2004, Greek industry lost 70,000 jobs, the majority in construction. The adverse effect of contraction in the construction industry is reflected in its overall importance to the Greek economy. Between 1997 and 2003, construction industry turnover rose from 6 to 13 billion euro; this represented 10 per cent of GDP in 2003.

The sharp decline in the sector's fortunes following the completion of the Games had a significant impact on business confidence in the wider Greek economy in the months immediately following their completion.

Beijing (2008) In 2005, there were 8.78 million employees in Beijing, 2.49 million more than those in 2001. Olympic Games related employment peaked in 2005, with a little over 50,000 jobs being created directly by the preparation for the Games. The registered unemployment rate remained at a relatively low level of 2.57 percent in 2006.

Beijing Employment 2000-2008

	Registered unemployment rate in urban area (%)	Employment Created by Olympic Games (000s)
2000	0.76	
2001	1.18	8
2002	1.35	21
2003	1.43	40
2004	1.30	40
2005	2.11	52
2006	2.57	44
2007	2.86	29
2008	3.07	N/A

Source: Source: China National Statistical Administration (2007).

Preparation for the Games has played an important role in Beijing's development in several ways. From 2002 to 2006, the average annual economic growth of Beijing rose to 12.1 per cent, 1.7 per cent higher than the 10.4 per cent growth per annum achieved in the previous 20 years. According to the Beijing Municipal Congress, the Olympic economy has provided a new impetus to the upgrading of the capital's industrial structure and directly stimulated the development of several industries, including construction, communications, transportation, tourism and exhibitions. It has also accelerated the development of the finance, insurance, information and business services and the leisure and cultural and creative sectors. A report from the official Beijing Olympics website, published in September 2008, suggested that: 'A wide cross-section of Beijing's commercial sectors has benefited from the Olympic Games, none more so than the construction industry. Major building projects have resulted

in the creation of an extra 430,000 jobs in the sector between 2004 and 2008, while the retail and wholesale industries will have gained 130,000 new jobs. Other sectors to have gained include finance and insurance, the IT industry and communications. Cumulatively, the Games will have resulted in the creation of 1.8 million new jobs across all sectors, more than 370,000 of them this year'.

source <http://en.beijing2008.cn/news/official/ioc/n214536689.shtml>

Employment Summary

- Employment rates in each of the host cities increased in the six-year period prior to the Games, with employment levels rising, in particular in construction and related industries;
- Sustained improvements in employment post Games depend on the dynamic trajectory of the wider regional/national economy (Atlanta, Beijing and eventually Barcelona) or new inward investment to the Olympic Park area and its environs (Sydney);
- In the two years immediately following the Games employment rates fell back to the regional or national average (Barcelona, Sydney) or declined significantly in the city and region (Athens);
- In cities experiencing a wider process of economic growth and inward investment (Atlanta, Beijing), permanent employment continued to rise in the post-event period or began to rise after a brief hiatus (Barcelona, Sydney).

Skills Development

Data relating to skills development and the enhancement of social capital is unreliable. Host Olympic cities provide tangential evidence of a rise in volunteering, the provision of training for construction and service-related

employment but there is no evidence of a systematic approach to enhancing the skills base of the local population. Perhaps the most interesting example of a coordinated approach to skills development is the 17th Commonwealth Games, Manchester (2002).

Barcelona: There is little hard evidence of improvement in the skills or knowledge base of the Barcelona workforce arising from the 1992 Games. This deficit is being addressed in subsequent regeneration phases, particularly in the shift toward the emphasis on creating knowledge-based employment since 2001. Leading up to the Games, employment growth focused upon hotels, retail and construction with temporary employment arising in less skilled occupations. In construction, technological improvements in work processes eliminated skilled and unskilled work. Approximately 12,000 workers from other regions of Spain and overseas took up temporary employment opportunities mainly in services and construction, and highly flexible short-term work was created through a major volunteers programme. The relatively weak impact of the Games on the labour market may be attributed to several reasons. First, in the construction sector the system of sub-contracting, made labour market interventions designed to improve the local skills base very difficult to implement. Second, in service industries, most of the temporary and permanent jobs created were unskilled and, finally, Barcelona had a long-term historic deficit in higher skilled and professional occupations arising from its industrial past.

Atlanta: There is little evidence of the Games creating a lasting impact upon skills and employment patterns. The Atlanta region has one of the largest city-suburban income gaps in the USA. 78 per cent of those living below the poverty line in the Atlanta region live in the inner city. The disparity between

suburban wealth and inner-city deprivation has not changed significantly in the decade since the Games. The suburbs continue to have a high proportion of the wealthier, middle class community, including a significant black middle class. One consequence of this polarised society is that commuter travel distances are high and inner-city deprivation is reflected in continued low achievement in schools and colleges. This is despite the Olympic legacy seeking to attain a strong record of affirmative action in employment.

Sydney: The skills legacy of Sydney is contested in the post-Games literature. 50,000 volunteers took part, about 5,000 of whom were public sector employees on 'special leave'. The three-week period of volunteering focused on mainly customer service work and involved a conscious effort to present a multicultural face to the Games. A \$10 (Australian dollar) million Training Strategy for Construction provided 12,000 training places. The available evidence suggests that the Sydney Games produced a positive legacy in employment terms for the construction industry, otherwise job creation was mainly temporary and in low skilled service work. Permanent employment growth was heavily reliant upon specific post-Games projects aimed at securing inward investment whilst new training opportunities in the hospitality and security sectors did not translate into permanent longer term jobs following the event itself.

Athens: Training and skills development was mainly focused upon the event and its preparation, with positive benefits in developing professional and technical skills in media, telecommunications and construction sectors. 40,000 volunteers participated in the event, with training focused upon customer service and less skilled activities.

Beijing: Skills development for the Beijing Games has not been systematically recorded. There is evidence, however, of skills development programmes focusing upon the provision of English language training for volunteers (there were 50,000 volunteers drawn from across China), the provision of customer service training in the retail, hotel and leisure sectors and the development of employment programmes for the disabled including, 'Sweet Home', which was aimed at improving disabled peoples' opportunities to secure employment. Education provision on Olympic themes achieved a considerable impact arising from their insertion into the national curriculum across China. The provision focused upon the Cultural Olympiad, the history of the Olympics, the values of 'Olympism' and the development of specific language skills.

Manchester 2002: achieved a significant programme of skills development, volunteering and education. Volunteering initiatives began with a Pre-Volunteers Programme (PVP) focused upon deprived groups within the north west region. Those participating in this programme, provided by the Manchester Training and Enterprise Council, were drawn from 23 regeneration areas within the region, with the focus upon the unemployed, ethnic minority and disabled. Participants received accredited training and many went on to provide volunteer activities during the event itself. Over 22,000 volunteered to undertake approximately 10,000 roles during the Games. Since the Games, regional organisations have reported that volunteers have continued to work with organisations such as Sport England, Millennium Volunteers and Timebank. Educational programmes were undertaken in schools, colleges and universities, with the following outcomes:

- a Commonwealth Games curriculum pack for primary and secondary schools which

was sent to all schools nationally (33,000) as part of the Spirit of Friendship Festival. There were nearly 250,000 visits to the curriculum pack website between July and September 2002, averaging 2,700 per day which was more than the 2,500 average expected;

- over 1,000 schools across 50 countries have registered with the Commonlink website at the Commonwealth Institute;
- around 75,000 primary age pupils participated in over 750 events as a part of the TOP Link Programme organised by the Youth Sports Trust;
- a survey of east Manchester residents carried out during the summer of 2002 before the Games showed that 52 per cent felt that the area was improving;
- The majority of the volunteers either gained employment or volunteered for other projects;
- 2,250 volunteers gained an NVQ in event volunteering that was especially designed for the Games.

Overall the Manchester Games legacy programme:

- helped 220 people gain employment;
- helped 3,092 people gain a qualification;
- helped 8,743 businesses;
- supported 913 voluntary organisations;
- encouraged 2,637 people into voluntary work;
- over 3,000 individuals have now volunteered in over 400 events post Games.

Indeed research from the Manchester Games Volunteer Survey, volunteers said that:

- 15 per cent - being a volunteer had improved their chances of employment
- 50 per cent - being a volunteer looked good on CV

- 47 per cent - had learnt new skills and capabilities
- 46 per cent - enhanced personal development
- 69 per cent- Games had made them feel part of the wider community.

Skills Development Summary

- The evidence available from past host Olympic cities is not systematically captured or reliable;
- The main focus of skills development programmes was upon construction and service industries (retail, tourism, hotel and leisure, event management);
- Beijing introduced programmes targeted at disabled people, providing training opportunities to enhance employability in a range of Beijing service industries;
- The Cultural Olympiad provided an important vehicle for the engagement of young people in performing arts projects and activities in all host cities and across the nation (Beijing, Athens, Sydney);
- Legacy facilities in the Olympic Park area included access to sports facilities for local communities, young people and elite athletes and incorporated city-wide, regional or national ‘academies’, colleges and higher education facilities focusing upon sport, health and recreation (Sydney);
- The city of Manchester, in collaboration with regional and local institutions, targeted young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, to become volunteers and associated the training with the accreditation.

Raising Aspirations and Place Making

Legacy achievements for most Olympic host cities have not been focused specifically upon raising the educational attainment and expectations of socially deprived areas. There

has been little evidence of the Games providing opportunities for local enterprise development or of significant improvements being achieved in relation to tackling worklessness and the conditions that give rise to benefit dependency. There is some evidence, however, of the Games providing a positive impetus to people’s expectations about their city and its social, economic and environmental development particularly where the legacy is associated with clearly specified outcomes.

Where there is confusion over objectives that emerge from within the host city’s organisational network, public expectations can be adversely affected and, as a consequence, significant groups within a city may perceive themselves as having lost out from their city hosting the Games (Atlanta). Past host cities may be reviewed in terms of a balance sheet of strengths and weaknesses in relation to those factors affecting aspirations and identification with place.

Barcelona: Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths
Zoning of city via four olympic districts
Inward investment in service industries
Permanent employment gain
Operating surplus on event
City planning continued post-Games diversification into new industries
Enhanced infrastructure
Dockland renewal, city opened to seafront
Visitor destination

Weaknesses
Rise in housing costs
Focus on high cost new housing
Displacement of poorer communities
Overcrowding of city centre as tourist destination

Atlanta: Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths
Attraction of Federal aid
Inward investment by major US companies
Redevelopment of business district of inner city
Operating surplus on Games

Weaknesses
No major social regeneration achieved for inner-city
Failure to engage with local neighbourhoods before, during, after Games
Trajectory of future city development tied to commercial rather than social renewal
Displacement of inner city poor from local neighbourhoods, little achieved in reducing social inequalities

Sydney: Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths
Infrastructure improvements, renewal of 'Homebush' area, a brownfield site
Re-branding of city as an event destination, enhanced service industries development
Environmental agenda example of good practice
Focus on housing development to meet local need

Weaknesses
Event focus, legacy development after 'hiatus' arising at end of Games
Under-utilisation of permanent sports facilities post-Games
Olympic Park development stalled for two years following completion of Games

Athens: Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths
City infrastructure improvements, especially transportation
Environmental improvements – air quality to public realm
Pre-Games employment impact on city and region especially construction and infrastructure
Successful Games and enhanced public realm

Weaknesses
Uncertainties about city's capacity to deliver the Games in pre-event phase
Cost overruns and delays
Post Games employment effect not sustained, major rise in unemployment in city/region
Permanent sports facilities under-utilised post-Games

Beijing: Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths
Olympics part of a wider City Plan to develop new service industries
Environmental improvements – air quality to public realm
Affirmation of national pride e.g. domestic tourism to Olympic site post-Games (100,000 per week in year following Games)
Extensive cultural and educational programme throughout China
Enhanced public realm and zoning of city

Weaknesses
Rise in housing costs
Concerns about sustaining environmental improvements
Concerns over post-event use of Olympic stadium, leased to commercial enterprise (CITIC)

Manchester: Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths
Regeneration of specific area – east Manchester
Event facilities fully utilised post-Games
Major soft legacies in education, volunteering, skills development and training, especially focused upon disadvantaged groups
Establishment of business network and programme of regional inward investment

Weaknesses
Initial concerns over funding model and level of support from central government
Continuity of funding and support for education, skills and training projects post-Games
Legacy planning not sufficiently inclusive of local community representatives

Theme 4: Homes for all

Place Shaping: housing and linkages between physical developments and socio-economic outcomes

In general, Olympic host cities and their organisers, whether their goals have been regenerative or speculative, have failed to account for the needs of local residents, particularly those living in the immediate vicinity of Olympic stadia or facilities. However each Olympic host city has had a different cultural and policy context rendering comparison difficult, if not impossible. And more recently the IOC has urged each Olympic host to consider the long-term needs of a city (IOC 2007:1).

However, because of the impacts on local communities, it is not uncommon for Olympic housing schemes to be unpopular (Gold 2007:7; Weed & Bull 2004:36). In each Olympic

city there have been direct and indirect impacts, especially with relation to housing. House prices tend to rise. Displacement also rises when cheap accommodation is put under pressure through demand or through rises in rent or cost (Shaw 2008:215).

Below we identify some trends before using specific examples:

- Housing impacts caused by the Olympics and the displacement of local communities through them can have such extreme results that they spur widespread political mobilisation and changes in voter patterns (Newman 2002:30).
- In the modern Olympic era the development of Olympic sites and villages has become the responsibility of public/private partnerships. This corresponds to an entrepreneurial model which became popular in the early 1980s which sought to profit from the Games, by combining the event with urban development (Waitt 1999).
- Following the remediation of publicly owned land to create Olympic villages, these facilities may be privately sold or used for publicly owned housing. It should be noted that Olympic villages are, however, designed to accommodate athletes, and may be unsuitable for family housing.
- Host cities need to provide accommodation for 15,000 athletes and 15,000 journalists alone; then consider hosting the other visitors who arrive in the city for the Games (Preuss 2006:191).

Although Olympic cities make enthusiastic bids, which openly promote a sustainable development and 'greening' agenda, as well as the provision of public or social housing, by the time facilities are built, these promises may have been abandoned, for example, Barcelona, Sydney and Athens (Cashman 2006).

In recent years much has been made of the 'legacy' of built environment that hosting the Olympics implies. We have already discussed the Olympic Park. In the case of London 2012, the possible economic and social benefits have outweighed the improvements to the built environment and have been used to justify the sustainability motto (Evans 2008:312). Thus, London is the first city to account for 'social regeneration', the recognition of the linkages between physical development and social and economic outcomes.

House prices rising remind us that each Olympic tale is however, that of two cities: while there are losers, there are also winners. In general: "the lessons from previous Games are clear in so far as they stress that those who pay for the Games do not necessarily profit from the Games and that the poor are more affected by capacity constraints, and therefore, are far more vulnerable to eviction and displacement than are middle-class groups... hosting the Games runs the risk of deepening the social polarisation in the city" (Preuss 2004:25). The catalyst approach to harnessing the Games to leverage benefits incorporates the hosting of the Games into a social policy agenda to achieve social cohesion and benefit (Poynter 2008:62):

"In the majority of cases, these events have been used to initiate and propel urban redevelopment plans. Long-term redevelopment planning occurs with the hallmark event acting as a catalyst, and communities - usually those of the urban poor - pay the costs in terms of displacement, negative effects on health, the breakdown of social networks, and the loss of affordable housing." (Olds 1988; Hall 1992)

Two examples:

Barcelona

- Residential housing market in the city had 'escalated' in price between the award of the Games in 1986 and staging of the Games in 1992, by about 250 per cent, a huge increase in local terms;
- There was a massive decline in the construction of publicly financed housing for low income families: between 1981 and 1985 this form of housing accounted for 50 per cent of new housing construction in Cataluna but, by 1991, only 6 per cent;
- The rate of out-migration from the city of Barcelona reached 16,000 in 1992 – over twice the 1986 figure.

(From Parkin & Sharma 1999: 173-4)

Atlanta

- Organisers were able to package Olympic based redevelopment with the 'Housing and Urban Development' federal funding packages which encouraged private/public partnership (Andranovich et al 2001:17).
- In 2004 prices in the former Olympic village ranged between \$280,000-400,000, making them premium properties (Hoffman 2004:182).

Housing Development and Policy

Thus far there has been no comprehensive linkage between pre-existing housing policies and 'Olympic' policies and planning in host cities (Gold 2007:278). As we have mentioned, local authorities may be locked out of decision making, not consulted or have only token involvement (Andranovich et al 2001). There is also a risk that public development or housing related funds are displaced into certain areas rather than others.

In Barcelona, regeneration was a priority and a private/public development project: "A total of 36.8 per cent of the Olympic building work was promoted by the private sector, and one-third of this was funded with foreign capital. Private investment focused on housing, hotels and business centres. The high level of private investment was sparked by expectations of improvement in the city's attractiveness" which held out post-Games (Roldán et al, 1992). Barcelona's Olympics were also associated with an increase of 98 per cent in the average price of new housing in the metropolitan region (Harris & Fabricus 1996:39).

Urban restructuring in Atlanta privileged business interests (Short 2004:107). The City of Atlanta was not consulted and the organisers encountered widespread condemnation for the treatment of people in social or public housing. However, legacy plans for Athens also became an overwhelmingly political issue, which derailed post Olympic momentum (Panagiotopoulou 2009:159; Gold 2007). Criticisms of Athens' planning and delivery also dwelt on the fact that the 'spread' lacked planned focus or reasoning (Weed 2008:167).

By comparison Sydney's organisers were aware of the possible social impacts of the Games and the impacts of positioning the Park, in what was at the time, a place of "socio-economic disadvantage, with relatively lower incomes, higher proportions of dwellings being rented and very high rates of unemployment". Newington became a "high socio-economic enclave" in an otherwise depressed local government area". Before the event, a social impact study revealed that local authorities were anxious about the social problems that might result from the 'tremendous social disparity' (Cashman 2006:222-235) and the organising committee provided limited funding for a team to help the homeless (Lenskyj 2000:144).

Olympic Villages

Olympic Villages tend to become socio-economic enclaves, in some cases despite initial plans or claims to create social housing or mixed-tenancy occupation (Hughes 1992:39-40; Horne & Manzenreiter 2006:12). In these cities there has been high demand for homes, exacerbated by the Olympics effect. But some past Olympic Villages have not met local housing needs (Symes 1999:124).

Case Study in depth: Barcelona

- Working class communities were moved to develop Barcelona's waterfront, without consultation (Weed & Bull 2004:36).
- The new housing associated with the Olympic Villages provided 26 per cent of the metropolitan area of Barcelona.
- Before the Olympics there had been promises that the 'Nova Icaria project' Olympic Village apartments would be used for subsidized housing for people of low income. However, they were sold on the open market (Hughes 1992:39-40; Horne & Manzenreiter 2006:12).
- There were 6,000 new housing units in the Olympic Village in the Poblenou. Each sold in the region of \$400,000 (Parkin 1999:174). Olympic housing was judged unsuitable for "the needs or ability to pay, of those needing homes" (Symes 1999:124).

Overview of Olympic Villages:

- **Barcelona:** Olympic Villages in the Poblenou became an enclave of high end flats, and introduced middle class accommodation into a working class area: "Most of the 6,000 flats sold for prices up to US\$400,000, well out of the grasp of ordinary Barcelona citizens" (Parkin & Sharma 1999:174).

- **Atlanta:** Demolition of housing occurred in two locations – one a public housing estate close to the city centre and the other a rundown industrial and housing area (Gold 2007:44). “1200 units of public housing were levelled in 1993 and later replaced with 900 units of new mixed –income housing.” (Andranovich et al 2001:106). This new housing was a gated community, “effectively replacing poorer tenants with more affluent residents” (Gold 2007:44). After the Games 62 per cent of people who were relocated had found replacement housing “however, many of these are in Section 8 units in which tenancy is less secure and quality is worse than public housing” (Andranovich 2001:111).
- **Sydney:** Olympic Village and Park created a new suburb and new housing for families; land was already owned by the government and had no previous residential occupancy so no relocation was needed; Newington is now a successful suburb (Cashman 2006; 2009) of medium density, middle income housing, and planned along sustainable lines. It has provided 5,000 new housing units privately sold, creating a profit of \$.25 million (Cashman 2006:237), (Searle 2005:44). The success was seen to be the fact that the area benefited from a re-imagining as “Sydney’s new heart” rather than being associated with the Olympics (Waite 2003:107).
- **Athens:** The Government already owned half the land, “thereby reducing the need for compulsory purchase” and for local displacement (Gold 2007:275). The area chosen for development was under-populated and there were hopes that migrants would be encouraged to move in (Liao & Pitts 2006:1244). After the Games the Village was and had always been designed to be self-financing, with the accommodation sold after the Games to middle-class families (Coaffee 2007:160).

Monitoring and Regulation of Impacts

Any consequence of the Games being hosted in a city may be most profound on the local community, but for the city as a whole, the impacts are more varied and harder to decide. Success will be a measure of priorities. Most Olympic Villages, for example, sell for premium prices on the private market but do not provide social housing. The impact of this relocation may be so profound that due to a different demographic in residence, it has been found that voting patterns have changed (Newman 2002).

Some impacts are invisible because they are legal; for example landlords evicting tenants before the Games, or charging higher rents as the Games approach; evicting tenants to make improvements to property (Lenskyj 2002).

Other impacts are hard to link to the Games themselves. For example, in Sydney a ‘gentrification’ corridor was noted in the area leading from the centre of Sydney out to Homebush Bay (the site of the Olympic Park) (Gratton & Henry 2001:175). House prices have risen in each Olympic city, but for example in the example of the Sydney Olympics, also rose in other cities in the host country.

In other places impacts may be viewed by the wider community as ‘illegal’ or ‘irresponsible’ but hard to prove or qualify because of a lack of official figures. In low income and mixed areas there may be a high proportion of illegal residence and multiple occupancy. Once evicted, these dwellers are unable to mount any protest. Impacts were well monitored in Atlanta, official figures of displacement were well below expert estimates of 68,000 people being forced to leave the city (Quesenberry 1996).

In Athens it was estimated that the Olympics had little impact on house prices and housing

campaigners COHRE found that compensation for any relocation was appropriate (COHRE 2007:12). However witness evidence (supported by media reports) in Athens cites the large numbers of vulnerable people (3,000 Roma families, 'beggars' and 'drug addicts') driven away from the city as a result of the Olympics (Shaw 2008:215) but there is no 'concrete evidence' available (COHRE 2007:13). In Beijing there were also claims of displacement on a massive scale, but no peer reviewed or official figures available. These examples demonstrate the potential for housing legacies to be wholly mixed, benefiting some but not others.

Theme 5: Enhancing Health and Wellbeing

Individual health and the healthiness of local communities is usually measured via life expectancy indicators (Doran & Whitehead 2004:93). Due to this, it is difficult to measure improvements in health – many of which may not have an immediate impact on life expectancy. More recently, policy and theory has been interested in 'wellbeing' as an alternative measure that recognizes a more complex situation of individuals, lives by recognising a wider range of factors such as employment, economic wealth, diet, and contentment with their lives and local communities (Allen 2008:5).

At present there is still a lack of research around wellbeing, and none that specifically relates to the Olympics. However, a project that is being conducted by the Institute of Health and Human Development at the University of East London might provide some insights into how to raise health and wellbeing levels in localised communities.

Well London is a four year, Big Lottery funded, multi-partnership project involving diverse

partners such as the University of East London, the Arts Council, the YMCA, the London Sustainability Exchange, Groundwork London, The London Health Commission and SLAM. The aim of Well London is to work with local people to transform their health. It has been doing so by promoting localised projects in 20 of the most deprived communities across London and promotes physical activity, healthy eating, mental wellbeing, arts and cultural access, and access to open spaces.

The Well London project began with in-depth community consultations to ascertain the particular health and wellbeing needs of these very local communities and then uses local agencies and people to deliver the projects. In doing so the assets of local areas were harnessed to improve health outcomes for these communities. The evaluation of the whole project is being conducted via a cluster randomised control trial with 5,500 surveys delivered at baseline and then at follow up. This kind of evaluation has the potential to truly ascertain the healthiness of these communities, and will establish rigorous wellbeing indicators that do not then rely on health indicators such as life expectancy to establish the "healthiness" of communities. This approach may well be useful to local authorities who wish to improve local health outcomes during the Olympic phases. However, this kind of baseline measurement and surveying is costly.

Summary – Health and Wellbeing

- There is very little evidence from previous Olympics that there are any long-term health benefits to local communities, aside from where there are changes to infrastructure that might affect health (e.g. Barcelona's updated sewage systems).
- It is unlikely that the Olympics will have any effect on life expectancy – there are no international comparators, and changes to life

expectancy rates are complex, require very long time frames, and the effect of a single mega-event cannot be disaggregated from any changes here.

- The best way to ensure any health or wellbeing outcomes from the Olympics would involve using the Olympic brand to promote very localised community programmes aimed to improve diet, physical activity and mental wellbeing. Early evidence from the Well London project shows that this approach is effective.
- The Cultural Olympiad can be used to increase arts participation, which is seen to have a link to wellbeing.

Theme 6: Reducing Serious Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour

Local Perception, Crime and Safer Areas

Since Munich in 1972, the security of people taking part in the Games has been paramount. Security levels tend to rise exponentially in host cities (Shaw 2008; Hiller 2006). This is a product of the need to defend the event from attack (Hiller 2006:323). This has influenced the design of Olympic Villages and Parks (Laio & Pitts 2006:1240), and these measures, such as increased surveillance, may be expected to remain post-Games.

As it impacts local residents and their perception of the Games, security personnel are usually deployed in key areas where visitors are expected to accumulate. Fears of terrorism and security concerns geared toward protecting tourists from residents may lead to harassment or an increase in routine checks of the local population (Hoffman 2004:184).

Locals have come under considerable scrutiny in Olympic cities because of anxiety about their

behaviour and the image it might give of the city. This might involve worries about crime, vagrancy, vandalism, hygiene or even levels of friendliness (Shaw 2008:213-4). Beautification undertaken for cities to host the Olympics tends to engender increased security or concern about the social makeup of new residential units (as above). While charities and NGOs concerned with the wellbeing of the homeless in particular have noted increased harassment of the homeless or criminalisation of homelessness. A well known phenomenon in cities that host mega events is the harassment of the homeless or vulnerable – whether in the form of slum clearance or mass arrests during the duration to keep the homeless off the streets (Lenskyj 2002; Shaw 2008). In Barcelona over 400 homeless people “were subject to control and supervision before the 1992 Games” (Horne et al 2006:12).

For example in Atlanta security arrangements specifically targeted the homeless or people identified as criminal, to discourage them from the downtown core. Organisers even considered a moat to separate the neighbourhoods. And there were a “spate of new city ordinances that criminalised homeless behaviour. With these new ordinances, it became illegal to enter vacant buildings, beg aggressively, or even to remain in a parking lot if one did not have a car there” (Andranovich 2001:113). This treatment caught the attention of the international media and was widely denounced, meaning that in 2000 Sydney’s Olympic organisers were required to submit to a non-harassment protocol of the homeless and unemployed.

The deployment of security forces towards Games events or to troublesome areas, away from everyday policing, may also lead to a rise in levels of crime outside the Olympic vicinity. There is no evidence that crime levels rise in host cities but there is evidence that visitors do strain capacity and impact public order, causing upset and worry to local people (Decker et al

2007). In fact, community concern about crime has been shown to rise during the Olympics, especially about 'outsiders', even though Olympic tourists are rarely disorderly (Decker et al 2007:99).

More generally social change in the community due to the remediation of land for different purposes is an inevitable impact (Preuss & Solberg 2006:398). Improvements to a city's fabric and infrastructure for the Games (such as beautification or population change due to regenerative policies) have had an influence on the way in which people perceive their city, and how others perceive it with relation to safety and wellbeing.

There is little evidence relating to the long-term impacts of the Games on security. The Olympic organisers have tended to focus development in areas formerly identified as brownfield sites, with high levels of public housing, transient sites, low income or marginal populations (Athens, Atlanta, Manchester). Implicit in the regeneration of former slums may be the issue of crime and security and social change. This was the case in Atlanta, where slum clearance made way for young middle class professionals (Newman 2002:30). Less than eight per cent of original tenants found homes in the mixed tenancy development, not just because of their costs, but also because there were very strict new credit and criminal record checks which "excluded many who most needed these units" (UN 2007:129). Under a 'zero tolerance' policy people with criminal records simply could not move in (Newman 2002:31).

Theme 7: Maximising Sports Legacy

Sports participation is heavily influenced by cultural and social factors such as gender, age and ethnicity. Overall sports participation levels of particular communities are very

difficult to predict as local contexts may inhibit or encourage participation, for example local areas with inexpensive sporting venues and well used open spaces may well encourage physical and sports activity while conversely a lack of these facilities will naturally discourage these activities.

There are two main issues with Olympic Sports participation legacies – firstly the provision of inexpensive community facilities, and secondly is the encouragement of the population into being more physically active. The second may well be dependent on the first, however the complexities between local infrastructure and local habits need to be considered.

With regards to sports participation and the Olympics, there are difficulties in assessing previous Games' legacies in this area as the definition of participation varies wildly from country to country. For example, the Australian Government considers participation to be engaging in a physical activity once a year, whereas the UK Government considers it to be engaging in a physical activity once in the last month (Veale & Toohey 2005). Naturally this presents problems with comparisons of activity levels from different Olympic host countries.

However, even where there has been research in this area from past Games – the resultant legacy is mixed. For example Sydney saw an increase in participation rates in seven Olympic sports, but alongside this there was a decrease in participation in nine other sports (Coalter 2004:96, Veale 2003).

In terms of mobilising physical activity – there is clear evidence that sports participation is dependent on age. That is, people are much more likely to play a sport they played in their youth (Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel 1999:121). This would suggest that the maximum benefit would be from targeting young people to become more physically active. In fact young people have been a target for physical activity

interventions by Olympic host cities. Barcelona held a 'More Sport at School' programme trained over 250 teachers in physical education to aid mass participation; and a Campus Olympia programme was launched in 1993 after the Games to encourage school use of the Olympic facilities, attracting 6,500 participants in 1995 (Veal & Toohey 2007:230).

Sports participation summary

- There is no basis for the claim that hosting the Olympics results in a positive and prolonged sports participation legacy (Cashman 2006, Hamlyn & Hudson 2005)
- After the Olympics there is no sustained rise in mass sports participation (Downward & Ralston 2006:338). It is doubtful that there are any health and social benefits for the host population (Hamlyn & Hudson 2005:882)
- Olympic events do provoke interest in sport, and people say they want to participate more, whether they do or not (Hamlyn & Hudson 2005:882)
- In some studies, a short-term (about three month) increase in sports participation after the Olympics has been noted.
- However, other studies have noted a sports fatigue effect and a drop in physical activity and participation after them (Veal 2003, Coalter 2004b)
- Common factors influencing levels of physical activity are: gender, ethnic, social, cultural, and age differentials (Coalter 2004:79).
- People are often prevented from participating more in sports for economic reasons or lack of facilities

- There are risks to participation such as injuries from lack of expertise and the lack of relevant healthcare professionals to deal with them (Hudson & Hamlyn 2005)
- Broader sports related research suggests that social, economic and ethnic diversity influences sports participation, but appreciation of diversity is not reflected in Olympics research (Coalter 2004; Laker 2002; Gratton 2004; Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel 1999)
- A low socio-economic status/position in society negatively impacts sports participation (Gratton 2004; Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel 1999).

Source: Smith, M. (2008)

Conclusion

These examples of 'best practice' provide insights into achieving a successful post-Games legacy in employment, skills and the aspirations of local communities:

- the event is a stage in a wider and longer term strategy aimed at regional/city-wide regeneration and economic development (Barcelona, Rio)
- the event provides an opportunity for infrastructure developments to strengthen the specific purpose and identity of districts (zoning) within the city (Barcelona)
- the event targets very specific locations for extensive regeneration rather than being loosely distributed across a city (Manchester, Sydney)
- long term benefits arise from plans designed to sustain the regeneration 'momentum' – with each 'new' plan addressing previous omissions (Barcelona, Sydney) and introducing new dimensions (Rio, Barcelona);

- effective regeneration programmes require cohesive and coordinated interventions at all stakeholder and governmental levels (Manchester, Barcelona, Sydney)
- there is a potential for a hiatus following the event which can be effectively avoided if 'legacy' is a key component of the preparations for the Games (Sydney, Athens), otherwise iconic venues may become disconnected from the main life of the city and experience a period of disuse (Sydney) or decline (Athens)
- soft legacy may become hard – improved perceptions of the city attracts business network development, tourism and inward investment (Manchester, Barcelona, Sydney)
- soft legacies – education, volunteering – require careful planning to secure a post-games legacy (Manchester).

Appendix A - Tourism

The following literature review is an initial review of literature concerning a number of aspects of tourism and the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Although not an extensive review, it covers the main topics of concern for the evaluation of the tourist legacy for the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Firstly, it looks at the economic value of tourism to the Olympics, before turning to issues around city image and destination branding. The visitor market is then examined in detail. The review then concludes with case studies of the following cities: Athens, Atlanta, Barcelona and Sydney.

Economic Value of Olympic Tourism

The economic success of the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984 began a new trend for cities bidding to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games. In more recent years the perceived economic benefits for host cities has led to more

cities becoming interested in hosting mega events (Chalkley & Essex 1999:374). Indeed the main reasons cited as to why host cities are interested in competing for these events are the tourism uplift, and the development of a positive city brand image that comes from its association with the Olympics (Burbank et al 2001:161).

However, this is not a simple case of “build it and they will come” as the research from past Olympic host cities shows mixed results with regards to tourist numbers. Despite high expectations, tourism impacts have varied wildly between host cities. One way that cities can maximise the tourism possibilities is by understanding that the pre-event stage of the Olympics (up to four years before the event itself) is the key time to plan campaigns that encourage global attention on the host city.

Barcelona was particularly successful in attracting tourists for a longer term than the event itself, and while Sydney was considered a success in terms of tourist numbers, for the pre-Games period there was actually a decline in tourism numbers (Kornblatt 2006:12). Also, while there might be an upswing in tourist numbers for a particular city, regions around the host city have recorded corresponding reductions in tourist numbers – as was the case in both Los Angeles and Barcelona (UBS 2006, in Kornblatt 2006:12). Other problems have been noted with subsidiary hospitality businesses such as bars and restaurants (often SMEs) which have been negatively affected, as Olympic tourists have a different spending profile than “regular” tourists. This coupled with local congestion can mean that smaller, local SMEs can suffer (Brown 2005, in Kornblatt 2006:12).

While many cities have seen an upswing in tourist numbers, the extent to which this has happened (or not) relies on careful planning and the temporal nature of a “one off” mega-event needs managing so that these benefits can be maximised for cities and regions.

The ancillary outcomes from an upswing in tourist numbers – namely employment in the tourist and associated hospitality industries – are largely temporary for the period around the event (Chalkey and Essex 1998:189), although there is the possibility in leveraging tourism employment outcomes to upskill local communities and those involved in tourism service industries, which has a longer term impact on tourism infrastructure (Kartakoullis et al 2003).

Aside from the employment outcome – to put it bluntly - “the more foreign tourists visit the country the bigger the economic impact. It is realistic to expect the economic tourism effect

to be as huge as the economic impact through construction and operation of the Games” (Preuss, 2001:1).

Visitor Numbers and Types of Visitors

There are a number of types of Olympic visitors, which include: pre-Games visitors (including officials, athletes and corporates), spectators of the Games, and new visitors attracted due to the positive branding associated with the Olympic city. A more comprehensive analysis of the different types of tourists (including those that may leave the city for the duration of the event), has been outlined by Preuss (2001). These can be seen in the following figure (Preuss 2001).

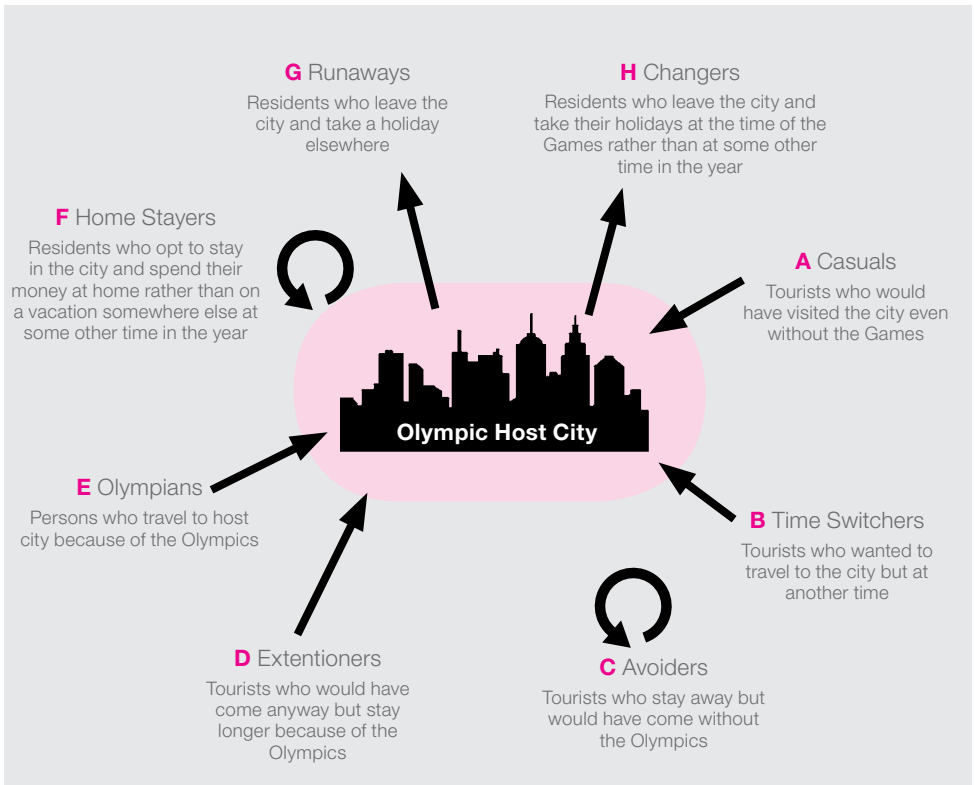


Fig.3 Movement of visitors during Olympics, Source: Preuss 2001

This segmentation divides the tourism market based on their consumption expenditures. While some groups present an outflow of expenditure (group G, for instance), others, although tourists, bring no Games related expenditure (A and B). According to this analysis, the overall formula to calculate Games related tourism expenditure becomes $D + E + F - G - C = ?$ (Preuss 2001).

Tourism Case Studies

Barcelona 1992

The Barcelona Games is cited as one of the most successful in leveraging Olympic impacts for tourism. In fact, total Olympic output was able to delay the local economy from suffering the effects of the economic downturn that affected Europe in the early 1990s. This downturn provided opportunities for Barcelona in the domestic market and among Europe's tourist market who were looking for alternative destinations (Travel Utah 2002).

However, in terms of Olympic tourism, Barcelona actually experienced an outflux of visitors during the Olympic year. Despite this initial setback, tourism did recover, and rose steadily, with growth averaging nearly 20 per cent until 1995.

In terms of hotel development, ahead of the Games there was an increase in supply, with capacity of beds increasing by 35 per cent, between 1990 and 1992. This increase in supply led to a decline in occupancy rates as demand did not keep pace with development. This trend has redressed itself, as there has been little new hotel development in the last decade, and a steady growth in demand, occupancies have increased from 54.5 per cent in 1994 to over 80 per cent in 1998 (Travel Utah 2002). Despite a downturn due to the recession, occupancy rates in Barcelona remain healthy.

Atlanta 1996

With the Olympic Games, Atlanta attempted to reposition itself as a leading business and global sports centre. This repositioning ran under the title "Operation Legacy", and established the goal of the relocation of 20 major companies to Atlanta. The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce developed a marketing strategy to assist this, "Forward Atlanta", and the Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism established a simultaneous marketing campaign "Georgia Global" (Travel Utah 2002). Although there was success in attracting major corporate offices to Atlanta, it is difficult to separate out the effect of the Olympic Games to this. In fact Atlanta experienced a high level of natural growth during the pre and post Olympic years, which makes the isolation of the effect of the Games difficult (Travel Utah 2002).

Sydney 2000

Despite the pre-Games slump in tourism numbers, (and a post-Games slump due to security concerns after September 11 2001) Sydney overall prospered from Olympic tourism. In the case of Sydney, the Olympics were used as leverage for a complete branding proposition for Australia as a whole. The "brand Australia" programme, was established as a four-year strategy and was launched ahead of the event itself to fully maximise the potential of visitor numbers, spend, and country image.

Accordingly, Sydney profited from:

- \$6 billion USD of worldwide media exposure as a result of the Games.
- \$4.2 million USD in added tourist revenue (according to a Price Waterhouse Coopers survey).

- \$1.2 billion USD in convention business for the state of New South Wales, and hosted a record 49 international meetings as one of the world's top convention destinations in 2000 (Tourism Whistler 2004).

Australia's strategy of using the Games as economic leverage was built around four core elements: repositioning the country by capitalising on media, aggressively seeking convention business, minimising the diversion effect of the Games, and promoting pre and post-Games touring (Chalip, 2002:8). The capitalisation of the media attention included:

(1) The Visiting Journalists Program, which actively recruited journalists to visit Australia, and the Australian Tourist Commission actively assisted in finding locations, stories etc. From 1999 to 2001, two journalists a day arrived under this programme, and it is estimated that Australia gained \$2.3 billion AUD under this scheme (Chalip 2002:9).

(2) Olympic media programs, including both accredited and unaccredited media. Again, the ATC worked with the Sydney Olympic Broadcasting Organisation to provide ideas, video footage etc for Olympic broadcasters. A media centre, specifically designed for unaccredited media was also established (Chalip 2002:9).

(3) A sponsor relations program, which led Sydney into becoming a highly desirable conference and convention market (Chalip, 2002:11).

Athens 2004

Although Greece has always had a healthy tourist industry, much of this was "sun and sand" tourism, reliant on the outlying islands, and beaches. Thus attracting tourists to Greece was not problematic, but attracting them to the capital was. The concentration on infrastructure for the Games was intense.

Olympic construction included the build of 25 venues, including a convention centre, and significant additions to the transport infrastructure. In terms of media coverage, the Athens Games attracted over four billion viewers worldwide (20 per cent more than Sydney) (Coccosis 2005).

Tourism in Greece, aside from the Olympics, has always suffered from acute seasonality, due to the emphasis on beach holidays. However, since the Olympics, there has been increased funding, and a renewed interest in repositioning the Greek tourism product, with plans in place to promote other tourist activities, such as health tourism, eco-tourism, as well as cultural and urban tourism (Coccosis 2005).

Although numbers overall have slowed due to the recession, Athens has recently been successful as a tourism destination, particularly with the convention market.

City Branding

Short (2003) describes the increasing competition between cities to hold international mega events and spectacles, and the more general trend for cities to increase their global connections in an era of rapidly accelerating globalisation more generally (Short in Close et al 2007:14). As these realities are incorporated into city economic strategies, the rationale of image creation for a city has ramifications for tourism, the relocation of businesses, and has an effect on local governance as local budgets become allocated along these lines (Burbank et al 2001:43).

The establishment of city brands has therefore become commonplace, if not necessary. In terms of brand development for a city, the Olympics presents an unprecedented level of media exposure before, during, and for some time after the Games. This media exposure (assumed to be favourable) creates interest in

a destination, and is seen then to attract future visitation and investment. Barcelona positioned itself particularly well, and has led to a growth in tourism here, as well as an increase in the choice of Barcelona as a place to launch new products (Brown 2000:74).

Much of the value of the media coverage of the Olympic mega event comes from their “ability to pull the increasingly fragmented audiences back onto the television networks” (Pascoe, quoted in Slack, 1999). The 2004 Athens broadcast of the Olympic Games reached 3.9 billion viewers in 220 countries and territories

(data from IOC 2004, in Houlihan, 2005:128).

It is difficult, however to assess the way in which a city’s image changes. Qualitative studies of city image include a study conducted by Young & Rubicam, whereby “Brand Australia” was evaluated as seen by young Germans against 48 attributes. In 2000, “Australia” was tested as a brand amongst other commercial brands such as Sony. Post Games nine of these attributes were re-tested. The chart below indicated the Olympic effect on “brand Australia” (Preuss, 2001).

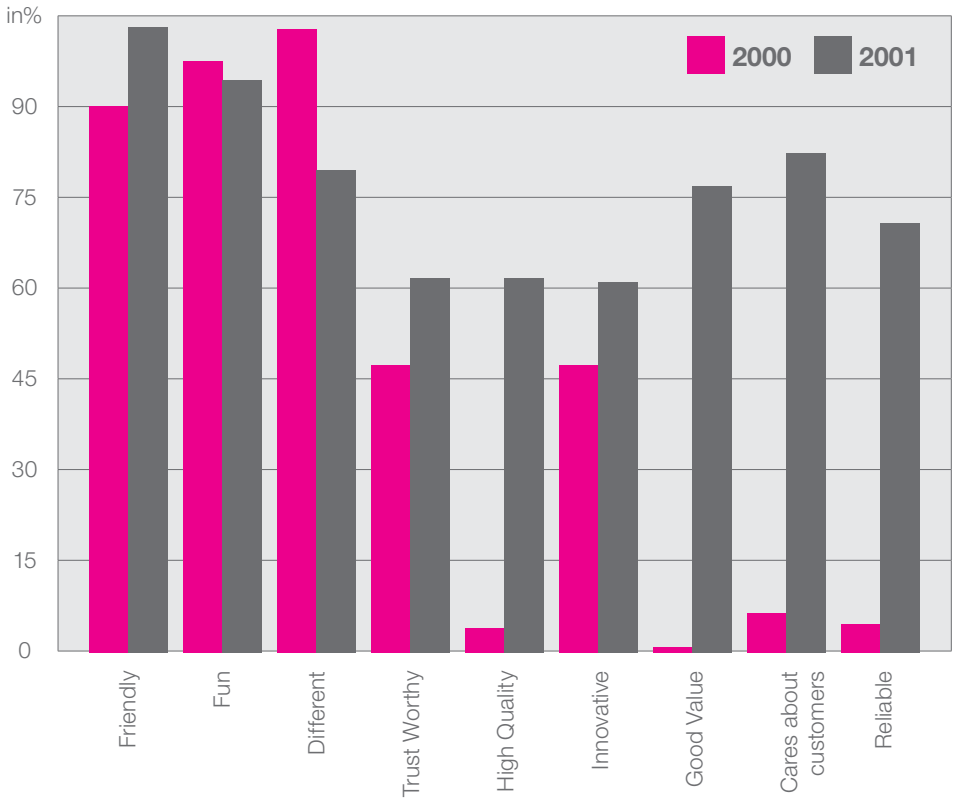


Fig. 1: Attributes of Australia seen by Germans (data 2001 n=174) Source: (Preuss 2001)

Relevant here too, is another study into the “soft” effects of events on the local community. Wood (2005) looks at local authority events in Britain, via case studies in an attempt to develop a methodological framework that can account for both hard economic gain alongside softer gains such as civic pride, and local image.

Here, a number of survey instruments were used, and six different questionnaires were developed:

- pre-event survey of attitudes to the region.
- survey of event attendees and participants (characteristics, expenditure, motivation, opinions on benefits and problems associated with the event)
- survey of non-attendees (characteristics, reasons for not attending, opinions on

benefits and problems of the event)

- survey of local businesses (characteristics, effect of event on short and long-term turnover, opinions on benefits and problems of the event)
- survey of sponsors, community groups (characteristics, effect of event on future involvement, opinions on benefits and problems of the event)
- post-event survey of attitudes to the region (Wood 2005:41).

This represents a useful move toward the impact assessment of the “soft” gains of hosting events and mega events, including city or local image, motivation of visitors, as well as visitor numbers, spend, job gains etc. These are summarised in the following table:

Costs and benefits for event evaluation

Benefits	Costs
Social benefits:	Social costs:
Community development	Disruption to residents' lifestyles
Civic pride	Traffic congestion
Event product extension	Noise
	Vandalism
	Crowding
	Crime
	Property damage
Economic benefits:	Economic costs
Long-term promotional benefits	Resident exodus
Induced development and construction expenditures	Interruption of normal business
Additional trade and business development	Under-utilised infrastructure
Increase in property values	

Fig. 2: Benefit and Cost analysis of events Source: Wood 2005:39

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