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HONORS THESIS



London Moves East: How the Olympics Impacts Host Communities

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London Moves East: How the Olympics Impacts Host Communities

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ABSTRACT

While the Olympics desire to remake its host communities through economic and housing reform to the benefit of local people, its housing legacy does not adequately serve the intended communities. By using a case study approach, the London 2012 Olympic Games was analyzed through a provisional codebook created based off of academic research on the concept of legacy and the Olympics. In this analysis, the London 2012 Games were found as not serving the needs of the local population. While there is a strong commitment to creating a tangible, impactful legacy, a lack of government focus on delivering public goods like affordable housing, the strong power of business interests, and the move of powerful entities that is forcing out impoverished local people, are all evident through the Games' selective housing legacy. Traits found in the London Games also appear in the Vancouver 2010 and Paris 2024 Olympics, making this a significant trend and can be applied to other city projects centered around sport.

INTRODUCTION

The Olympic Games are, at its core, a festival. A fortnight carnival of sport that is surrounded by the passion, fervor, and attention of a global audience. Yet, much like any party, there are great costs. Olympic Games, at their core, are expensive. Whether it is any economic gain being, “swallowed by cost overruns,” or just sheer staggering expenses to construct the venues, the Olympics have staggering consequences (Zirin 2016, 173). The last six Olympics held in North American or western European countries had costs above \$2 billion (Baade and Matheson 2016). The British Columbian government spent approximately one billion Canadian dollars on hosting the 2010 Vancouver Olympics (Matas 2010). In the United Kingdom, public sector funding accounted for almost nine billion British pounds of expenditure for the London 2012 Summer Olympics (Rogers 2012). In short, the consequences of hosting the Olympics are often left to governments, putting the public’s money at risk. Governments, already gambling with the public purse, make substantial

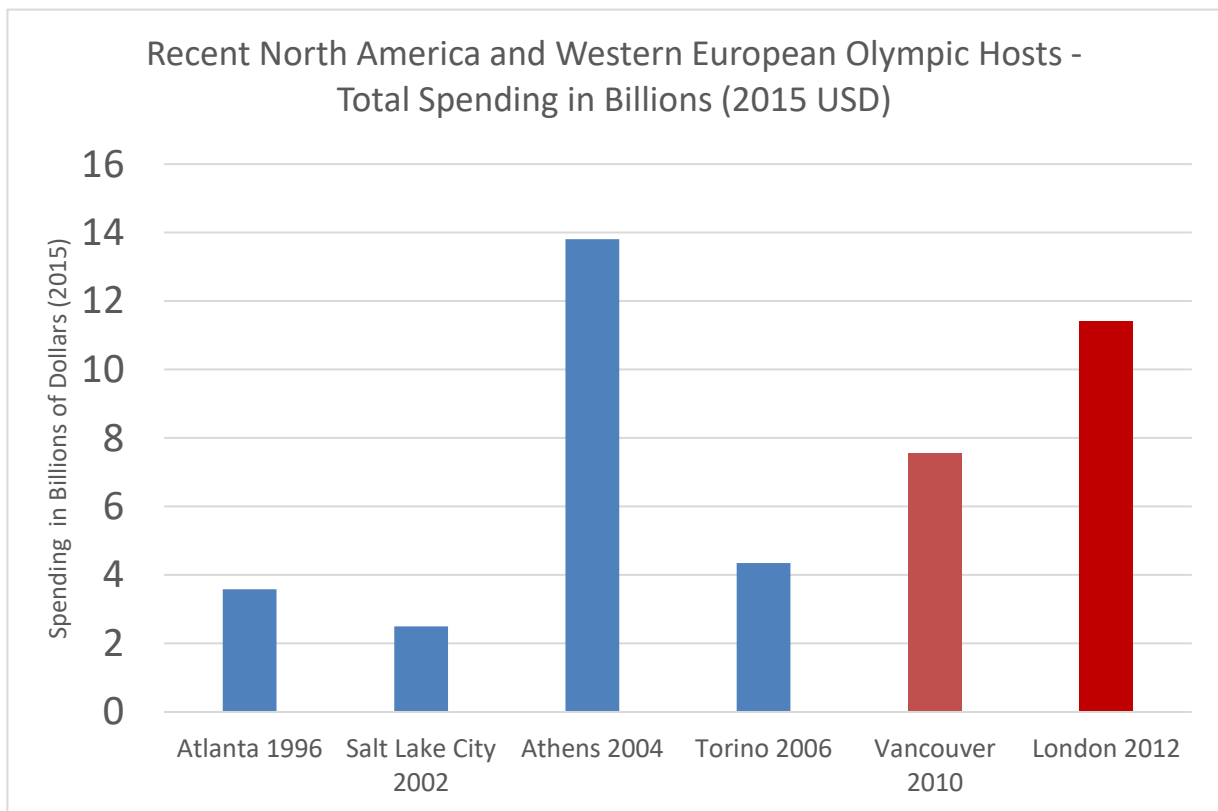


Figure 1 – The costs of the Olympics in the last five hosts of the event in North American and western European cities (Baade and Matheson 2016).

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commitments to justify hosting the Olympics. Two key promises made are that the Games will initiate change or make change occur faster and that the housing situation will improve through higher real estate prices (Zimbalist 2016, 50-51). Sometimes, governments guarantee affordable housing, as evident by what was left after the London 2012 Olympics.

What was left after, known as the legacy, is the cornerstone of any Olympic future. It is all the features of an Olympics that remain a part of the community, and in many cases, are intended to shape a neighborhood's future. Even with this intent, however; legacy and its relationship with the communities that are supposed to be helped appears to be fragmented. This situation produces a sentiment that while the Olympics desires to remake its host communities through economic and housing reform that benefits local people, its housing legacy does not adequately serve the intended communities.

This concept of the Olympics, its legacy, and whether its housing legacy is actually serving the intended community is examined in this research through a case study of the London 2012 Olympics. The Games' Olympic Park – located in one of the poorest and most deprived areas in the United Kingdom at the time of the bid – aimed to reform the community for the better. Yet, whether that legacy achieved the goal of serving the host community is imperative to understand the importance of the Olympics to urban reform in London and the Games as a mechanism for change through its legacy. In the case of the London 2012 Olympic Games, the legacy has not provided substantial benefits to local people. A lack of government focus on delivering public goods like affordable housing, the strong power of business interests, and the move of powerful entities that is forcing out impoverished local people are all evident through the Games' housing legacy. The significant consequence of this type of legacy, along with the traits, are also apparent in the Vancouver 2010 and Paris 2024 Olympics. This leaves substantive concerns for the structure of the Games as a political policy.

The Olympic Games and Legacy

Legacies in a sports mega-events context, are seen as, "... At its root an ideological concept – it is constructed as a vision of what can happen in the future," with powerful interests like politicians and IOC members stating that the event will tie into the development of a city in order to justify the price tag attached (Horne and Whannel 2016, 38-39). The London 2012

winning bid is vital to understanding the legacy concept because it was the first Olympics to have the concept as a significant part to the bidding process (Horne 2016). This is because of the International Olympic Committee including an emphasis of creating legacy in its charter in 2002 (Tomlinson 2014). From the IOC's perspective, legacy has become a concept of utmost importance to justify the existence of the games. In order to protect the commercial interests, justify the high costs of hosting, and maintaining the values of the Olympics as a tool for equality and peace, the idea of legacy has been a feature of the IOC's culture since the early 1990s, leading to the formal adoption in 2002 (Poynter 2016, 27).

The concept of legacy and the Olympics, while formally introduced with London and hinted at throughout the nineties by the IOC, does not start with the 2012 games. Cities, since the Melbourne Olympics in 1956, have used language that employ legacy tropes such as the games having a long-term service to the city in order to justify hosting the event (Tomlinson 2014). Key throughout the transition of legacy language in the Olympics is the long-term strategy of the Olympic Village. Cities have been forced to figure out what to do with the Olympic Village since the first permanent site was built for the Helsinki Games in 1952 – which was converted into a residential district (Bernstock 2014, 5). The long-term strategy of the Olympic Village has only become more elaborate as legacy has become a preeminent feature of Olympic bids. This parallel increase between long-term strategy of the Olympic Village and legacy is also prominent due to the Games becoming more closely tied to urban regeneration and transformation projects of cities, especially since the Barcelona Games in 1992 (Bernstock 2016, 5).

This idea of a legacy based upon transformation projects formed a significant part of the London 2012 bidding process. Chairman of the London Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG), Sebastian Coe, saw legacy as crucial to the games, calling it, “Probably nine-tenths of what this process is about, not just 16 days of Olympic sport,” (Horne and Whannel 2016, 38). Jack Straw, the British Foreign Secretary, saw London's bid as being built on, “a special Olympic vision. A vision of an Olympic Games that would not only be a celebration of sport but a force for regeneration,” asserting the idea that the government saw the legacy of the games as wholesale change (Lindsay 2014, 18). The

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conflation of concepts between the long-term strategy, overall legacy, and use of the games to overhaul a neighborhood are evident throughout the modern history of the Olympic Games and form the base of any conversation about the London Olympics.

METHODOLOGY

Why a London Case Study?

While legacies of any Olympics are important, the legacy of the London Olympics carries an even greater weight. Due to London's position as the first to prioritize legacy – along with the IOC requirements to prioritize it – some scholars consider the London Games to be the first legacy Games (Horne and Whannel 2016, 39). This is reinforced since the bidding cities for the 2012 Games were the first, "...To be invited to place legacy concerns at the heart of their bid," (Tomlinson 2014). The importance of London to legacy is not just from scholars, but from other Olympic organizing committees as well. Tony Estanguet, co-chair for the Paris 2024 Olympic bid, noted how London was a model, and describing how the Parisian committee, "...Looked at the success of the games in London," and the, "...Fact that London succeeded in leaving a strong legacy," (Alexander-Webber 2017). This consistency signifies how much of a turning point the London Olympics are from a legacy perspective, and a key to understanding the concept and value of legacy for the Olympic movement in general.

The case study approach is thoroughly apt for this thesis because of its emphasis on qualitative data such as interviews, records, and current writing on a group as a whole ("Case Studies" 2019). This is necessary in a thesis such as this because almost all of the information available on housing and legacy is qualitative data, ranging from the concerns of people over how the Olympics will impact them to government documents from the London government on the progress made to change east London. Such a justification is confirmed because the intention of the project is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the London Olympics housing and legacy process in the same way a case study does through a "thick description, which involves an in-depth description of the entity being evaluated, the circumstances under which it is used, the characteristics of the people involved in it, and the nature of the community in which it is located," ("Case Studies" 2019).

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A case study is not only the best way to examine this thesis, it is necessary to allow the reader to examine the dynamics of the London Games before understanding any possible patterns. Such creation of understanding of the dynamics may not create a concrete generalization, but as Bent Flyvbjerg discussed, “A purely descriptive, phenomenological case study without any attempt to generalize can certainly be of value in this process (to gain knowledge) and has often helped cut a path toward scientific innovation,” (2006, 227). For this thesis, that path towards such innovation is not just to possibly improve Olympic research, but to inform, present, and connect the public with trends that appear apparent in the modern Olympics.

Why a Provisional Coding Study?

In order to analyze the London Olympics, I coded the London 2012 Candidature File’s Concept and Legacy along with Olympic Village section. The Candidature Files, the business plans of the Olympic Games, explain to the International Olympic Committee about a bidding city’s plans. The purpose, intent, and schemes that each bidding city will do if they receive the opportunity to host the Olympic Games are presented in a document hundreds of pages long. The approach for analyzing the text, coding, involves, “labels that assign symbolic meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study,” (Miles et al. 2014, 71). Coding is also one of two frameworks that are generally used for data analysis in case studies (“Case Studies” 2019). The aim for this project’s use with coding is to gather and categorize data in order to determine recurring patterns. Yet, the structure of a provisional coding study provides an important feature. Provisional coding, “begins with a ‘start list’ of researcher-generated codes, based on what preparatory investigation suggest might appear in the data before they are collected and analyzed,” (Miles et al. 2014, 77). In this thesis, that start list is established by the descriptions from John Horne about the types of legacies – tangible, intangible, selective, and universal (2016).

The coding categories involved an overall section, the four types of legacies – tangible, intangible, selective, and universal – but each document was analyzed based on codes formed by the descriptions provided to each of the legacy types – such as economic performance signifying tangible legacy. These concepts will be discussed in the subsections on legacy. By breaking down the definitions of legacies by Horne into key terms, I was able to begin an

approach that analyzed phrases, words, and sentences that correspond to each of the codes. By going with a provision coding approach, the codebook – the set of rules determining what is coded and how it is coded – also had a stronger value to it. The code isn't created solely based upon my ideas of legacy but on an assessment of previous arguments and research into legacy. This makes this project supported and built on previous research on Olympic legacy.

Provisional coding also carries an even more important value to this thesis. Case studies do occasionally run into issues, with people often presenting misconceptions or arguments that case studies are more prone to confirmation bias and that they are more useful for, “generating hypotheses,” while other methods are more appropriate for the latter stages of the research process (Flyvberg 2006, 221). By going with a provisional coding scheme, I'm tackling confirmation bias since the code I am basing my analysis on involves previous research. This removes myself and my presumptions out of the product as well as being able to assess the quality of the terms used by previous scholars.

The documents used for this thesis fall under two categories, Candidature File and post-Games documents. The Candidature File, as explained in the legacy section, is the business plan of the Olympic Games. Its inclusion is necessary to detail the bidding process and the intention of legacy at the time of appeal to the International Olympic Committee. The post-Games documents assess what happened after the Games in 2012. For this thesis, I analyzed twenty documents ranging from news articles, government reports, and sections from books to assess trends.

While the London Games are the emphasis of this thesis, I also examined three other Olympics – the Vancouver 2010 Winter Games, Paris 2024 Summer Games, and the Los Angeles 2028 Summer Games – on a smaller scale to assess whether the trends that are apparent in the London bid are found as well in the other three Games. To examine the two sections of the Candidature File and the post-Games documents and articles over the way that they discuss legacy, I have used John Horne's argument on legacies in relation to their political implications, in that they can be intangible or tangible along with being selective and universal (Horne and Whannel 2016, 39).

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Intangible and Tangible Legacies

Intangible legacies emphasize, “...popular memories, evocations and analyses of specific moments and incidents associated with an event,” while the tangible legacies focus on, “...Substantial and long standing changes to the urban infrastructure,” along with changes to the, “economic performance of the city or nation,” (Horne 2016; Horne and Whannel 2016, 39).

Intangible legacies aim to leave a level of emotion and feeling with their audience. The excitement of the Games, the anticipation of the Games, or the comfort of the apartments in the Olympic Village are examples of intangible emotions. They also include major events, such as references to the Olympic Games itself. Tangible legacies emphasize the building and economic features of what is left after the Games. It takes a look at the infrastructure planned and the economic change planned.

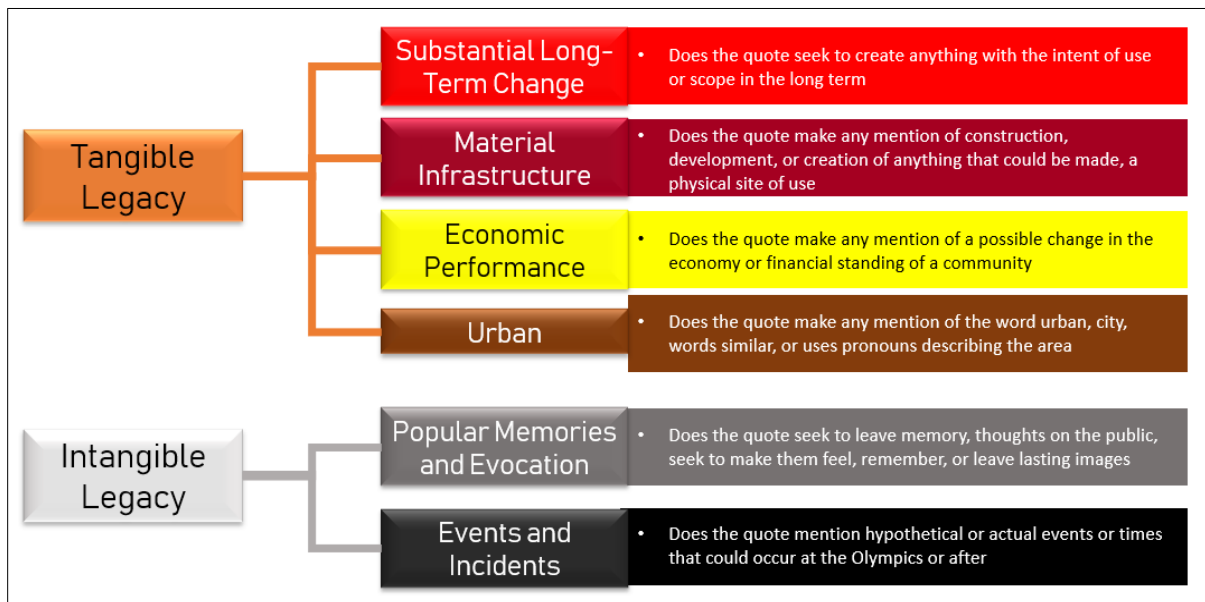


Figure 2 – *Tangible and Intangible Legacy codebook*

In analyzing, I created a provisional coding scheme, based on the research and argument presented by Horne, to determine the tangible features presented in the candidature file and how present they are. These traits include any signifying of substantial and long-standing changes – such as legacy, events occurring after the games, and regeneration. Another code is

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any mention of urban-related words – such as city, metropolis, or pronouns relating to the community like London, East London, Stratford, or the Lower Lea Valley. Two other codes are any mentions of material infrastructure being built and any mention of economic change that will occur due to the Olympics. In contrast, intangible legacies are based on two subjects: popular memories and evocation – examining if there is a desire to leave any emotion such as a feel, or leave a lasting image – and specific moments and incidents – examining if there is mention of hypothetical or actual events, including any references to the Games themselves such as the “After the Games,” or references to a future 100 meter race.

Benefiting the community through regeneration
The Olympic Park will be created in the Lower Lea Valley, 13 km east from the centre of London. This area is ripe for redevelopment. By staging the Games in this part of the city, the most enduring legacy of the Olympics will be the regeneration of an entire community for the direct benefit of everyone who lives there.

The Olympic Park will become a hub for east London, bringing communities together and acting as a catalyst for profound social and economic change. It will become a model of social inclusion, opening up opportunities for education, cultural and skills development and jobs for people across the UK and London, but especially in the Lea Valley and surrounding areas.

The new facilities in the Olympic Park will be open to the whole community, not just elite athletes. This will lead to more opportunities for everyone to participate in sport and physical activity. This will create a more inclusive, more active community leading to a fitter society and reducing health inequalities.

Figure 3 – Tangible and Intangible coding example as applied to the London 2012 Candidature File.

Selective and Universal Legacies

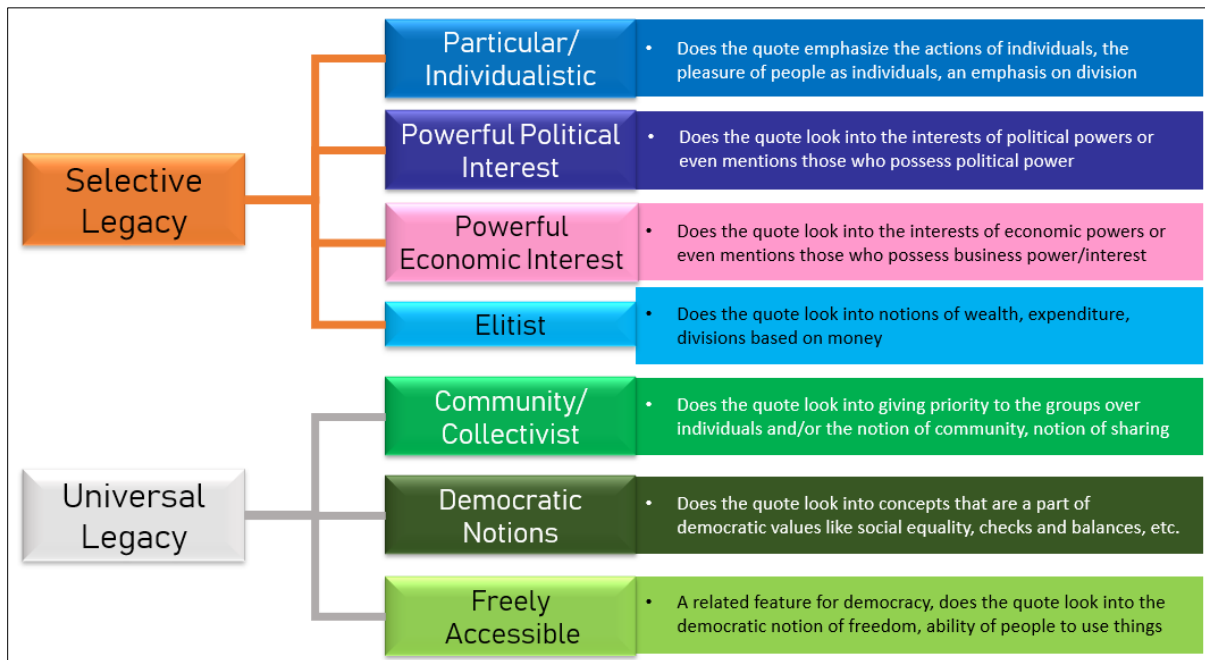


Figure 4 – *Selective and Universal Legacy codebook*

Selective legacies emphasize being, “Particular, individualist, and elitist, and tend to serve interests of those dominating powerful political and economic positions in society,” (Horne 2016). In contrast, universal legacies emphasize being, “Communal, collectivist, and inherently democratic, available to all by virtue of being made freely accessible,” (Horne 2016). Selective legacies, in essence, emphasize individualistic tendencies and those who are already in power. Universal legacies look more into the community and democratic values that are presented in the legacy. When coding, selectivity included a code on powerful political interests – such as mentioning government departments, officials, or objectives of the government – and powerful economic interests – such as mention private companies that would have a stake in the Olympics or opportunities that would interest powerful economic entities. Other codes include elitist, which aims to look at notions of wealth along with a particular and individualistic category that looks into whether there is an emphasis on people as just their self, a division of people, or a lack of community emphasis. Universal concepts that were coded include a communal, collectivist category that looks into giving priority to groups over individuals, the notion of community, or the notion of sharing between people, a

democratic code looking for concepts synonymous with democracy like voting, social equality, and a freely accessible code, which runs in tandem with democracy by looking into the freedom and accessibility examined by the bid.

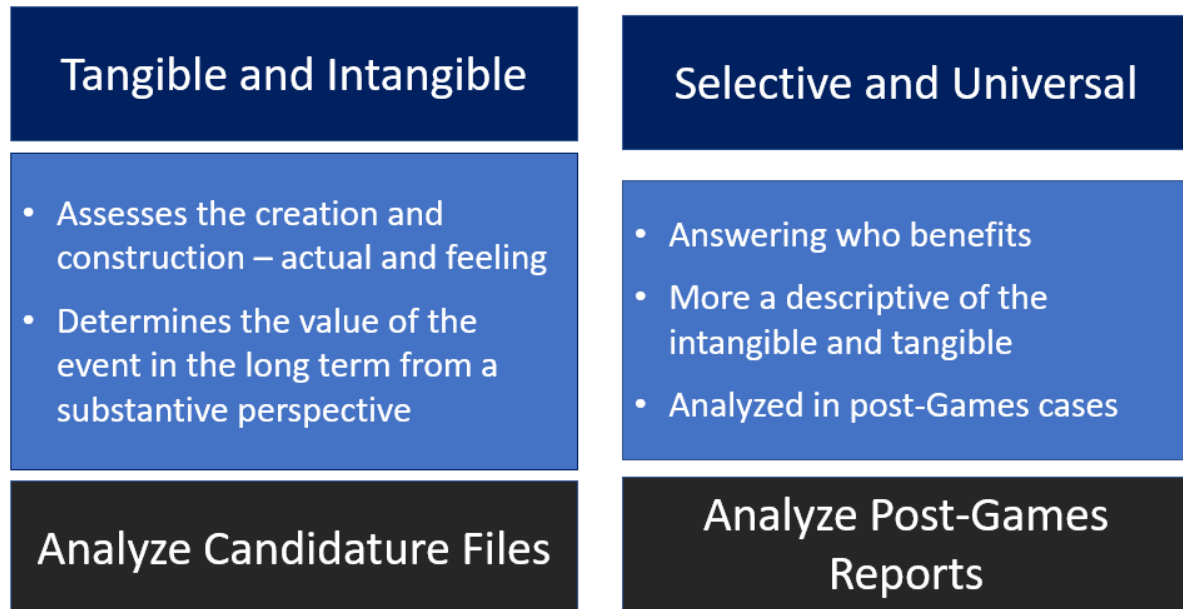


Figure 5 – Rules applied to how the tangible, intangible, selective, and universal legacies would be used to engage with the texts during analysis.

While I did note them when analyzing the London 2012 candidature file, selective and universal legacies are not seen as barometers for assessing bid process documents. Instead, they are subjects to be assessed in succession to the planning, as evident by Horne stating that the problem for most major sporting events is that, “They largely generate tangible legacies that are selective and intangible legacies that are universal,” (2016). This idea is evident in other research, into how the organizers, namely LOCOG emphasized its bid, with a, “..matrix of legacy, regeneration, and community,” that acknowledges the selective/universal aspects of the construction, are employed to describe the tangible/intangible discussion of the bid, such as how Francesca Weber-Newth calls the adiZones – an infrastructural legacy of mini parks in East London – as, “...Part of this tangible ‘community legacy’,” (2014).

In keeping with this pattern of research on legacy and descriptions for bids during research, the analysis of candidature file documents will emphasize an analysis of the tangibility but will discuss certain selective and universal attributes presented if they are correlated to

determining how tangible the bid intended to be. For the post-Games analysis, the selectivity will be the emphasis on the analysis, but will discuss certain tangible attributes if they are related to how selective the legacy is. This delineation of focus is also key to looking into the other Games. Since the Vancouver 2010 Games already occurred, it is the only one that I looked at both the candidature file and did a condensed post-Games textual analysis – therefore looking into both tangibility and selectivity. In contrast, the Paris 2024 and Los Angeles 2028 Olympic Games were used solely for the purpose to compare the candidature files’ tangibility, but with the possibility to assess whether their tangible similarities could produce similar outcomes found in London.

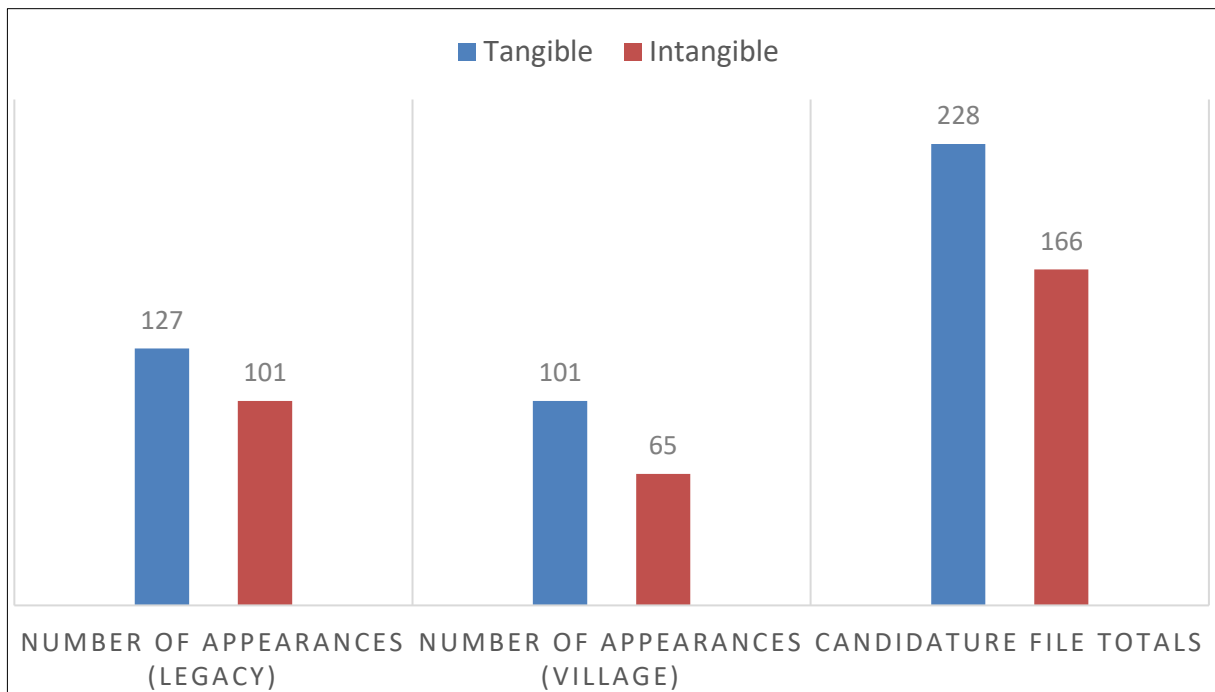


Figure 6 – Tangible and Intangible coding results in the Legacy and Games Concept section of the London 2012 Candidature File (left), the Olympic Village section (middle), and the two sections combined (right).

CANDIDATURE FILE ANALYSIS

Overall, the London 2012 candidature file shows itself to be highly tangible, reflecting an intention to remake the community through economic and housing reform. Its tangible traits, however, do not mean that it is vacant of intangible traits. While the tangible traits are used to describe the community’s economic and housing reform along with an intention for long term

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benefits and major infrastructure, other sectors of the candidature file evoke emotions that are exhibited in intangible legacies. Sections that focus on describing the games themselves, the games reputation if they are held in London, the experience and accommodation of athletes for the Olympics and Paralympics, the International Olympic Committee, and the design of the buildings all emphasize intangible qualities of producing feeling upon athletes, organizers, spectators, and powerful interests.

Tangible Traits of the Bid

The most consistent appearance of tangible traits is found within discussions over the future and the community of East London impacted. In the “Benefiting the Community Through Regeneration” subsection, the London organizing committee profusely makes a point of its long-term, substantial, urban, infrastructural change intention. It uses four different wording to describe the urban regions directly impacted – Lower Lea Valley, Lea Valley, East London, and London – to display a commitment to the area, explicitly mentions the intention for economic change, and bombards the International Olympic Committee with their commitment to change with mentions of regeneration, legacy, and that the Park, and therefore the games, will lead to profound change, (“Candidate File” 2004, 19). The messaging – from a tangible perspective – is clear with intent throughout the candidature file. Whether it reaffirms the bid’s commitment to infrastructure by stating that the “Olympic Park will transform 200 hectares of degraded land into a magnificent new legacy park,” confirms the long term and substantial commitments by using language like, “fundamental improvements,” describing the games as a, “catalyst for change,” or noting that hosting the games would be integral to the future plan of London as a city, the tying together of the games and wholesale infrastructural change is almost inseparable (“Candidate File” 2004, 23, 207).

This inseparability between the games and infrastructural change is a common theme through the Concept and Legacy and Olympic Village volumes. The messaging of major change is crucial to the candidature file as it attempts to garner legitimacy of the project as a tool for city development. The document does this by calling the Olympic Village as a way to help the affordable housing crisis in London noting how it will, “not only help to meet these needs but will accelerate the delivery of these homes,” (“Candidate File” 2004, 207). Through using the

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word accelerate, the candidature file asserts that not only will the games – through the Olympic Village – bring significant change, it will bring that change at a faster pace compared to any other project would to create homes.

Such messaging, with the same rationale of corralling legitimacy, is apparent throughout the bid's legacy and housing sections. When discussing the legacy for the community's disabled, the Games were seen as a way to, "...Accelerate the development of accessible facilities for disabled people," ("Candidate File" 2004, 23). When discussing the Games' relationship with London's long-term planning, the candidature file states that, "Without the Games, change would still happen, but it would be slower, more incremental and less ambitious from a sporting, cultural and environmental perspective," ("Candidate File" 2004, 23). When the document discusses the construction of venues, it states that, "Given the plans for regeneration in this part of London, it represents a once in a lifetime opportunity to create the perfect venue for athletes, officials, and spectators alike," ("Candidate File" 2004, 19). Three times more, the document asserts its chops of being a better option over any other plan of change by not only assessing the pace of change, but the level of change as well. It is the Olympics, and only this Olympics, that can ensure change that is quick and change that is profound to the communities of East London.

This combination of pace of change, level of change, and timeliness allows for the organizers to argue that hosting the Games is a need, not a want. A desire to have the Games becomes necessary in order to upgrade the community or the area will continue to fall by the wayside – an act of desperation be it real or exaggerated. While the legacy presented is tangible through its material construction, the intangible desire of wanting to host the Olympics compounds the legacy as it forces construction that would occur – even if London is not selected – to have a hard timetable of 2012 in order to ensure the "most profound" change. In doing this, vernacular normally left for politicians on the campaign trail are in full voice in justifying the Olympic project as a cause worthy of the high expenses.

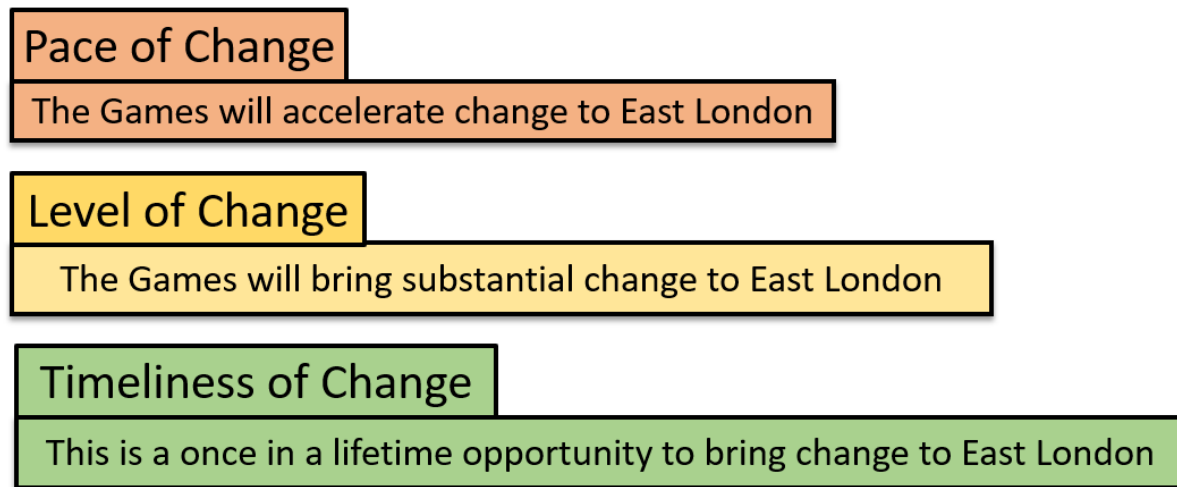


Figure 7 – *The Three Rule Justification on change is a key feature of the Games and its concept for London*

One other key feature of the tangibility presented is the dedication to discussing economic changes to east London. An entire subsection, “A Legacy for the Economy” was dedicated to economic change related to the games, including that the biggest economic legacy being, “...The creation of wider employment opportunities and improvements in the education, skills and knowledge of the local labour force in an area of very high unemployment,” and that those skills will lead to the community having, “...A stake in the economic growth of their region and begin to break the cycle of deprivation in the area,” (“Candidate File” 2004, 25). The economic prosperity concepts present in the candidature file emphasizes the two pathways of employment and turning around the economic standing of the community presented in the economic legacy section throughout the document. Employment is discussed with the Olympic Park providing job opportunities and “Opening up opportunities for education, cultural and skills development and jobs...” (“Candidate File” 2004, 23, 19).

The economic standing is also a common mention as it is discussed through a justification of the Games as stimulating, “a vital economic regeneration programme in London’s poorest and most disadvantaged area,” (“Candidate File” 2004, 23). What unites the economic concepts provided is that they all have a common focus to help those who currently live in the community and lift them up into a better position. Yet, one other facet of economic change is the emphasis on investment and business change. The London Plan, to which the Games are

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considered to be a major part of, “focuses investment and growth in the east of the city,” such as the Olympic site, the Games were seen as an added feature of, “already programmed infrastructure investment,” and this comment on in progress infrastructure is key to the messaging in the Olympic Village (“Candidate File” 2004, 23). While the Concept and Legacy volume emphasized economic reform for the community, the village’s economic reform keyed into the creation of new business locations, highlighting the Stratford City development that would include new shopping, business, and leisure facilities (“Candidate File” 2004, 197, 201). The document also emphasized the business future of Stratford, stating how the London Plan called for the area to be, “...A mixed use European business quarter for the city,” and then mentioning that it will be home to a significant amount of housing (“Candidate File” 2004, 209). This emphasis on business is also highlighted by the mention of how restaurants and cafes on the Athletes Boulevard will be turned into restaurants and shops post-Games (“Candidate File” 2004, 231).

Another profound tool of employed by the candidature file is the language of tying the Games to post-Games events and change. The candidature file accomplishes this through two ways: legacy and regeneration.

Legacy, the most common of the phrases, makes sense for it be consistently mentioned in the candidature file. It is the title of the first volume, it is seen throughout the history of the games, and London is the first games that states that legacy is at the forefront of the project. Within the body of the Candidature File, it appears almost ten times in the Concept and Legacy volume, seven times in the Olympic Village volume, in captions for diagrams and photos more than three times, and is the title of six sections between the two volumes (“Candidate File” 2004). The messaging is clear, that the Games, if held in London, will follow the IOC’s push for legacy and leave a tremendous effect on the east London community hosting the Olympics. That legacy, however, gets defined by a word used just as often as legacy for the London bid – regeneration.

To regenerate an area, an action that brings new wealth of opportunities and revitalizes a community, is the justification of the games that holds the entire bid’s tangibility together. The pace of change, the level of change, the timeliness, the major infrastructure, the urban

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focus, and the economic reform all are held together because the games are perceived to be a tool for community revival. This idea is presented from the start with a vision that includes a theme of, “Benefiting the community through regeneration,” but is carried on throughout the document (“Candidate File” 2004, 17). The legacy is tied with regeneration because the long-lasting legacy of hosting the Olympics is perceived to be, “... The regeneration of an entire community of the direct benefit of everyone who lives there, (“Candidate File” 2004, 19). The government considers the games to be crucial because it will help, “...Regeneration in east London especially the Lea Valley, leveraging resources, spurring timely completion of already programmed infrastructure investment and leaving a legacy to be valued by future generations,” act as a, “...Wider catalyst for the regeneration of east London,” and a reflection of the mayor’s plan to regenerate the hosting Stratford neighborhood (“Candidate File” 2004, 23, 207, 209).

Even when discussing the legacy and importance of the Olympic Village, it is the idea of the Village – therefore the Games as well – acting as a force against the tides of downtrodden east London, ready to be used as an example of government doing good for the people. The Olympic Village is seen as a future, “landmark in urban regeneration,” an “ambitious regeneration program,” and a “major regeneration project” all for the purpose of building up the community (“Candidate File” 2004, 197, 201, 211, 213). Overall, regeneration appears six times in the body of the Concept and Legacy volume, seven times in the Olympic Village volume, is the caption for one photo, and is the title for one section (“Candidate File” 2004). Also, in a text that is done in English and French – the IOC’s two official languages – the cognate trait of regeneration as a word holds a great value as it remains consistent throughout the text, even while legacy gets replaced.

For the London 2012 organizing interests, the key to their long-term planning is the word that has long-term staying power in English and French. Regeneration functions as a symbol of the legacy that they want to leave, the significant change that they want to achieve, and the infrastructure that will be constructed to get them there and lead to the economic reform of Stratford and all of East London. It is this word that forms the rationale of the Games as it makes the Olympics a silver bullet for all of east London’s problems like an infomercial.

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Economic failings, housing woes, and deprivation are supposed to be solved by a single project that will remake a neighborhood because it will make the change faster and better than any other hypothetical. Without creating the notion of regeneration, the infrastructure, planning, the government interaction, long-term notions, and deadlines set by the desire to host the Olympics that make up what regeneration means to this project are all moot.

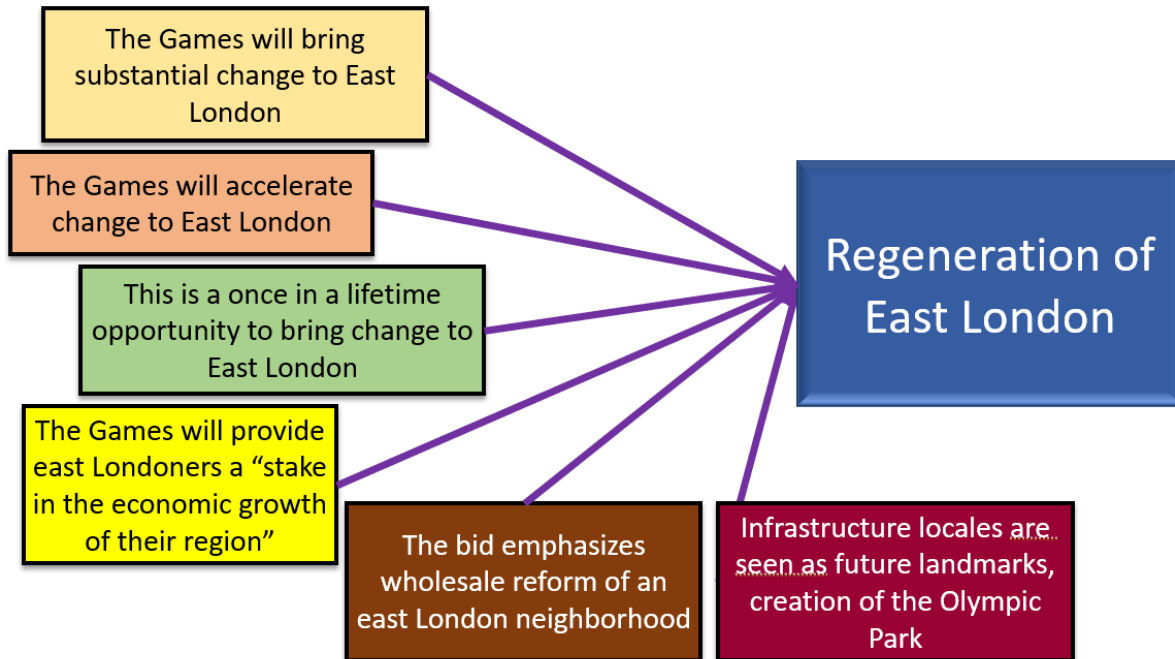


Figure 8 – All features of the London 2012 bid and legacy notions are tied to regeneration

Intangible Traits of the Bid

While the majority of the bid book focuses on creating a tangible legacy through the regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley community, the intangible traits present and where they concentrate provide a glimpse of how the bid aims to please the community and other stakeholders differently. Few aspects of the candidature file explain its intangibility like the evocations used in relation to the International Olympic Committee. In the Concept and Legacy volume, popular memories and evocative words occurred more than ten times, with an intent on trying to make the Games have a feel to it. When describing the games, the candidature file calls it an event to be “cherished” and that London will “protect and enhance it,” (“Candidate File” 2004, 19). When discussing why London would be a great city to host

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the games for the IOC, the document discusses the city's ability to, "create memorable television images," the city's ability to deliver "pageantry with a contemporary flair, "calling the city home to, "one of the most sophisticated marketing centres in the world," and that London is equipped to create, "excitement and spectacle of the Games," ("Candidate File 2004, 19).

Overall, this section describes a scene that should only be matched by a parent and a babysitter. Using words like cherish, protect, and enhance, the candidature file describes the Games as the IOC's child, meant to be guarded from harm and only London can adequately do such a thing. The diction has a desire to evoke safety to the IOC, and that the organizers of London are a safe pair of hands for their child. That safety is directly complemented by the power of imagery. Using phrases like creating pageantry, flair, and sophisticated signifies that the candidature file is attempting to present a posh feeling to the IOC. Not only will London protect the Games from any disrespect, the enhancement will produce an aura of regality, dignity, and good taste that only the British culture can provide. In essence, an Olympics that looks posh and elite, one to which the IOC can be proud of. Two words in this section appear to emphasize other features, namely how the excitement and spectacle of games will be, "inspiring new Olympic devotees," and "stimulating fresh interests in sport," ("Candidate File" 2004, 19). Yet, this hits the bottom line for the International Olympic Committee. By arguing that a London games could produce this, the organizing interests are stating that a London games will use higher viewership to get more people to pay attention to the Olympics and the affiliated sports and to provide more people to profile at future Olympics to maintain the pull factor of the Games across the world. The enhancement is not just so that the Games look posh, the enhancement is for the Games to keep everything the IOC does in the future afloat.

The emphasis on producing intangible legacies also comes into play in the image and reputation subsection – a section to which sounds logical. Much like the protecting comments in the IOC section, there is a clear emphasis on aligning the London Games with a system that is seen as having a "strong and positive reputation," by describing the management skills of those in LOCOG as "strong," ("Candidate File 2004, 25). For the organizers, calling

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themselves strong while simultaneously calling the Games strong attempts to create a feeling that they are both at the same level and the London committee is worthy of managing the Olympic Games. A lot of the evocations presented in this section emphasize support, with uses of words like, “momentum,” “build anticipation,” “excitement,” and describing street designing for events as, “dramatic,” are all geared towards making people feel the approaching Olympics as something to prepare, plan, and giddy about (“Candidate File 2004, 25). Without this level of consideration, the Games will become a place where people do not care, and it is imperative for LOCOG to present the concept that it knows how to make people care. Perhaps the most poignant evocation though is the contrast between most of the words in the candidature file and the inclusion of “vigorous” to describe the press in London (“Candidate File 2004, 27). While a lot of the words have positive connotations, the use of vigorous has a stark turn, as if to warn the Olympic Committee about the dangers of the press in London. Yet, the inclusion of the press is one of the most communal comments made in the entire document, describing the tension that LOCOG expected between the Games and a press that will seek and get information to publish.

There are no vigorous mentions, however, in the Olympic Village section, which reaffirms a dedication to positive evocation. The aim of the Olympic Village ranges from feelings of producing “surprise and delight” to making residents feel “comfort,” “freedom,” “enjoyment” and “safety,” (“Candidate File” 2004, 205). The range is very little and focuses on producing the best services and accommodations as if it was a hotel chain. The Olympic Village, from a London bid perspective is expected to make residents feel right at home, and that is aimed through making it as pleasant as it can be for athletes, the first residents of the Olympic Village and to which the site will be originally designed for. The bid even explicitly states that its aim is to make athletes feel at home as evident by a subheading in the subsection on apartments titled “Ensuring home comforts” (“Candidate File” 2004, 215). Yet, throughout the document, the Games emphasizes the comfort of the athletes, including mentioning that LOCOG will consult athletes to ensure every apartment, “Is attractively and comfortably furnished for the comfort and convenience of its residents,” even though at this point, the residents that only have to be pleased are the athletes while the future long term residents will be employed in a later process (“Candidate File” 2004, 215).

POST-GAMES ANALYSIS

After reading and coding twenty unique sources – see appendix A for list of sources – from the London and British governments, news articles, and academic research, the overwhelming consensus is that the current legacy of the London 2012 games is selective and not universal. Eighteen of the twenty articles were found to be selective; one was universal, and one other had an equal amount. The selectivity of the legacy is found mostly in its elitist notions, exhibiting how the games community-based housing legacy causes a tension between the wealthy and poor and that the circumstances tend to favor the wealthy. This is in stark contrast to the intent of the Games, however, to which among some of the tangible legacies including economic reform for an area that was among the poorest and most disadvantaged in Britain (“Candidate File” 2004, 23). In the case of the elitist notion, a common theme is not just that the Lower Lea Valley community ended up becoming more expensive, but that the area is becoming a part of the expanding center of London, and even politicians – though not intentionally – are admitting to this phenomenon. Another prominent notion found in the selectivity is the actions done by government affiliated institutions to the project.

While some of the government interests did exhibit democratic – and therefore universal – traits, its emphasis on business interests and the consequences of the long-term infrastructure mantra still being used cause issues in the effectiveness of the legacy. There is also a significant amount of overlap between government and economic interests. Government interests from national government affiliated corporations, municipal-controlled entities like the London Legacy Development Corporation and developing agencies like the Olympic Delivery Authority entangle themselves with business interests that have a strong stake in the Olympic Village’s success. Together, the government and business interest create a situation of complex organizational structuring and complementary support. The government and economic interests, along with the elitism all confirm one pattern – the idea of London moving east. The expansion of power from central London to east London. Yet, this expansion is not empowering to those who already live in the community. Instead, it is a

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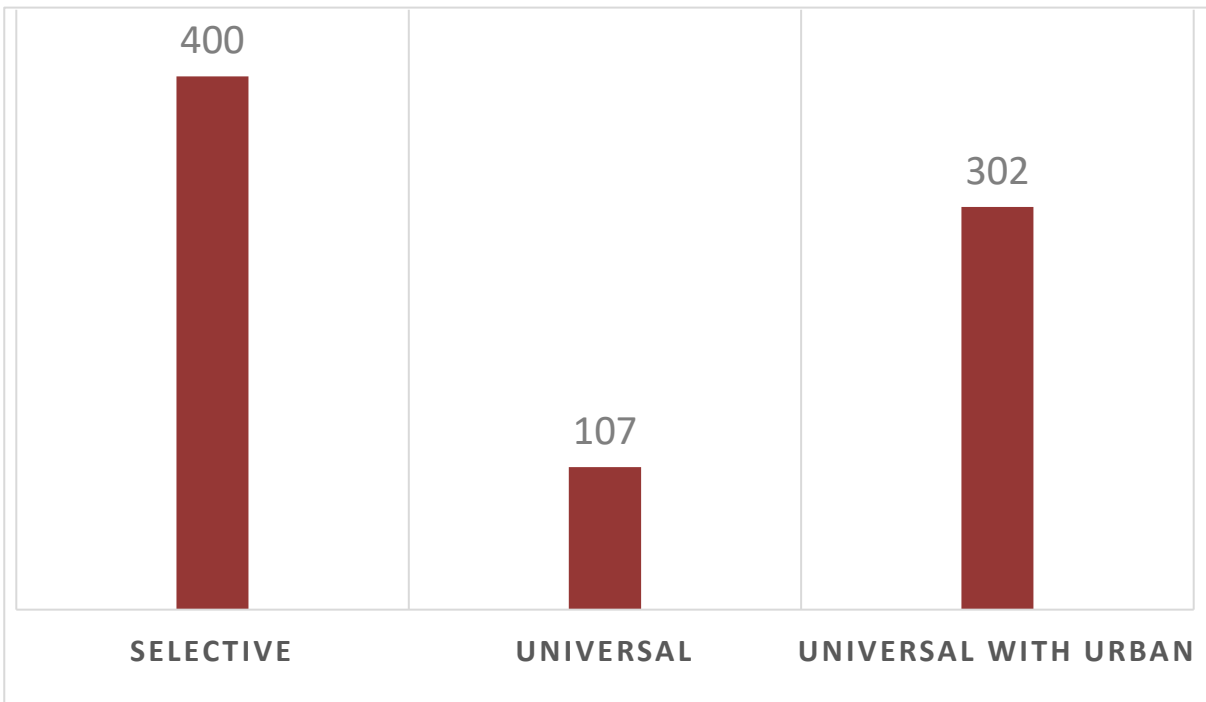


Figure 9 – Selective and Universal coding results for the Post-Games Textual Analysis (below). The third column – the universal section with the urban trait for tangibility, was included to assess whether there were enough mentions of the community that would force greater nuance to this section.

relocation of those who do have power, forcing those who live in east London to consider moving elsewhere. There are also some universal traits that are important to note when looking through the legacy of the games.

Elitist Expansion of London

The Olympic Games were supposed to be the building up of the Lower Lea Valley community with the sort of reform that even Lyndon B. Johnson could only dream off. The Games were supposed to help lift the community from its desperate state and make it into a more well-off place. The Olympics, on its face, did achieve this goal. It helped make the Lower Lea Valley a more well-off place, but by bringing the well-off to the housing in and around the Olympic Park along with making sure it is a well-off community due to housing prices. The result – a London that is moving east but bringing the communities of central London to the Olympic Park. The movement east comes with a caveat for the people of east

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London. Instead of lifting up the communities there, the legacy of the Olympics brings communities from central London to the Olympic Park.

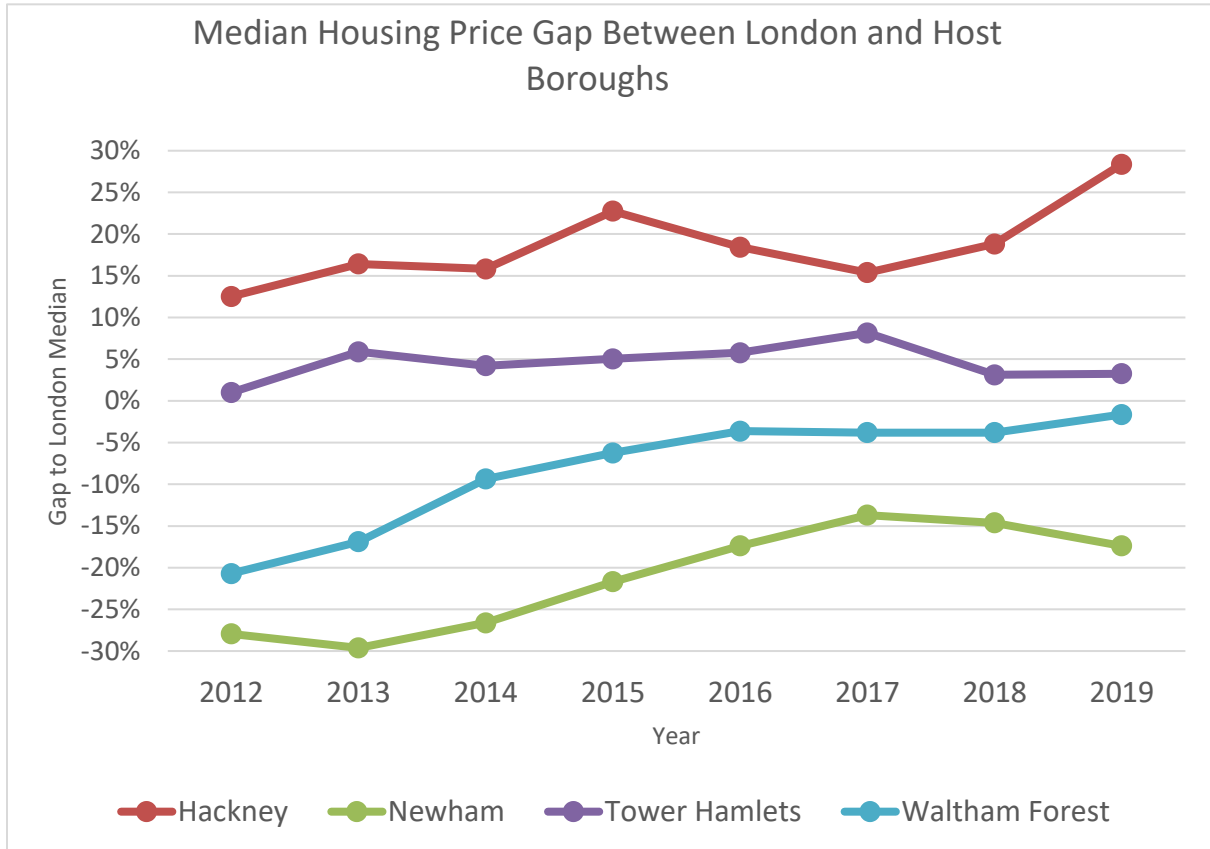


Figure 10 – The gap between the median housing price in the four main boroughs that are home to the Olympic Park and the Greater London median housing price. All statistics are from December of that year, except for 2019, which is as of August (Bloomberg News 2019).

At the heart of the elitist theme is the unaffordability and staggering increase of housing prices in the East London host community since the Games. The unaffordability and increase in prices are apparent throughout all homes – including those that were labelled as affordable in the bid. Some people who lived in the Olympic Village could not continue to live there due to the, “mushrooming costs,” “hiked rents,” creating a situation where people could not afford any longer (Ponsford 2017).

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Most of the statistics surrounding housing in the Olympic Park fall under a common theme – growing unaffordability. There are reports of affordable housing prices going up 25% in a single year in the Olympic Park (Ponsford 2017). Housing prices in neighborhoods that surround the Olympic Park were up 64% in the five years after 2012, and in the Olympic Park, the pricing increase was higher than the London average (Tsang 2018; Ivey 2017). The increase compared to other parts of London has special consequences because it means that there is a level of catching up in housing prices that is occurring around the Olympic Village to other parts of London. Since the Olympics in 2012, the separation between the median London housing price and the median housing price of the neighborhoods surrounding has narrowed with one neighborhood surpassing the London median (Bloomberg News 2019). The separation, on a greater scale, however, indicates a more interesting story. While the documents reflect a common theme of housing prices increasing in the years since the Olympics, the gap between the London median and the host boroughs appears to be more a return to levels evident before the Great Recession (Bloomberg News 2019). This circumstance is best exhibited in Newham, where the gap to the London median contracted to fourteen percent below the London median, a record in this decade, but was evident in several years during the 2000s (Bloomberg News 2019). In other cases, growth reflects trends before the games, as highlighted by the growth in Hackney, with growth evident from 2004 and 2005, but with one major blip during the Great Recession (Bloomberg News 2019). The consequences of this make for an Olympic Games that, had little to no effect on housing at best, and at worst, had a staggering effect on housing that harms the low-income residents of the Olympic host communities.

Other important issues include homelessness. Homelessness remains high in the Newham borough where housing has and is currently being built (Tsang 2018). In Newham, one in every twenty-four people are homeless according to housing charity, Shelter (Hook 2018). This gives the borough the highest homelessness rate in Britain (Hook 2018). Problems also lie elsewhere, with a widening gap in median wages between the east London host boroughs and the rest of London as of 2015, increasing from a 6.3% gap to a 7.3% gap (“Relighting the Torch” 2017; Ponsford 2017). This is also reflected in the national government statistics, with the gap in Newham expanding by four percentage points immediately after the Olympics and

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remaining in the same range for the next three years. Such stagnation is also exhibited in Hackney with Waltham Forest experiencing moderate closing of the gap to the London median since 2012, with the only significant closing of the gap in Newham and Waltham Forest occurring in the past two years. This lack of major closing of the gap explains why a significant amount of the documents reflect an immediate concern – or rejoice – over the housing price increase between 2012 and 2017.

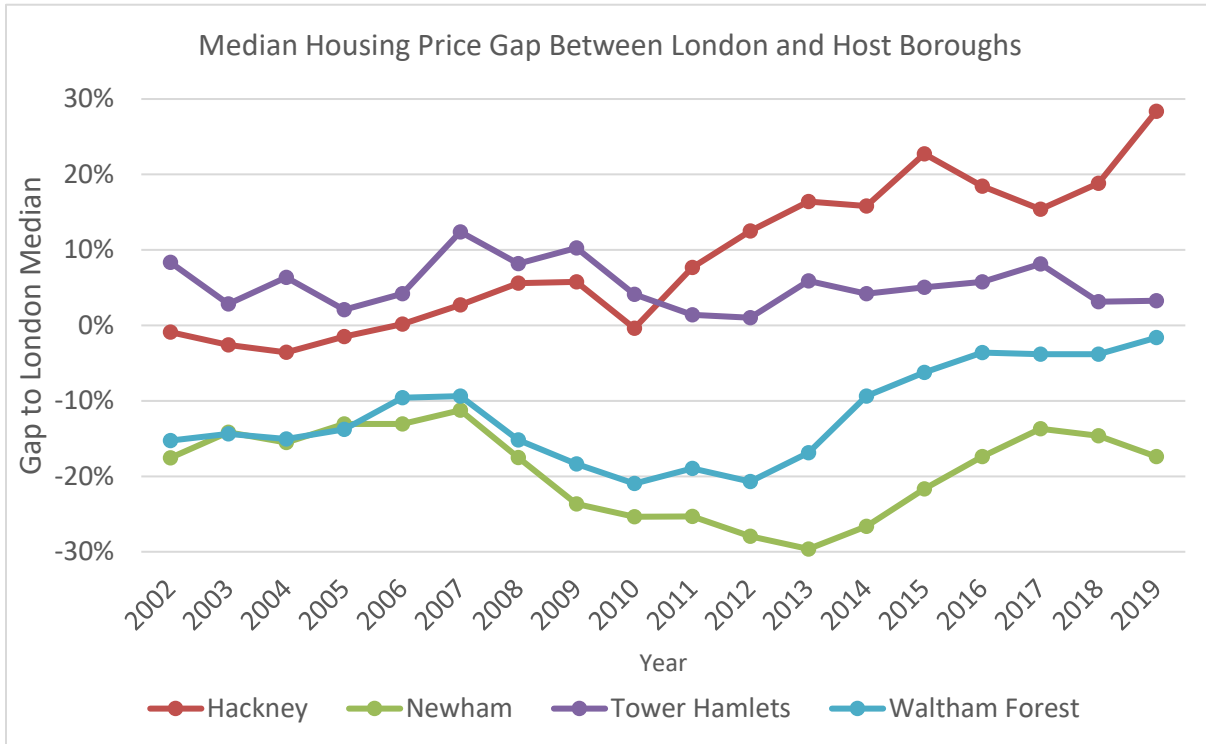


Figure 11 – The gap between the median housing price in the four main boroughs that are home to the Olympic Park and the Greater London median housing price now from December 2002 to August 2019. All statistics are from December of that year, except for 2019, which is as of August. The Games, from this context, show a return to pre-recession levels, only slightly improving upon those levels within the past two years in Waltham Forest and Newham. Hackney continues a trend of growth apparent before the Games and Great Recession, and Tower Hamlets remains in the same ten percent range (Bloomberg News 2019).

When compared to general trends over the past seventeen years, the income falls into a similar relationship as the housing of a return to the norm for most of the years after the Olympics. The income gap in Newham has not contracted to a level under ten percent, even

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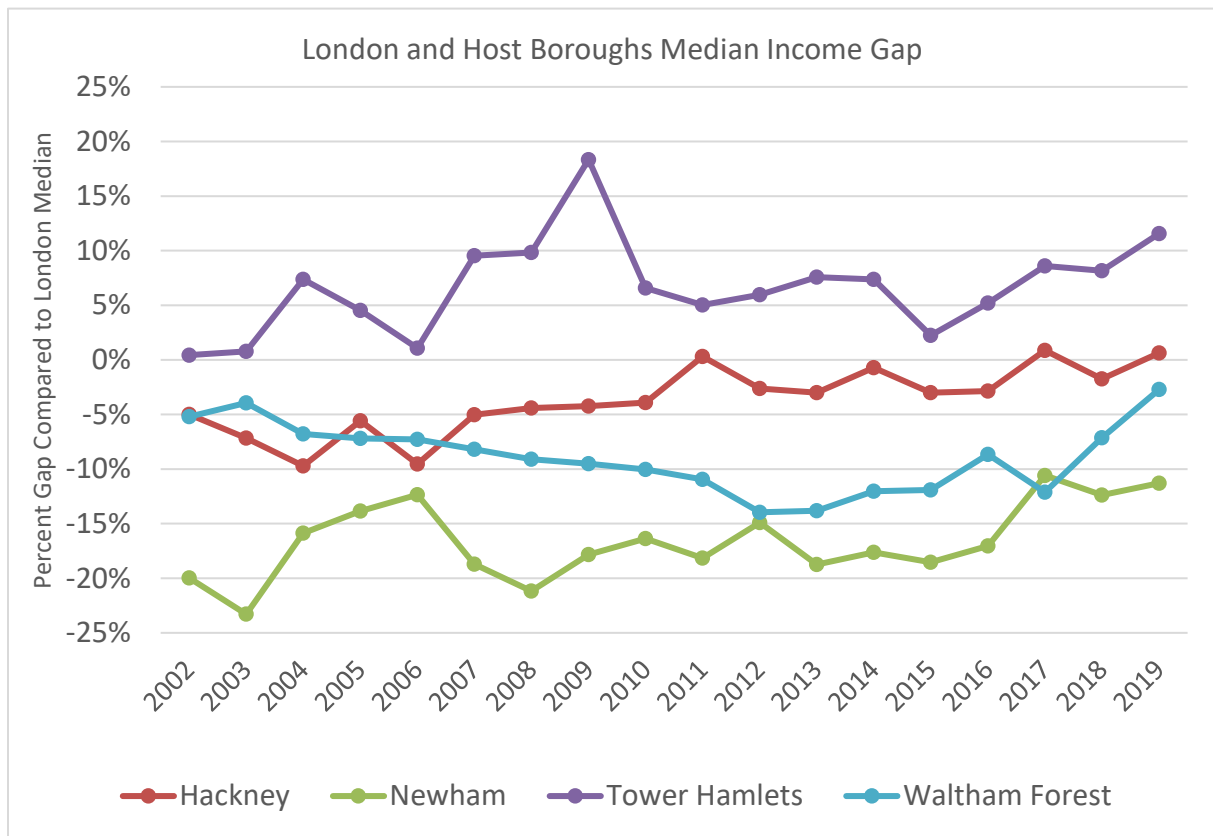


Figure 12 – The gap between the median weekly income in the four main boroughs that are home to the Olympic Park and the Greater London median weekly income. All statistics are from December of that year, except for 2019, which is as of August. While economic reform was promised, significant change has only occurred since 2017. Newham’s improvement is a return to pre-recession levels and Waltham Forest is in a similar position. The lack of income movement in the years immediately after the Games help to complicate the problem of growing housing costs (Nomis).

after the Games (Nomis). Waltham Forest has closed the gap since the Games, but only reached its closest ever level to the London median this year.

This clash between rising housing costs and lack of growth to the pockets of average East Londoners creates a vacuum for legacy organizers – an Olympic Village housing resident problem. What type of people will be living in the new housing created as a legacy of the Olympics, especially when even government officials are questioning the ability of the London Legacy Development Corporation to build affordable housing and a significant amount of housing is sold via market housing (White 2018; Parker 2019). The fill to that

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vacuum are those with business interests in projects in the park including tech entrepreneurs, (Mallett 2019). Those with such interests are likely to be more well-off compared to their borough counterparts due to having such connections. The fill is also reinforced by questions being raised by researchers and government over the possibility of gentrification occurring, leading to the relocation of wealth instead of the production that was implied by the bidding process (Zimbalist 2016, 123; “Relighting the Torch” 2017).

The dynamic of increasing housing prices, stagnant median income, and these homes being occupied implants the notion that gentrification is ongoing in east London with a movement from the center. This is even reflected in some statements being made by current London mayor, Sadiq Khan. In a speech at a conference on business innovation, he noted how businesses, educational and cultural institutions were moving to the Olympic Park, leading him to say that, “the centre of gravity in London is moving East,” and compared the change in the Olympic Park to the building of the museum complexes like the London Science Museum in wealthy South Kensington (International Olympic Committee 2017; Crerar 2017).

By stating that London is moving east, the center of attention and power is moving, but that also means that those who possess a certain amount of power are also moving. This creates the start of an accordion effect, causing those already in the East to be forced to move to other locations for cheaper accommodations as the wealth is transferred from the center to the east (Tsang 2018; Ponsford 2017; Evans 2016, 210).

In the meantime, the shift creates a Dickensian tale of two different neighborhoods. One neighborhood that reflects the high level of homelessness in Newham with scores of people sleeping in a shopping mall contrasted to a housing estate with codes of conduct, commissioned graffiti, and a lack of homeless people (Wilding 2018). One neighborhood that reflects the growing rift between east London and the city as a whole and another that has wealthy people who can afford to live in the lavish new housing. As Darren Rodwell, a member of the council for the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham, so poignantly mention, “Look at the Isle of Dogs and Stratford. You’ve got the haves and the have nots and they don’t intertwine. Stratford was supposed to be a legacy. But for whom? (Murray 2019).” The answer to Rodwell’s question is a legacy for those who are not in the east London, but

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those who are moving into east London. The Games did not raise the host communities up, it brought in people who could fill in a quota. The legacy of the London 2012 Olympics is not to boost a community, it is to build a new community. To create a new center of gravity that does not reflect the borough it is in.

Governments' Broad Brushes

In contrast to the elitism in the increase in housing prices and expansion of central London to the east, the actions by government-affiliated entities incorporates several actions of interest. Three main themes were apparent when coding the articles: government acting for the public good, governing authorities in long-term infrastructure mode, and governing authorities focusing on business interests.

Government acting for the public good, in this case, is government as a strong interest group using its influence but emphasizing the public interest. This is best highlighted by the London Assembly's actions over the past few years. The Assembly has actively sought to investigate the London Legacy Development Corporation – the mayoral agency responsible for the legacy developments of the Olympics – over its lack of affordable housing construction (White 2018). The London Assembly also has a regeneration committee that has been tasked with investigating if the Games have fulfilled goals to narrow the gap between the host communities, confirming that the creation of additional housing units was not on track in a November 2017 report.

While coded as government interests, the actions of the government in this case exhibit democratic notions because the London Assembly is doing its duty to provide oversight to the developments of the community. The Assembly answers to the London public that it serves, and by committing itself to this level of oversight, it is seen as doing what it should be doing for the people they represent. By having this oversight, this makes pledges to make fifty percent of future housing on the Olympic Park affordable, such as those provided by current mayor, Sadiq Khan, logical and rational (Long 2018). It is the government seeing a problem that has been created, asking questions, and committing itself to fix the issue such as investing £10 million into future housing (Long 2018).

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In contrast, however, there is some level of government authorities not seeking to act in the public interest without being forced to. The former head of planning at the Olympic Delivery Authority noted that legacy was not as important as the Games to the ODA (Burrows 2017). While the ODA built items emphasizing legacy, they were required to legally build legacy buildings like a school and sought to maneuver out of building it, exhibiting the conflicts between the desire of the ODA to just build for the Olympics and the commitments of politicians for a legacy that would directly help the community (Burrows 2017).

The actions of government in relation to its service to the public reflects a conflict of direction. In the development stage of the Games, the emphasis on the community was not there – as evident by the lack of enthusiasm from the ODA to create a legacy that had a direct positive impact on the community. In contrast, there is a fervent push in the years after the Olympics to see a legacy that emphasizes the community by having a committee tasked with analyzing regeneration and by having the London Legacy Development Corporation be questioned over its commitment. The trend appears that the closer tied the organization is to the Olympic Park, such as the ODA or the LLDC, the less likely it is seeking to act in the public interest. The closer tied the government interest is to facing a public vote, like the members of the Housing and Regeneration Committee members, the more likely they must act in the public interest and seek to ensure there is change for the hosting communities.

For the Olympic boroughs, it leaves a government divided in its service to the community and only now addressing the issues that have been apparent for the past seven years. The mere fact that there was a news article about Sadiq Khan increasing affordable housing and the London Housing Committee asking questions about affordable housing confirms that there was a lack of affordable housing in the Olympic Park – even though that was the type of housing needed – and it is government-controlled entities like the LLDC under direction from the mayor that are partly to blame for this.

Government emphasis on legacy is also noted by the overall commitment of authorities to long-term infrastructure. If this sounds like a repeat of the tangibility question, it is. The government perceives the wholesale reform of the Olympic Park and surrounding area as a long-term project and the extent to which they perceive it as long term is fascinating. The

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LLDC is still committing itself to building new housing to replace the social housing cleared out for the Olympic Games (Ponsford 2017). The LLDC's commitment to affordable housing construction is not set on a yearly basis, but as a part of a ten-year aim, with housing analysts stating that it will "take a generation" for the Olympic Park to reach full potential (White 2018).

The lack of housing that has been built in the Olympic Park, due to the amount of housing committed to be built by government interests, allows for a mayor to make claims of correcting and reaching an affordable housing target of fifty percent and still have the opportunity to make some dent to the legacy. Yet, the important takeaway from the actions of government is the comparison between what is occurring now and what was said in the candidature file. The London candidate file stated that the Olympic Games were a necessity because, "Without the Games, change would still happen, but it would be slower, more incremental and less ambitious from a sporting, cultural and environmental perspective," and that the Olympic Park would provide a boost to affordable housing since it would "accelerate the delivery of these homes," (2004, 23-27).

As evident by the way that the housing projects have been discussed however, the pace of housing construction – especially affordable housing – appears to be as incremental as what the candidature file thought non-Olympic projects would be. The slow pace that has been avoided by the games has been replaced with reform that is perceived to take a generation. Yet, this long-term legacy approach conflicts with some government goals. The target goals for the London Assembly over narrowing the gap between host communities and the rest of London is set for next year. With the targets of government still relatively short, but the full housing project legacy taking another ten years to bloom, the idea of the Olympics garnering legitimacy due to its ability to fast track development takes a significant hit. For the host communities, it leaves doubts over whether the Olympics were necessary to provide the boost to the community that – while needed – does not occur after the Games. The argument that the Games were necessary to help the community faster than it would have becomes an excuse because the community is not receiving help fast enough. The affordable housing of the Olympic legacy is still being built almost fifteen years since the bid. Not only is the legacy

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not serving the community by creating an elitist bubble, but the legacy is not serving the community by being slow in creating the features needed by the community its intended to serve – affordable housing.

One area where there is service is government authorities focusing in business interests. This can be highlighted by the substantial success of businesses moving to the Olympic Park complexes. At the helm of this project is the London Legacy Development Corporation. The LLDC changed some sections of the Olympic Park from housing to “Cultural and business uses” which has led to the creation of a “ripple effect around the park, judging by the residential-led schemes that developers are proposing,” (Mallett 2019). Yet, as noted in the elitist analysis, without a substantial commitment from the LLDC in providing affordable housing, there is little expectation of affordable housing to be created if developers know they can cash in staggering amounts of money with small amounts of housing each year being designated as affordable. This lack of commitment can be pointed at the lack of direction given to the LLDC. The mandate given to the organization is to be, “Charged with recouping as much of the games’ cost as possible through land sales on the Olympic Park, but also briefed to pursue public good through legacy commitments such as low-cost housing,” (Ponsford 2017). Achieving this balance has proven difficult for the corporation, with the previous chairman resigning in November and told reporters that the corporation could not achieve both of these goals (Ponsford 2017).

This acceptance of not being able to achieve both of the goals explains the contrasting reports between business and housing interests. The housing interests have been emphatically thrown to the side, while the business interests have been flourishing. The commitment of the LLDC reflects a wider concept – the effort of the government to deliver a legacy for the host community has been weak. By not having a stronger push to build infrastructure for the public good early in the scheme, whether it is schools or affordable housing, it has left a precarious situation for the community where it is not served by its new center. Like the student preparing for their final exam with two days left, the government agencies have had to catch up on everything that has occurred for an entire Olympic project in order to fix the park to better serve the public. The procrastination, the short-term goal of garnering as much money

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as possible, and the lack of care for the needs of the community leave a legacy that shows little concern for the state of neighborhoods like Stratford. Instead, it depicts government at its finest – fixing a problem now due to yesterday’s lack of care. The consequences from this for the host communities are staggering. The community faces a long wait – something they were promised would not occur in the candidature file – for the delivery of needs like affordable housing on a mass scale.

Success of the Economic Interests

The flourishing business interests can be found throughout the Olympic Park’s landscape. The Games have been lauded as a huge boon for real-estate parties, with companies like Lendlease, the government-owned London and Continental Railway, and private equity firm Delancey being able to effectively manage business locations in the park (Phillips 2017). Major companies, both British and multinational, have moved to the properties managed by the three including British Telecom’s sport division, Ford, London’s public transport authority, the Financial Conduct Authority, along with two universities (Phillips 2017).

This action highlights the process of how the legacy of the Games does not serve the community. Government and powerful economic interests hold control over the land designated for businesses in the Olympic Park. Since the LLDC is focus more on trying to reclaim revenue and not delivering on public goods, the LLDC emphasizes the government and economic interests. The government and economic entities see their interests in bringing major companies like Transport for London and BT to the East End, but the movement of these companies is not the creation of new jobs to the communities. Instead, it is the transplantation of companies that hold power and property in central London moving their locations or putting new projects in the East End. This becomes a reflection of the moving east mantra, with the consequences being the moving of power from the center to the east without boosting the people who live in the east.

The economic interests served forms a significant overlap between government and business interests, with entities owned by the government and not owned by the government selling and buying space. This is evident by those who control these parties, such as how the head of the ODA was the ex-CEO of Lendlease until 2011 (Zimbalist 2016, 121). With such an

entangling between government and economic interests, it is clear to see why the ODA emphasized the Olympic oriented projects and had a lack of care for the legacy projects that would help the community.

Some companies with business property interests dabble in the management of housing as well with Delancey running a joint venture with Qatari Diar and affordable housing company Triathlon to run the Olympic Village (Phillips 2017; Ponsford 2017). Yet, even that joint venture, called Get Living, pushes for business dealings in order to occupy space such as having a deal with Deloitte for forty apartments (Phillips 2017).

For a company like Delancey, heavy interaction with the Olympic Village provides the opportunity to take from two pots – housing and business – and pool in money thanks to the heavy push of business in the area and the high price of housing in the area. With the majority of affordable housing originally pegged to a reduced cost from the market rate to rent or buy, approximately half of the housing on the market directly, the complex was made to be an ample place to make money for the three parties (Bernstock 2014, 120-121). For Delancey, having a vested interest in both housing and business complexes encourages them to boost profits in one to simultaneously boost the other.

In addition, with the LLDC's commitment to public goods, like housing, falling by the wayside, leading to a flourishing commercial legacy, companies like Delancey become even more important because they ensure the legacy and gain money. The LLDC needs to make as much money as possible and having developers that can sell housing and property like Delancey ensures that they achieve one of the LLDC's goals – the money making one. The outcome for the host community is stark. Government interests entangle with powerful financial interests to increase the likelihood of making money because they have to. Yet, the commitment to making good on needs to the community is not met because they are in opposition to the goal of making money. In order to make money, the business interests of the park – which includes government-affiliated entities – must bring other businesses to the Olympic Park. By bringing other businesses to the Olympic Park and making partnerships with companies for housing, companies like Delancey, Lendlease, and LCR bring central London to east London, bringing the companies, prices, and way of living as well.

East London's Disparity	London Moves East
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing costs up* • Income stagnant for ½ the host boroughs in years post-games • Resident vacuum created post-Olympics for neighborhood housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Powerful interests move into the Olympic region • Current residents are displaced • Community fracturing created
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government left to catch-up on mistakes • Greater emphasis on corporate interests to achieve revenue goal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of wholehearted effort in public goods legacy • (i.e. affordable housing)
Consequences of Delivery	Government's Poor Delivery

Figure 13 – *Table of the four main features apparent in the London 2012 Post-Games Legacy.*

Universal Discussions

While the content coded is well selective, it is still important to have a conversation over the universal legacy discussions. Key to this discussion is the continuance of the games benefiting the local community. It is an idea presented throughout the documents, whether in the Olympic Delivery Authority's final report, how an economic boom occurred in the 2012 host boroughs, and how the legacy of the games brought together variety of interests "(Olympic Delivery Authority" 2015; International Olympic Committee 2017). The message of the Games impacting the community is consistent and necessary because that was the political justification for the Games. If there was no mention of this, it would be an admittance of failure by the government, government agencies, and LOCOG. A lot of the communal notions are also incorporated when discussing the collaboration between public and private institutions – a message that is consistent even in the candidature file's housing plan (Murray 2019; "Olympic Delivery Authority" 2015; "Candidate File" 2004). The democratic notions are also prevalent in government organizations participating in the oversight process, with

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planning done by the ODA scrutinized by an independent body, and striving to be a, “model public body” (“Olympic Delivery Authority” 2015).

This amount of commitment from government organizations like the ODA to show its universal chops appears to be more a façade in contrast to the actions done in the community. The fact that a lot of the communal notions are used to describe relations between public and private institutions reflects the focus of the legacy – anything but the communities being served. As evident throughout the discussion over elitist, government, and economic interests, the host communities have not been served and the claims of the community actually benefiting are insubstantial at best. The idea of the organizing parties bringing together a variety of interests can be true. The question over whether they listened to all of them is the question. The answer appears to be no because the legacy of the London 2012 Olympics does not reflect a legacy that was made in part by the people who live there. The host communities reap what the governing and economic interests sowed for them – a transplant community that reflects central London, but not the east.

OTHER GAMES ANALYSIS

Olympics “Before” Legacy: The 2010 Winter Games in Vancouver

While the London Olympics are considered a hallmark for legacy, this does not mean that the attributes of legacy intertwined with the Olympics only started to appear with the London bidding process. This phenomenon also appears in the 2010 Winter Olympics, held in Vancouver, Canada. Much like the London Olympics, the commitments set forth by Vancouver emphasize the tangibility of the project. The structure of legacy from the Games is very similar to London’s plan, especially from a housing perspective. The language of the Olympic Village and the intention of the Games reaffirms the notion of the event being able to transform communities. The Vancouver bid states that the location of the Olympic Village in the South East False Creek community, “Will contribute significantly to revitalizing this underdeveloped part of the city and will serve as a catalyst for this sustainable community development,” (“The Sea to Sky Games” 2002). The usage of the words “catalyst” and “revitalizing” are concepts justifying the relevance of the Games to the community and the

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city's plan. Much like the London candidature file, Vancouver using "catalyst" places the notion that the Games will act as an accelerant to the change occurring to the host community, implanting the idea that the Games will be able to propel this project in a way that other infrastructure projects could not. Using a word like "revitalizing" in the candidature file not only displays the that the organizers seek substantial change, but a complete overhaul of a community, exactly like the premise of the London bid and why their bid was in East London. The discussion over development is very much similar between Vancouver and London. The London candidature file justified holding the Games in east London by calling the area, "ripe for redevelopment," ("Candidate File" 2004, 19). The Vancouver candidature file makes a similar claim by stating that the Olympic Village's location is, "underdeveloped" part of the city ("The Sea to Sky Games" 2002). In both, the claim is that their location makes sense because nothing of substantial importance is there in the opinion of the organizers.

There is also a substantial commitment to the urban impact this project will have. The candidature file calls the location of the Vancouver Olympic Village, "the urban heart," of Vancouver, emphasizing how the project must recognize, "its very urban context," and noting how the plan includes creating an "urban waterfront walkway and bikeway" ("The Sea to Sky Games" 2002). In addition, and much like most Olympics, there is a substantial commitment to physical infrastructure. The Vancouver games sought to create "permanent housing," and a development, "with a mix of market and non-market housing, parks, community amenities, offices and shops," ("The Sea to Sky Games" 2002). To transform, to accelerate, to build: these are the three key tangible traits placed at the forefront of the Vancouver Games.

Yet, much like the London Olympics, the selectivity of the legacy puts the breaks on the tangible success. At the forefront of similarities are the government parties in control of Olympic-related infrastructure being caught between two directives: the public good and the economic interest. In London, it was the dilemma facing the London Legacy Development Corporation over getting as much money back from the land and ensuring goods like affordable housing. In Vancouver, the municipal government, when faced with a decision of maintaining its commitment on 250 non-market social housing or turning half of the social housing to market-rents to recoup costs from the Olympics, the municipal government chose

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the latter (CBC News 2010). The target for the new housing was government related occupations like police officers, nurses, and paramedics – a similar concept presented by the London bid (CBC News 2010; “Candidate File” 2004, 207). Yet, the intended audience of the housing, as compared to the original intent of low-income individuals, is stark.

The new housing is distinctly, “beyond the means of the city’s middle-class residents,” with the parameters set by the government (Scherer 2011, 790). By having a requirement that individuals living in the market-rate units can earn, “A maximum of five times the monthly rent,” allows Vancouverites who are more well-off to live in the housing (CBC News 2010). The current monthly prices for one-bedroom housing in the First Avenue Athletes Village Housing Co-Operative – the social housing co-operative – is, at the minimum, CAN \$1,530 (CHF BC). Yet, with the maximum allotment considered, this would allow people earning approximately CAN \$91,800 a year to live in the housing. In contrast, the median total income of households in Vancouver as of the last Canadian census in 2015-2016 is CAN \$72,662, with economists using an estimate of CAN \$75,400 as of July 2018 (Statistics Canada 2017; Vikander 2018). The consequences from this for Vancouver is a legacy of elitism much like what appears to be apparent in London’s case. While the aim of the Games is to help the less fortunate, the legacy creates, or at the very least develops the climate for, a rift between the well-off and the working class. Some living in the social housing have been on the cusp or forced to move out due to the staggering costs of rent and utilities in the Olympic Village (Vulliamy 2013).

The other dilemma facing Vancouver is rather unique compared to London: business and government interests in a complex relationship leaving the community at the wayside due to tangible commitments. As part of the tangible legacy of the Vancouver Games was to test and create new technology in “renewable energy supply, water management, green building design and urban agriculture,” (“The Sea to Sky Games” 2002). This choice of tangible legacy had a direct cost on the community living in the Olympic Village. The low-income residents of the Olympic Village could not afford to pay their heating and hot water bills because they had to pay the provincial power company and Enerpro – an entity that “monitors and bills head and hot water,” usage for the co-operative (Lee 2011). This, coupled with,

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“deficiencies in state-of-the-art solar hot water and heat recovery systems,” forced the municipal government to pay the bills of 160 residents in the Village (Lee 2011). The consequences of this action leave taxpayers forced to contribute to monitoring costs, but also helps to expand the coffers of Enerpro. Enerpro gets to act as the middleman, serving a legacy duty of reducing consumption, but making sure that it gets its share for its services since the co-operative chose them to monitor the usage. In contrast, the residents get left in the cold of having an additional payment to their regular bill, adding more bureaucracy to the situation. In the end, while the co-operative and Enerpro can use their actions as a point of tangible legacy actively working, the community gets the short end of the stick as the payments add to already shoe-string budgets. The legacy – a situation that reeks of a possible rift and a highly selective future.

In an interview with the *Georgia Straight* in 2011, Armstrong said that the administrative fee is the only income that Enerpro takes in, and that the rest goes to the city of Vancouver. He also said that while he was concerned that the metering might be inaccurate, he still “supported the notion of individual energy metering, because that’s the only incentive to lower energy use and lower the carbon footprint.” In response to the outcry of the tenants, the city did undertake a study into the building system. After the study was completed, bills resumed in January 2012 and Burge said that the billing had not decreased. Instead, a notice was posted in the lobby telling tenants that the utility bills were comparable to that of any other residential building.

Figure 14 – A portion of Claire Vulliamy’s article on Vancouver’s housing legacy (2013), with the coding used for this thesis applied to the document.

Olympics of the Future: Paris and Los Angeles’ Tangibility

The London Olympics can be considered as the first Olympics that had a significant focus on legacy and also on how future bidding cities discuss legacy in the bidding stage (Horne 2016). This has been greatly amplified by the push from the International Olympic Committee for bids to be able to display how their candidature, “...fits their sporting, economic, social and environmental long-term planning needs,” (International Olympic Committee 2019). London’s candidature file exhibited this through the repetitive discussion over how the Olympics fitted within the scope of the London Plan established for the city. In practice, the emphasis on fitting bids within long-term planning needs is reflected in the host cities for the 2024 and 2028 Summer Olympics, Paris and Los Angeles. Both included sections dedicated

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to explaining how the Games would be crucial to the long-term planning of their cities (“Candidature File: Los Angeles” 2017, “Candidature File: Paris” 2017). Their attention to wording also harkens to the language employed by the London committee in justifying the games.

The concept of corralling legitimacy to the project by justifying that the Games will provide significant change at a fast pace was crucial to the London bid and it is apparent in the Paris and Los Angeles bids as well. In Los Angeles, the Games are considered to be a possible, “...catalyst to help the City accelerate public infrastructure projects already in progress,” providing the elixir to government planning (“Candidature File: Los Angeles” 2017). The Games are also considered to be a force in helping, “...the City achieve development goals on an accelerated timeline,” and noting that the event would be, “...a catalyst for connecting the City of LA through community green spaces for hosting Games-time celebrations,” (“Candidature File: Los Angeles” 2017). In Paris, the use of pace and significance of change is even more amplified. Paris notes how its Games, “will also accelerate city projects such as the possibility to swim in the river...” how the Games, “... will accelerate ambitious plans for increasing active mobility,” and that the games, “accelerates actions towards a sustainable city,” (“Candidature File: Paris” 2017). The use of acceleration continues when discussing the benefits from bidding and hosting the games, noting how bidding is, “Accelerating the construction of a new multipurpose arena in Paris, and that the games will, “accelerate the evolution towards a sustainable society,” (“Candidature File: Paris” 2017).

As evident throughout the London candidature file, the messaging of the Games as an accelerant to municipal change is key to justifying the need for the Games. The messaging presented by London finds its carbon copy in Paris and Los Angeles. The argument of the Games providing the boost is crucial because it explains how the Games makes sense through a timing and constructing aspect. The long-term projects of cities will be become long-term projects that can be soon realized by the communities they are intended to serve in the future. Yet, as exhibited in the selective and universal section on London 2012, the question of how fast the Games are compared to other projects is more a mystery than the fervent confirmation that is depicted in the candidature files of London, Paris, and Los Angeles. The question of

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how important hosting the Games is to development has to be raised, as the Paris candidature file notes that a legacy from simply bidding for the 2012 Olympics – where they closely lost to London – there was some legacy with the proposed village site being built through a public and private partnership without Paris hosting the Games (“Candidature File: Paris” 2017).

While the Paris organizing committee noted this as an example of the Olympic Village financing working wonders, the inclusion of it also raises curiosity over whether the Games are even needed to create long lasting legacy for a public that will use it the most. If Paris was able to create housing from bidding – housing that it sees a worthy enough to include in a document to the International Olympic Committee – without hosting the Olympic Games, the legitimacy of the Games as a vital accelerant to city development must be questioned.

While the language of accelerants and a commitment to leaving a legacy is a consistent theme in Paris and Los Angeles compared to the London example, there are some differences in direct audience between the three that makes Paris’ Olympics much more like London’s. At the forefront of this is the idea that the 2024 Olympics, “Will transform neighbourhoods, particularly in the Grand Paris Zone, creating new districts particularly attractive for residents and companies through the delivery of accommodation facilities and transport infrastructure,” (“Candidature File: Paris” 2017). The justification for the London Olympics is almost exactly the same. To transform neighborhoods, the London Olympics intended to do such a thing by transforming the Lower Lea Valley through the Olympics (“Candidate File” 2004, 19).

Creating a new district, the London Olympics did that through the creation of the Olympic Park so much that it has its own postal code (Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park 2011). Making sure that these new districts are attractive, the London Olympics discussed this by noting that the Olympic Village had to be, “a new, desirable and sustainable residential community.” (“Candidate File” 2004, 23). Having a target audience of residents and companies, the London Olympics also sought this through the LLDC and partners having a dual commitment to delivering public goods and ensuring profit by getting companies to move to the park.

The Paris Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games is clear in how London is reflected in their games, with the co-chair of the Paris bid stating: “We looked at the success of the games in London for sure, the fact that London succeeded in leaving a strong legacy, a

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physical legacy in the east of London was very important for us,” (Alexander-Webber 2017). Much like the concerns presented post-Olympics in London, community members also have similar concerns, with one resident stating that, “When there is a lot of investment, landlords will also take advantage by adding a bit, increasing the rents,” (Alexander-Webber 2017). As evident by the stories in post-Olympics London, this phenomenon of increased rents is not some isolated incident and will be key to determining the success of a Parisian games. Yet, with a Games modelled so much on the physical legacy done in London, with a similar public-private partnership for housing slated for the Olympic Village, avoiding substantial rent increases will be as hard as a 400-meter race at a full sprint.

Olympics	Three Rules Justification	Regeneration Intrinsically Part of the Bid	Strong Selective Attributes for Community Legacy
London 2012			
Vancouver 2010			
Paris 2024			Likely
Los Angeles 2028			Possible

Figure 15 – The overall table between the three rules, regeneration, and the selective attributes between London and the three other Olympics. All three apparent in London and Vancouver, while Los Angeles’ regeneration is not as intrinsically part of the bid as Paris.

The Los Angeles Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games does fall under a slightly different focus, especially in its Olympic Village housing plan. While the Paris games emulates the London plan of using the village as a cornerstone of a regeneration plan, the Los Angeles Olympic Village is integrated into the housing expansion on the campus of the University of California, Los Angeles (“Candidature File: Los Angeles” 2017). The LA committee notes that UCLA’s desire to create new housing units to meet future demand from students falls into the requirements of the Olympic Village (“Candidature File: Los Angeles” 2017). This commitment to housing being created at the university displays a contrast

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between the London and Paris model versus the Los Angeles model. London and Paris aim to build housing for the Olympic Village and after it, it will be reflected as a contribution to future planning. Los Angeles's Olympic Village is going to take over infrastructure that is already created and is intended to be created with or without the Olympic Games with a direct community set to use it after. All of the plans are tangible, but the difference in the targeted community – students versus the neighborhood public – makes the Los Angeles model unique compared to its London and Paris counterparts. It is also different in that, by leaving most of the responsibility to a public university in contrast to the public/private partnerships present in London and Paris, the Los Angeles bid is more reliant on government-backed interests in its housing from the onset compared to the two European hosts.

CONCLUSION

The London Olympic Games legacy is one that is multi-faceted. The Games does desire to remake its host communities through economic and housing reform that benefits local people. This is reflected by the substantial commitment to a tangible legacy throughout the London Olympics candidature file. Yet, its housing legacy does not appear to adequately serve the intended community. Instead, the legacy produces a selective legacy based on the texts. In the best scenario, the Games have no effect on the communities. In the worst-case scenario, the Games produce a negative effect on the communities. The desire to make the Games a catalyst for reform of east London is crucial to the notion of the London legacy (Evans 2016, 62). Some even argue that London was going to continue to move east no matter if the Games were or were not held in London (Evans 2016, 62). Yet, the Games are now key to the legacy and of a shift in power, influence, and movement that has occurred in east London since 2012. The consequences are a legacy of the Olympics that does not wholly benefit impoverished people in the communities of the host boroughs, especially those in the London Borough of Newham. Instead, it leaves a new place for those moving east, with their power and influence to act – a symbol for gentrification.

One of the most poignant quotes during my research was a comment made by an academic focused on urban development, noting that, "Gentrification is the only way to bring change in cities, but we live in a democracy. We have to be seen to be letting people know what we are

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doing, and planning” (Evans 2016, 111). While that comment was on the importance of the legacy masterplan framework – the overall document concept of legacy – it carries a great consequence to this thesis. The consequence that changes evident during the London Games were inevitable because change in itself relies upon gentrification. The idea that regeneration and gentrification are intrinsically tied to each other leaves staggering consequences to host communities. Communities are promised change that will lift them up, but that change is not even directed at them, it is directed at an entirely new group. That change can be found not only through the increasing housing costs, but by the lack of emphasis on delivering public goods that directly help the community from organizing and governmental authorities.

The trends of regeneration, the three rules justification for change, and the selectivity of legacies that are apparent in London are just as apparent in the Vancouver Games, which explains why the two are often used as comparisons between each other, whether in Penny Bernstock’s *Olympic Housing* or in Jay Scheer’s piece on Vancouver’s housing legacy. The traits apparent in London are also apparent in the Parisian Games, right down to the emphasis on regeneration. This makes the chance of change that does not target those living in the community strong after the 2024 Games. The Los Angeles games has the three rules justification, but regeneration is not as tied to the Games concept.

In the cases of London, Vancouver, and Paris, the message is clear as day, change has consequences, and not all are as glowing as they are intended to be. Introducing legacy is required for cities to justify hosting the Games, but that same justification can also over promise and fail to deliver. Governments must be seen as contributing to the public good since they are spending staggering amounts of money on short-term sporting event. Yet, that promise to deliver public goods falls at the wayside after the Games. It is key for governments to understand that spending money on hosting the Games is a lose situation. Either you spend money for the Games, justify through legacy and fail to deliver or you spend money just for the sake of the Games.

A reduction of expenditure is necessary, and therefore a greater use of already intended projects with direct outcomes. Instead of Games reflecting a general city plan, Games that have legacies directly corresponding to group’s future intentions. This is reflected especially

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in the Los Angeles bid's Olympic Village housing being incorporated with UCLA's expansion of housing. The International Olympic Committee also knows this is necessary for its future sustainability, with a growing push for bids to use existing facilities (Gibson 2014).

Even with the cost situation, the legacy concept has a more unique importance for the American sporting landscape, where construction of stadiums is often coupled with community overhauls. One of the venues for the Los Angeles 2028 Games is already contributing to gentrification, and though that isn't intrinsically tied to the bid, it leaves similar consequences (Jennings 2019).

While that stadium is privately funded, the habit of American sports stadiums being publicly funded with the same intention of overhaul is also apparent. The \$400 million redevelopment plan in Pawtucket, Rhode Island perfectly reflects this. Centered around a minor league soccer stadium, it is being developed through a public-private partnership, seen as revitalizing the area, will include a hotel, office space, and "market-rate and workforce housing," and public money will be used even though government officials claim that the project, "...Will pay for itself," (Sherman 2019). All of these concepts are evident in the London Olympics, but the likelihood that the project will pay for itself, or that the workforce housing that will be created will be affordable for average working people must be highly questioned. Whether it is the Olympics or a minor league sports stadium, the trap is the same, and it is the communities that are left on the wayside.

APPENDICES

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Appendix A – List of Sources Used for London Post-Games Analysis

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