

**Literature review: Olympic Venues – Regeneration  
Legacy**

**London Assembly**

A Report Submitted by  
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## OLYMPIC VENUES – REGENERATION LEGACY

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# Executive Summary

## Introduction and methodology

This literature review is focused on the re-use of Olympic venues and in particular the stadium and the media centre as part of the wider legacy programme. The aim of this literature review is to:

- Evaluate the legacy implications of different strategies and procedures for the re-use of Olympic venues by reviewing a range of sources and case studies
- To outline and evaluate different scenarios for legacy and the future of the buildings and park based on different strategies
- To draw out lessons and good practice for use by key stakeholders.

The re-use of venues built specifically for the Olympics or major events represents a major challenge. While re-use was often an afterthought for earlier Olympics, the centrality of legacy to the London Games means that:

*“the importance of securing a viable, sustainable role or purpose for a new stadium and other sporting infrastructure following a London Games cannot be overstated”* (Raco, 2004: 43).

A central issue in achieving this is linking the venues (place) to the wider legacy aims (people). The review is structured around a holistic framework based on the strategies and procedures needed to link the physical aspects of regeneration to wider social and economic legacies. These themes are:

- The creation of a coherent strategy towards legacy which links the project to wider regeneration outcomes
- The existence of appropriate governance arrangements
- The delivery arrangements used including options for funding mechanisms, investment leverage, asset ownership and management and further mechanisms to connect the venues to wider regeneration outcomes and local legacy such as local labour clauses.

The main sources for the review include:

- Official evaluations and reports of previous Olympic cities
- Evaluations and reports of relevant non-Olympic venues and projects
- Academic research
- Press reports
- Websites and information from local government and development companies.

## **Strategies and Scenarios for Legacy and the Reuse of Olympic Facilities**

Planning for the re-use of venues takes place on two levels: the buildings themselves and the wider vision for legacy which is being pursued.

Experience has shown that a variety of strategies for the re-use of venues have been used in Olympic and non-Olympic cities to secure legacy and to link physical and socio-economic regeneration. For each of these strategies it is possible to construct scenarios of the possible legacy.

### *A city-wide regeneration strategy:*

- This approach prioritises an overall vision for the city to which Olympic sites may contribute but they may not be the main focus of legacy. Barcelona is often taken as a 'model' for successful Olympic-led regeneration, however this success was the result of placing the Olympics within a wider strategy for the whole city. The provision of infrastructure and the publicity linked to the games enabled and showcased this transformation but the Olympic sites themselves did not form a major element of this strategy.
- The scenario that emerges from this strategy is that the Olympic event could be used to promote London to investors and visitors but the focus of regeneration would be on the whole city or a range of areas within it, not the Olympic venues/park. This could divert investment from the Olympic site, or see it developed as a way of enhancing London's status as a World City or tourist destination rather than meeting local needs. Socio-economic legacies would be secured through wider regeneration activities, anti-poverty programmes and city-wide and regional strategies to secure benefits rather than through the re-use of the site alone.

### *Building a City Quarter:*

- This approach places the re-use of venues within a wider regeneration strategy based on creating an urban quarter around a particular economic sector. The aim is to build a strong economic base which in turn can contribute to promoting the city as a whole. Examples include SportCity in Manchester and MediaCity in Salford.
- The scenario that emerges from this strategy is that the Olympic Park would become a thriving quarter within London built on sport (the Stadium) or media and culture (the media centre). This would combine 'flagship' buildings with training and education opportunities and strengthen the East London economy. However it could also promote gentrification and by-pass local businesses and the informal economy.

### *Opportunity-Led:*

- This strategy involves a more 'flexible' and evolving approach to master planning which sets out broad parameters and design guidelines but which does not prescribe specific uses. Instead the market is seen as the determinant of follow-on uses. Examples include

- The scenario that could emerge from this strategy is difficult to predict due to the inherent flexibility of the strategy, however strong design is likely to be a priority. It could be linked to a major project or flagship building. Overall re-use will be largely dependent on what the market sees as viable on the site. Depending on what this is, social legacy outcomes could be achieved. However this is likely to be dependent on the strength of the agreements and mechanisms used to secure any community-benefit.

*Community-centred:*

- Although not evident in detail for the re-use of Olympic venues, regeneration strategies exist which start from a bottom-up approach to regenerating neighbourhoods based on local needs and participation. Examples include Coin Street and Rich Mix in London.
- A scenario emerges of the redevelopment of the Olympic site taking as its starting point building on the culture and energy of local neighbourhoods and maximising local benefits. This would, for example, prioritise affordable and social housing and focus on local SMEs in terms of economic development. The site could be community owned and controlled, or with an element of community ownership with assets held in trust for local people.

Within these broader strategies a variety of follow-on uses for the buildings is possible including re-use as sporting venues, a change or mix of uses and a prioritising of 'memory' and the symbolic aspects of the Games.

For the purposes of this review these scenarios can be used for both 'backcasting' and 'forecasting'. They can suggest alternative scenarios for the Olympics legacy based on the experience of other cities but they can also help suggest the steps necessary to achieve a desired vision.

Evidence suggests:

- That the re-use of specific venues needs to be seen within an overall strategic approach to legacy and regeneration
- That different strategies exist which suggest different scenarios for legacy impacts and outcomes

- That decisions about strategies and follow-on uses need to be seen in the context of these alternative scenarios
- That, while it is unlikely that only one strategy is used in any one city, there are indications that London is moving towards an opportunity-led strategy
- That particular mechanisms and governance arrangements are crucial for linking physical development to legacy over and above the strategy taken.

## **Governance**

Governance is a crucial aspect of planning and delivering legacy, but one which is often ignored in evaluations. One of the legacies of the Games or major events as in Liverpool is that they can leave governance arrangements strengthened and operating in a way which sustains and further animates positive legacies (Impacts 08, 2010). Alternatively, experiences as in Atlanta, where large sections of the population were excluded from pre and post planning can compound negative legacies (ELRI, 2007).

- The most frequently used governance form for Olympic planning is a special purpose vehicle with limited representation. This can create a democratic deficit and present problems of accountability
- Enabling a dialogue with communities and stakeholders throughout the Olympic planning and delivery process is important. In Barcelona the usual governance mechanisms were kept largely intact and enabled this to happen. In other cities additional programmes were used e.g. the Liverpool Community programme
- It is a paradox that while the ability of the games to leave a lasting legacy for local communities is being increasingly stressed, community involvement in the bodies delivering the Olympic sites is largely precluded. Nevertheless opportunities do exist for involvement, for example through volunteering programmes or Newham's Youth Forum. However calls to widen the membership of legacy bodies to include community and voluntary sector representatives are frequent.
- Governance arrangements linked specifically to projects and buildings also need consideration. Again evidence points to the importance of partnership and consultative arrangements in securing a lasting legacy.

## **Finance**

There are a range of options that could be explored in relation to financing the Olympic venues after the Games. These involve, to a greater or lesser extent, a combination of the public, private and third sectors. The options available will depend on a number of factors, including the issue of the return on public sector investment, as well as the time scale over which this return is expected. Possible options include:

- Wholly owned by the private sector: for example, Canary Wharf which was wholly developed and owned by the private sector, with no stake retained by the public sector, despite initial public investment to develop the site and surrounding infrastructure.
- Leased to the private sector, under public sector ownership: for example, Manchester City FC Stadium, where the stadium is owned by Manchester City Council, and leased to Manchester City FC, thereby retaining an income stream for the public sector.
- A Community Development Trust model, such as Westway Development Trust, which was set up in 1971 to develop derelict land under the A40 Westway flyover for community benefit. The land was provided to the Trust for free to benefit the community by the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea and the GLC, held on a long lease from the Royal Borough until 2103.
- A social enterprise model, such as Greenwich Leisure Limited, which manages around 70 public leisure centres. It reinvests surpluses back into leisure services for the community across a range of areas including health and young people's services.
- Wholly owned by the public sector, as was the case in Barcelona, where the majority of the Olympic sites for the 1992 Games are publicly owned, although some venues, such as the Montjuic stadium, are used on an ad-hoc basis for particular commercial events, such as concerts.

Factors affecting the choice of options include the final end-use of the venues, the scope for community facilities, the ultimate objectives for the venues' after-use, as well as the time-frame within which this is envisaged.

The significant cost of the Games could mean that the overall aim is to recoup as much finance as possible, as quickly as possible, through the sale of the venues to the private sector. Alternatively, taking a longer-term view, with the overall objective of generating as great a community benefit as possible, a scenario could be envisaged involving a Community Development Trust or social enterprise, whose aims are to provide services and facilities to the community. These scenarios, at different ends of the spectrum, are not however mutually exclusive, as it would be possible to integrate community-focused elements into a private sector model, if this was planned and implemented from the start.

### **Delivery Mechanisms**

Evidence suggests that there are a range of mechanisms through which the employment and community potential of Olympic sites can be maximised. These include procurement, local labour and training clauses, further

education and training facilities, as well as providing workspace for local enterprise.

- **Procurement:** There are strong arguments for the role of procurement in helping to secure a legacy for local communities, being seen as a 'strategic lever' to achieve sustainable regeneration. Procurement to local contractors can help retain public and private investment in the local area, thus contributing to the local economy and benefiting resident communities. In addition, community benefit can be embedded within procurement contracts. For example, limits can be placed on the distance travelled of raw materials and other products such as food, which would favour local firms, as well as contributing to cutting the Games' carbon footprint.
- **Local labour and training clauses:** Another way of achieving benefit is through local labour and training clauses. There are a number of examples both locally and nationally, of where flagship schemes have used labour and training clauses to promote community benefit, including London City Airport in Newham, which together with other onsite employers, now employs some 70% of employees recruited from East London. Other examples of good practice include Wembley Stadium, Bluewater shopping centre, Greenwich Peninsula Regeneration project and the Emirates Stadium. These types of social inclusion clauses have also been shown to secure wider social dividends' for disadvantaged areas.
- **Further Training and Education facilities:** Evidence also suggests that it is important to link 'flagship projects' with training and education initiatives from the start. Examples include the Retail Centre of Excellence in the Stratford City shopping complex, the apprenticeship schemes around MediaCityUK in Salford; and the Centre of Excellence in financial services at Poplar College, close to Canary Wharf.
- **Providing workspace for local enterprise:** One way of ensuring that local enterprises can benefit from regeneration is to provide appropriate business premises in key locations within the community. Many development trusts incorporate managed workspace linked to business support services, which help local enterprises to start-up and survive.

### **Assessment of the Alternative Scenarios**

A holistic framework for assessing the alternative scenarios for legacy and venue follow-on arrangements was established based on the following criteria drawn from the literature:

- Economic sustainability
- Social sustainability
- Creating a coherent and attractive city within a region



- Finance, particularly the timescale for securing a return on public investment
- Effective and inclusive governance
- Delivery mechanisms which can maximise the linking the people and place based aspects of legacy

Each scenario was assessed according to these criteria. In reality different weights could be put on the different criteria and some criteria could conflict with others. However as this report is not a full-scale evaluation the scenarios were only assessed on whether they were likely or not to meet each criterion. This exercise revealed that:

In summary this exercise has revealed that

- There is differential potential for each of the above scenarios to meet the legacy criteria as set out
- While the city-wide and community-centred approaches have the greatest possibility of meeting socio-economic criteria they are less likely to secure immediate financial returns
- Scenarios for both the strategy and follow-on uses which maximised financial returns presented more difficulties in meeting economic and social sustainability criteria
- The process of backcasting reveals that the conditions to secure the ideal-typical citywide strategy are arguably not present in London
- The different scenarios present different possibilities for venue follow-on usage ranging from symbolic backdrops to thriving parks to being an integral part of a new City quarter.
- Processes based on inclusive and community-centred governance arrangements are more likely to meet the legacy objectives as currently articulated
- The effectiveness of partnership working is crucial to the successful realisation of a number of the scenarios
- The importance of finance and delivery mechanisms to link physical and social regeneration emerged as key within all these strategies
- This implies that decisions on legacy need to include imaginative and rigorous procedures and mechanisms to provide local benefits and that these need to be articulated from an early stage
- It is possible to combine elements from these scenarios to maximise the potential for benefit, but some elements may be mutually exclusive.

## Lessons and Recommendations

- Linking physical and social outcomes is crucial to legacy (particularly in terms of the re-use of buildings)
- In relation to this the evidence shows that the adoption of particular strategies and mechanisms will lead to different outcomes
- The outcomes of legacy are ultimately dependent upon the overall initial vision for legacy for example tensions between short-term financial considerations versus longer-term legacies, or between benefits for the city as a whole versus the immediate locality
- Longer-term legacies which benefit local communities are likely to be based on partnerships between public agencies, private companies, training and education providers and local communities.
- Key issues are:
  - The need for clarity over the priorities for legacy and the adoption of a strategy and mechanisms to achieve this from an early stage.
  - If the priority is for longer-term community benefits the need to adopt governance and delivery structures based on partnership and participation.
  - These need to be established early on and to feed into strategies for legacy.
  - In particular the role of buildings needs to be considered within a wider strategy for the area (e.g. for a city 'quarter') and the mechanisms to achieve this.
  - Key decisions on building re-use, e.g. end-use and asset ownership and management are not divorced from wider strategic visions for legacy
  - A variety of mechanisms exist to link the physical buildings to wider legacy outcomes which need to be considered from an early stage.

# 1. Introduction and methodology

This literature review is focused on the re-use of Olympic venues and in particular the stadium and the media centre as part of the wider legacy programme. The aim of this literature review is to:

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The re-use of venues built specifically for the Olympics or major events represents a major challenge. While re-use was often an afterthought for earlier Olympics, the centrality of legacy to the London Games means that:

*“the importance of securing a viable, sustainable role or purpose for a new stadium and other sporting infrastructure following a London Games cannot be overstated” (Raco, 2004: 43)*

A central issue in achieving this is the linking of the venues (place) to the wider legacy aims (people). The review is structured around a holistic framework based on the strategies and procedures needed to link the physical aspects of regeneration to wider social and economic legacies. These themes are:

- The creation of a coherent strategy towards legacy which links the project to wider regeneration outcomes
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## 2. Context

Venues and buildings are a major aspect of Olympic legacy. They are the lasting monuments to the event but they also epitomise perhaps the most crucial legacy dilemma; how to link the physical redevelopment of the Olympic site with the achievement of lasting benefits which address the needs of host communities. Although there is general agreement in the literature about the need to link social, physical and economic regeneration within legacy, achieving this through the re-use of the Olympic/sporting venues is problematic. This is due to a number of factors including:

- The specific requirements of the purpose-built Olympic facilities (e.g. capacity)
- Competition from other venues in the same city
- Short-term priorities (i.e. recouping costs) versus longer term benefits
- The degree of fit between the buildings themselves and the regeneration/economic development strategies and trajectories for the area and the city as a whole.

Experience in other cities has been mixed. Athens, for example, is often seen as an example of poor re-use of Olympic venues, while Sydney turned around 'white elephants' only in the years after the event (Searle 2002, Cashman 2009). Even Barcelona, heralded as an exemplar in using the Olympics to the wider benefit of the City, paid little attention to the Olympic sites themselves, focusing instead on using the Games to showcase other parts of the city which had been or were in the process of being regenerated (Coaffee, 2007; Marshall, 2004). Manchester, on the other hand, had a pre-games strategy for stadium re-use linked to wider regeneration priorities (Smith, 2010).

Legacy has been a defining feature of the London Olympics from the outset and a variety of statements and plans have been produced aimed at specifying what this legacy might be and how it could be achieved. An Olympic Park Legacy Masterplan was drawn up by the LDA through consultation and published in 2009 (EDAW, 2009). With the setting up of the OPLC this Masterplan is currently being reviewed with revisions expected in June. OPLC is currently running a 'soft market testing' exercise to assess interest in and ideas for the re-use of the stadium from potential developers. Consideration of legacy is therefore at a crucial time in terms of turning ideas into reality.

This study aims to feed into this process by reviewing relevant literature with a view to assessing the potential contribution of the re-use of the Olympic venues towards the overall legacy aims. It takes as its starting point the need to identify ways in which people and place can be linked. This reflects wider discussions about the role and nature of legacy (see for example East London Research Institute, 2007; Gold and Gold, 2007). Much of the literature stresses the need to see legacy as more than the achievement of particular outcomes, such as numbers of jobs or square footage provided. This includes both 'hard' and 'soft' outcomes (ELRI, 2007) including buildings, economic impacts and also less tangible ones such as memory, perceptions

and social capital. Evaluations of other 'mega events' (see in particular Impacts 08, 2010) have also stressed the need to include governance and delivery processes as an essential aspect of legacy. Finally, the significance of the temporal dimension as well as the spatial focus on an area and a city is also important. While many have stressed the need to take a longitudinal approach to the study of legacy this is also significant in highlighting the impact over time that particular decisions and actions over legacy are likely to have, hence the building of scenarios in this study. This combination of factors builds what some have called a 'legacy momentum' (ELRI, 2007).

Running alongside this broader literature on legacy planning and the Olympics are more specific studies about the regeneration potential of particular buildings and projects in the UK and their experience in the use of particular mechanisms which can link physical buildings with wider regeneration benefits. Within the wider regeneration literature this joining up of physical regeneration (buildings) to socio-economic benefits is something of a 'holy grail'. Developments such as Canary Wharf, for example, have been criticised for being property-led and paying insufficient attention to local benefits (Brownill, 1990). Nevertheless a variety of strategies and procedures have been built up over the years which aim to maximise the wider benefits from major projects and it is possible to draw on when considering sites such as the Olympic venues. As such this review draws on a wider literature than just Olympic cities, covering other examples such as football stadia and 'flagship' projects.

If legacy is accepted as a process and not an outcome this needs to be reflected in the methodologies used to investigate it. Many frameworks often exclude significant aspects of legacy and impacts. Of especial interest here is the evaluation of the Liverpool Capital of Culture (Impacts 08, 2010) which notes that there are often significant limitations associated with short-term impact studies and calls for a 'holistic model' which recognises processes as well as outcomes and the lived experiences of the residents of host cities (Impacts 08, 2010 p5). The East London Research Institute in their review of Olympic legacy also stress governance issues stating:

'Legacy here relates to achieving the capacity for continuous improvement in governance structures, community engagement and the development of social capital, achieving the public capacity and support to continue to innovate after the completion of the games' (ELRI, 2007p95).

Within discussion on legacy the significance of financial mechanisms and constraints is being increasingly recognised as a crucial factor in influencing legacy outcomes. For example in a recent report the New Economics Foundations suggests that forms of asset management exist such as Development Trusts which have the potential for spreading legacy benefits (and risks) over the longer-term and between different stakeholders (NEF, 2008). The balance between public and private financing of the venues and post-Games development and the speed at which return on public investment is to be achieved has also been identified as significant (Marshall, 2004)

issues which are particularly relevant to London given the current restrictions on public spending and the impact of the recession.

Therefore this study takes as its starting point a 'holistic' methodology reviewing the strategies, processes and mechanisms by which the legacy potential of the Olympic buildings can be maximised. To undertake this process the review highlights the key aspects that have been identified in the literature as important in linking people and places. These include:

- The creation of a coherent strategy towards legacy which links the project to wider regeneration outcomes
- The existence of appropriate governance arrangements
- The delivery arrangements used including options for funding mechanisms, investment leverage, asset ownership and management and further mechanisms to connect the venues to wider regeneration outcomes and local legacy such as local labour clauses.

In many ways it is the interplay between these elements that will lead to a particular end result. The review draws on case studies and the literature to identify a number of alternative strategies and processes for achieving legacy and constructs scenarios based on these. Scenarios are a method which enable both forecasting and backcasting; they can suggest alternative futures through forecasting but they can also identify the steps that are necessary to achieve a desired outcome through tracing back the necessary stages and decisions to move from the present to the future. For example, if the desired scenario is to use Olympic venues to maximise legacy a number of steps/issues such as forms of ownership, governance processes and local labour clauses have been identified in the literature as being important (Smith 2007; NEF 2008, Impacts 08, 2010). Such a method is therefore useful in assisting important decisions such as the potential re-use of the Olympic venues within the wider context of debates on the overall legacy of the Games.

It should be stressed however that this report is a literature review and not a full-scale evaluation of the legacy outcomes in different cities or the potential legacies in London. Such an evaluation would require a longer time and more original research, which we would be happy to do at a future date. It does however seek to assess the potential scenarios for legacy drawing on criteria established in the literature. This framework is discussed more fully in Section 7. Finally, as the Olympic Village was not included in the venues to be considered this report does not focus in detail on the housing aspects of legacy.

The remainder of the report is structured as follows:

- Section 3 looks at different strategies and approaches taken to regeneration and the re-use of Olympic facilities;
- Section 4 looks at different possible governance arrangements for the Olympic legacy;

- Section 5 addresses options for financing venues in the period after the games;
- Section 6 explores different delivery mechanism that can contribute to ensuring community benefit from the legacy;
- Section 7 reviews the alternative scenarios; and
- Section 8 concludes with lessons learnt and recommendations.

### **3. Strategies and Scenarios for Legacy and the Re-use of Olympic Facilities**

As outlined in the previous section, a variety of approaches for the re-use of venues have been used in Olympic and non-Olympic cities to secure legacy and to link physical and socio-economic regeneration. Research also suggests that the re-use of venues is likely to reflect the complex nature of legacy outlined above. Therefore the buildings may reflect 'hard' legacy outcomes as well as 'softer' ones. Planning for the re-use of venues takes place on two levels: the buildings themselves and the wider vision for legacy which is being pursued. There may or may not be a connection between these. However the evidence suggests that for legacy to be maximised some degree of synergy between the two is important. Therefore this section reviews past experience and case studies to identify a number of alternative strategies which have been used towards the re-use of venues and towards wider legacy outcomes (see Table 3.1). It then sketches scenarios based on these which are summarised in Table 3.2.

#### **3.1 No strategy for re-use/legacy**

Legacy is now an important aspect of games planning and delivery as reflected in the property given to it in London. However it should be noted that this was not always the case and the literature highlights examples of poor practice where legacy and the re-use of buildings were not pre-planned. Athens is often cited as an example of poor re-use of the buildings, although other aspects including the provision of more open space in the city, the provision of infrastructure and other environmental improvements were noted (ELRI, 2007). Interestingly, the initial focus in Sydney was on running an efficient games, not on what would happen to the sites after the games Searle (2002) notes that this resulted initially in the Olympic venues becoming 'white elephants', under-used and in a park which was not adapted for after-use. This was also linked to a financial model whereby the private sector bore the majority of the costs of stadia construction with the stadium being designed, built and operated by a private consortium under a lease from the Olympic Coordination Agency (although public money was called on when some sources of private finance were not forthcoming). The private sector also therefore assumed post-Games management responsibilities. The competition from other stadia in the city plus the lack of a major sporting club or events to use and the absence of pre-planning to ensure an adequate after-life combined to create a situation where legacy looked questionable (Searle, 2002). However this situation was to an extent turned around through a process including the drawing up of a masterplan for the park which is considered in section 3.4 below.

#### **3.2. Placing The Olympic Park within a "City-wide regeneration strategy"**

Increasingly attempts have been made to plan in legacy from the start of the games. Past examples show that there are a variety of ways in which this can



be approached and which are summarised in Table 3.2. along with the scenarios that emerge from them.

This first approach prioritises an overall vision for the city with Olympic sites forming part of this although they are not necessarily the main focus. Barcelona is the city which epitomises this approach.

- Barcelona is often taken as a 'model' for successful Olympic-led regeneration; however the strategy was based on a city-wide approach and not on the Olympic sites themselves (Coaffee, 2007; Marshall, 2004). One of these, the Olympic Village, was sold for redevelopment soon after the games but this was purely for financial reasons due to a lack of public finance and was not part of the original strategy. The purpose-built, publicly-financed sports facilities remained in municipal use and ownership and some found an after-life, for example Espanyol football club used the Olympic stadium while their own stadium was being redeveloped. However it was the wider regeneration of the city that was the key to Barcelona's success and the provision of infrastructure and publicity linked to the games which enabled and showcased this (Marshall, 2004).
- The scenario that emerges from this strategy is that the Olympic event could be used to promote the wider regeneration of London or even to 'sell' the city to investors and visitors but the focus of regeneration could be on the whole city or a range of areas within it, rather than on the Olympic venues/park themselves. This could divert investment from the Olympic site, see it developed as a way of enhancing London's status as a World City or tourist destination rather than meeting local needs, or lead to a focus on particular areas within the Park e.g. the Olympic Village. Socio-economic legacies would be secured through wider regeneration activities, anti-poverty programmes and city-wide and regional strategies to secure benefits rather than through the re-use of the site alone.

Table 3.1 Strategies and Scenarios for Legacy

Strategy	Scenario
<p>City Wide Strategy; emphasis is on the regeneration of the whole city rather than Olympic sites themselves. Fate of the Olympic sites therefore determined in relation to this overall objective. In the Barcelona case this was linked with a democratic process of debate and a financial strategy of largely public sector investment with limited immediate sale of sites to recoup upfront costs.</p>	<p>Olympic event used to 'sell' London to investors and visitors but focus of regeneration is on the whole city or a range of areas within it, not necessarily including the Olympic venues/park. This could divert investment from the Olympic site, or see it developed as a way of enhancing London's status as a World City or tourist destination rather than meeting local needs, or lead to a focus on particular areas within the Park e.g. the Olympic Village. Dependent on other regeneration activities and city-wide and regional strategies to secure benefits.</p>
<p>Creating an urban Quarter: Re-use of park and buildings linked to overall regeneration strategy aimed at integrating the park with the city and developing it as a world class urban quarter. Can be sector-led e.g., MediaCity or event themed e.g. SportCity. Can also build in mechanisms for community benefit and local legacy and longer-term financial returns on public investment.</p>	<p>The Olympic Park would become a thriving quarter within London built on a solid economic foundation. This would combine 'flagship' buildings with training and education opportunities and strengthen the East London economy. However it could also promote gentrification and by-pass local businesses and the informal economy.</p>
<p>Opportunity-led: A more 'flexible' and evolving approach to master planning which sets out broad parameters and design guidelines but which does not prescribe specific uses. Instead this approach sees the market as determining follow-on activities. This is often linked to 'flagship' buildings and the idea that wider benefits can 'trickle-down' to localities but increasingly mechanisms have been used to secure some local benefits.</p>	<p>Scenario difficult to predict due to flexibility of the strategy, however strong design is likely to be a priority. Could be linked to a major project or flagship building. Overall re-use will be largely dependent on what the market sees as viable on the site. Depending on what this is social legacy outcomes could be achieved, however this is likely to be dependent on the strength of agreements and mechanisms for any community-benefit.</p>
<p>Community Centred: based on considering local communities in terms of their needs and involvement. This can either be at the city-wide level or at the more urban quarter level. Barcelona is again an example of an approach which sought to ground the regeneration of the city in the needs of local neighbourhoods. In the UK there are examples of smaller scale developments which have sought to take a bottom-up approach based on meeting a variety of needs. These take a different approach to 'flagship' and 'world-class quarter' approaches, taking as its starting point the meeting of diverse local needs and the inclusion of a range of interests in determining and delivering legacy.</p>	<p>The Olympic site and venues are developed with the priority of addressing the needs and building on the culture and energy of local neighbourhoods. This would, for example, maximise affordable and social housing, focus on local SMEs in terms of economic development. The site could be community owned and controlled, or with an element of this with assets held in trust for local people</p>

### 3.3 Building a City Quarter

This approach to legacy establishes a world-class quarter within the city often linked to a single end-use or a particular sector of the economy. In some cities such as Manchester, the event venues have been placed within a wider regeneration strategy based on creating an urban quarter with a strong economic base which in turn can contribute to promoting the city as a whole.

- Smith (2010) for example notes how the development of ‘sports-City’ zones is increasingly being used by cities to boost economic development and tourism. These may be building on a previous event e.g. Manchester and the Commonwealth Games, or Cardiff and the Millennium Stadium, or be part of a different strategy to restructure their economic base e.g. Dubai and Doha. He also notes that these can be based on different types of sports facilities and participation for example the Doha SportCity is geared towards elite athletes and creating the Olympians of the future, while Dubai is linked more to a sports tourism experience. Interestingly Smith considers Manchester SportCity to be more an attempt at opportunistic branding of the area post-games than building a dedicated quarter with Cardiff’s International Sports Village representing a more coherent mix of formal and recreational sports based on a planned approach to the site in Cardiff Bay that includes residential, retail and hotel provision. In East Manchester, the regeneration of the site around the Commonwealth games facilities has been more ‘event-themed’, with the SportCity logo being adopted after the games and interchangeably with Eastlands (Smith and Fox, 2007). Within this the re-use of the stadium and the continuing development of the site immediately surrounding it has been achieved through a partnership model which has integrated the stadium with the overall regeneration strategy. These partnership arrangements are considered in more detail in section 4.4 below. Smith notes the danger that these areas can become ‘sports tourist bubbles’ detached from the rest of the city unless they are carefully planned and integrate a variety of uses as well as allowing for a range of participation from casual to elite sports. In Manchester the regeneration strategy of the New East Manchester Urban Regeneration Company has to some extent been able to achieve this, with the event-themed SportCity both contributing to it and benefiting from related investment and infrastructure.
- Also in the North West, Salford’s MediaCity is an example of the creation of a digital and media quarter in Salford Quays linked to the relocation of BBC activities from London with the BBC’s ‘flagship’ building at its heart. This has involved the City Council, the NWDA and Peel Group forming a partnership which combines the provision of a ‘flagship’ building within a regional economic strategy which aims to promote the digital economy and ties the future development of the landholdings to an agreed strategy (Christopher, 2008; NWDA 2008; MediaCityUK undated, University of Salford 2010). Other provision on the site includes training and education facilities, a university campus and a programme of supply-side initiatives to enable local people to gain skills and employment. Such a scenario could be envisioned for the IBC/MPC site. However given the recent

announcement from the BBC about the re-use of its West London Television Centre site this could be a riskier prospect (Conlan, 2010). However some commentators have noted that this strategy could promote gentrification and widen the disparities between the higher value and higher paid jobs at Salford Quays and the rest of the city (Christopher, 2008).

- The scenario that emerges from this strategy is that The Olympic Park could become a thriving quarter within London built on sport (the Stadium) or media and culture (the media centre, as suggested in the LMF). This could combine 'flagship' buildings with training and education opportunities and strengthen the East London economy. However it could also promote gentrification and by-pass local businesses and the informal economy.

### **3.4 "Opportunity-led" involving a loose masterplan often centred on design guidelines but ultimately dependent on what the market will provide**

A third strategy involves a more 'flexible' and evolving approach to master planning which sets out broad parameters and design guidelines but which does not prescribe specific uses. Instead this approach sees the market as largely determining follow-on activities. This is often linked to 'flagship' buildings and the idea that wider benefits can 'trickle-down' to localities but increasingly mechanisms have been used to secure some local benefits.

- Sydney post-games is one example where in response to the immediate post-games lacuna outlined above the Olympic Coordination Agency initiated a process of securing a more sustainable future for the area. A belated Masterplan set a loose framework for development within overall objectives. Subsequent development has included sporting and educational developments (including an international standard skate park and a centre of excellence in sports science management), a creative industries hub, and a private hospital specialising in sports injuries and orthopaedics. A new suburb of Newington is also growing near the site and is considered successful (Cashman 2006). However it should be noted that the Homebush area which surrounds the park was above average on indicators of deprivation in the city prior to the games and that therefore securing socio-economic benefits was not a major objective.
- Canary Wharf is often cited as an example of the creation of a financial quarter which has secured London's future as a world city (LDDC, 1998) however in reality its evolution was more of an opportunistic process. The agency responsible, the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in its attempts to avoid the 'red-tape' of planning and attract the private sector did not adopt an overall strategy for the Isle of Dogs although a Design Guide was published. The decision by the original consortium to build a major office centre to take advantage of the 'big-bang' of financial services deregulation in the mid 1980s therefore led to issues around the provision of strategic transport infrastructure and the

meeting of local needs (Brownill, 1990). This opportunity led strategy was not without attempts to secure local benefits (e.g. local labour clauses and training schemes) and over time further mechanisms have been put in place, for example the siting of a Centre of Excellence in training in Financial Services in Poplar and the existence of Skillsnet, an agency that links local people to vacancies on the site. The Isle of Dogs Foundation, a local charity also receives donations and funding from Canary Wharf companies. However the timing of these (up to 20 years after inception) meant that benefits were not as immediate as they could have been. Evidence also suggests (London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2005) that local jobs have been confined to lower paid work within the development with higher earners commuting from elsewhere into the borough. High profile campaigns around the payment of a living wage for cleaners at Canary Wharf highlighted the polarisation which resulted from the emergence of a financial services quarter but did lead to living wage agreements being signed at this and other schemes (Brownill, 2010).

- The scenario that could emerge from this strategy is difficult to predict due to its flexibility. However strong design is likely to be a priority and the development of the sites could be linked to a major project or flagship building. Overall re-use will be largely dependent on what the market sees as viable on the site. Depending on what this is, social legacy outcomes could be achieved, however this is likely to be dependent on the strength of agreements and mechanisms for any community-benefit and the ability of these to counter any inherent trends towards polarisation.

### **3.5 Taking a “Community-Centred Approach”**

A further dimension to consider is the extent to which strategies have been based centred on the needs and involvement of local communities. This can either be at the city-wide level or at the more local level. Barcelona is again an example of an approach which sought to ground the regeneration of the city in the needs of local neighbourhoods within a clear strategic framework which enabled this, although whether it was totally successful in achieving this objective is open to question (Marshall, 2004). In the UK there are examples of smaller scale developments which have sought to take a bottom-up approach based on meeting a variety of needs. These take a different approach to ‘flagship’ and ‘world-class quarter’ approaches, taking as its starting point the meeting of diverse local needs and the inclusion of a range of interests in determining and delivering legacy.

- Rich Mix in East London for example is a different kind of ‘flagship’ project which aims ‘to celebrate London’s cultural diversity and establish a new landmark in world culture’. Rich Mix itself is a cultural and arts centre in Spitalfields which includes workshops, a cinema, educational spaces, meeting places and cafes to ‘celebrate and connect the rich mix of cultures in East London and around the world’. It is a non-profit organisation run by a board of trustees and is already earmarked by the BBC to be one of its bases for 2012 in East London (Rich Mix, 2009).

- Coin Street in London’s Southbank has established a distinctive area within Central London which combines social housing, public open space and employment uses. The site has been developed by Coin Street Community Builders, a Community Development Trust which owns the site and which develops it on a not-for-profit basis.
- The scenario which emerges from this strategy is of the Olympic site and venues being developed to address the needs and build on the culture and energy of local neighbourhoods. This would, for example, maximise affordable and social housing and focus on local SMEs in terms of economic development. The site could be community owned and controlled, or with an element of this with assets held in trust for local people.

Table 3.2 Olympic Legacy Strategies

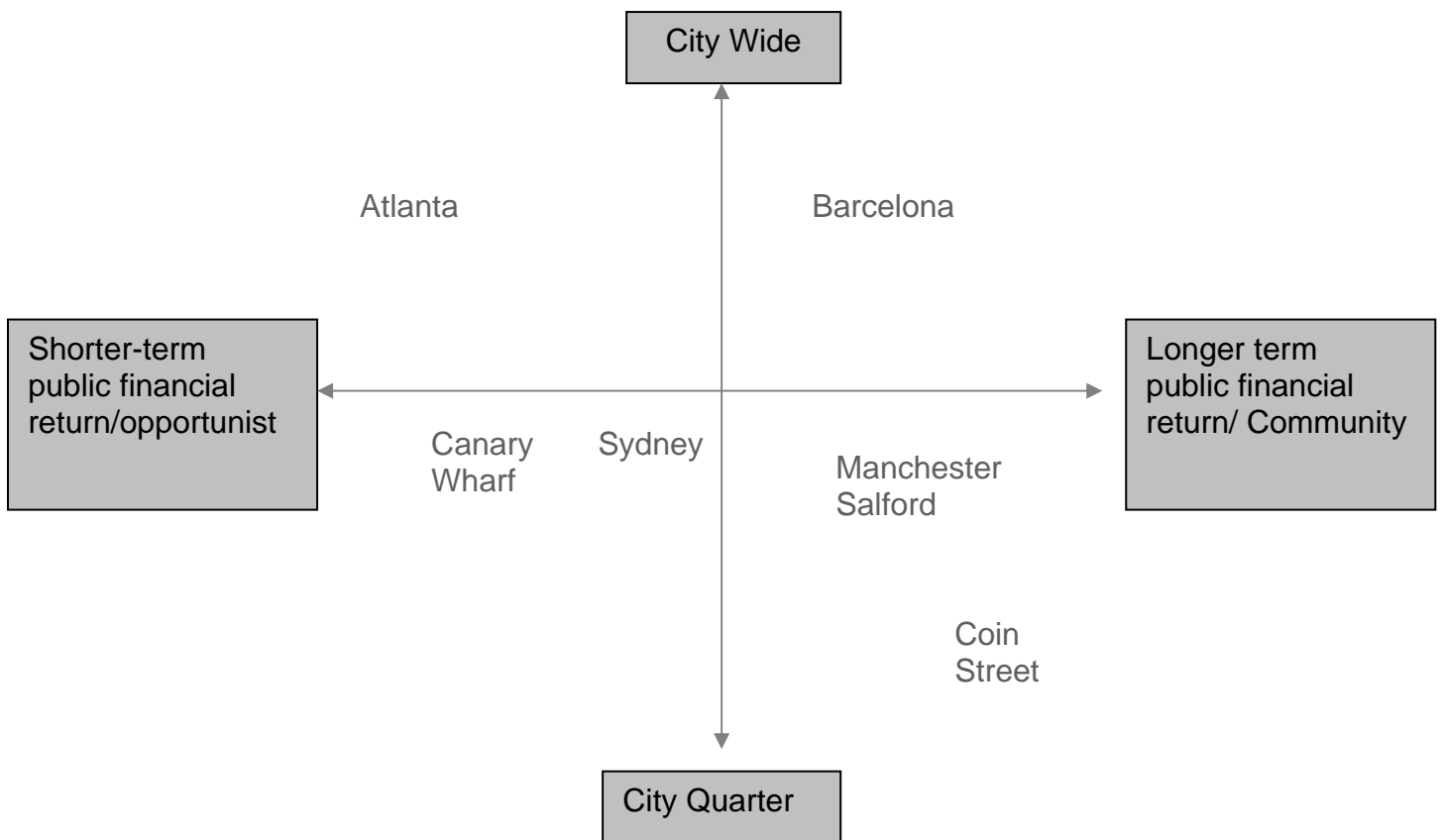


Table 3.2 summarises the different strategies and indicates the dynamics and potential tensions between them. This confirms the view that legacy is a debated and potentially contested issue (Coaffee, 2007; Raco 2004), with alternative visions and strategies not only visible between cities but also within them. The tensions and compromises between these different strategies and visions are also likely to be reflected in the realisation of legacy on the ground. The Table also attempts to locate the different city examples reviewed in the literature within a range of possible scenarios. Inevitably such a matrix simplifies the complexities of these processes - it is easy to caricature developments, for example, Canary Wharf as leading to no local benefits, and Barcelona as having the 'best' strategy where in reality each development represents a different place on a spectrum rather than being polar opposites. However such a matrix can summarise the potential options for and outcomes of legacy strategies.

The different scenarios summarised in the matrix can also be used for forecasting and backcasting. For example, if London aspires to a Barcelona model how could it get there? If certain decisions are taken about stadium re-use, where are these likely to lead? It is interesting in this respect to speculate where London may be on such a matrix both now and in the future. Marshall (2004) unfortunately quashes any hopes that London could 'do a Barcelona' due to the differences in context ( London has already achieved World City status whereas Barcelona in 1992 was in the process of re-positioning itself) but more significantly due to the absence of a robust city-wide strategy promoting sustainable growth and the lack of the necessary governance and financial mechanisms (for further questioning of the strategic framework in London see Thornley et al 2005). Certainly many of the aspirations for legacy such as articulated by the 5 Boroughs (2009) are to 'create a coherent and attractive city within a region' and to meet local needs suggesting a scenario somewhere in the 'Manchester'/City Quarter quadrant. Detailed work has been put into the Legacy Masterplan Framework which could articulate such a scenario, however it should be noted that this follows the Sydney example of placing great emphasis on design. Evidence would tend to suggest that the OPLC is favouring a more opportunity-led strategy with its current 'soft market testing exercise' (OPLC, 2010a). For example its website suggests that 'The LMF (legacy Masterplan Framework) is a framework rather than a blueprint and allows for flexibility in relation to the detailed form, scale and amount of development in each part of the site' (OLPC, 2010b). The often expressed concern that the Olympic site could turn into another Canary Wharf is therefore not without some foundation.

This underlines the fact already stated that attention needs to be paid to the steps leading back from these possible scenarios to the present day and the mechanisms that link physical and socio-economic legacy outcomes. It is clear that these different scenarios can use a variety of mechanisms to secure legacy which are not confined to particular visions. However it may be that some mechanisms will make it harder to realise particular scenarios. For example, the outright sale of venues is likely to lead to a lower potential for the long-term return of investment and for securing community involvement

and benefit. There are also questions over the extent to which such mechanisms can overcome the tendencies inherent in particular models e.g. despite the mechanisms put in place at Canary Wharf there are still questions over the local benefits. Therefore the choice for building re-use and the mechanisms and processes used to deliver the legacy are key and it is to these that this report now turns.

Evidence Suggests:

- That the re-use of specific venues needs to be seen within an overall strategic approach to legacy and regeneration
- That different strategies are likely to have different impacts and outcomes
- That decisions need to be made about the type of legacy looked for and that this needs to inform the strategy taken e.g. an emphasis on recouping investment costs might lead to particular approaches being taken as opposed to a longer-term 'local-legacy first' approach.
- That particular mechanisms and governance arrangements are crucial for linking physical development to legacy over and above the strategy taken.

### **3.6 Approaches to Follow-On uses of Olympic venues**

Discussion of the re-use of Olympic venues often begins with a categorisation of different follow-on uses. Preuss (2004) for example identifies a number of possible follow-on uses for Olympic stadia which are summarised in categories 1-4 in Table 3.3 below. However, there are a number of problems with this. Firstly the list is not exhaustive. For example, in an earlier study the East London Research Institute suggested the addition of a symbolic follow-on use identified by Cashman (2006) and shown here as category 5. We have in turn extended this to suggest a further category based on the collectivisation of the symbolic function of the games and drawing on the Barcelona experience (Marshall, 2004).

However, a more fundamental criticism is that these categories present narrow choices and do not place debates about the re-use of venues within the overall context of the strategic approach to legacy. In this way the opportunities for synergies between legacy outcomes and the re-use of venues may be lost and the implications of the decisions taken about re-use not fully considered. For example we have also already indicated in the previous section where the end-uses for Olympic venues could form part of the creation of a distinct urban quarter. It is also possible to suggest that the national memory approach is likely to accord with a more community-led strategy, and a 'mixed-use' strategy with the opportunity-led strategy. Table 3.3 attempts to include these wider strategic implications in the outcomes column.



Further, as with the discussion on the scenarios for legacy it should also be clear from this initial discussion that the follow-on uses and their ability to contribute to the realisation of particular visions for legacy can be significantly affected by the delivery mechanisms used particularly asset management and ownership. Therefore will return to outline the possible scenarios for venue re-use in section 6.5 after considering these key issues of governance and delivery.

*Table 3.3 Olympic Venue Follow-On Uses*

<b>Follow-On Use</b>	<b>Outcome</b>
1. Identical usage of the facility	The facility continues as a sports venue, for example as an athletics stadium, a football stadium or a swimming pool. Can be part of a broader strategy e.g. SportCities. Can be geared to elite or participative sport and be a publicly accessible venue or a privately run one. For example, City of Manchester Stadium.
2. Alternative usage of the facility	The facility, for example the Media Centre, is re-used for commercial, civic or educational purposes. Can be part of a broader city quarter strategy e.g. MediaCity, Salford
3. Mixed forms of usage	Combining 1, 2 and 5. Can be reflected in ideas for the venues e.g. provision of a school or sporting academy within the stadium and original LMF specifications for the Olympic stadium (EDAW, 2007). Could be linked with an opportunistic strategy or indicate the integration of community benefits
4. Temporary facilities	Facilities are only built for use during the games. For example (by default), Athens
5. Symbolic or memorial usage	The buildings or park serve a symbolic role/destination post-games both as a memory of the event and also signalling the changed cityscape and neighbourhoods, for example Sydney.
6. 'National Museum/Memory'	Facilities are kept in public ownership and are freely (or cheaply) available for all, linked to 5 above. Example, Barcelona.

*Table 3.4 Scenarios for Venues Based on Different Governance and Delivery Arrangements*

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Scenario</b>
Sale of venue to an end-user e.g. Dome with no guaranteed community use/benefit	Potentially long-term commercially successful venue which would have limited opportunities for local residents, other than those who could afford to access the site or gain jobs. May or may not be part of wider strategy. Any future profits would go to owners. All risks borne by the private sector; immediate up front sum to help pay for delivery costs.
Sale of venue to private user with targets and mechanisms to ensure community benefit, e.g. London City Airport	As above but with mechanisms to guarantee local benefits e.g. ticketing policy, local labour, consultative committee. Could also be linked to a community development trust (CDT) if percentage of any profit was channelled to it, or part of site/venue was given to a CDT. For media centre could be linked to focus on media-related end uses, training etc
Partnership based on lease of venue to end-user with partnership between public and private sector and community access e.g. City of Manchester Stadium	A partnership approach which spreads risks, profits and benefits. Long-term benefits to the local area, plus platform for future regeneration of the site through partnership. Community use of the venue can be built into the terms of the lease along with other mechanisms to secure benefits. Links with overall regeneration strategy e.g. media and culture could also be secured. Longer-term return on delivery costs. Also could be linked to CDT for part of site/venue.
Venue becomes community development trust/ social business e.g. Westway, Greenwich Leisure	Assets are transferred to a CDT. This will ensure community priorities are met and community involvement in the future development and use of the site. Bottom-up approach to economic development e.g. incubator site for local businesses. No immediate return on delivery costs.

## 4. Governance

Governance is a crucial aspect of planning and delivering legacy, but which is often ignored in evaluations. One of the legacies of the games or major events as in Liverpool is that they can leave governance arrangements strengthened and operating in a way which sustains and further animates positive legacies (Impacts 08, 2010). Alternatively, experiences as in Atlanta, where large sections of the population were excluded from pre and post games planning can compound negative legacies (ELRI, 2007).

Olympic Games are often taken as the epitome of a top-down approach to planning and development. An international global governance agency (the IOC) chooses a City and the pressures of planning a complex event on which the world's eyes will be focused in a relatively short space of time leads cities to establish streamlined agencies with considerable powers. However, partnerships have increasingly been common amidst the Olympic and major events experience and issues around public participation, through volunteering and through discussions on legacy have been rising up the agenda. It is therefore being increasingly recognised that having clear and inclusive governance structures and processes is essential to legacy (London Borough of Newham, undated). A variety of different approaches have been used both for the planning of Olympic parks and the running and monitoring of particular developments, each with advantages and disadvantages which are summarised below.

### 4.1 Top-Down Special Purpose Agencies

As stated above, many Games are planned and overseen by specially created agencies with extensive powers but limited opportunities for scrutiny or involvement. While they are justified in terms of speed and a 'can-do' approach they can have negative impacts on overall strategies and local relations. Burbank et al (2001) claim that the forms of governance of the Atlanta games had a contributory effect to the under-emphasis on legacy and large scale urban regeneration in the City. The original body which won the bid was considered too public-sector oriented to oversee what was envisioned as a games largely delivered through private finance. The Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games was subsequently set up to be less closely scrutinised and to incorporate business and other interests. This structure also intersected with the politics of race in the city by excluding the city's low-income African American population from involvement.

In the UK the impact of the Urban Development Corporations, including the LDDC which oversaw the development of Canary Wharf, is similarly associated with regeneration which fails to address local benefit. The LDDC took over planning powers from local authorities and was able to make decisions with no public scrutiny or involvement. Not only did this cause considerable local conflict and resentment, but it also meant the major developments did not need strategic assessment or to include measures to address local needs (Brownill, 1990). Over the 17 years of the LDDCs

existence this situation did change, particularly in terms of improved relationships between the LDDC and local councils and the emergence of mechanisms to achieve planning gain as previously outlined for Canary Wharf. Indeed the latest round of UDCS such as the London Thames Gateway UDC indicate that a more partnership approach can be achieved (Brownill, 2010). However this largely dependent on the individuals involved rather than on the governance form itself.

The ODA represents such a top-down task-oriented agency and there have been tensions due to this, especially around the use of CPOs and the removal of existing users of the site and the perceived lack of community consultation. The justification for this governance arrangement is the need to deliver a showcase games on time and therefore more time will be needed to fully judge its effectiveness. However, this suggests that securing more inclusive governance arrangements for post-games use of the site and for other governance agencies such as OPLC should be a priority.

## **4.2 Local Democracy**

Barcelona's governance arrangements have also been considered by some to have contributed to its 'success'. De Moragas and Botella (1995) and Marshall (2004) both note that the preparation and organisation of the games was publicly led and that all relevant organisations were involved with the City government, regional government and national government largely working together. The usual legal and democratic processes for development were therefore not superseded by the setting up special purpose vehicles. Also there were numerous elections during the relevant period which required these organisations to justify their roles and expenditures and to continue refining plans and legacy to address the concerns of different interests. This broad public discussion sphere which had been present all through the post Franco years gave a two way flow of debate, with an active local press continually focussing on and critiquing the developments on all urban planning, a lively and combative community politics in most neighbourhoods, combined by the association of neighbourhood groups with a critical monthly newspaper. Governance in all these elements was key to keeping the "overall value to the city" ideal in the spotlight, with heavy criticism about steps back, such as the decision to privatise the Olympic vision. It also accompanied other initiatives which were being carried out in all neighbourhoods of the city and was therefore always balanced within a wider focus.

## **4.3 Partnerships**

The evaluation of the Liverpool Capital of Culture Year notes that one of the most valuable and sustainable legacies of hosting large scale events is the opportunity to establish new joint working practices across sectors and new forms of stakeholder partnerships (impacts 08, 2010). The evaluation noted that while the Liverpool Culture Company oversaw the event, the opportunities for stakeholders to become involved and the inter-connection of a variety of partnerships including the Local Strategic Partnerships afforded widespread opportunities for joint working to emerge. The outcomes included

culture being integrated within other city strategies and a higher profile for the City in general. However the evaluation did note some confusion about ways forward after the event, particularly for those organisations and groups not involved in the core committees.

#### 4.4 Community Involvement

It is a paradox that while the ability of the games to leave a lasting legacy for local communities is being increasingly stressed, community involvement in the bodies delivering the Olympic sites is largely precluded. Similarly the governance arrangements for deciding on and delivering legacy may also be a special purpose body or a partnership which does not include community or voluntary sector representatives. Barcelona is perhaps unusual in not replacing the usual democratic and legal processes associated with development in the preparation for the games and therefore for maintaining a critical dialogue with communities. This democratic deficit places great emphasis on the consultation mechanisms and programmes used to secure involvement in other ways.

Volunteering has emerged from previous Olympics and events as one such programme which can, through training and other schemes, also have legacy implications. For example in Manchester a pre-games programme provided training for previously unemployed volunteers aimed at demonstrating their readiness for employment. Volunteers were also entered on a database for future volunteering or training opportunities (Jones and Stokes 2003).

Involvement in the planning and delivery of related activities has also been successful in other cities. Liverpool's Capital of Culture Programme had a year-long community culture programme which showcased local arts and culture and provided opportunities for community involvement (Impacts 08, 2010). At a local level Newham's youth Forum and other mechanisms have provided valuable opportunities for local engagement with the games. Nevertheless there have been calls for the bodies involved in legacy planning to have a wider membership and community representatives (NEF, 2008).

#### 4.5 The Governance of Projects/ Buildings

It is also worthwhile considering governance arrangements attached to particular buildings/projects in the light of the re-use of the Olympic venues. Partnerships and consultative arrangements can ensure a wider dialogue with local communities and the integration of developments with their local areas as well as providing mechanisms to air conflict or to monitor local benefits.

- **London City Airport Consultative Committee** was set up in 1986 before the airport was opened as a result of a memorandum between Newham Council, the LDDC and the then airport operator. The committee was strengthened by a further agreement linked to planning permission for extended operations in 2009. The committee is made up of representatives from local communities in Newham, Greenwich and Tower Hamlets, councillors from the

same boroughs, representatives from the airport and airport users and observers from interested parties e.g. the police and Department for Transport. The Committee has proved a useful forum within the overall evolution of the relationship between the community and the airport (MacRury, 2008) helping overcome conflict and providing a mechanism for mediating change. In addition the committee monitors agreements on local labour which are discussed in section 6.2 London Borough of Newham and 65% lived in the "Local Area". (<http://www.lcacc.org>)

- **The City of Manchester Stadium** features a number of partnership arrangements. The Stadium itself is owned by the City Council and leased by Manchester City Football club with Sport England which contributed finance for the building of the stadium forming a third partner. Agreements over community and civic use of the stadium (eg up to 100 days per year for community use including for the new Manchester Marathon) along with rental income are some of the outcomes from this. As part of the agreement City's former ground Maine Road was sold to English Partnerships and MCC for regeneration (Faber Maunsell, 2004; Manchester City 2009 and 2010; Manchester City Council 2005). In addition a Joint Development Board has recently been formed between Manchester City Council, the football club and New East Manchester Urban Regeneration Company to jointly improve the area in the immediate vicinity of the stadium. 'The aim is to pool and maximise resources, improve match-day experience as well as providing year round activity for residents to embed the stadium in the local community' (MCFC, 2010). The partnership is currently developing the site around the stadium e.g. through providing a visitor centre and football museum.

#### Evidence Suggests:

- That governance is key to achieving a sustainable legacy.
- That accountable, open partnerships engaging in critical dialogue with local interests and affording a variety of mechanisms for community involvement would appear to be the most effective in terms of legacy (but may be seen as too cumbersome in terms of delivering a major project on time).
- Equally important, as is shown in the case of Barcelona, is to have a city-wide strategy which coincides with and reinforces the vision for legacy which emerges from this dialogue.
- That the long-term management of venues and projects can also benefit from the setting up of consultative arrangements and partnerships, particularly in terms of securing lasting socio-economic benefits from what are long-term investments in local areas.

## 5. Finance

There are a range of options that could be explored in relation to financing the Olympic venues after the Games. These involve, to a greater or lesser extent, a combination of the public, private and third sectors.

### 5.1 Finance options

For the ownership of the Olympic stadium and the media centre, the finance options available will depend on a number of factors, including the issue of the return on public sector investment, as well as the time scale over which this return is expected.

One option would be for outright sale of Olympic venues to the private sector. However, there are arguments to support facilities remaining at least partly under public sector ownership to secure longer term return on public investment. For example, the City of Manchester Stadium is leased from Manchester City Council by Manchester City Football Club, so that the public sector retains an income stream. As outlined in the previous section, this arrangement has formed the basis of the partnership between the council, the Football Club and New East Manchester Urban Regeneration Company for the wider regeneration of the area (Manchester City PLC, 2010). The land transfer arrangements related to Canary Wharf, for example, did not include long term return on the initial public investment in the site related to land assembly and infrastructure, an issue which was raised by the Committee of Public Accounts.

However, there are also arguments for community involvement in ownership of the Olympic assets. A report by the New Economics Foundation argues that the challenge for the 2012 Olympic legacy is “to manage an asset endowment in such a way that it can enhance the well-being of local people, catalyse greater levels of local enterprise and create better livelihoods for people in an area of concentrated economic disadvantage” (NEF, 2008: 31). The report suggests that the best way to achieve this is through transferring assets to the community. This can be done through a range of alternative finance models that can help to lock-in legacy benefits to the local community, including Community Development Trusts, Community Land Trusts and social enterprise.

Community Development Trusts (CDT) are “community based, owned and led and engage in the economic, environmental and social regeneration of a defined area or community” (NEF 2008: 48). The Development Trust Association (DTA) defines their aims as the ‘cultivation of enterprise, the development of community assets and the transformation of communities for good’. An example within the Borough of Newham is Aston-Mansfield, a community organisation which provides buildings explicitly for community benefit with the aim of promoting a diverse and inclusive society (Aston Mansfield, 2007; Case Study 4 in the Quirk Review 2007: 18). In 2006/07, Aston-Mansfield’s asset base generated around 25% of its £2.5 million income, with activities in its properties such as dance classes, an after school

club and English as a Second Language (ESOL) courses attracting a further £1.8 million in grants, donations and contracts for delivery of services within the local community (NEF 2008: 34).

Other examples of CDTs include the following:

- **The Westway Development Trust** which was established in 1971 to develop land under the A40 Westway flyover for the benefit of the community. Assets now include two multi-sports leisure facilities and 25 subsidised premises for voluntary organisations. Some 20% of the land has been developed commercially to provide a long-term income stream to underpin the costs of running the trust and its commercial activities (NEF 2008: 36). The land is held on a long lease from the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea until 2103 (Westway Development Trust, 2009). Any surpluses that the Trust generates are invested in outreach programmes for disadvantaged children in West London.
- **Coin Street Community Builders (CSCB):** an example of a community-based organisation which has adopted a social enterprise model to develop the Coin Street area of the South Bank in London, with a mix of commercial premises, housing cooperatives and community facilities. Following a high profile campaign in the 1980s, CSCB was able to buy the site because the then-Greater London Council created restrictive covenants which limited its commercial development value. CSCB manages a total of 13 acres of land in the area, with development that is firmly led by the community.

However, it is important to consider the different options for the legal ownership of CDT assets. The Section 106 agreement relating to the Stratford City development, for example, which covers the Athlete's Village specifies that a Community Development Trust must be set up to take control of a multi-purpose community facility of 1500 m<sup>2</sup>. Under the terms of the Section 106 agreement, the ownership of the facility will remain with the developer, which could potentially restrict what the new development trust can do, without ownership of the freehold.

The management of any sports facilities could follow the model set by Greenwich Leisure Limited, a social enterprise which manages around 70 public leisure centres including swimming pools and gyms within London and the M25 area. It reinvests surpluses back into leisure services for the community, including:

- Investing in community development officers to work directly in the community;
- Delivering cross-cutting programmes on health, crime diversion, and supporting children and young people strategies; and
- Creating access-to-work routes and local employment (NEF 2008: 35).



The table below provides a summary of these different options, with examples of cases where they have been implemented.

*Table 5.1 Options for the financing of the Olympic venues*

Option	Examples
Wholly owned by the private sector	<b>Canary Wharf:</b> Wholly developed and owned by the private sector, with no stake retained by the public sector, despite initial public investment to develop the site and surrounding infrastructure.
Leased to the private sector, under public sector ownership	<p><b>Millennium Dome:</b> The Dome was put out to bidders in 2000, with Meridian Delta (a joint venture between Quintain and Lend Lease) obtaining a 999 year lease on the Dome and surrounding 150 hectares in December 2001. The Government secured the right to 50% of the profits when the site was developed. Meridian subsequently granted a 55 year lease on the Dome to the US leisure company AEG, which is extendable to 100 years (Estates Gazette, 2007; Thornley, 2000).</p> <p><b>Manchester City FC Stadium:</b> The stadium is owned by Manchester City Council, and leased to Manchester City FC. Revenue from the club is re-invested into the other sporting venues in SportCity and in related programmes in schools etc. In addition as part of the agreement Manchester City's old site, Maine Road, was sold to English Partnerships and the City Council and is being developed as part of the regeneration strategy for South Manchester.</p>
Community Development Trust model	<b>Westway Development Trust:</b> Westway Development Trust was set up in 1971 to develop derelict land under the A40 Westway flyover for community benefit. The land was provided to the Trust for free to benefit the community by the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea and the GLC, held on a long lease from the Royal Borough until 2103 (Westway Development Trust, 2009). It has since been developed into community facilities and workspaces. Some thirty years after the Trust was set up, its annual turnover is currently £5.75 million with assets of £29 million. It is now self-sufficient in terms of covering its core costs and subsidising projects for local people (NEF, 2008).
Social enterprise model	<b>Greenwich Leisure Limited:</b> A social enterprise which manages around 70 public leisure centres. It reinvests surpluses back into leisure services for the community across a range of areas including health and young people's services.
Wholly owned by the public sector	<b>Barcelona:</b> The majority of the Olympic sites for the 1992 Games are publicly owned, although some venues, such as the Montjuic stadium, are used on an ad-hoc basis for particular commercial events, such as concerts. It was also used as Espanyol de Barcelona's football ground between 1997 and 2009, while their stadium was being rebuilt, and also for Barcelona Dragons American football matches.

This table provides brief details of the ownership arrangements for a variety of case studies. However, each site clearly has specificities which respond to the individual circumstances of each case. The exact details of ownership and leases of recently developed sites would be accessible through primary

research, including interviews with key partners and stakeholders, research that has not fallen within the remit of this literature review. However, the research team would be available to undertake more in-depth research into ownership and asset management of specific cases, such as the Millennium Dome and Manchester City Stadium, if further information was needed.

This section has illustrated that there are a range of options to consider in relation to finance and asset management, which will depend on the final end-use of the venues, the scope for community facilities, the ultimate objectives for the venues' after-use, as well as the time-frame within which this is envisaged.

The significant cost of the Games could mean that the overall aim is to recoup as much finance as possible, as quickly as possible, through the sale of the venues to the private sector. Alternatively, taking a longer-term view, with the overall objective of generating as great a community benefit as possible, a scenario could be envisaged involving a Community Development Trust or social enterprise, whose aims are to provide services and facilities to the community. These scenarios, at different ends of the spectrum, are not however mutually exclusive, as it would be possible to integrate community-focused elements into a private sector model, if this was planned and implemented from the start.

## **5.2 Alternative financing mechanisms**

In the light of the recession, there have been calls for greater use of innovative financing schemes that bring together the public and private sectors to deliver regeneration schemes. One such funding model currently being discussed that could have relevance to the Olympic sites is based on the US Tax Increment Financing (TIF) scheme.

The concept of TIF has been used extensively in the US since the 1970s, and while the UK version is likely to be called "Accelerated Development Zones" (ADZ), the principles as set out in the 2009 Budget report, are very similar. The premise is that any expenditure on enabling infrastructure in a designated TIF/ADZ area leads in time to the development of that site, which in turn, brings an increase in the values of the property being developed, as well as properties nearby. The resulting increase in rateable values of the property generates increased tax revenues in both Business Rates and Council Tax. Within the designated area, the increased tax revenues can be captured and used to repay the borrowing necessary to fund the initial enabling infrastructure (SEEDA, 2009). Therefore infrastructure is funded on the basis of anticipated tax increases, and repaid using those tax revenues, possibly over 20-25 years.

While TIFs/ADZs were being explored by the then-Government in the summer of 2009, it is unclear whether the new Coalition Government will want to explore the concept and its applicability to the UK context. However, if the scheme is developed further, it could be a useful mechanism to consider in the development of the Olympic sites.

## 6. Delivery Mechanisms

The literature suggests that there are a range of mechanisms through which the employment and community potential of Olympic sites can be maximised. These include procurement, local labour and training clauses, further education and training facilities, as well as providing workspace for local enterprise.

### 6.1 Procurement

There are strong arguments for the role of procurement in helping to secure a legacy for local communities, being seen by some as a 'strategic lever' to achieve sustainable regeneration (NEF, 2008). Procurement to local contractors can help retain public and private investment in the local area, thus contributing to the local economy and benefiting resident communities. However, evidence suggests that the majority of Olympic contracts (in both value and numbers) are being let to companies elsewhere. In 2008, of around 500 contracts that had been let at the time, totalling some £1 billion, only 11% had been awarded to companies based in the five Olympic boroughs (ODA, 2008). Many of the contracts are so large that local SMEs and social enterprises do not have the capacity to compete for them against national or multinational companies.

Some literature suggests that community benefit should be embedded within procurement contracts (NEF, 2008). For example, limits can be placed on the distance travelled of raw materials and other products such as food. This would favour local firms, as well as contributing to cutting the Games' carbon footprint (DTI, 2006).

### 6.2 Local labour and training clauses

Another more common way of achieving benefit is through local labour and training clauses. There are a number of examples both locally and nationally, of where flagship schemes have used labour and training clauses to promote community benefit.

- **London City Airport in Newham** is a 'good practice' example of targeting the local labour market. In 1998, London City Airport Limited agreed with the Borough of Newham that a target of 35% of employees should come from the local Borough. This target was reached in 2005, with 81% of employees living within a broader 5 mile radius of the airport (London City Airport 2007: 17). The airport was also named "Employment Champion of the Year" in 2009 for its commitment to helping local residents into employment, through its "Take Off Into Work" training programme. Run in conjunction with Newham's local employment service, "Workplace", the programme involves two weeks of training workshops, followed by a minimum of two weeks work placement and interview. In 2009, over 60 long term unemployed people from the Borough found work at the airport through the programme. Of approximately 2000 staff employed by London City

Airport Limited together with the 60 other onsite employees, some 70% are recruited from East London (London City Airport, 2009).

- At **Wembley Stadium** in the London Borough of Brent, sub-contractors to the main construction contractor, Multiplex, are required to use local labour under Section 106 agreements. This has been facilitated by a range of organisations that are active in recruiting and training local people to work at Wembley, including Brentin2work and Building One Stop Shop (BOSS) (Experian, 2006: 24-25).
- At the **Bluewater shopping centre**, the developer Lend Lease has implemented a local jobs and training model in the construction and retail sectors. For example, 'The Learning Shop' run by Jobcentre Plus, has been set up within the shopping centre, providing advice and guidance to individuals and employers, with training delivery through the College of North West Kent. To overcome some of the practical barriers to employment, Lend Lease also helped employees with transport costs, securing one-third discounts with British Rail and Arriva buses (Experian, 2006: 33-35). The employment and training model used at Bluewater has since been transferred elsewhere, and is currently being applied at the Greenwich Peninsula development.
- The **Greenwich Peninsula Regeneration project** involves 80 hectares of development, involving housing, offices and an entertainment complex, including the Millennium Dome. Greenwich Council has developed an employment strategy for the area that aims to maximise opportunities for local people and businesses through Section 106 agreements with all developers. To support its employment strategy, the local authority funds a support organisation, "Greenwich Local Labour and Business" (GLLaB), which aims to help unemployed people to find jobs across the Borough. GLLaB are working with the master developer of the Greenwich Peninsula, Greenwich Peninsula Regeneration (GPR), a joint venture between Quintain and Lend Lease (formerly Meridian Delta Limited - MDL), through a "Work and Learn Centre" which provides an on-site screening, recruitment and training centre for local people and employers. GLLaB attended pre-contract negotiations with MDL, and have examined the project plans as a basis for their strategy to meet the labour requirements (Experian 2006: 39-41). It is reported that the manager of GLLaB is currently working with the 5 host Boroughs to develop a common approach to local labour for London 2012.
- In relation to **the Emirates Stadium**, much of the readily-available literature relates to the construction phase of the development, but many of the principles and processes applied in this phase are also relevant to the Olympics stadium re-use. In addition to the 60,000 seat stadium, the development includes a commercial/residential development of 2,500 homes, a waste and recycling centre, new health and children's centres and improvements to transport infrastructure. (Experian, 2006: 36-38).

Throughout the development phase, Islington Borough Council and AFC have cooperated to try and maximise opportunities for increased employment and skills in the borough, and to ensure local firms participate in the project supply chain as far as possible. A number of provisions were built into the Section 106 agreements regarding the use of local labour, purchasing from local businesses, workforce training targets and cooperation with local schools and colleges.

Islington Borough Council also led in the formation of a number of vehicles to facilitate local engagement. The Arsenal Regeneration Team (ART) was established together with AFC and Newlon Housing to promote the potential of the stadium to local stakeholders. The Arsenal Business Enterprise Team (ABET) was created to encourage local businesses to maximise their involvement in the development, by pre-screening businesses that would like to supply the project, and by organising business briefings for local companies, 'Meet the Buyers' events and workshops on tendering. Construction Works aimed to match local people with job opportunities in the construction industry.

There is strong evidence from ABET that their policies have been successful. Of the companies that are listed in Islington Council's framework agreement of preferred suppliers, those involved in the Arsenal development source some 20% of their employees from the local area, whereas those not working on the project only source around 10% locally.

Under EU public procurement law, it is illegal to specify that local labour must be employed on contracts. However, there are a number of ways in which the actual specification of contracts can promote community benefit (NEF 2008: 45). Firstly, this involves incorporating "the regeneration and sustainability of the community" as one of the core purposes of the contract. This would mean that training and employing local people would contribute to the wider aims. Secondly, it involves specifying requirements that are capable of being verified. These could include:

- access to services for excluded groups;
- opportunities for community participation;
- voluntary engagement of users in the development of services for themselves;
- provision of training and employment opportunities; and
- involving users in the ways in which service delivery can be improved (e.g. community consultation).

These types of social inclusion clauses have also been shown to be effective in Scotland. A report to the Scottish Government (Scottish Executive 2008) shows that in five pilot areas, the use of social inclusion clauses contributed positively to the delivery of new training, apprenticeships and permanent jobs.

Such initiatives contribute to 'securing wider social dividends' for disadvantaged areas (Raco, 2004: 34).

### 6.3 Further Training and Education facilities

Evidence also suggests that it is important to link 'flagship projects' with training and education initiatives from the start. Examples include:

- **Stratford City** where a Retail Centre of Excellence is being built alongside the Stratford City shopping complex;
- **MediaCityUK** in Salford, which includes apprenticeship schemes, a centre for training in video-game production, as well as the FIRM initiative (Framework for Innovation and Research in MediaCity). FIRM is a partnership between Universities, the business sector and the community to provide research into the digital economy;
- **Canary Wharf** where a Centre of Excellence in financial services was established at Poplar College close by Canary Wharf almost 20 years after the development was first proposed. Had it been established earlier, this could have generated more opportunities for local residents and changed the perception about the links (or lack of them) between the Canary Wharf development and the local community.

### 6.4 Providing workspace for local enterprise

In terms of local businesses, one way of ensuring that local enterprises can benefit from regeneration is to provide appropriate business premises in key locations within the community. Many development trusts incorporate managed workspace linked to business support services, which help local enterprises to start-up and survive (e.g. Aston-Mansfield in the London Borough of Newham). Developing small-scale light industrial units, rather than potentially higher commercial rental incomes, can promote enterprise in the heart of deprived communities, generating local benefit for surrounding neighbourhoods. The London 2012 Sustainability Plan acknowledges that this is important, and proposes converting facilities within the Olympic Park to provide workspace for local businesses (London 2012, 2009), a policy that could be rolled out to the specific Olympic venues as well, where appropriate.

### 6.5 Alternative Scenarios for Venue Re-Use

Table 6.1 outlines different scenarios for the after-life of Olympic venues based on this discussion of the asset-management and other mechanisms used in other venues. It indicates the significance of these mechanisms in achieving different legacy outcomes and suggests the importance of having robust agreements and open governance arrangements if legacy is to be maximised. It also indicates the influence of the temporal dimension. If long-term benefits are to be achieved as opposed to shorter term financial returns on construction costs it is clear that certain mechanisms such as partnerships of CDTs are more appropriate.

A mixed strategy making use of a range of mechanisms through for example establishing partnerships between the public and private sectors as well as facilitating forms of community ownership would have the benefit of spreading risk and benefits and balancing short-term injections of capital with longer-term returns on investment.

*Table 6.1 Scenarios for Venues Based on Different Governance and Delivery Arrangements*

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Scenario</b>
Sale of venue to an end-user e.g. Dome with no guaranteed community use/benefit	Potentially long-term commercially successful venue which would have limited opportunities for local residents, other than those who could afford to access the site or gain jobs. May or may not be part of wider strategy. Any future profits would go to owners. All risks borne by the private sector; immediate up front sum to help pay for delivery costs.
Sale of venue to private user with targets and mechanisms to ensure community benefit, e.g. London City Airport	As above but with mechanisms to guarantee local benefits e.g. ticketing policy, local labour, consultative committee. Could also be linked to CDT if percentage of any profit was channelled to it, or part of site/venue was given to a CDT. For media centre could be linked to focus on media-related end uses, training etc
Partnership based on lease of venue to end-user with partnership between public and private sector and community access e.g. City of Manchester Stadium	A partnership approach which spreads risks, profits and benefits. Long-term benefits to the local area, plus platform for future regeneration of the site through partnership. Community use of the venue can be built into the terms of the lease along with other mechanisms to secure benefits. Links with overall regeneration strategy e.g. media and culture could also be secured. Longer-term return on delivery costs. Also could be linked to CDT for part of site/venue.
Venue becomes community development trust/ social business e.g. Westway, Greenwich Leisure	Assets are transferred to a CDT. This will ensure community priorities are met and community involvement in the future development and use of the site. Bottom-up approach to economic development e.g. incubator site for local businesses. No immediate return on delivery costs.
Venue remains in public ownership for reuse by the local community and the general public. May also provide a site for collectivised memory of the Games eg use of Montjuic for 10 year celebration of Barcelona Games	Benefits and long term income retained by public sector (along with losses if not profitable). Community usage ensured and priorities are met. Venues are accessible to all. No immediate return on development costs.

## 7. Assessment of Scenarios

Having outlined the strategies and other factors that contribute to legacy, in this section we bring together the evidence collected through the literature review to assess the various scenarios identified.

### 7.1 The Scenarios Revisited

Scenarios have been identified for strategies and for venue after use (see for example Table 3.1 and Table 6.1). Here we combine these into four overarching-scenarios for clarity and ease of assessment. These are;

#### *City Wide*

This scenario is based on an integrated strategy for the regeneration of the whole city to which the Olympic sites contribute but are not central to delivery. The strategy is neighbourhood centred but provides the strategic framework for infrastructure provision, economic development and other issues. Follow-on uses for Olympic venue are a continuation of identical and symbolic usage and the governance processes stress local democracy, co-ordination between different levels, the inclusion of key partners and a critical dialogue with local communities. Delivery is largely based on public investment and ownership but can include other mechanisms. The scenario that emerges from this strategy resembles the Barcelona model with the Olympic site providing a backdrop to the wider regeneration of London as a whole, or East London as a sub-region. Socio-economic legacies would be secured through wider regeneration activities, anti-poverty programmes and city-wide and regional strategies to secure benefits rather than through the re-use of the site alone.

#### *City Quarter*

This approach places the re-use of venues within a wider regeneration strategy based on creating an urban quarter around a particular economic sector. The aim is to build a strong economic base which in turn can contribute to promoting the city as a whole. Follow-on uses for the Olympic venues would contribute to this by, for example, forming the flagship projects for a SportCity or MediaCity urban quarter meaning a missed usage with this scenario most closely resembles the Manchester/Salford 'model'. Governance processes are partnership based, specifically between the public and private sectors and may result in a complex landscape mixing special purpose delivery vehicles with project-focused arrangements. Delivery mechanisms reflect this through using a mix of financial mechanisms and forms of asset management. The linking of physical and socio-economic legacy is secured through a wider strategy but also through particular mechanisms surrounding key flagship buildings such as local labour clauses.



### *Opportunity-Led*

This strategy involves a more 'flexible' and evolving approach to master planning which sets out broad parameters and design guidelines but which does not prescribe specific uses or city quarters. Instead the market is largely seen as the determinant of follow-on uses which would therefore reflect market trends unless otherwise specified and are likely to result in a mixed usage. However symbolic usage for the wider Olympic Park could be stressed as in Sydney which this scenario most closely resembles.

Governance arrangements are likely to resemble the previous scenario and delivery mechanisms are more likely to be based on sales to the private sector to secure return on investment. In the absence of a broader city-wide or local strategy mechanism to link physical and socio-economic become one of the main ways in which legacy is delivered .

### *Community-Centred*

This scenario is based on a bottom-up approach to regenerating the Olympic site or parts of it based on addressing local needs and growing the local economy. Follow-on uses for the venues would become flagship projects symbolising this approach and are likely to be based on continuing usage which prioritises local accessibility or for showcasing local culture and businesses. Governance arrangements would be based on community/local control for the site working in partnership with other agencies as in examples such as Coin Street which this scenario resembles. Delivery mechanisms would include forms of asset management that prioritise local control and involvement. Mixing socio-economic and physical legacy becomes central to the overall strategy and is therefore less dependent on agreements around major developments.

## **7.2 Criteria for Assessment**

In assessing these scenarios it should be stated that there is no single approach to evaluating or measuring legacy outcomes. We have, for example, been unable to find any clear statement from OPLC or the GLA on the specific criteria for legacy against which the proposals for developments on the park will be reviewed. The OPLC says on its website that it will be assessing the expressions of interest for the buildings against a number of criteria, but these are not included in the tender documentation (OPLC 2010a). Within the literature various frameworks for assessing legacy have been suggested (see ELRI, 2007; DCMS, 2007; Scottish Government, 2009; 5 Boroughs, 2009). We have summarised these in Appendix One and for the purposes of this assessment have prioritised the following criteria;

1. Creating a coherent and attractive city within a region
2. Improving educational attainment, skills and raising aspirations
3. Reducing worklessness, benefit dependency and child poverty
4. Building a stronger local economy within a region
5. Contributing to the convergence of East London with the rest of the city

6. Enhancing health and wellbeing
7. Homes for all

In line with the holistic approach to legacy we are taking we also suggest additional criteria which reflect the processes of governance and delivery. These are:

8. Building effective governance processes and ways of working
9. The use of delivery mechanisms which spread legacy benefits and
10. Securing a return on public investment that supports legacy

As stated earlier this is a literature review not an evaluation and further work and additional criteria would be necessary to develop Appendix 1 into a longer-term framework for evaluating the games legacy. This would allow a more nuanced analysis which takes into account the different options for achieving the outcomes suggested by the criteria. For example, the table begins to break down the very broad initial criteria into sub-indicators suggesting that e.g. reducing worklessness could be achieved through promoting clusters (around, say, media industries) and/or through legitimising the informal economy. This being said for the purposes of this exercise we have used only the broad criteria. Similarly this assessment does not take into account the implications of the different emphases that may be placed on different criteria. For example if it is a priority is to promote developments that bring a shorter-term return on investment this may favour particular scenarios.

However we have tried to capture the temporal aspects which the East London Research Institute rightly points to as being an integral feature of legacy (ELRI, 2007). For example we have considered not just the end-state scenarios but the processes by which they are reached. We have also indicated where criteria which may be sensitive to different timescales such as the return on investment. This would suggest that the longitudinal monitoring of legacy would be useful exercise. Such a 'real-time' evaluation has for example been successfully used to monitor the New Deal for Communities Programme with results being able to feed into the ongoing programme and inform decision making and planning as well as providing a wealth of data on processes and results (DCLG, 2010).

The table overleaf summarises the results of the assessment of the different scenarios against these holistic legacy criteria.

Table 7.1 Scenarios for Legacy Compared

Criteria	City Wide	Urban Quarter	Opportunity-Led	Community Centred
<b>Area strategy: Creating a coherent and attractive city within a region</b>	Definitely met at the city level, however Olympic sites may not be prioritised	Likely to be met at the local and strategic level with a good fit between them	Design standards likely to be high, but overall strategic fit with the rest of the City may not be secured unless placed within a strong strategic framework	Likely to lead to positive outcomes at the local level but potentially less connections with the wider City unless placed in a strong city-wide strategy
<b>Economic: Improving educational attainment, skills and raising aspirations</b>	Would be met if included in the strategy	Built into approach level of impact depends on level of resources, actions of partners and potentially agreements around flagship schemes	Dependent on particular agreements put in place around flagship projects and connections with other programmes and services	Likely to include these as central to strategy. Impact will depend on level of resources available, partnership working and numbers of people involved
<b>Economic: Reducing worklessness, benefit dependency and child poverty</b>	Would be met if this was included in the strategy; would be tackled at the strategic level through mainstream policies rather than agreements on specific sites	Dependent on effectiveness of supply-side initiatives. Sector approach may favour skills not found in local workforce and increase polarisation	Dependent on types of work provided by development, agreements such as local labour clauses and	Initiatives such as workspaces, recognising the informal economy and social enterprises are likely to achieve this but numbers of people who benefit will depend on volume of development which may be lower than in other scenarios
<b>Economic: Building a stronger local economy within a region</b>	Likely to be met	Is an objective but dependent on strength and rate of growth of the sector	Dependent on types of investment	Builds economy from the bottom up therefore likely to be slower growth but with greater longer-term benefits through linking economic development with meeting local needs
<b>Social: Contributing to the convergence of East London with the rest of the city</b>	Would be met if this was included in the strategy; would be tackled at the strategic level through mainstream policies rather than agreements on specific sites	Could have contradictory impacts with some elements exacerbating local inequalities and others closing the gap between the selected areas and the rest of the city	May lead to convergence on some indicators but could also exacerbate trends to polarisation within East London unless adequate mechanisms put in place	Central to strategy but may take time and will depend on scale of outcomes
<b>Social: Enhancing health and wellbeing</b>	Dependent on priority in strategy and connections with other service providers. Public retention of sporting facilities likely to make	Likely to depend on joint working with health agencies. Re-use of sporting facilities or creation of Sport zone could include agreements on local access, ticketing etc	Access to sporting venues may be restricted if they become privately owned, but could be secured through agreements on ticketing etc	Likely to be met. Re-use of sporting facilities likely to prioritise local access

<b>Social: Homes for all</b>	Central to strategy	Likely to include a mix of housing but amount of affordable housing will be dependent on policies, agreements and funding	Dependent on mechanisms to secure affordable housing	Emphasis is on social and affordable housing
<b>Process: Effective governance</b>	Strong local democratic institutions and dialogue with communities contributing to effective outcomes	Partnership based therefore potential for innovative arrangements and networks. However could exclude some interests and efforts would need to be taken to ensure community involvement	Partnership based but can be linked to limited community involvement. Quality and effectiveness of partnerships is key	Includes strong emphasis on community governance. Will need strong partnerships with other agencies to deliver full range of development
<b>Process: Mechanisms to secure widespread benefit</b>	Secured through strategic framework more than agreements for specific projects	Spread and type of benefit will depend on which mechanisms used and strength of agreements	Depends on which mechanisms used and strength of agreements	Asset management and other mechanisms likely to achieve this
<b>Process: Securing return on investment that supports legacy</b>	Longer term return based on retention of assets in public ownership either wholly or in part	Often entails a mix of financial mechanisms and asset management forms which can be effective at spreading risks, benefits and returns	Sales of venues to the private sector likely to secure immediate short term returns to the exclusion of longer term benefits unless some form of public interest is secured	Longer-term return and profits re-invested in the community but could be at lower levels than other scenarios

### 7.3 Discussion

While all the usual caveats apply about the tendencies within scenario-building towards stereo-typing and the likelihood that legacy outcomes are likely to be a result of the interaction and tensions between these different visions, this exercise has revealed that there are different possibilities and limitations presented for legacy by them and some very real choices that can be taken to influence outcomes.

In terms of overall approach it is clear that two strategies, City –wide and community-centred, are more likely to meet the overall socio-economic objectives of legacy as currently understood. They also have inclusive governance arrangements that have the potential to ‘join-up’ agencies and providers but they also have a number of limitations. They may not secure large-scale or immediate returns on investment and the scale of development in the community-centred approach may be relatively small in relation to local needs depending on other factors and the venues could be under-utilised although they would serve a strong symbolic purpose. As previously

discussed it is also debateable whether the conditions for a city-wide scenario are present in London.

Both the city quarter and opportunity-led strategy present opportunities for meeting a wide range of legacy outcomes but these are more dependent on the strength of delivery mechanisms and agreements around flagship schemes than on the strategic mechanisms present in the other approaches. This is especially so in the opportunity-led scenario with the City Quarter approach providing a stronger strategic focus for long-term benefits. The city-quarter strategy has the advantage of linking follow-on uses for venues with a wider strategic whereas the opportunity-led strategy would be dependent on market response for a viable after-life. Nevertheless benefits can be secured, however these maybe set within wider trends growing inequalities unless these mechanisms are particularly strong and are applied at an early stage. Both these approaches have the advantage of securing shorter-term returns on investment and drawing on a range of sources of finance. Governance arrangements can be effective but this depends on the strength, openness and effectiveness of partnerships and community involvement can be limited.

The choice between these scenarios may ultimately rest on the weight given to particular criteria by decision-makers, however, this exercise has revealed that there a range of options open to those decision-makers that can contribute to the vision for an Olympic legacy in London becoming a reality.

In summary this exercise has revealed that

- There is differential potential for each of the above scenarios to meet the legacy criteria as set out
- While the city-wide and community-centred approaches have the greatest possibility of meeting socio-economic criteria they are less likely to secure immediate financial returns
- Scenarios for both the strategy and follow-on uses which maximised financial returns presented more difficulties in meeting economic and social sustainability criteria
- The process of backcasting reveals that the conditions to secure the ideal-typical citywide strategy are arguably not present in London
- The different scenarios present different possibilities for venue follow-on usage ranging from symbolic backdrops to thriving parks to being an integral part of a new City quarter.
- Processes based on inclusive and community-centred governance arrangements are more likely to meet the legacy objectives The effectiveness of partnership working is crucial to the successful realisation of a number of the scenarios
- The importance of finance and delivery mechanisms to link physical and social regeneration emerged as key within all these strategies
- This implies that decisions on legacy need to include imaginative and rigorous procedures and mechanisms to provide local benefits and that these need to be articulated from an early stage
- It is possible to combine elements from these scenarios to maximise the potential for benefit, but some elements may be mutually exclusive.

## 8. Lessons and Recommendations

The venues built to stage Olympic events are some of the most visible and lasting aspects of legacy. While their physical presence often serves as a symbol of and memorial to the Games, achieving follow-on uses that contribute to the socio-economic aspects of legacy is a challenge that has not always been met in cities which have hosted major events. Some cities, notably Barcelona, have achieved a successful legacy by adopting a city-wide approach not dependent on the Olympic sites themselves. Expectations of legacy have, however, increased since 1992 resulting in greater emphasis on follow-on uses. For London, the desire to avoid the spectre of expensive 'white elephants' is also driven in a time of economic recession by the need to justify the large amounts of public money which have been used to provide these venues and to secure some financial return on this in the short, medium or long term.

The review has shown that for venues to achieve a successful 'after-life' it is important that their legacy is considered as part of an overall legacy strategy. This strategy needs to work at two levels: a wider strategic vision or scenario for the venues and site in legacy and a clear implementation strategy which marshals the processes of governance and delivery that are most likely to lead to the desired outcomes both for venues and the wider Olympic site. In considering this the review has adopted a method of backcasting: outlining a number of alternative scenarios for legacy and indicating what measures may be used to achieve them.

An initial assessment of these alternative scenarios has shown that some are more likely to lead to the legacy hoped for in London than others. While a 'Barcelona model' is desirable, the process of backcasting reveals that the mechanisms to achieve it in terms of public investment, the conditions of the London overall (i.e. it already has global city status), the lack of focus on the Olympic sites and the processes of governance make it an unlikely outcome for London (Marshall, 2004). Choices between other scenarios, for example, Sydney, Canary Wharf and community-centred schemes such as Coin Street are therefore presented. What the literature review reveals is that which of these destinations is reached could depend on decisions taken now about the follow-on uses for venues and about mechanisms such as asset management, ownership and governance and legal agreements on community benefits. Decisions about how to link physical and social legacy are therefore likely to be crucial in London.

Therefore overall, this literature review has revealed a number of findings relevant for the London 2012 legacy:

- Linking physical and social outcomes is crucial to legacy (particularly in terms of the re-use of buildings);
- In relation to this the evidence shows that the adoption of particular strategies and mechanisms will lead to different outcomes;

- The outcomes of legacy are ultimately dependent upon the overall initial vision for legacy, for example tensions between short-term financial considerations versus longer-term legacies, or between benefits for the city as a whole versus the immediate locality;
- Longer-term legacies which benefit local communities are likely to be based on partnerships between public agencies, private companies, training and education providers and local communities;
- Key issues are:
  - The need for clarity over the priorities for legacy and the adoption of a strategy and mechanisms to achieve this from an early stage.
  - If the priority is for longer-term community benefits the need to adopt governance and delivery structures based on partnership and participation
  - These need to be established early on and to feed into strategies for legacy.
  - In particular the role of buildings needs to be considered within a wider strategy for the area (e.g. for a city 'quarter') as well as consideration of the mechanisms to achieve this
  - Key decisions on building re-use e.g. over end-use and over asset ownership and management are not divorced from wider strategic visions for legacy
  - A variety of mechanisms exist to link the physical buildings to wider legacy outcomes which need to be considered from an early stage.

Finally, legacy evolves over time as do the strategies and governance structures associated with it. This suggests that these issues of strategy, governance and the choice mechanisms to ensure legacy will need to be continually revisited and monitored over the following decades as the London Olympic legacy is realised.

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## Appendix One – Recommended Criteria for Reviewing Scenarios

Number*	Theme	Outcomes	Used by/ recommended by	Indicator Descriptor	Used by/ recommended by
1*	<b>Economic sustainability/ legacy</b>	<b>Increase in skill and education levels*</b>	5 Boroughs Legacy Masterplan Framework (LMF)	A Learning landscape	LMF
2*		<b>Reduce worklessness, benefit dependency and child poverty*</b>	5 boroughs	New business creation	Experian
3				Employment and Unemployment before, during and after the games	Faber Maunsell
4				Number of local people recruited to Games related jobs	Experian
5*		<b>Building a stronger local economy*</b>	Faber Maunsell	Cluster Creation	LMF
6				Macro-economic impact (change in GDP)	Price Waterhouse Coopers
				Opportunities for existing local small businesses	New Economics Foundation (NEF)
8				Opportunities for informal economy to legitimise	NEF
9				Create a visitor economy	LMF
				Set new standards and procedures for procurement and contracts which benefits local businesses	NEF
11*	<b>Social Sustainability/ legacy</b>	<b>Convergence*</b>		Position on IMD	Price Waterhouse Coopers
12*				Convergence of indicators for E London with rest of city	5 boroughs
13*		<b>Increase in health and well being*</b>	5 boroughs, DEFRA	Increase in life expectancy	London East Research Institute

14*				Sports participation levels	5 boroughs, London East Research Institute, Brown and Massey
15*		Homes for all*		Provision of affordable housing/	5 boroughs, NEF
16		Livelihoods		Affordability of living in area for residents	NEF
17				Affordability of locating in area for businesses	NEF
18		Social capital/levels of trust in the community		Volunteering rates, especially of 'hard to reach' groups	
19	Culture	Increased cultural access, participation and vibrancy	Impacts 08	Building on diverse cultures in area	LMF
20				Provision of cultural activities and facilities	LMF
21*	Area and public realm	Creating a coherent and attractive city within a region*	5 Boroughs		
22				Secure the transformation of the Lower Lea Valley from an area of last resort to an area of first choice	LMF
23*	Governance	Effective governance and delivery processes and building of new partnerships and ways of working*	Impacts 08	A strategic approach to legacy	All
24				Community and voluntary sector representatives on legacy bodies	NEF
25				Public involvement in legacy planning	Scottish Parliament
26				Community Empowerment	Scottish Parliament
27				Partnership approach	5 boroughs
28*	Delivery; investment and assets	Secure a lasting return on public investment that supports legacy*	NEF	Spend on land rehabilitation, site assembly and construction	Faber Maunsell
29				Investment in pre and post-games development, public and private	Impacts 08

30				Recouping of public investment on Olympic Park; short or long term	
31				Establish asset-holding organisations capable of ensuring sustainable legacy	NEF
32	<b>Image and Perceptions</b>	Improved perceptions of area locally, nationally and internationally		Balance of positive versus negative press coverage of the area	Impacts 08
33				Public perception of the Olympic and Paralympic legacy	Ipsos Mori 2003
34				International delegations and visits	Faber Maunsell
35	<b>Environment</b>			Provision of accessible open spaces	LMF
36				Area and buildings to be of highest environmental and sustainability standards	
37				Green Tourism business scheme	Scottish Parliament
38				Encourage environmental awareness	Scottish Parliament
39	<b>Connectivity</b>			Transport infrastructure	Faber Maunsell
40				Physical links between park and rest of the area	5 boroughs, LMF

\* = used for assessment of scenarios