

# Report 5: Post-Games Evaluation

Meta-Evaluation of the Impacts and Legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games

EAST LONDON EVIDENCE BASE

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# 1 Introduction

The acceleration of the regeneration of East London is a central component of the legacy of the 2012 Games. East London has suffered from long-standing and deep-set social and economic problems. As a result, it has historically been one of the poorest parts of the UK, struggling to keep pace with many of the socio-economic advances experienced elsewhere in London. The Games provided a unique opportunity to tackle, both directly and indirectly, the deprivation and other challenges East London faces and contribute to its social and economic transformation.

In headline terms, the legacy strategy for East London can be summarised by two inter-related and over-arching objectives:

- Ensuring that the Olympic Park can be developed after the Games as one of the principal drivers of regeneration in East London – maximising the investment made, as a direct result of the Games, in venues, infrastructures, utilities and the environment; and
- Securing a socio-economic legacy from the Games in the host boroughs<sup>1</sup> so that, *"within 20 years, the communities which host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games will enjoy the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London"*.<sup>2</sup>

These headline objectives have resulted in a broad suite of investments and activities focused on the regeneration of East London, all of which can be grouped under the four legacy sub-themes of transforming place, transforming communities, transforming prospects and convergence. These sub-themes provide a framework for our analysis and synthesis of the emerging evidence.

The remainder of this evidence base document systematically sets out the evidence available under each of the sub-themes.

<sup>1</sup> This includes the London Boroughs of Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest. Following the 2012 Games the six boroughs are now collectively known as the 'Growth Boroughs'. However, for the purpose of this report they will be referred to as the host boroughs.

<sup>2</sup> Host Borough (2009) *Convergence, Strategic Regeneration Framework, An Olympic legacy for the host boroughs*

## 2 Transforming Place

The transforming place sub-theme is focused on the legacy effects and impacts arising from the physical development and regeneration of East London. It looks at both the creation of the Olympic Park and its post-Games usage, as well as the wider process of 'placemaking' both on and off the Olympic Park. It is a sub-theme that is spatially focused on the Olympic Park and its 'area of influence', defined as a two kilometre boundary around the Olympic Park.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1 Legacy programmes and initiatives

A significant feature of the bid to host the 2012 Games was the potential benefits for some of London's most deprived communities that could result from the regeneration of 312 hectares of land that was historically under-used, neglected and *"fragmented in terms of urban form and use"*<sup>4</sup> – the area that was to become the Olympic Park. With the market highly unlikely to fund the high land assembly and remediation costs associated with redevelopment or to have delivered the cohesive approach that was required, the case for comprehensive public sector intervention was clear.<sup>5</sup> The underpinning rationale was that the creation of an improved, well-planned and well-managed environment in and around the Olympic Park, as a result of the Games, would transform the heart of East London<sup>6</sup> by:

- Catalysing the physical regeneration of an area that was under-used, fragmented, inaccessible and polluted;
- Providing much needed high quality, affordable housing;
- Attracting business investment;
- Increasing commercial and residential land values; and
- Promoting sport recreational and cultural activities.

Therefore, the delivery of a transformed place and the achievement of this rationale centred on a small number of significant programmes of activity, including:

- The acquisition and remediation of the land making up the Olympic Park and wider Stratford City site. A programme of activity that was initially led by the London Development Agency (LDA) before being handed over to the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA);
- The planning, development and post-Games transformation of the Olympic Park and venues within it. The planning and development of the Olympic Park has been the responsibility of the ODA (initially through the LDA) with post-Games transformation the responsibility of the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) (formerly the Olympic Park Legacy Company or OPLC);
- A number of public transport improvements aimed at increasing the capacity and accessibility of the transport system. This included a significant redevelopment of Stratford station as well as major upgrades to the Docklands Light Rail (DLR) and North London Line;

<sup>3</sup> It is within this area where the main impacts of schemes related to hosting the Games are anticipated to be felt.

<sup>4</sup> London School of Economics Public Policy Group (2013) *2012 London Olympics: The impact of the Olympics: making or breaking communities in East London* (Juliet Davis). Published in British Politics and Policy Blog.

<sup>5</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>6</sup> Mayor of London (2008) *Five legacy promises*

- A programme of public realm improvements in the areas surrounding the Olympic Park. This activity centred on a programme of public realm capital schemes that have been delivered by a number of organisations including the host boroughs, the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), LDA, Transport for London (TfL), the Homes and Communities Agency (HCA) and the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTGDC). The programme comprised of 71 projects and was focused on 10 priority 'packages' of activity; and
- Wider public and private sector investment in the area, the most significant of which to date was made by Westfield at the Stratford City site adjacent to the Olympic Park. Others include the Strand East mixed-use development in Stratford by the Inter IKEA Group and Lend Lease's investment in the further development of the Stratford City site (the International Quarter).

These programmes and initiatives were supported by a series of strategic documents that guided, influenced and shaped the subsequent activities on the ground. These included three Olympic and post-Games legacy master plans:<sup>7</sup>

- The initial 2004 master plan which was developed to support the London 2012 bid and underpin the compulsory purchase of the land required to create the Park. This plan was accompanied by a master plan setting out the proposed regeneration proposals for the site if the bid was unsuccessful;
- The 2006 master plan integrated the Games and Stratford City master plans to "*achieve efficiency in development funding, construction logistics and operational management as well as enhance legacy benefits*".<sup>8</sup> In particular, the major residential component of the Stratford City proposal became the Olympic Village. This master plan formed the basis of the eventual planning permissions for the Olympic, Paralympic and legacy transformation master plans; and
- The final revised master plan (2007) which covered Games-time, transformation and legacy. This master plan sought to enhance "*legacy benefits further, adopt more sustainable approaches and improve deliverability*".<sup>9</sup> The revised master plan proposals also refined the Games infrastructure to provide the "*best solution to support legacy development and minimize [the] transformation required to deliver a more efficient master plan*".<sup>10</sup>

The logic model below (Figure 2-1) provides a summary of the outputs, results, outcomes/impacts that were expected to result from these activities.

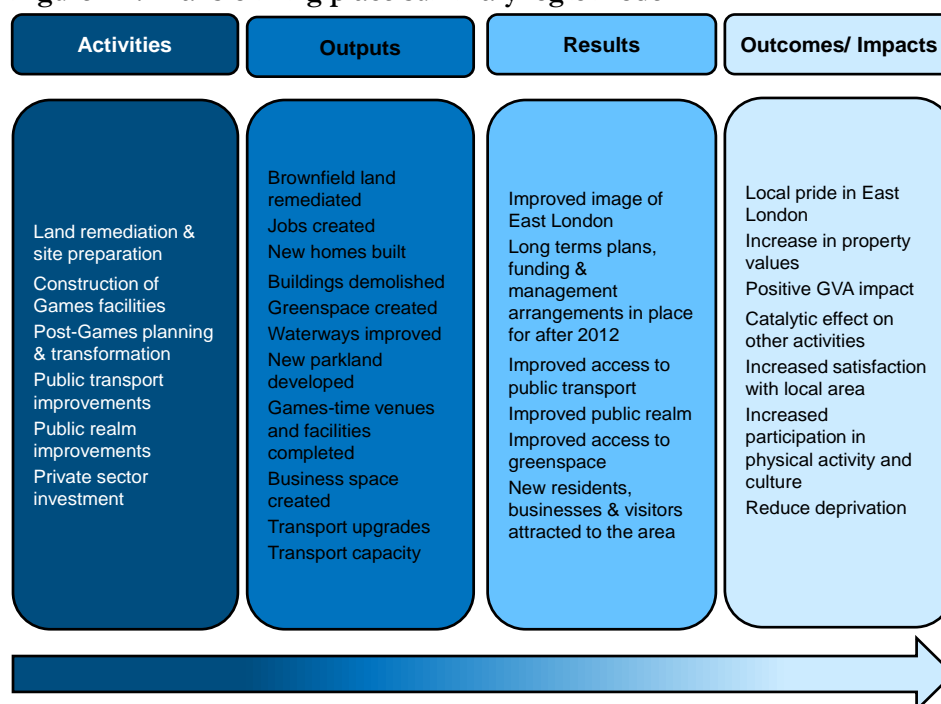
<sup>7</sup> Institution of Civil Engineers (2011) *Delivering London 2012: parklands and waterways*. Published in Civil Engineering 164.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*

**Figure 2-1: Transforming place summary logic model**



## 2.2 Expenditure

Across some of the programmes and initiatives within this sub-theme it is possible to identify some of the expenditure incurred. This information provides valuable insight into both the scale and the specific nature of the legacy effects with regard to transforming East London. For some programmes and initiatives, this information has been formally captured in an existing evaluation or through an organisation's project monitoring systems. Where this has been the case, this is summarised in Figure 2-2 below.

**Figure 2-2: Public expenditure on transforming place**

Legacy programme/ initiative	Lead Organisation	Budget (£m)	Actual (£m)	Time period
Site preparation and infrastructure	ODA <sup>11</sup>	2,095	1,824	2005-2012
Venues and venues operations	ODA <sup>12</sup>	1,055	1,108	2005-2012
Transport improvements	ODA <sup>13</sup>	897	848	2005-2012
Parkwide projects	ODA <sup>14</sup>	868	882	2005-2012
Media Centre, Village and Stratford City Infrastructure	ODA <sup>15</sup>	492	1,258	2005-2012
ODA programme delivery	ODA <sup>16</sup>	647	725	2005-2012
Land acquisition	LDA <sup>17</sup>	650	766 <sup>18</sup>	2003-2011
Planning, development and post-Games transformation of Olympic Park 2011-12	LLDC <sup>19</sup>	114.585	N/A	2011/12-2012/13
Planning, development and post-Games transformation of Olympic Park 2013-16	LLDC <sup>20</sup>	385.977	N/A	2013/14-2015/16
Public realm improvements	Host boroughs <sup>21</sup>	190	100	2009-2012

In relation to the figures included in the table above it is important to note the following:

- The public transport improvements only cover the ODA's expenditure on transport projects and not TfL's as this information was not available to the meta-evaluation team; and
- A portion of LLDC funding is sourced from the Public Sector Funding Package (£296m), as was all of the ODA funding listed above.

### 2.3 Evidence

The evidence available for this sub-theme suggests that the creation of the Olympic Park and the wider development of its immediate vicinity have resulted in unprecedented change in this part of East London. The remainder of this sub-section presents this evidence of a transformed place, and explores the influence of the 2012 Games in bringing about this change, under the four headings of:

- Transformation of the Olympic Park and its area of influence;
- Transformation of public transport;
- Transformation of the public realm; and
- Wider regeneration effects.

<sup>11</sup> DCMS (2012) *London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games Quarterly Report October 2012*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>17</sup> National Audit Office (2012), *The London 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games: post-Games review*

<sup>18</sup> This cost is expected to be recouped from land sales and is not therefore a net cost.

<sup>19</sup> LLDC (2012) *Annual Reports 2011/12 and 2012/13*

<sup>20</sup> LLDC (2013) *Business Plan 2013/14 – 2015/16*

<sup>21</sup> Information provided directly from the host boroughs.



**(iii) Transformation of the Olympic Park and its area of influence**

Through its programme of land acquisition, remediation and development of the Olympic Park, first the LDA and then, more significantly, the ODA, delivered a number of positive outputs. These outputs were largely the direct result of four broad stages<sup>22</sup> of activity by the ODA that sought to transform a largely derelict, polluted and inaccessible site. They include the:<sup>23</sup>

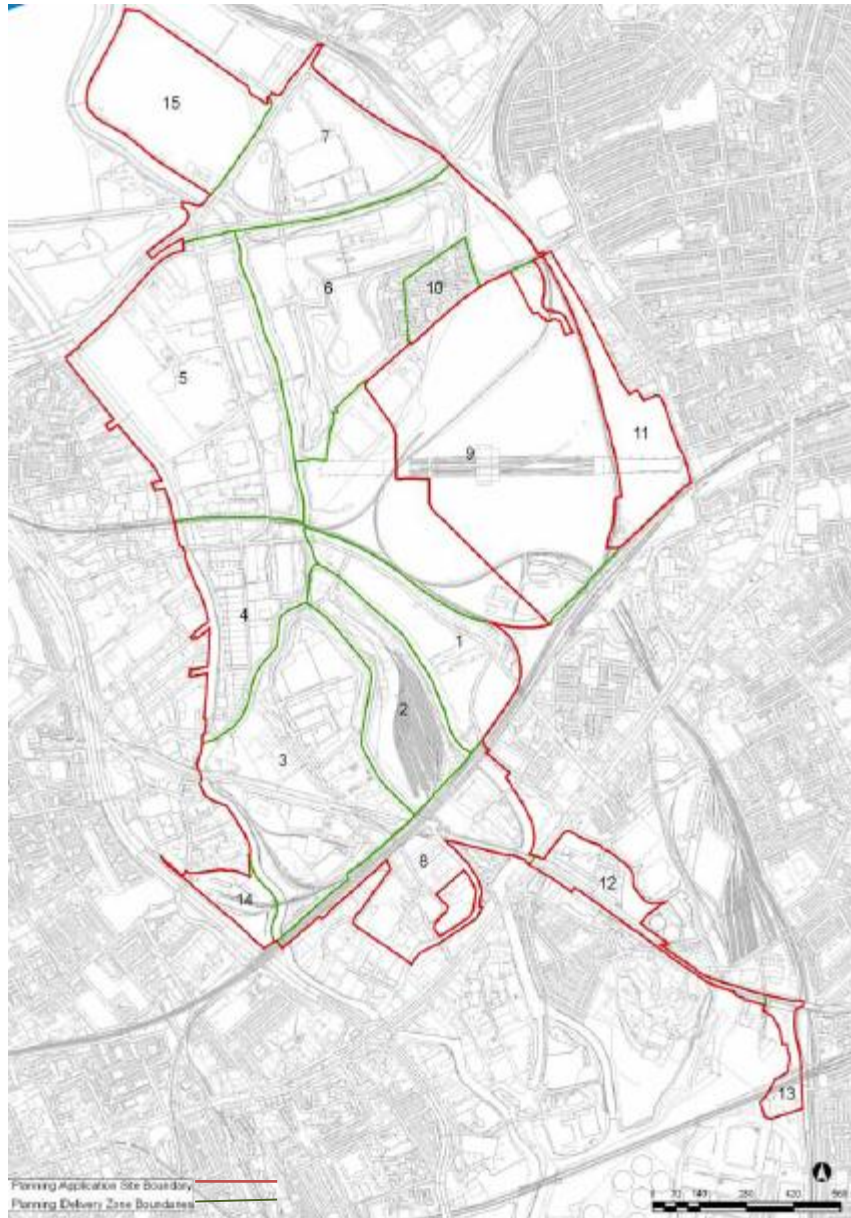
- Remediation and clean-up of 2.5 sq km of brownfield land;
- Demolition of more than 200 buildings;
- Undergrounding of 52 power pylons;
- Creation of a new utilities network to provide power, water and sanitation to the site;
- Reuse or recycling of 98% of materials generated through the demolition process;
- Creation of 100 hectares of greenspace;
- Planting of 4,000 semi-mature trees;
- Creation of the Athletes' Village (which in legacy will be transformed into 2,818 homes);
- Creation of permanent sporting venues in East London including the Olympic Stadium, the Aquatics Centre, the Velodrome and associated cycle tracks, the Handball Arena, hockey pitches and tennis courts;
- Creation of 80,000 sq m of business space through the International Broadcast Centre/ Main Press Centre (IBC/ MPC); and
- Building more than 30 bridges and connections across the Olympic Park.

These outputs have been central in driving forward the regeneration and transformation of this part of East London as they have started the process of fundamentally transforming the pattern of land use on the land which is now the Olympic Park. Figure 2-3 below shows the 15 planning development zones (PDZs) that make up the Olympic Park, with Figure 2-4 showing how the land use has changed from 2005 – prior to the initiation of any Olympic-related development – to one year after the Games, to 2022 and the predominant land use in legacy.

<sup>22</sup> 'Demolish, dig, design' – with milestones to the Beijing 2008 Games; 'The big build: foundations' –with milestones to 27 July 2009; 'The big build: structures' – with milestones to 27 July 2010; and 'The big build: completion' – with milestones to 27 July 2011.

<sup>23</sup> ODA (2011) *Building the Olympic Park 2005-2011*

**Figure 2-3: Planning development zone boundaries**



Source: ODA Guide to the Olympic, Paralympic & Legacy Transformation Planning Applications and Olympic Village (part) and Legacy Residential Planning Application, 2007

Key: Red line= Planning application site boundary; Green line= Planning Development Zone boundary

**Figure 2-4: Predominant land use on the Olympic Park – 2005, 2013, 2022**

PDZ	Hectares	Predominant land use – Baseline (2005)	Predominant land use 1 Year on (2013)	Predominant land use by 2022*	Comments
PDZ1	13.7	Brownfield	Aquatics Centre; open space and unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Aquatics Centre; open space, residential and unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Development parcel has permission for 165,080sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (134,000sqm), retail (13,500sqm), hotel (14,500sqm) and leisure (1,650sqm)
PDZ 2	13.7	Brownfield	ArcelorMittal Orbit; open space and unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	ArcelorMittal Orbit; open space and unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Development parcel has permission for 77,043sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (75,000sqm), retail (1,438sqm), leisure (165sqm) and community (440sqm)
PDZ 3	33.1	Brownfield + Old Ford Nature Reserve	Stadium and open space	Stadium, open space and other uses tbc.	PDZ3 also includes land leased from Network Rail during the Games, and post-Games is returned to previous use as a strategic rail head.
PDZ 4	15.9	Commercial	Open space, Energy Centre and unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Open space, Energy Centre, residential and unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Development parcel has permission for 79,781sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (67,730sqm), retail (2,576sqm), leisure and community (8,410sqm)
PDZ 5	37.2	Commercial, travellers site, and common land	Press and Broadcast Centres, multi-storey car park, Copper Box (multi-purpose arena), open space and unimplemented development parcel	Press and Broadcast Centres, multi-storey car park, Copper Box (multi-purpose arena), open space, residential and unimplemented development parcel (predominantly residential)	Development parcel has permission for 116,711sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (96,097sqm), retail (3,268sqm), employment (9,001), leisure (1,457sqm) and community (9,888sqm)
PDZ 6	33.1	Open space	Velopark, open space and unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Velopark, open space and mixed use development predominantly residential.	Development parcel for PDZ6 and PDZ10 combined has permission for 116,540sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (112,800sqm), retail (2,310sqm), employment (124sqm), leisure (165sqm) and community (1,141sqm)
PDZ 7	20.6	Open space	Lea Valley Tennis and Hockey Centre and allotments.	Lea Valley Tennis and Hockey Centre and allotments.	
PDZ 8	16.7	Commercial	Unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential) and allotments.	Development parcel has permission for 158,235sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (118,290sqm), retail (2,345sqm), employment (35,949sqm), leisure (169sqm) and community (1,482sqm)
PDZ 9	68.5	Rail	Mixed use development	Mixed use development	Stratford City including Westfield shopping

PDZ	Hectares	Predominant land use – Baseline (2005)	Predominant land use 1 Year on (2013)	Predominant land use by 2022*	Comments
			predominantly retail.	predominantly retail.	centre.
PDZ 10	3.8	Residential	Unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Mixed use development predominantly residential.	Development parcel for PDZ6 and PDZ10 combined has permission for 116,540sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (112,800sqm), retail (2,310sqm), employment (124sqm), leisure (165sqm) and community (1,141sqm)
PDZ 11	9.7	Brownfield	Mixed use development	Mixed use development	Stratford City
PDZ 12	5.6	Commercial	Unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Unimplemented development parcel (mixed use predominantly residential).	Development parcel has permission for 158,235sqm floorspace (GEA) which includes residential (50,110sqm), retail (550sqm) and community (11,660sqm)
PDZ 13	2.4	Rail/greenspace	Public realm ( West Ham Ramp)	Public realm ( West Ham Ramp)	This was no longer required for the ODA works.
PDZ 14	3.4	Brownfield	Employment	Employment	This was no longer required for the ODA works.
PDZ 15	16.5	Open space	Open space (Hackney Marshes)	Open space (Hackney Marshes)	
<b>Total</b>	<b>293.9</b>				

Source: ODA (2007) & LLDC (2013)

The transformation of these venues and the Olympic Park itself are currently well underway with some of the key legacy outputs beginning to become apparent from as early as mid-to late-2013.

The first of which will be the conversion of the Athletes' Village into of 2,818 apartments and town houses – 1,379 of which will be social housing (managed by Triathlon Homes) with the remaining 1,439 private homes (managed by Qatari Diar/ Delancey (QDD)), with the majority being private rental. This will be quickly followed by the conversion of the Athlete's Health Centre into a community health centre and the conversion of Olympic Park Operations Centre into a new academy (Chobham Academy). Together, this activity will see the creation of 'East Village' and the first new community in the park.

LLDC has also made significant progress since it took ownership of the Park following the end of the Games<sup>24</sup>:

- The transformation works have now commenced and are currently on schedule;
- All permanent venues now have permanent operators with the announcement of West Ham United FC as the operator of the stadium;
- Planning consent was granted in September 2012 for the Legacy Communities Scheme (see Transforming Communities section below); and
- The North Park is scheduled to re-open on 29 July 2013 following a series of concerts and events and the South Park in Spring 2014.

<sup>24</sup> LLDC (2013) *Three Year Business Plan 2013/14-2015/16*

While there were emerging plans for the redevelopment of Stratford<sup>25</sup> prior to the Games based on the policy counterfactuals developed as part of Report 3 of the meta-evaluation<sup>26</sup>, it can be concluded that without the Games the largely derelict, polluted and inaccessible site that ultimately became the Park would have remained as it was for the foreseeable future and that the new Olympic venues would not have been constructed and the Olympic Park would not exist. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that these outputs are wholly attributable to the Games as is the evidence of their impact<sup>27</sup>.

This is a conclusion that one of the primary sources of evaluation evidence available for this sub-theme, the LDA 2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study<sup>28</sup>, clearly supports. The LDA was one of the key agencies tasked with delivering the early stages of the legacy strategy relevant to this meta-evaluation sub-theme, particularly the programme of land acquisition and remediation. As such, the evaluation provides a robust, if partial (due to the limited availability of impact data at the time the evaluation was undertaken), assessment of the LDA's activity.

From the outset of the bid preparation process, and as early as May 2003, it was apparent that the LDA recognised the opportunity to use the 2012 Games as a catalyst for the regeneration of East London. It was always the LDA's explicit aim to use the 2012 Games to accelerate the regeneration process<sup>29</sup> describing East London as *"London's available and spare economic capacity and asset base, and also the place with the most severe socio-economic challenges"*.<sup>30</sup>

From the LDA evaluation it is also apparent that the requirement for one organisation to assemble all of the land in the Olympic Park resulted in a *"more comprehensive and joined up site"* than might have been possible in the absence of the 2012 Games. The evaluation notes that without this requirement, the land acquisition process *"would potentially have been more piecemeal and less integrated"* and while multiple organisations may have *"resulted in lower costs (i.e. the necessity to acquire the whole site may have resulted in higher costs of land and/ or the need to undertake more expensive remediation)"* and a *"better return on investment"*, had one organisation not been required to assemble the land, then the Olympic Park could not have been developed. This would in turn have resulted in a reduction in the scale of overall regeneration activity in East London and the potential loss of a number of *"economies of scale"* that arose from the regeneration of a single site.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to a more integrated site, the 2012 Games were also thought to have created a more integrated timetable for regeneration (than if London were not the host city for the 2012 Games) which had two notable impacts. First, it created a firm deadline for delivery, the absence of which would have resulted in a slower pace and required a more selective approach to regeneration as individual sites would have been brought forward on a site by site basis –

<sup>25</sup> The Lower Lea Valley Area Development Framework set out the strategy and plan for the area to 2023. Two versions of the document were created, the first would be adopted if the bid to host the Games was won, the second if the bid was unsuccessful. The plans covered Stratford/Hackney Wick (the area covered by the Olympic Park), Bromley-by-Bow/West Ham and South Poplar/Canning Town. However, while these plans existed it is not possible to know how quickly they would have been brought forward and more significantly what the impact that the housing price crash and economic recession of 2008-2010 would have been on their scale and nature.

<sup>26</sup> See *Meta-Evaluation of the Impacts and Legacy of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games Report 3: Baseline and Counterfactual*

<sup>27</sup> In considering the counterfactual it should also be noted that there is a possibility that other developments may have been delayed by the Games. However, there is currently no evidence to suggest that this has been the case. For example the Games did have some minimal impact on the Crossrail development during the Games time period in summer 2012 but this was planned for and ultimately had no impact on the overall timescale for delivery.

<sup>28</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> Organisations for Economic Co-operation and Development (2010) *Local Development Benefits from Staging Global Events – Achieving the Local Development Legacy from 2012*. Cited in PwC and SQW (2011). *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>31</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

instead, the "*Olympics has brought regeneration forward by about 70 years*"<sup>32</sup>. Second, it meant that a proportion of the public and private sector investment in regeneration in East London – and particularly around the Olympic Park – was immune from the recent spending cuts that affected a number of other major regeneration projects across the UK.<sup>33</sup>

In addition, through the LDA evaluation it is also possible to identify a number of other lessons that relate specifically to the process and approach taken in developing the Olympic Park and its longer term legacy.

It is apparent from the LDA evaluation that in delivering its activities the LDA demonstrated a 'boldness' that enabled the Olympic Park site to be developed on schedule and for the regeneration benefits of the 2012 Games legacy for East London to be driven forward from the earliest point possible. This 'boldness' was perhaps most apparent in the LDA's willingness to provide early investment in activities related to the Games, including:

- Appointing an interim team to advise the Agency on legal, financial, property and project consultancy matters relating to London's bid for the 2012 Games (May 2003) and appointment of a consortium led by EDAW to prepare the master plan for the proposed London Olympics in East London's Lower Lea Valley (Aug 2003) before London officially launched its bid for the 2012 Games (Jan 2004);
- Submitting a planning application for a 500 acre Olympic Park in the Lower Lea Valley covering key venues such as the main Olympic Stadium, the Aquatics Centre and the Velodrome (January 2004) before London was shortlisted as a 2012 candidate city (May 2004); and
- Launching a design competition for the Aquatics Centre (June 2004) and selecting a winning design (Jan 2005); obtaining planning permission for the Olympic Park (Sept 2004); initiating the process of land acquisition (Jan 2004) and starting undergrounding of the power lines (Jan 2005). This was all undertaken *prior* to London being awarded the right to host the 2012 Games.

Of this early investment, the land acquisition carried the most risk as it involved the greatest cost (prior to knowing the outcome of the bidding process, the LDA acquired 86 hectares at a cost of £125 million including fees). However, it was a risk mitigated by following four investment principles that allowed for a 'no' decision on the bid and thus enabled the LDA to acquire the land on a 'no regrets' basis:<sup>34</sup>

- The LDA should only buy land during the bid period which could be used for other regeneration purposes should the bid be unsuccessful;
- Land assembly for the Olympic zone should be aligned with the Olympic Legacy Master Plan for the area;
- Consideration should be given to the legacy post the Olympics; and
- Land receipts from disposal should be retained by the LDA for re-investment.

The result of this process of early acquisition was that by July 2006, one year after the award of the Games, the LDA had assembled by private agreement 90% of the land required to deliver the Park. This paved the way for the completion of the first major phase of land assembly and relocations of existing tenants according to schedule by July 2007 which was "*crucial*" to enabling the subsequent development of the venues and ultimately the timely delivery of the Games.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> London School of Economics Public Policy Group (2013) *2012 London Olympics: The London Olympics – making a piece of the city* (Ricky Burdett quoting Tony Travers). Published in British Politics and Policy Blog.

<sup>33</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*

The benefit of this early lead was also picked up in the Institute for Government's report on 'Making the Games'<sup>36</sup> which noted that upon winning the bid: *"There were a set of urgent tasks awaiting those returning from Singapore. First government had to ensure the land needed for the Olympic Park was under public control. In fact, the UK was already some way ahead on this...[as the] London Development Agency had started purchasing the site of the Olympic Park earlier in 2003 and a small compulsory purchase order had been initiated in 2004 to ensure that the crucial undergrounding of on-site power lines could begin soon after July 2005"*.

However, it is apparent through the LDA evaluation that this boldness did come with a cost. The LDA budget for land acquisition and remediation increased substantially from 2003 to 2011, while the total area covered by the Olympic Park site actually decreased from 161 hectares to 101 hectares.<sup>37</sup> The LDA evaluation identified five factors that they believe drove this increase in budget:

- Remediation costs were substantially higher than estimated;
- Additional land was purchased in 2004 to cover a proposed increase in the total area of the Olympic Park (207 hectares compared to 161 hectares) which while it did not materialise;
- Additional land outside of the Olympic Park was purchased for the relocation of local businesses and to kick-start the regeneration of other key development sites;
- Additional fees were allocated to cover the actual costs of producing the Olympic Master plan; and
- Money was spent on estate management fees (where tenants remained on site following acquisition), professional fees and stamp duty.

These increased costs (coupled with the decrease in the size of the Olympic Park) meant that the average costs per hectare of land acquired and remediated<sup>38</sup> rose from £2.97 per ha to £10.84 per ha. The LDA evaluation notes that this increase will *"have a significant impact on the assessment of the economy and cost-effectiveness of the LDA interventions in this area"*.<sup>39</sup> However, the evaluation repeatedly notes that given the long term nature of the legacy plans, it is too early to robustly and comprehensively assess both the legacy impact and its value for money.

A further benefit of the early lead taken by the LDA, and perhaps more significant in terms of the legacy, was that from the outset there was a clear commitment to securing a legacy from the 2012 Games, something that was formally articulated as early as January 2004 and the submission of the planning application for the Olympic Park. This commitment provided a solid foundation on which subsequent regeneration plans and frameworks for parts of East London could be built. It was an approach that lead the London Assembly to conclude (in 2009) that London was ahead of many other host cities both in developing its proposals for the legacy use of the Olympic Park and its commitment to social transformation in East London – an approach that *"exceeds the ambitions of many past host cities"*.<sup>40</sup>

This early preparation work also *"received praise from the IOC and experienced Olympic observers"*, with Denis Oswald the Chair of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Coordination Commission noting that: *"London already has a clear idea of the steps that need to be taken to turn its ambitious plans into reality. Such thoroughness is commendable and was one of the strengths of London's*

<sup>36</sup> Institute for Government (2013) *Making the Games: What government can learn from London 2012*

<sup>37</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>38</sup> This calculation was based on the total cost of land assembly and includes compensation claims as part of the relocation programme.

<sup>39</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>40</sup> London Assembly, Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee (2009) *Literature Review: Olympic Legacy Governance Arrangements*. Cited in PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency. See also London Assembly (2007) *A Lasting Legacy for London?*

*candidature*".<sup>41</sup> It was a role that also received commendation from the OECD as it noted that *"although many cities have achieved a significant legacy, and several have planned activity in advance to achieve it, few cities will have prepared for it as directly and consciously as London has"*.<sup>42</sup>

It was a view echoed by the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) who, based on comparison with six previous event led regeneration programmes, noted that London's legacy planning represented a *"significant improvement on arrangement in previous hosts"* and that regeneration legacy planning for the 2012 Games has been *"addressed more convincingly and earlier than in most previous cases"* something that has allowed *"proposals to be debated and prepared properly"*.<sup>43</sup>

In direct comparison with six previous event led regeneration programmes the RICS report notes seven examples of particular good practice in relation to the 2012 Games. These include: *"the choice of a site that provided good opportunities for regeneration; the early onset of legacy planning; involving a wide range of different stakeholders; unequivocal support from the UK Government; building on long term plans for London and existing regeneration projects; the expression of aspirations for the wider area beyond the Olympic Park; [and] attention to social and economic regeneration, as well as physical transformation"*.<sup>44</sup>

In March 2012 as part of his final inspection visit, Jacques Rogge, IOC President, commented that London had *"raised the bar on how to deliver a lasting legacy by incorporating long-range planning in every aspect of the 2012 Games"* and in doing so had *"created a legacy blueprint for future Games hosts"* with the *"tangible results"* already apparent in *"the remarkable rejuvenation of East London"*.<sup>45</sup>

The Institute for Government does however paint a somewhat different picture, reporting that at the early stages of delivery in 2005 *"it was unclear what the ultimate goal or objective was for legacy in any tangible sense"* with the result that *"legacy got lost among more tangible goals"*. It notes that this lack of vision was further compounded by a lack of clear governance and *"dispersed responsibility for legacy as a whole... no dedicated budget... [and] Whitehall machinery not being used effectively to get political buy-in and commitment to making legacy work"*.<sup>46</sup>

Through the consultations undertaken as part of the meta-evaluation it would appear that both sides of the story are correct. That London 2012 has 'raised the bar' in terms of legacy thinking, that legacy planning was ingrained from an early stage, but that it did suffer from a lack of clarity. It was noted through a number of consultations that in planning for the legacy there were a number of significant challenges, not least, not fully knowing what success looked like as London was in many ways pioneering a new approach with no real precedent. It was a challenge that was felt to have been exacerbated by the fact that:

- The 'immovable deadline' which drove much of the delivery in terms of Games-time did not exist with the legacy;
- Early on, the legacy role was one of influencing others rather than delivering a programme of activity;
- The lack of a body responsible for championing the legacy from the outset meant that for some venues legacy planning was not as embedded as it could have been (with stakeholders noting the Aquatics Centre and the health centre in the Athletes' Village in particular); and
- The practicalities of, and the need to deliver the event meant that at times the legacy had to take a backwards step (the stadium was often cited as an example of this issue as it

<sup>41</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final to the London Development Agency.

<sup>42</sup> OECD (2010) *Local Development Benefits from Staging Global Events – Achieving the Local Development Legacy from 2012*. Cited in PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>43</sup> RICS Research (2011) *The 2012 Games: The Regeneration Legacy*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>45</sup> DCMS (2012) *Beyond 2012 The London 2012 Legacy Story*

<sup>46</sup> Institute for Government (2013) *Making the Games: What government can learn from London 2012*



would not have been feasible to have done a deal with a football club in time for the stadium to be built and ready for the Games).

However, consultees were unanimous in noting that at every stage, and for every element of the Games the question was asked: 'what would this be used for in legacy', clearly highlighting that legacy was never an afterthought.

#### **(iv) Transformation of public transport**

Another key component in the transformation of East London as a place has been the improvement of public transport in the area. It is apparent through consultation with and information provided by TfL<sup>47</sup> that a number of important transport improvements have been implemented. It is possible to conclude that these improvements can – to varying degrees – be attributed the 2012 Games, as set out in the policy counterfactuals described in Report 3 of the meta-evaluation<sup>48</sup> and backed up by the views of consultees spoken with as part of the meta-evaluation. The influence of the Games has largely been catalytic, with a number TfL's plans brought forward significantly as a result of the demand provided by the Games and the additional funding from the ODA which helped to unlock planned investments. Alongside this, the availability of new additional investment through the ODA also resulted in a number of improvements that would not have happened in the absence of the Games. In terms of existing investments brought forward and unlocked as a result of the Games, these include:

- A project to double the capacity of Stratford Regional Station from 37,000 commuters during the morning peak in 2008 to an expected 83,000 during the morning peak in 2016. The work included nine new lifts, eight new staircases, a re-opened subway, new platforms, wider, longer and clearer platforms and a new station entrance;<sup>49</sup>
- Upgrades to the DLR, including expansions to the network from Canning Town to Stratford International, and from East India and Blackwall to Woolwich Arsenal; increasing the number of rail cars from two to three and boosting on-board capacity by 50%; and a more frequent service in part driven by improvements to busy junctions on the network;<sup>50</sup>
- Upgrades to the North London Line, including new signals, extra tracks and longer platforms which enable four-car, rather than three-car, trains to operate and therefore significantly boost capacity;<sup>51</sup> and
- The conversion of the North London Line to DLR operation between North Woolwich and Stratford; infrastructure upgrades at Blackwall and East India stations; modifications between Poplar and Woolwich Arsenal; and increased station capacity at Prince Regent (to serve the ExCeL exhibition centre).

In terms of new, additional investments, these include:

- Upgrade of West Ham London Underground station, (which also included the construction of a temporary walkway to help with the high number of spectators travelling to the Olympic Park during Games time);<sup>52</sup>
- A cable car between the Royal Docks and Greenwich Peninsula with a journey time of five minutes and the potential to carry up to 2,500 people in each direction per hour;<sup>53</sup> and
- A new TfL Transport Coordination Centre which provides integration and coordination of traffic and transport agencies, as well as coordination with security and emergency agencies.

<sup>47</sup> Including: Transport for London (2011) *Leaving a transport legacy*

<sup>48</sup> See *Meta-Evaluation of the Impacts and Legacy of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games Report 3: Baseline and Counterfactual*

<sup>49</sup> Olympic Delivery Authority (2008) *Transport Update Issue 2: Transport for 2012 and beyond*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>52</sup> Olympic Delivery Authority (2011) *Transport Big Build – Complete*

<sup>53</sup> See <http://www.london.gov.uk/priorities/transport/investing-transport/making-better-use-river-transport/cable-car>

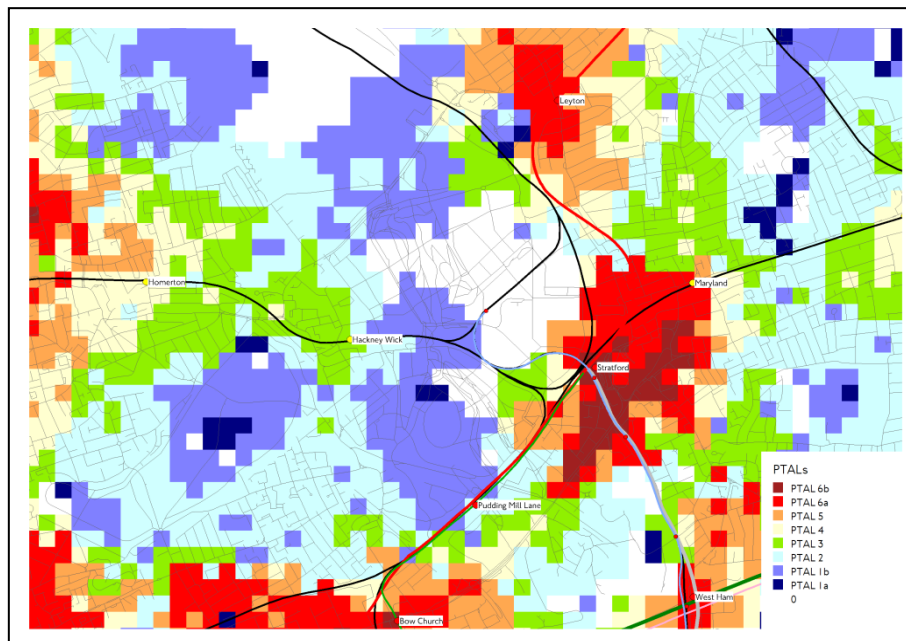
This has helped improve transport capacity through real-time traffic management, as well as helping smooth traffic flow.<sup>54</sup>

The permanent nature of these enhancements to the transport network mean that they "*form a vital part of the wider Games Legacy*" as they significantly improve "*transport capacity and reliability*" in East London, and will do so "*for many years to come*".<sup>55</sup>

One result of these improvements in transport capacity and infrastructure is the role they can play in improving accessibility to public transport, not least because one of the major issues facing this part of East London was its "*spatial disconnection from surrounding areas*"<sup>56</sup> and the difficulties of travelling within and around the area (as opposed to through it). Using TfL's Public Transport Accessibility Level (PTAL) data it is possible to understand the difference made by these improvements in transport provision. The following three illustrative maps show the levels of accessibility to public transport in the immediate vicinity of the Olympic Park, centred on a point just to the west of Stratford International Station.<sup>57</sup> Visually these maps show how the transport improvements, including those still to be implemented, result in some locations around the Olympic park increasing from PTAL level 0 (effectively zero access to public transport within the specified criteria and illustrated by the white areas on the map) to the highest PTAL value of 6 by 2014 (illustrated by the dark red area).<sup>58</sup>

More specifically, between 2010 (Figure 2-3) and 2012-2014 (Figure 206) significant change in the PTAL scores can be seen in three areas, as indicated by the three blue rings in Figure 2-6. These improvements were largely driven by the improvements to Stratford Station (the increase in dark red shading) and the significantly improved accessibility resulting from the creation of the Olympic Park (the change from the white shaded area to the green, and the change from light red shaded area to red).

**Figure 2-5: Accessibility to public transport in the vicinity of the Olympic Park – Pre-Games 2010**



Source: Transport for London

<sup>54</sup> Transport for London (2010) *Transport for London Investment Programme 2010 – Surface Transport*

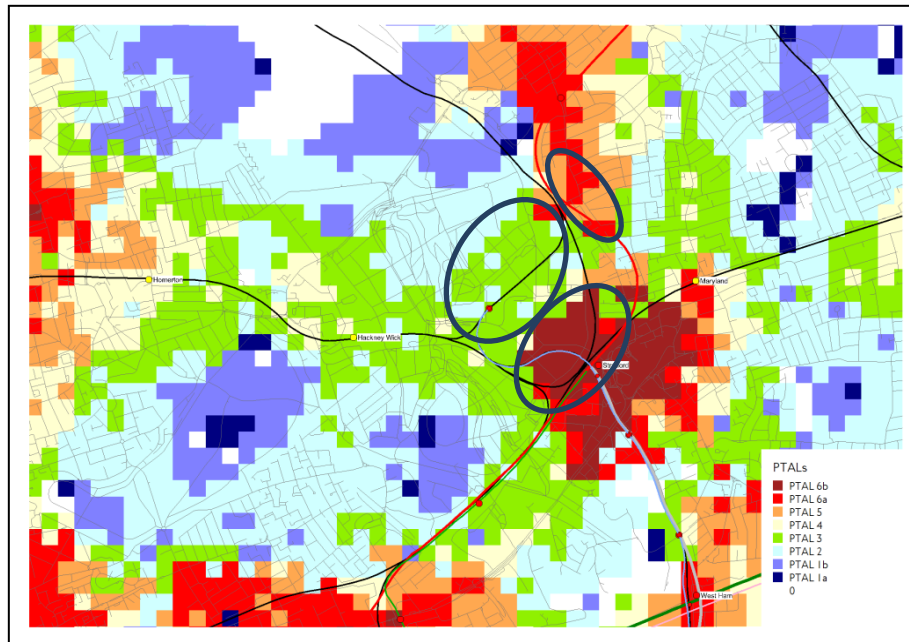
<sup>55</sup> Transport for London (2013) *Travel in London Report 5*

<sup>56</sup> LSE Public Policy Group (2013) *2012 London Olympics: The impact of the Olympics: making or breaking communities in East London* (Juliet Davis). Published in British Politics and Policy Blog.

<sup>57</sup> Transport for London (2011) *Travel in London – Report 4*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*

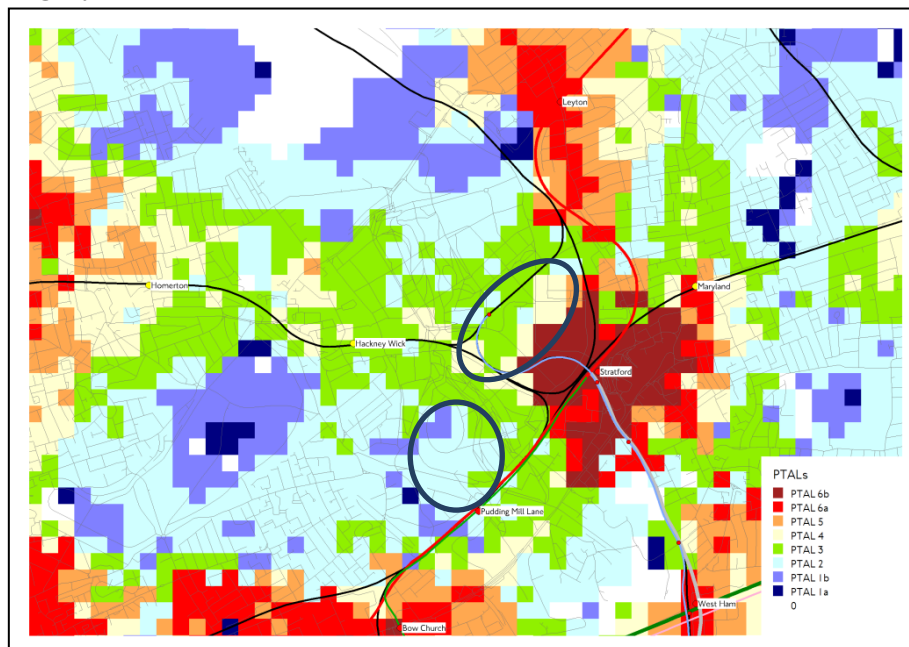
**Figure 2-6: Accessibility to public transport in the vicinity of the Olympic Park – Post-Games Transformation 2012-2014 onwards**



*Source: Transport for London*

Between 2012-2014 (Figure 2-6) and post 2014 (Figure 2-7) the changes are less significant and are primarily related to the further 'opening up' (including entrances, exits and pedestrian routes) and accessibility improvements resulting from the transformation of the Olympic Park (the change from green shading to pink, and from blue shading to light blue).

**Figure 2-7: Accessibility to public transport in the vicinity of the Olympic Park – Post Legacy Activities 2014 onwards**



*Source: Transport for London*

The significance of accessibility improvements were also identified in a case study undertaken by the Royal Borough of Greenwich<sup>59</sup> on the effects of the Woolwich DLR extension – a project brought forward as a result of the Games. Based on a longitudinal survey first undertaken in 2006 (before the extension opened) and followed up in 2010 (after it had been

<sup>59</sup> Royal Borough of Greenwich (no date) *A 2012 Legacy for Royal Greenwich*

operating for one year) it was apparent that respondents were more likely to access Woolwich Town Centre and a wide range of destinations north of the Thames in 2010 than they were in 2006. The survey also found that people were also using the service regularly to access opportunities including both jobs and universities. The overall popularity of this extension is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that *"over 5 million passenger journeys began or terminated at Woolwich Arsenal in [the] DLRs first year, over double what was expected"*.<sup>60</sup>

#### **(v) Transformation of the public realm**

To maximise the impact of the Olympic Park and to better integrate it into East London more widely, a programme of public realm improvements was delivered in and around the host boroughs. Between 2009 and 2012 the original five host boroughs<sup>61</sup>, implemented a joint programme of public realm capital schemes, valued at £190 million. The full programme comprised 71 projects, which were structured around 10 priority packages (Figure 2-8).

While much of this activity was part of larger and longer-term development schemes, the policy counterfactuals described in Report 3 of the meta-evaluation<sup>62</sup> (which were developed through a combination of stakeholder consultation and a review of publically available documents) suggest that they would most likely have been on a smaller scale or at a later date. With some projects, such as the live sites and walking routes, considered wholly additional and attributable to the Games.

<sup>60</sup> Royal Borough of Greenwich (no date) *A 2012 Legacy for Royal Greenwich*

<sup>61</sup> Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest

<sup>62</sup> See *Meta-Evaluation of the Impacts and Legacy of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games Report 3: Baseline and Counterfactual*

**Figure 2-8: Key public realm schemes and their counterfactual**

Site/investment	Description	Development in the absence of Games
Stratford town centre	Funded works include nearly £14 million of improvements to the town centre and access routes.	Existing, increased scale and brought forward – the Stratford Masterplan has been in development for 20 years. Improvements were planned by the borough of Newham, but would have been delivered later and on a smaller scale and probably without the major investment of undergrounding of power lines.
High Street 2012	This 6km route follows the A11, starting at Aldgate nearest central London and passing through Mile End, Bow through to Stratford.	Existing, brought forward and rebranded – the 2004 London Plan identified Whitechapel/Aldgate as an opportunity area. Bow is also mentioned as an opportunity area in the London Plan, as it is part of the Lower Lea Valley, so some public realm improvements would have been made, though unlikely to be branded in this way.
North East Fringe	Improvements to road interchanges, provision of walking and cycling routes and work at Leytonstone station is anticipated.	Existing, brought forward – regeneration at Walthamstow and Leyton was referred to in 2005 strategies and in the 2007 Walthamstow Masterplan, suggesting these areas were highlighted as regeneration priorities before the 2011 AAP was published for the area.
Hackney Wick and Fish Island	Environmental improvements, pedestrian access improvements at Hackney Wick and Homerton Station.	Existing, brought forward – the regeneration of Hackney Wick started in 1997 with a seven-year Single Regeneration Budget funded programme. This demonstrates a long-term commitment to the area prior to the decision to hold the Games in London.
Hackney Marshes	Environment and access improvements at South Marsh and East Marsh (though the latter will be used as a coach drop off point temporarily during the Games).	New, additional – prior to the announcement of the Games, there was little focus on the Marshes as an area for investment.
Live Sites and Town Squares	Live sites and town squares to be improved include Eltham, Woolwich, Shoreditch, Victoria Park, East Ham, Silvertown Quays and Walthamstow.	New, additional – this network or public screens would not have been delivered in the absence of the Games. Town centre sites would have been improved in line with borough strategies (detailed in the rest of this table).
Walking and Cycling Routes	The routes to receive investment include Cutty Sark to the O2, Woolwich Road, Regents Canal, Lea Valley, the Greenway, Romford Road, Lea Bridge Road.	New, additional – these improvements would have been unlikely in the absence of the Games. These are specifically designed to lead visitors to the Olympic Park area, so while upgrades to walking routes may have been an element of individual masterplan sites, it is unlikely they would have been in place as a network around the Lower Lea Valley.
Greenwich Riverside and Town Centre	The town centre will benefit from £13 million of investment to pedestrianise it, re-route traffic, provide cycle parking and improve public gardens.	Existing, brought forward – Greenwich Riverside is identified as an opportunity area in the London Plan and in the 2006 UDP. As a focus for development and within the remit of the LTGDC, it is likely public realm improvements would have been delivered in the absence of the Games.
ExCeL and Canning Town	Over £10 million will be invested to put in place foot bridges, improve station exteriors and increase the number of walking routes to the site.	Existing, brought forward – Canning Town and the area around the ExCeL Centre was highlighted as a focus for regeneration plans in Newham's Arc of Opportunity in the 2001 UDP, and the Canning Town AAP was adopted in 2002.
Interchanges	The transport interchanges to be improved include Hackney Central/Hackney Downs, Walthamstow Central and Leytonstone.	Existing, brought forward – much of the capital work undertaken by TfL would have taken place in future years, so has been speeded up as a result of the Games. More cosmetic enhancements have largely been driven by the Games.

It is apparent from Figure 2-8 above that the Games had an important catalytic effect in bringing forward a significant amount of public realm improvements, improvements that have undoubtedly made a positive contribution to the transformation of East London as a place. A report to the London Borough of Newham Regeneration and Employment Scrutiny

Commission noted that as a result of this activity and other similar improvements "*eyesore sites are now either developed, cleared or secured and improved to eliminate any blight to the surrounding areas*".<sup>63</sup>

#### (vi) Wider regeneration effects

In addition to the creation of the Park, and significant improvements to public transport and to the public realm it is also apparent from the available data and evaluation evidence, coupled with a number of consultations with key stakeholders, that East London has experienced a number of wider regeneration benefits and effects. The scale and nature of these benefits are best explored through the two lenses of: public and private-sector led investment; and change in property values.

#### Public and private-sector led investment

It is apparent through a range of sources that since 2003 and the decision to bid for a Games hosted in East London, East London has seen a significant amount of public and private-sector led investment, with a significant amount of activity still in the pipeline. Through its work for the host boroughs Oxford Economics<sup>64</sup> identified 17 public and private-sector led developments (in addition to those directly related to the Games and their legacy) that will provide the key economic development inputs. Together the combined impact of these developments (coupled with the developments directly related to the Games such as iCity and the Park itself) would see the host boroughs gaining an additional 190,400 jobs and £36 billion GVA above baseline levels in East London by 2030.

However, a key question for this evaluation is the extent to which these wider investments are in any way attributable to the Games. This is a complicated assessment to make not least because investment decisions are multi-faceted and based on a broad range of factors. It is an assessment that is also further complicated by:

- The global economic downturn that commenced in 2008 and the subsequent recession in the UK. For instance, a developer may have purchased land in East London prior to the award of the Games in 2005, but it is difficult to ever truly know whether, in the absence of the Games, they would have brought forward the development of that site in the same timescales or to the same scale; and
- The fact that 'planning' for a site does not constitute a firm commitment to develop it, as there are a range of factors that could prevent a site from being brought forward for development including a lack of finance and failure to secure planning permission on one hand, to the desire for a developer to land bank on the other;

Where possible the meta-evaluation team has tried to unpick this complicated counterfactual for a number of the most significant developments in and around the Olympic Park through both an examination of the evidence available and consultations with a number of key stakeholders, including the relevant local authority and the developer.

The investment made by Westfield in Stratford City – a site adjoining the Olympic Park – is perhaps the most significant private-sector led project in East London. It is also one where the evidence of the impact of the Games is strongest and the wider regeneration effects best illustrated. The Economic Impact Assessment of the Westfield Stratford City Development<sup>65</sup> clearly sets out the scale and nature of these effects on phase 1 of 'Zone 1' of this development. Zone 1 comprises two phases: Phase 1 included 1.9 million square feet of retail and leisure space – the "*largest urban shopping centre in Europe*" – which opened in September 2011. Phase 2 comprises a significant amount of commercial space, along with some leisure, and is expected to be fully completed by 2020.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> London Borough of Newham (no date) *Regeneration and Employment Scrutiny Commission*

<sup>64</sup> Oxford Economic/Growth Boroughs (2013) *Oxford Economics 2030 Forecast for London's Growth Boroughs – Summary*

<sup>65</sup> Volterra (2011) *Westfield Stratford City: The Inheritance before the Games*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*

It is apparent through the economic impact of Westfield Stratford City, the LDA evaluation and consultations undertaken as part of the meta-evaluation with Westfield that Westfield intended to develop the shopping centre at Stratford City (Phase 1) prior to the formal launch of London's bid for the 2012 Games.<sup>67</sup> However, what is also apparent through all three sources of evidence is that in reality the delivery of Phase 1 was "*made possible by the infrastructure investment underpinning the Olympic Games*"<sup>68</sup> – investment that the Economic Impact study estimates to be in the order of £500-£600 million.<sup>69</sup> It should be noted that in addition to this, the private sector investment from Westfield was around £1.43 billion for the retail elements of Phase 1 plus a further £180 million for the hotel and office elements in Phase 2.

In particular, the LDA evaluation notes two explicit ways in which the investment in the 2012 Games supported this development:<sup>70</sup>

- The Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs) the LDA implemented as part of its acquisition process benefited Westfield Stratford City by also including land in the area which Westfield was seeking to develop. This enabled economies to be realised and also ensured that private sector investment (through Westfield) was levered in to cover some of the costs associated with the CPOs; and
- The impact of the economic downturn on the Westfield Stratford City development was minimised "*largely because the development was so closely linked to the delivery of the Olympic Village*" and as such "*it was protected by the Government under its commitments to the 2012 Games*". This ensured that the necessary momentum remained while the required infrastructure was completed.

As a direct result of this Games-related investment, the Economic Impact study (in direct consultation with Westfield) estimate that it enabled Westfield to "*bring forward [the] development around 5-7 years earlier than would otherwise have occurred*". The study assumes this means that the economic impact<sup>71</sup> arising out of the development is being delivered five to seven years earlier as a result of the 2012 Games. The Economic Impact study put the value on delivering these benefits earlier at between £1.1 billion and £1.6 billion to the London economy, if five years earlier; and between £1.5 billion and £2.2 billion if seven years earlier. By evaluating this impact against the relevant public sector spend of £0.6 billion on infrastructure underpinning the Games, the Economic Impact study concludes that it represents very or extremely good value for money (depending on which figure is used).<sup>72</sup> However, this positive outcome does need to be viewed within a wider East London context, particularly the potential for increased competition for high streets and town centres across the area as a direct result of a successful Westfield Stratford City.

The view of consultees was that the Games was also likely to have had a catalytic impact on Lend Lease's investment in the further development of the Stratford City site – the International Quarter – which will provide 4 million sq ft of workspace, a new hotel, 52,000 sq ft of shops and restaurants and 350 new homes. Consultees were of the opinion that because this development was always part of the wider Stratford City site it will have benefited from the Games in a similar, but less direct way, to the Westfield development. In particular, the development of the Lend Lease site was thought to have been made "*easier*" as a result of the

<sup>67</sup> Volterra (2011) *Westfield Stratford City: The Inheritance before the Games*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>69</sup> Volterra based this estimate on historical estimates of both infrastructure items required to deliver the site and Section 106 obligations across Zones 1 to 7 of the Stratford City outline planning permission. Research by the meta-evaluation team directly with Westfield suggest that the public sector infrastructure investment (channelled through the ODA) may have been as low as £200 million.

<sup>70</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix A Olympic Park & Lower Lea Legacy/Land Delivery*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>71</sup> Volterra estimate that the construction of Phase 1 created the equivalent of 10,400-11,900 job years and generate earnings of between £370 million and £390 million. It also estimated that the operation of Phase 1 would create the equivalent of 10,000 permanent jobs – with a head count as high as 14,100 – through its retail, leisure and commercial operations, which could generate between £165 million and £215 million in annual earnings from September 2011 onwards.

<sup>72</sup> Volterra (2011) *Westfield Stratford City: The Inheritance before the Games*



Games because it is part of a much wider development and transformation process. As such it was thought to have been insulated from any wider concerns that may have otherwise existed around the commercial viability of this type of mixed used development.

Moving beyond the immediate vicinity of the Park and the picture around the extent to which the Games have influenced wider public and private sector investment becomes more blurry. A good example of this is the Strand East project in Stratford being developed by Inter IKEA Group. This mixed use development on a 10.1 hectare site will provide up to 1,200 new homes (39% of which will be family housing), a 350 bed hotel, 600,000 sq ft of commercial space including flexible work and exhibition space for creative industries. The decision by Inter IKEA to invest in the site was taken in 2009 and the view of consultees was that while the Olympics was part of the thinking in terms of the investment decision it was the site itself with its heritage and waterfront that was seen as a real opportunity. As such, it is hard to separate out the influence of the Games.

For other opportunities, such as the regeneration of Canning Town centre, the expansion of the ExCeL Exhibition centre and the regeneration of Woolwich Town Centre, consultees were more certain that the Games had no influence. These were long standing projects that they felt would have been implemented in the absence of the Games and were not undertaken any sooner as a result of the Games. In fact consultees were of the opinion that the further you move away from Stratford, the less apparent the Olympic effect is.

An examination of the private sector developers currently active in and around the Park makes it clear that, whether influenced by the Games or not, the area is attracting investment from an international market:

- Lend Lease (the International Quarter) – Australia
- Inter IKEA (Stand East) – Sweden
- Westfield (Shopping Centre) – Australia
- Emirates (Cable car) – United Arab Emirates
- ExCeL Exhibition Centre – Abu Dhabi
- Qatari Diar/Delancy (Athletes' Village) – Qatar/UK
- Siemens (Crystal sustainable technology centre) – German

Another interesting angle related to the private and public sector investment story, is the interest in the area from higher education institutions. The area is already home to the University of East London (UEL). But more recently Birkbeck, in a joint venture with UEL, will open a new campus in Stratford's cultural quarter in the autumn of 2013. It was a decision that was felt to not have been directly made because of the Games, but given the Games' influence on transforming Stratford (with the Park, transport improvements and Westfield in particular) and making it a first class location, the Games have clearly had a notable indirect influence.

In addition Loughborough University has also recently taken space in iCITY (see below), and again the influence of the Games appears to be indirect rather than direct. Through consultation with Loughborough University it was apparent that the attraction of London as a campus location and particularly its proximity to blue chip companies and government, coupled with the desire to broaden the University's appeal to students were more of a direct influence on the decision to move to London than being located on the Olympic Park or associated with the Games. As an indirect influence, the Olympic Park and the iCITY location – which would not have existed in this part of London without the Games – was felt to provide a good fit with the University.

While interest from higher education institutions cannot be directly attributed to the Games, in the words of one consultee it can certainly be considered to have been *"inspired by the Games"* and the way in which the Games, particularly through the development of the Park and the investment in transport, have transformed this part of East London. Therefore, given the



counterfactual position noted above and the additionality of the Games in transforming Stratford as a place, the indirect influence of the Games is obvious. Indeed it could be argued that this influence is actually a direct one. While the Games may not have been a direct factor in the decision making process of an individual higher education institution, using the Games as a catalyst to transform East London so that it attracted wider public and private sector investment was a key part of the original rationale for hosting the Games in this part of London.

### **Change in property values**

An analysis of commercial and residential property values was undertaken for the meta-evaluation to understand the impact of the 2012 Games on property values – both residential and commercial – in East London (see Annex A for a more detailed summary of the headline findings of the specific data analysis undertaken by the meta-evaluation team). This analysis, coupled with wider evidence and data has provided interesting insight around the extent to which the Games have had an impact on property values.

#### Commercial property values

IPD commercial property market data was analysed and this showed that between 2003<sup>73</sup> and 2005 rental value growth<sup>74</sup> was relatively flat in all five of the host boroughs for which data was available.<sup>75</sup> Hackney and Tower Hamlets saw very minor decreases while Barking and Dagenham, Newham and Greenwich saw minor increases – all within 1 to 4 percentage points.

However, from 2006 onwards rental value growth rates varied quite significantly between the five boroughs (Figure 2-9):

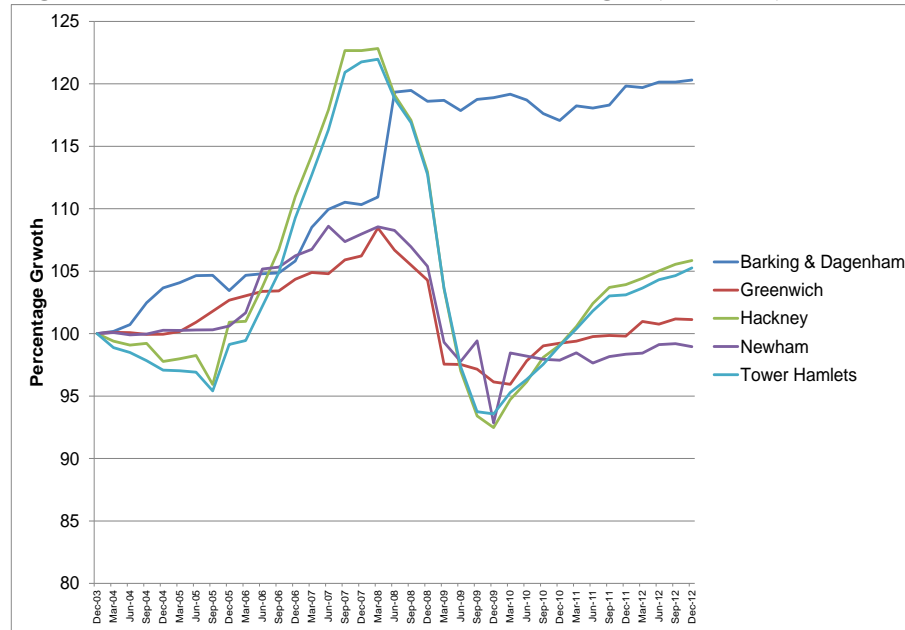
- In Newham, rental values grew by around 5% to 8% on 2003 levels between 2005 and 2008 before falling to below 2003 from early 2009 and have remained fairly steady at around 1% to 2% lower than 2003 to the end of 2012;
- In Tower Hamlets and Hackney (which followed a remarkably similar trajectory) rental values rose steadily and fairly quickly between 2005 and 2007, peaking at a high of about 22% higher than 2003 values in late 2007, early 2008. Rental values then fell almost as steadily and quickly between mid-2008 and early 2010 (reaching a low of 7% below 2003 values) before gradually increasing to about 5% higher than 2003 values in 2012;
- In Barking and Dagenham rental value growth has generally risen slowly but steadily between 2003 and 2012, peaking at 20.3% higher than 2003 values at the end of 2012; and
- In Greenwich rental values rose slowly between 2003 and early 2008, peaking at 8% higher than 2003. Between 2008 and 2010 it then fell to 4% below 2003 levels, before increasing slowly to 5.3% higher than 2003 values by the end of 2012.

<sup>73</sup> 2003 was selected as the baseline as this was the year that the UK Government committed to bidding for the 2012 Games.

<sup>74</sup> Rental growth is calculated as the increase in the open market rental value, expressed as a percentage of open market rental value at the beginning of the period concerned.

<sup>75</sup> Due to the small sample size that data was not available for Waltham Forest.

**Figure 2-9: Rental Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs (2003=100)**



Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

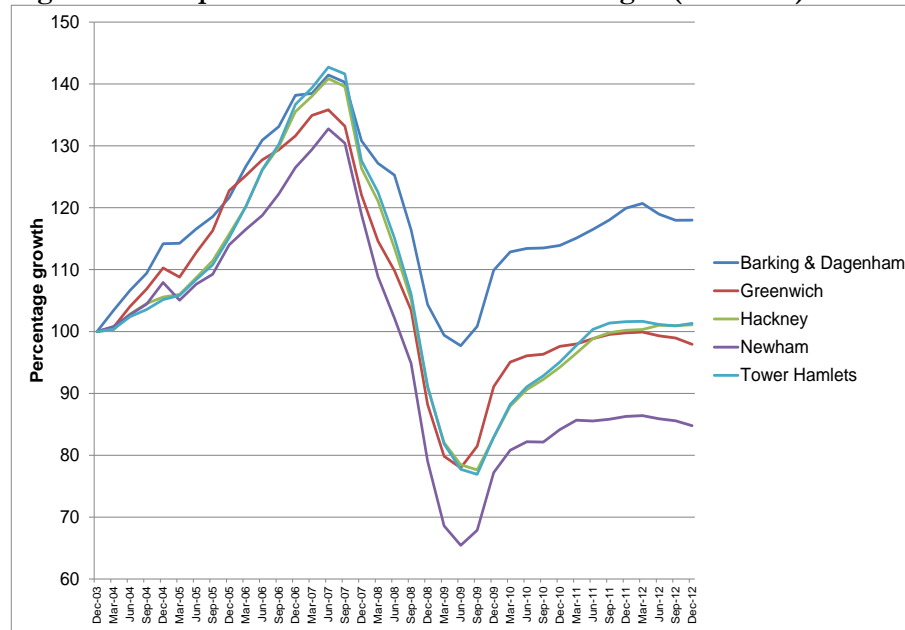
Another measure of commercial property value, capital growth<sup>76</sup>, shows a slightly different picture than rental growth. Looking at Figure 2-10, it is apparent that between 2003 and mid-2007 the individual host boroughs experienced a similar capital value growth trajectory and at a similar rate. In Tower Hamlets capital values peaked in July 2007, at 42.7% higher than 2003. In Barking and Dagenham it was 41% higher, Hackney 40.9% higher, Greenwich 35.8% higher and Newham 32.7% higher.

From this peak, capital values then fell between mid-2007 and mid-2009. However, whilst capital values fell across all of the host boroughs, it did so at notably different rates. Capital values in Newham reached a low point of 34.6% lower than in 2003. This was lower than Tower Hamlets, Greenwich and Hackney which fell to similar levels – 23.1%, 22% and 21.5% lower than 2003, respectively. However, Barking and Dagenham only fell to 2.3% below the 2003 level.

Between mid-2009 and the end of 2012 capital values did begin to rise again across all of the host boroughs, albeit slowly and at different rates. By the end of 2012 only Barking and Dagenham had seen any notable growth in capital values growth compared to 2003 (18% higher). Hackney (1.1% higher) and Tower Hamlets (1.3% higher) saw a very minor increase, while in Greenwich and Newham capital values were actually below the 2003 level (2.1% lower and 15.2% lower respectively).

<sup>76</sup> Capital growth is the change in capital value, less any capital expenditure incurred, expressed as a percentage of capital employed over the period concerned.

**Figure 2-10: Capital Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs (2003=100)**

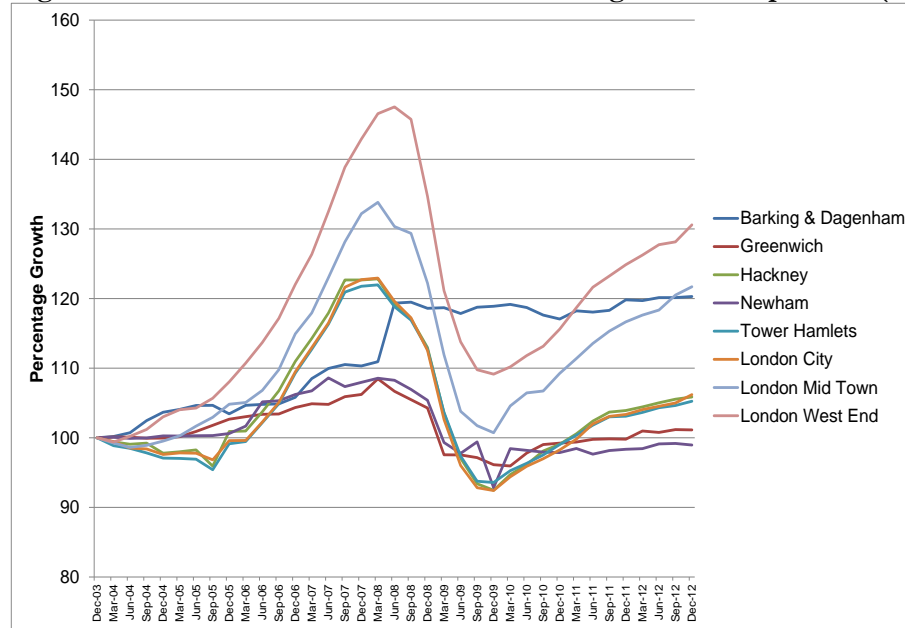


Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

However, as with the private-sector led investment discussion above, it is necessary to explore whether these changes in values are in any way attributable to the Games. This is a complicated assessment, as commercial land values are driven by a number of underlying factors. Therefore, in order to explore whether either of these increases are a result of the Games a difference-in-difference approach was used to compare the average increase in value in East London with other comparator areas. Figure 2-11 and Figure 2-12 below show the data for the host boroughs compared to three comparator areas of London City, London Mid Town and London West End. While not providing a 'like for like' comparison these areas had the advantage of being established commercial areas and therefore provided a better 'benchmark' against which to compare the emerging commercial market in East London.

As can be seen from Figure 2-11 below, the rate and trajectory of rental value growth in Tower Hamlets and Hackney is mirrored by the three comparator areas, with the City mirroring it almost exactly. Rental value growth in Mid Town and West End is however higher than all other areas. In fact only Barking and Dagenham has shown a similar rate of growth to these two comparators, albeit following a different trajectory (slow and steady growth as opposed to peaks and troughs as was the case in the comparator areas). These findings would suggest that there appears to be no 'London 2012 effect' on commercial rental values.

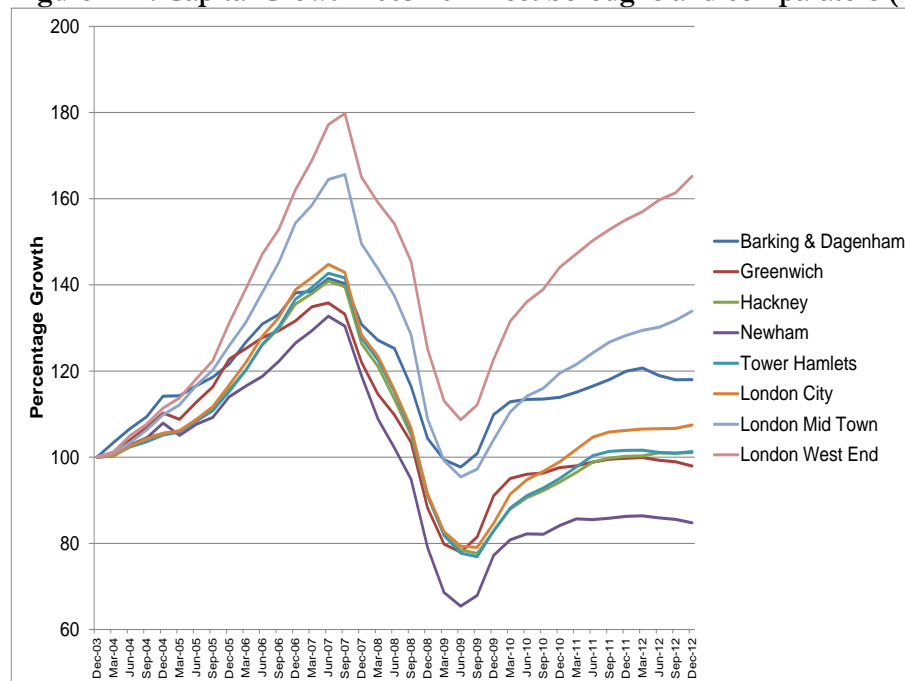
**Figure 2-11: Rental Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs and comparators (2003=100)**



Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

It is instantly apparent from Figure 2-12, that in terms of capital value growth, there appears to be no 'London 2012 effect' as the rate and trajectory of change for the host boroughs closely mirrors that of the three comparator areas, albeit Mid Town and West End again have a higher rate of growth. Mid Town capital values peaked at 65.6% higher than 2003 in 2007 and had returned to 33.9% higher than 2003 by the end of 2012. While in the West End capital values peaked at 79.8% higher than 2003 in 2007 and was 65.2% higher than 2003 by the end of 2012, capital values in this comparator also never dropped below 2003 levels.

**Figure 2-12: Capital Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs and comparators (2003=100)**



Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

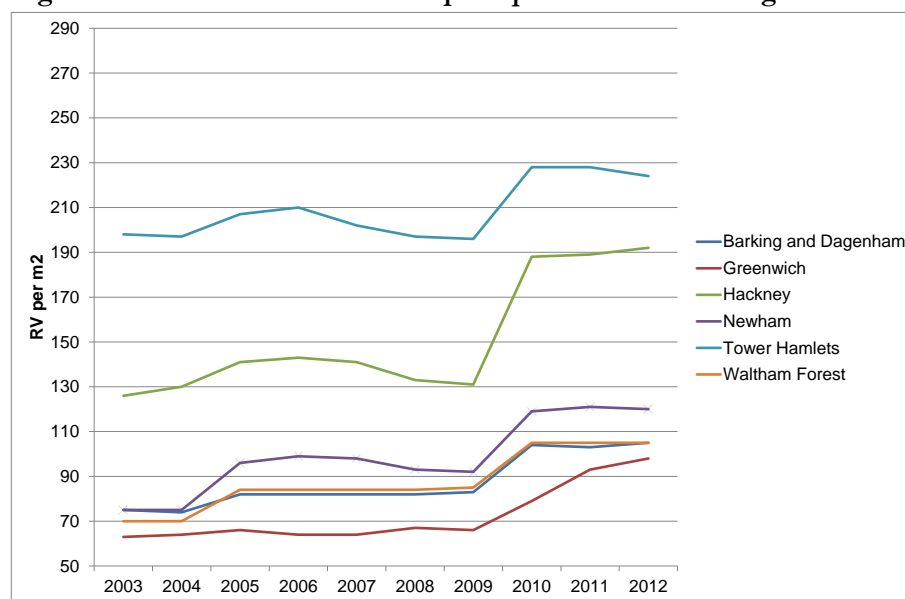
A more comprehensive and detailed analysis that is beyond the scope and budget available for this study would, however, be required to fully understand whether there was any Games effect on commercial property values. It is also something that may appear over time as further development of commercial land takes place in East London.

### Commercial property rateable values

The Valuation Office Agency (VOA) has recently published some experimental statistics which provide time series data on the rateable value per square metre for both office and retail property. Looking first at the office data for the six host boroughs it is apparent that all six boroughs broadly follow a similar growth trajectory, albeit at different rates and levels (Figure 2-13):

- Newham (60% growth between 2003 and 2012 and a rateable value of £120 per sq m in 2012), Waltham Forest (50% growth and £105 per sq m), Barking and Dagenham (40% growth and £105 per sq m) and Greenwich (56% growth and £98 per sq m) are similar;
- Hackney experiences a similar growth rate as these four boroughs – 52% between 2003 and 2012 – but it has a notably higher rateable value of £192 per sq m in 2012; and
- Tower Hamlets had the lowest growth rate – 13% between 2003 and 2012 – but it has the highest rateable value by some margin, £224 per sq m in 2012.

**Figure 2-13: Office Rateable Value per sq metre – host boroughs**

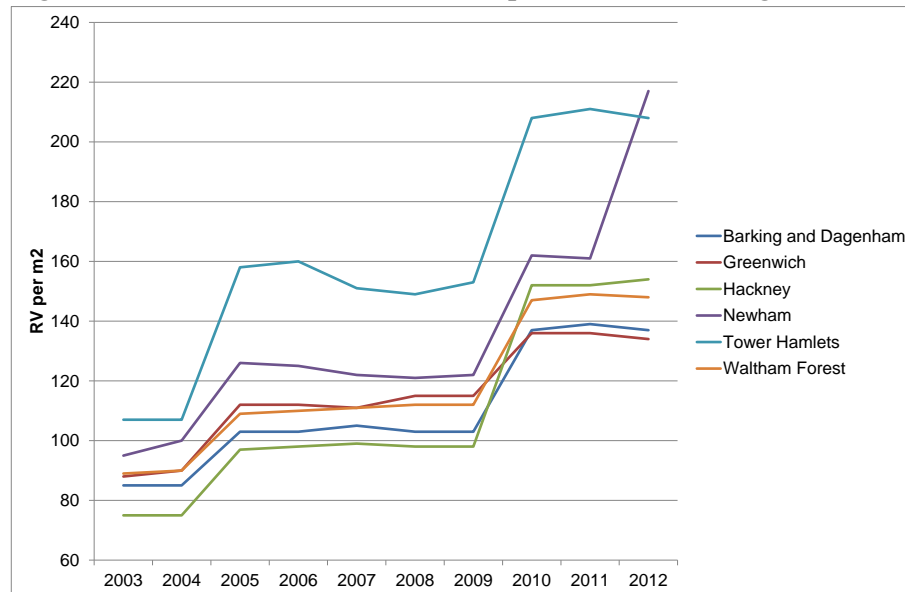


Source: Valuation Office Agency Business Floorspace Experimental Statistics

The retail data for the six host boroughs shows a more varied picture across the six boroughs (Figure 2-14):

- Newham has experienced both the highest growth between 2003 and 2012, 128%, and also has the highest rateable value, £217 per sq m with significant growth occurring between 2011 and 2012, and most likely driven by the opening of Westfield Stratford City in late 2011;
- Tower Hamlets has the next highest rateable value at £208 per sq m in 2012 having experienced 94% growth between 2003 and 2012;
- Hackney and Waltham Forest have similar rateable values at £154 per sq m and £148 per sq m respectively, although Hackney has grown faster since 2003, 105% compared to 66%; and
- Greenwich and Barking and Dagenham also have similar rateable values and have experienced similar growth rates - £134 per sq m and 52% growth and £137 per sq m and 61% growth respectively.

**Figure 2-14: Retail Rateable Value per sq metre – host boroughs**

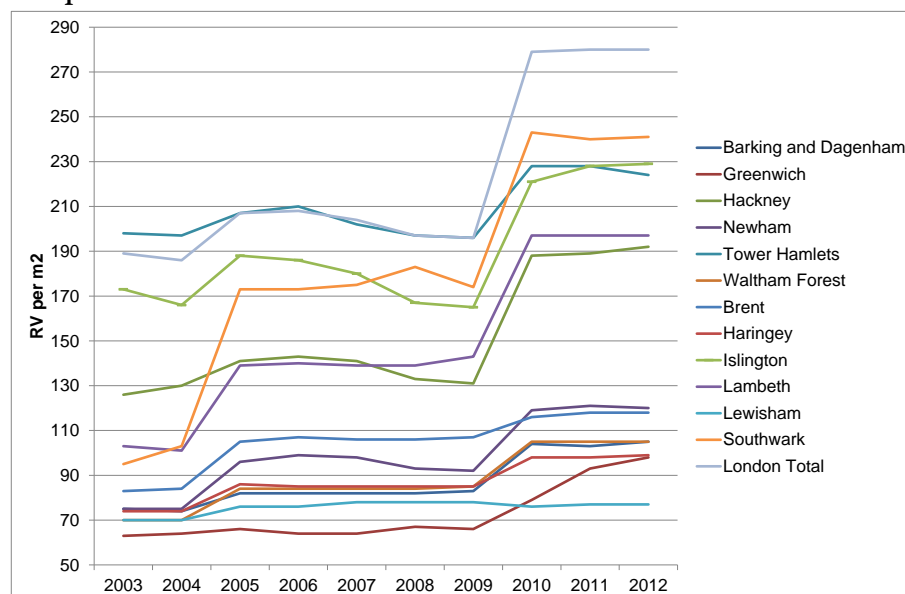


Source: Valuation Office Agency Business Floorspace Experimental Statistics

Using a difference-in-difference approach that compares the host boroughs to other similar London boroughs it is possible to explore whether these changes in rateable values are in any way attributable to the Games. The selection of the London borough comparators for this analysis was based on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) listing which ranks local authorities by their level of deprivation. Under this method, the boroughs which most closely match the six host boroughs (on the basis of rank of average IMD score) were Brent, Haringey, Islington, Lambeth, Lewisham and Southwark.

It is apparent from Figure 2-15 that there appears to be little or no 'London 2012 effect' on office rateable values. London and the comparator areas all follow a similar growth trajectory and for each host borough it appears that one or more of the comparator boroughs has matched both the rate of growth and the overall rateable value per sq m (see Lambeth and Hackney or Waltham Forest and Haringey for example).

**Figure 2-15: Office Rateable Value per sq metre – host boroughs, London and comparator areas**

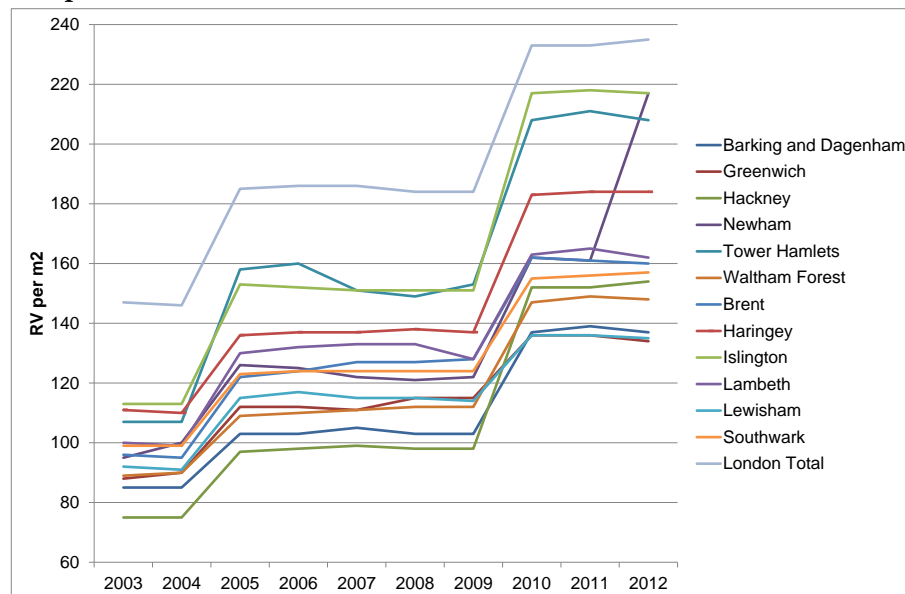


Source: Valuation Office Agency Business Floorspace Experimental Statistics

In terms of retail rateable values (Figure 2-16) a similar conclusion to office rateable values can be drawn as London and the comparator areas tend to follow a similar growth trajectory (see Tower Hamlets and Islington or Hackney and Southwark) with the exception of Newham.

Newham's growth in retail rateable value per sq m between 2011 and 2012 has taken it away from the boroughs that had experienced a similar rate and level of growth both within the host boroughs and the comparators, and brought it in line with Islington and Tower Hamlets the two highest in terms of rateable value per sq m. As noted above this growth is most likely to be largely attributable to Westfield Stratford City. Therefore, given the conclusions around the catalytic role of the Games in bringing forward Westfield Stratford City by between five and seven years, it is feasible to conclude that this growth in retail rateable value per sq m in Newham can also be attributed to the Games.

**Figure 2-16: Retail Rateable Value per sq metre – host boroughs, London and comparator areas**



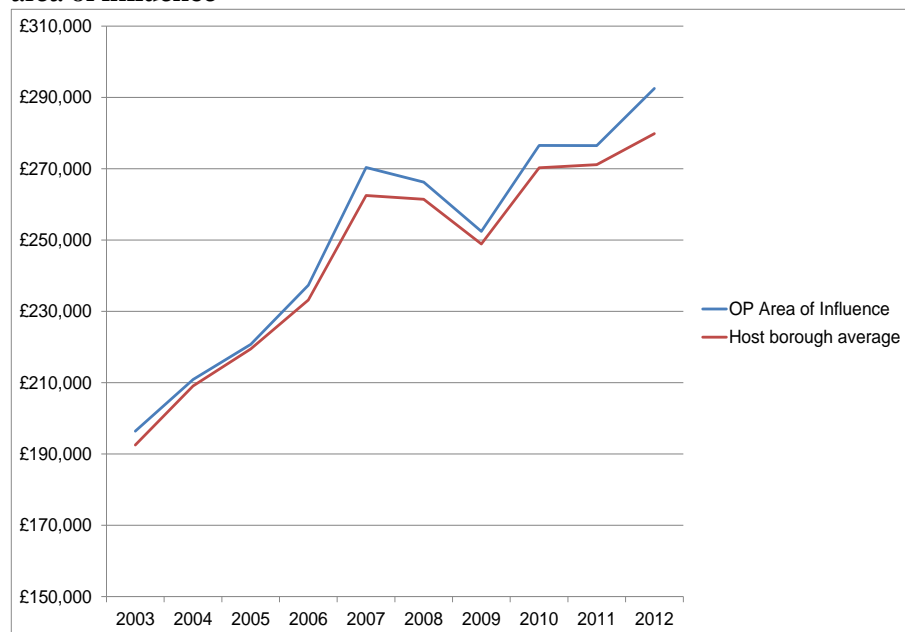
Source: Valuation Office Agency Business Floorspace Experimental Statistics

### Residential property values

To understand the pattern of change in residential property values, an analysis of Land Registry house price data was undertaken. This showed that between 2003 and 2012 average house prices in the six host borough increased by 45%, and in the Olympic Park area of influence (two kilometre boundary around the Olympic Park) they increased by 49%. Between 2005 and 2012 average house prices grew by 28% in the host boroughs and 33% in the Olympic Park area of influence.

The general pattern of growth has been a steady increase between 2003 and 2007 before falling in 2008-09 as a result of the UK recession and global financial crisis, followed by a subsequent recovery and further growth between 2010 and 2012 (Figure 2-17).

**Figure 2-17: Average house price growth 2003-2012 host boroughs and Olympic Park area of influence**



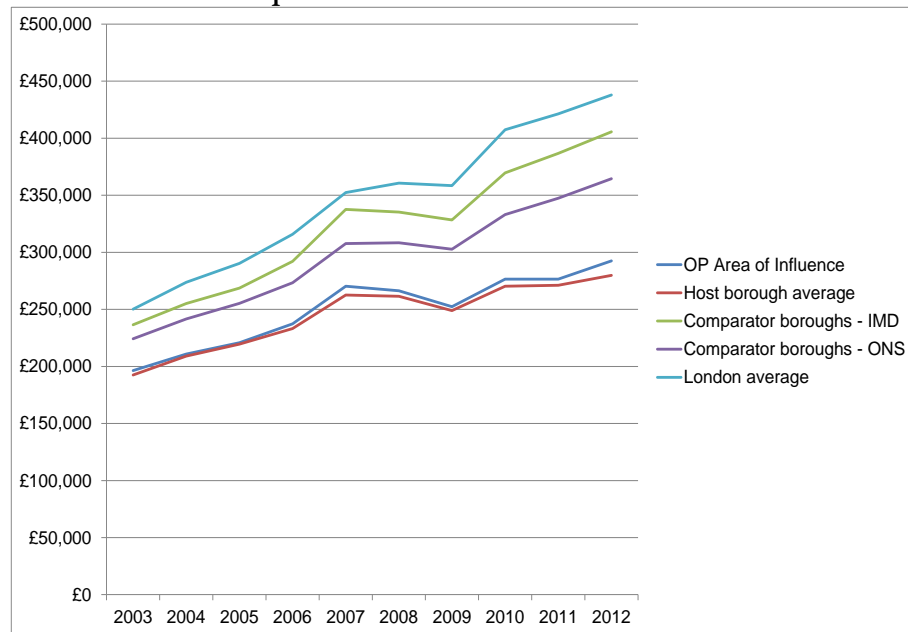
Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

In order to explore whether these changes in values are in any way attributable to the Games, a difference-in-difference approach was used to compare the average increase in value in East London with other comparator areas. The selection of the London borough comparators for this analysis was based on two sources. First, the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) listing as noted above and secondly, the ONS output area classification measure was used. This categorises local authority areas according to an indicator set based on individual and area-based indicators. Using this approach, the top six comparator boroughs were Enfield, Haringey, Brent, Ealing, Southwark and Croydon.

Based on this comparator analysis, there appears to be little or no 'London 2012 effect' on residential property prices to date. Figure 2-18 and Figure 2-19 show that growth rates in the Olympic Park area of influence and the host boroughs follow a very similar growth trajectory to the comparators, only at a lower rate. Average residential property prices across London as a whole grew by 75% between 2003 and 2012, while in the IMD comparator boroughs they grew by 72% and across the ONS comparator boroughs they grew by 63% – all notably above the host borough average of 45%.

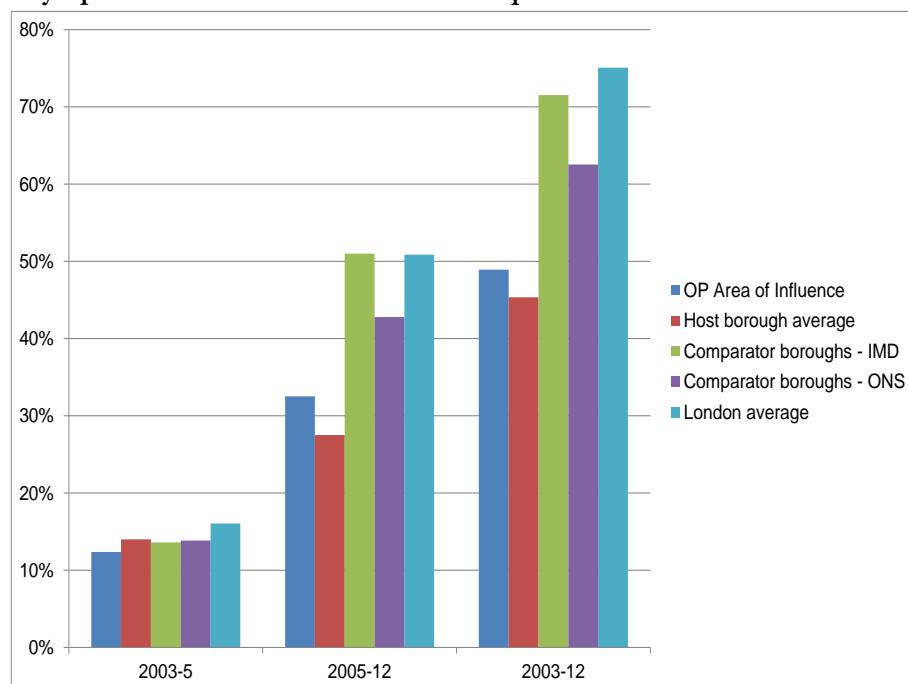


**Figure 2-18: Average house price growth 2003-2012 host boroughs, Olympic Park area of influence and comparator areas**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

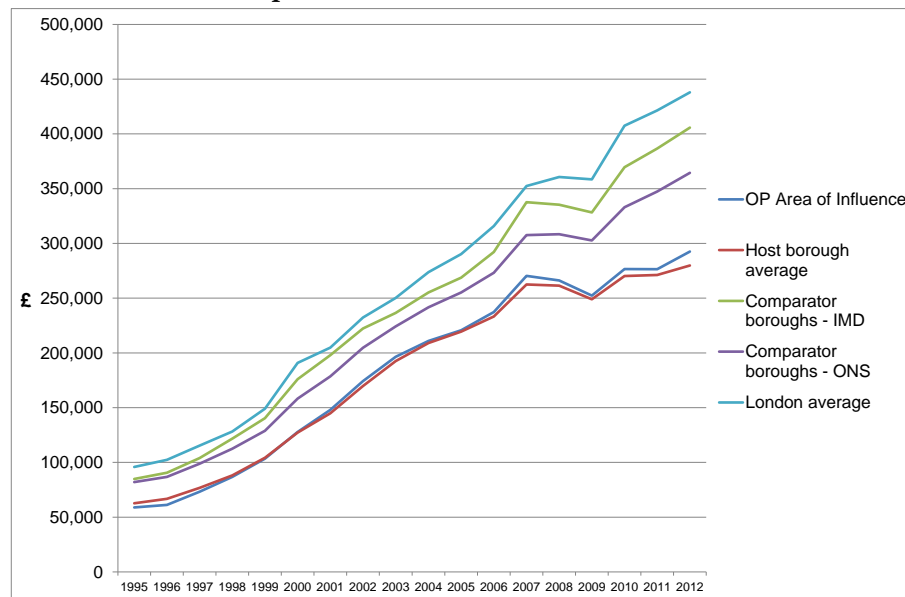
**Figure 2-19: Average house price growth (% change) 2003-2012 host boroughs, Olympic Park area of influence and comparator areas**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

This finding is also true when looking at the data over a longer time period: 1995 to 2012. Figure 2-20 reinforces the pattern noted above of the host boroughs following a similar growth trajectory to the comparators but at a lower rate. This would also suggest that there was little or no 'speculator effect' with investors purchasing property based on the rumours of a possible bid prior to the decision to bid in 2003.

**Figure 2-20: Average house price growth 2003-2012 host boroughs, Olympic Park area of influence and comparator areas**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

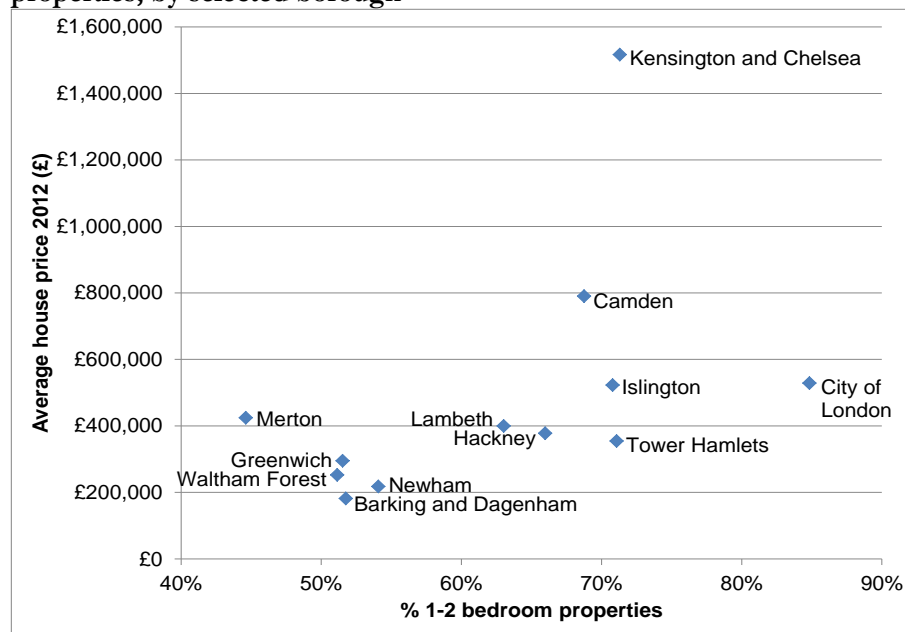
In some ways a comparison with the London average is not entirely useful, as London's average price is significantly inflated by a small number of boroughs. For example, average prices in Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea in 2012 were £1.1 million and £1.5 million, respectively, and between 2003 and 2012 had grown by 143% and 133%, respectively. It is a scale that clearly distorts the London average. For previous Games, comparisons were often made between prices in the host city and those for the country as a whole; however, due to the unique character of London's residential property market relative to the rest of the UK, such a comparison would be of little value in this instance.

One possible explanation for the variation in prices is the size of properties in the host boroughs, with the hypothesis being that a significant number of one and two bedroom properties notably reduces the average. It is apparent from Figure 2-21, that this hypothesis is false. In terms of the host boroughs and comparators, Islington has the highest average house price (£522,744) of all the comparator boroughs in 2012 but also the highest proportion of one or two bedroom properties (71%<sup>77</sup>). Barking and Dagenham at the other end of the scale has the lowest average house price (£181,717) but has an average (compared to London) proportion of one or two bedroom properties (52%). Both Tower Hamlets and Hackney have higher proportions of one or two bedroom properties (71% and 66% respectively) and both have notably higher average house prices (£354,420 and £377,754 respectively).

In fact there appears to be no consistent pattern across London. Kensington and Chelsea, has the highest average house price of all the London boroughs in 2012 (£1,516,772) and also has the third highest proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties in London (71%). Merton has an average house price in 2012 of £424,446 but a lower proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties (45%) whereas the City of London, which has an average house price of £528,501, has the highest proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties out of all of the London boroughs (85%).

<sup>77</sup> Census 2011

**Figure 2-21: Average house price (2003-2012) against percentage of 1-2 bedroom properties, by selected borough**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

In considering these findings it should however be noted that in contrast to what is noted above an academic study published in Urban Studies<sup>78</sup>, which explored the impact of the London Olympics announcement on property prices, found that London's successful bid to host the 2012 Games did "*seem to have a substantial impact on property values*". Using a hedonic model<sup>79</sup> which seeks to take account of a range of underlying characteristics<sup>80</sup> (which are not accounted for in a difference-in-difference approach), the study found that the successful Games bid increased property prices in the five host boroughs of Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest, on average by 2.1% between 7 July 2005 (and the decision to award the Games to London) and March 2007, although if Greenwich is removed this figure actually rises to 3.3%. This increase is estimated to have increased the total value of residential properties in the host boroughs by £1.4 billion. A similar investigation based on three-mile radius rings, rather than borough boundaries, suggests that the greatest impact on property prices is within the three mile radius from the main Olympic Stadium, where property sold for 5% more between 2005 and 2007.<sup>81</sup> Given that the study used data for only the two year period between 2005 and 2007, it is not possible to know whether these findings would still hold true for the period 2005 to 2012.

In considering these findings it should be noted that the view of a number of stakeholders consulted with as part of the met-evaluation was that much of the impact on house prices may still to be realised. The view was that the re-opening of the Park, the increase in marketing in relation to the new communities and homes on the Park and the opening of Chobham Manor school may all significantly impact upon property prices. As such significant further analysis of the impact on the Games on residential property prices is required. It is suggested that this analysis not be undertaken for a number of years in order to allow for all potential impacts to have accrued.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The 2012 Games have made a significant contribution to the physical transformation of East London. Based on the evidence available it can be concluded that, while there were plans in

<sup>78</sup> Georgios Kavetsos (2012) *The Impact of the London Olympics Announcement on Property Prices*. Published in Urban Studies Issue 49

<sup>79</sup> Replicating a model similar to this was beyond the scope and budget available for the meta-evaluation.

<sup>80</sup> This includes neighbourhood characteristics such as distance from tube station, crime rates and school provision.

<sup>81</sup> Georgios Kavetsos (2012) *The Impact of the London Olympics Announcement on Property Prices*; Published in Urban Studies Issue 49

place for the regeneration of Stratford Town Centre, without the Games the largely derelict, polluted and inaccessible site would have remained for the foreseeable future, the new Olympic venues would not have been constructed and the Olympic Park would not have been created. Coupled with this the hosting of the Games has had a catalytic effect on a number of significant transport improvements at Stratford station and on the North London Line, to name but two, as well as a number of public realm improvements throughout the host boroughs.

Furthermore, the Games have also leveraged wider private sector benefits, the most notable of which is the role that the Games played in bringing forward the Westfield Development at Stratford City – and all the employment and economic benefits associated with it – by between five and seven years. The Games have also played an important catalytic and/ or influencing role on a number of others including Lend Lease's investment in the International Quarter and the Strand East project in Stratford being developed by Inter IKEA, although it has not been possible to quantify the nature of the role played by the Games. However, this activity has not yet had any notable impact on commercial or residential property prices in East London.

It also appears that the Games have also played an indirect role in attracting higher education institutions to the area. Birkbeck (with a new campus in Stratford's cultural quarter) and Loughborough University (with a new campus to be located in iCITY) both state that the decision to locate in East London was not made directly because of the Games. But, given the Games' influence on transforming Stratford and making it a first class location, the Games have clearly had a notable indirect influence.

As a result of this activity, parts of East London, particularly those around Stratford already look, feel and function differently to how they did before London was awarded the right to host the Games, and perhaps more significantly to how they would have done had London not been awarded the right to host the Games.

However, while change is already apparent, the true legacy impact of the Olympic Park and its associated venues will not be fully realised for a number of years. One of the over-riding conclusions from the LDA's 2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study was that with regard to the Olympic Park and Lower Lea legacy, it is simply too early at this stage to assess whether the scale and quality of the activities are reasonable, whether they will be effective or what impact they will have in transforming East London over and above what would have been achieved anyway. It is a conclusion that undoubtedly holds true for this sub theme as a whole and the different organisations involved in implementing activities.

## 3 Transforming Communities

The aim for this legacy sub-theme is that community transformation will occur through the construction of new homes, many of which will be affordable, and provision of new sport, leisure, education and health facilities that will meet the needs of residents, businesses and elite sport. It is however a sub-theme that not only seeks to 'provide' for the community but to actively engage and work with residents in shaping the nature of the community. An approach which it is hoped will in turn drive increased levels of satisfaction, participation and cohesion.

### 3.1 Legacy programmes and initiatives

Given the scale of London 2012, and the plans in place for legacy, the Games provided an opportunity to shape the communities in East London by bringing forward a higher quality and quantity of new homes, with a particular focus on the provision of both family and affordable housing. It was an objective driven by the need to increase housing capacity in East London but also to achieve a step-change in the quality of housing available to local residents. Alongside this the Games also provided an opportunity to deliver a range of high quality and easily accessible social and community facilities which could benefit both the existing communities in East London as well as the new ones that would exist in the future.

From the outset there was a commitment to ensure that local communities were involved in the legacy plans for the Olympic Park. It is a commitment that has been largely driven by the rationale that in safe, successful and sustainable places, residents have a sense of ownership of the community. Therefore, there has been a strong desire to ensure that in East London the local community feels engaged and part of the process as the regeneration and construction work changes the environment around them, building on existing feelings of ownership and fostering further involvement.

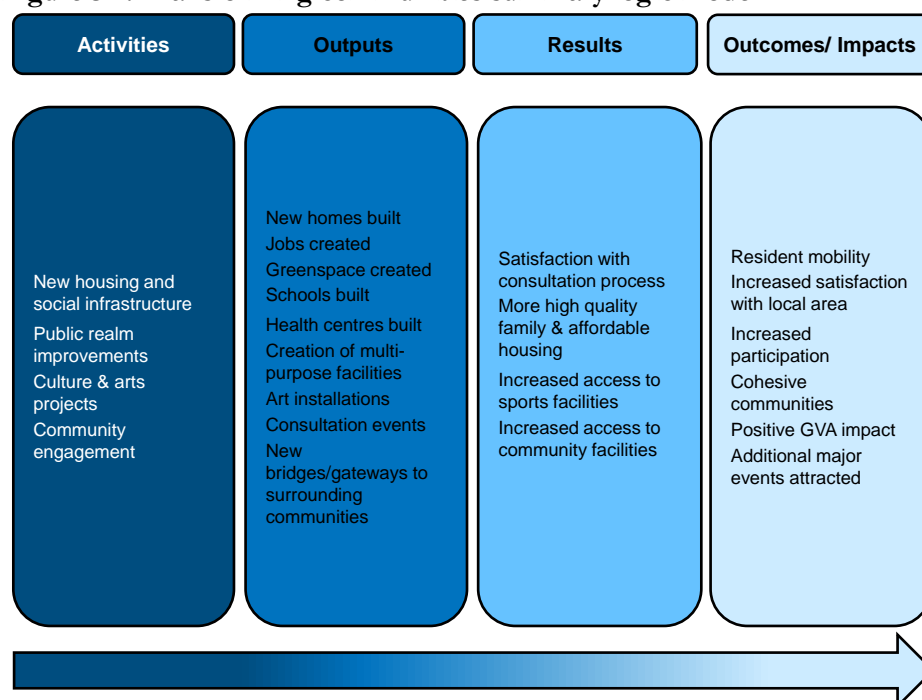
At the heart of these objectives lies a simple desire to increase the levels of resident satisfaction with their area as a place to live and the services on offer, and to enhance and create cohesive communities where people of different backgrounds get along with each other.

As with the transforming place sub theme, the delivery transformed communities centred on a small number of significant programmes of activity, including:

- The provision of new housing and social infrastructure on the Olympic Park. This programme is being led by the LLDC in its role as custodian of the Olympic Park after the 2012 Games;
- Public realm improvements that, in addition to those noted above under the transforming place sub-theme, will deliver new open spaces and improvements to waterways. Again, this work is primarily being led by the LLDC;
- A number of local legacy projects in culture and the arts including for example 'Art in the Park', which is an initiative lead by the ODA to commission local artists to create new art in the public realm within the Olympic Park and its surrounding area; and
- A comprehensive programme of community consultation and engagement delivered by a number of different organisations including the ODA, LOCOG, LLDC and the host boroughs.

The logic model below (Figure 3-1) provides a summary of the outputs, results, outcomes/impacts that were expected to result from these activities.

**Figure 3-1: Transforming communities summary logic model**



### 3.2 Expenditure

In its role as custodian of the Olympic Park in legacy, much of the responsibility for the delivery of activities covered under this sub-theme are the responsibility of the LLDC and are intended to be delivered through a comprehensive programme of activity that will support them in their aim to:

- Operate a successful and accessible Park and world-class sporting venue, offering facilities for high-performance and community participation, enticing visitor attractions, and a programme of events;
- Create one of London's most dynamic urban districts which become the location of choice for current residents and new arrivals and links the Olympic Park with its surrounding neighbourhoods; and
- Create local opportunities and transformational change to promote regeneration and convergence for East London.<sup>82</sup>

LLDCs expenditure on activities covered under this sub-theme (and in addition to those in Figure 2-2) are shown in Figure 3-2 below.

**Figure 3-2: Public expenditure on transforming communities**

Legacy programme/ initiative	Lead Organisation	Budget (£'000's)	Actual (£m)	Time period
New housing and social infrastructure on Olympic Park 2011-2012	LLDC <sup>83</sup>	£36,602	N/A	2011/12-2012/13
New housing and social infrastructure on Olympic Park 2013-2016	LLDC <sup>84</sup>	£60,723	N/A	2013/14-2015/16

<sup>82</sup> LLDC (2013) *Three Year Business Plan 2013/14 – 2015/16*

<sup>83</sup> LLDC (2012) *Annual Reports 2011/12 and 2012/13*

<sup>84</sup> LLDC (2013) *Three Year Business Plan 2013/14 – 2015/16*

In relation to the expenditure figures it should be noted that this is only part of the LLDC's investment in infrastructure. This is particularly true for the LLDC's investment in the Legacy Communities Scheme (the development of five new neighbourhoods within the Olympic Park) which will continue for a number of years beyond 2016. The expenditure noted above will primarily be directed towards the fit out of the press and broadcast centres to enable their occupation post-Games, along with early investment in infrastructure to support the Legacy Communities Scheme.<sup>85</sup>

### 3.3 Evidence

The transformation of communities in East London is a long term goal as it takes a significant amount of time to change the socio-economic profile of an area (see the Convergence sub-theme). Therefore, while some evidence of transformation outputs are apparent in terms of the provision of new housing and social infrastructure, much of the activity is being delivered over a longer timescale with some elements not being fully realised until 2030. In light of this, while it is possible to point to what is planned and has begun to be delivered in terms of new housing and social infrastructure it is not possible to comment, at this early stage, on their impact, i.e. on the extent to which they have contributed to changing the socio-economic profile of the area. As a result, the main focus of this section, and much of the strongest evidence available, relates to the extent to which the local community has been involved in the process of shaping how the Games and their legacy will impact on their local area; how they have been engaged; their satisfaction with these engagement mechanisms and with what is planned; their satisfaction with East London and their perceptions of the area as a place to live; and finally the perceived levels of community cohesion.

#### (i) New community infrastructure

As the Games drew to a close in September 2012 the Olympic Park was handed over to the LLDC to embark on its ambitious programme of transformation: to turn the Olympic Park in to *"one of London's most dynamic urban districts"*<sup>86</sup> and in doing so deliver a programme of activity, formally known as the Legacy Communities Scheme, that is intended to result in the:

- Creation of 6,870 new homes, of which 35% would be affordable and 42% family homes;<sup>87</sup>
- Creation of over 4,000 end-use jobs (excluding construction jobs), of which between 25-75% are estimated to be for residents of the host boroughs, depending on the nature of the contract and works;
- Creation of over 2,000 peak workforce construction jobs, of which 25% are estimated to be for 'local' residents;
- Creation of 102 hectares of open space and 45 hectares of bio diverse habitat;<sup>88</sup>
- Creation of two primary schools, one secondary school and nine nurseries;
- Creation of three health centres;
- Creation of a number of multi-purpose community, leisure and cultural spaces; and
- Attraction of millions of visitors to the Park and the venues that remain post-Games.

Alongside this planned investment, the community will over time also benefit from a diverse range of infrastructure improvements and developments resulting from the Games. These include the sports venues, the Athletes' Village, the public realm and the transport improvements noted in the transforming place sub-theme.

<sup>85</sup> LLDC (2013) *Three Year Business Plan 2013/14 – 2015/16*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*






<sup>87</sup> This is in addition to the 2,818 additional homes provided as a result of the conversion of the Athletes' Village.

<sup>88</sup> This includes 9.9ha of open space and 9.4ha of Biodiversity Action Plan habitat to be delivered specifically as a result of the Legacy Community Strategy and in addition to that created as a result the development of the Olympic Park for the purposes of the Games.

In addition, the ODA's 'Art in the Park' programme of permanent arts and cultural commissions has also positively contributed to new community infrastructure in the area. This programme, which also served an explicit Games-time purpose, has resulted in the development of a "*diverse range of projects*" ranging "*from bridges and underpasses designed by artists, to security fences, planting schemes, large-scale facades, as well as artist-led community projects in the six host boroughs*". The artists involved in this programme have ranged from local to internationally renowned. Figure 3-3 below provides details of a selection of the different art works commissioned as part of this programme and in doing so it provides a sense of the breadth, scale and variety of the different artwork that has been developed as a direct result of the 2012 Games and will remain as assets for the local community.



**Figure 3-3: Selected projects delivered as part of the ODA commissioned Art in the Park programme**

	<p><b>Steles (Waterworks)</b>  Artist: Keith Wilson  Location: Waterworks Rivers</p> <p>Artwork that accentuates the main river that flows through the Olympic Park and connects the parkland with the river.</p> <p>During the Games and in legacy it will also be used for boat moorings</p>
	<p><b>RUN</b>  Artist: Monica Bonvicini  Location: Copper Box</p> <p>Flagship artwork comprising three 9 metre tall letters. The artwork is made of glass and stainless steel and in daylight the letters act as a mirror for visitors and their surroundings and at night they become more transparent and glow with internal LED lighting</p>
	<p><b>History trees</b>  Artist: Ackroyd &amp; Harvey  Location: Various around the Olympic Park</p> <p>10 semi-mature trees each supporting a large bespoke metal ring to mark the 10 entrances to the Olympic Park. Each ring is engraved on the interior face with text capturing the history of nine of the 10 locations. The tenth ring is engraved with resident recollections of the area</p>
	<p><b>Utilities building</b>  Artist: Clare Wood (image) and DJ Simpson  Location: South of the Olympic Park</p> <p>Two large-scale works integrated into the facades of two utilities buildings which will be highly visible in the legacy phase. Both artists have taken the landscape of the Park as their inspiration and are using materials which resonate with the industrial heritage of the site</p>
	<p><b>Winning Words</b>  Artist: Various (image is Carol Ann Duffy and Stephen Raw)  Location: Various (image is Eton Manor)</p> <p>A programme of permanent poems throughout the Park including both commissioned poems for the Park and existing poems nominated by the public. The poem in the image commemorates the history of Eton Manor</p>

Source: Images and text from the ODA

The process of creating the Olympic Park's parklands and waterways has also ensured that this infrastructure is available for community use in legacy. The Institution of Civil Engineers (ICE)

notes in its paper, 'Delivering London 2012: parklands and waterways'<sup>89</sup> that this programme of activity resulted in the:

- Creation of seamless parkland and restored waterways;
- Development of integrated water management comprising sustainable urban drainage, water capture, cleaning and reuse, flood risk management, water demand reduction, habitat creation and non-potable networks;
- Eradication of invasive weed;
- Relocation of habitats and species (using seeds and plant cuttings collected prior to demolition); and
- Creation of perennial meadows.

Given that the policy counterfactuals developed as part of the Report 3 meta-evaluation<sup>90</sup> found that without the Games the new Olympic venues would not have been constructed and the Olympic Park would not have existed, it is reasonable to conclude that much of the community infrastructure noted here is wholly attributable to the Games and is evidence of its legacy.

## **(ii) Engagement with the local community**

An important source of primary research evidence for this meta-evaluation theme as a whole, and particularly for the transforming communities sub-theme, is the Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey. This survey was specifically commissioned to inform the meta-evaluation and sought to gather information of the views, behaviours and attitudes of the residents in the six Olympic host boroughs. The survey was conducted between February and April 2012 (pre-Games), with 1,320 responses received (see Annex C for fuller details of the survey methodology along with detailed analysis of the results).

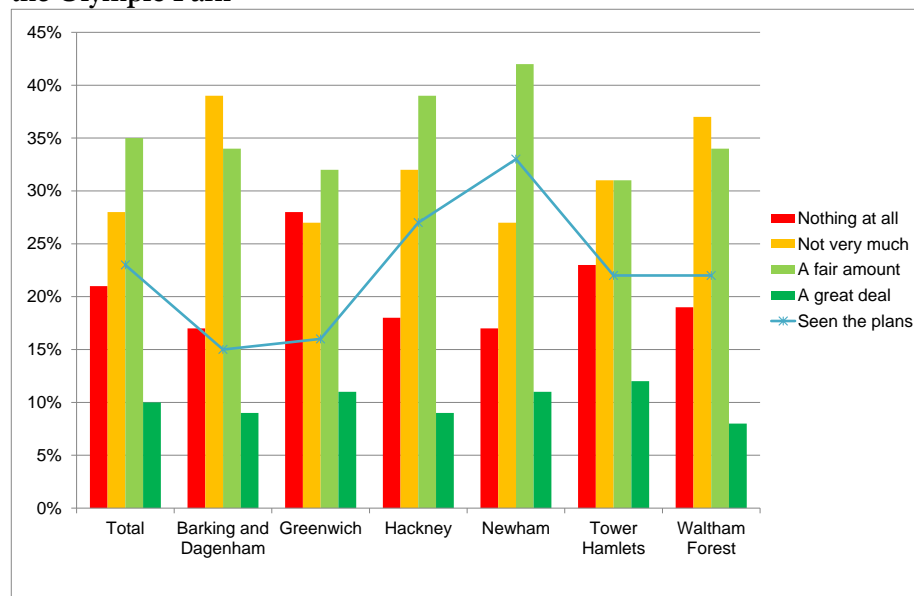
The survey provided valuable evidence regarding resident's satisfaction with the Olympic Park legacy plans and the consultation process for the Olympic Park master plans. The survey found that just under half of the respondents (45%) had heard about the plans to improve the Olympic Park and the surrounding area a 'great deal' or a 'fair amount', but only a quarter (23%) of respondents had actually seen the plans to improve the Olympic Park and surrounding area. A fifth of respondents (21%) had heard 'nothing at all'.

A larger proportion of respondents in Newham had seen the plans to improve the Olympic Park and surrounding area (33%) than those who lived in Barking and Dagenham (15%) or Greenwich (16%). This is also reflected in the fact that 53% of the respondents who live in Newham had heard a 'great deal/ a fair amount' about the plans compared to 43% in both Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich. It is a finding that is partly explained by the proximity of the boroughs to the Park with residents in the closer borough of Newham more likely to have heard about the plans, but it may also reflect the amount of supplementary engagement work that boroughs carried out (Figure 3-4).

<sup>89</sup> ICE (2011) *Delivering London 2012: parklands and waterways*. Published in Civil Engineering 164

<sup>90</sup> See *Meta-Evaluation of the Impacts and Legacy of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games Report 3: Baseline and Counterfactual*

**Figure 3-4: The extent to which respondents had heard about – and seen – the plans of the Olympic Park**

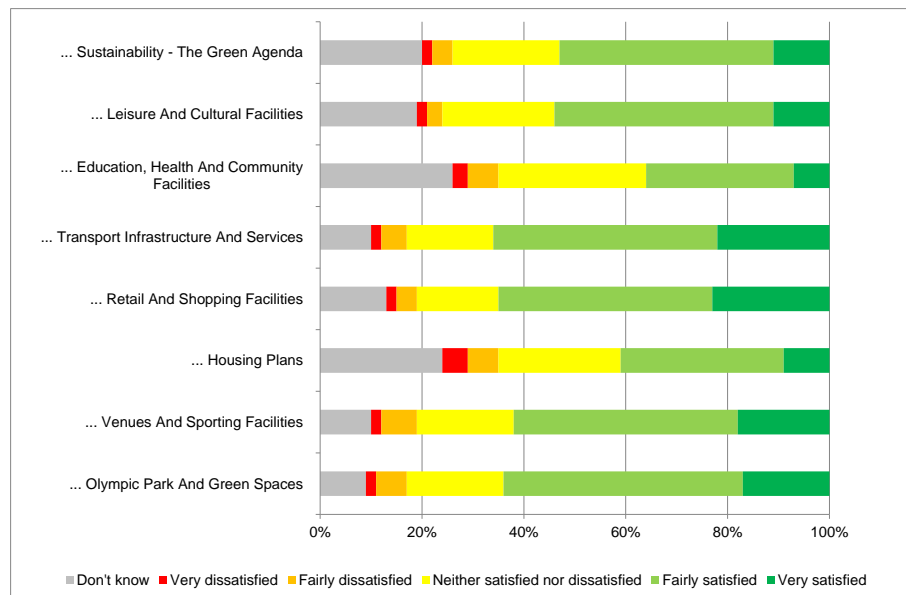


Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey

A quarter (23%) of the respondents were satisfied with the community consultation process on the plans for the Olympic Park and surrounding area and the opportunity to input their views, with 18% dissatisfied and 37% neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. The proportion of satisfied respondents rises to 40% for those who live in Newham and falls to 15% for those who live in Barking and Dagenham. This is again likely to reflect the proximity of these residents to the Park and the extent of supplementary engagement work the boroughs carried out.

In terms of specifics, of those respondents who had seen the plans over half of them were satisfied with the plans for retail and shopping facilities (65%), transport infrastructure and services (65%), the Olympic Park and green spaces (64%), venues and sporting facilities (62%), leisure and cultural facilities (54%) and sustainability (53%). Less than 10% of respondents were dissatisfied with any aspects of the plans. Only 30% of respondents were satisfied with the plans for education, health and community facilities and 36% were satisfied with the plans for housing, a finding that is consistent with respondent's views on the extent to which the 2012 Games will impact on these facilities in the local area (Figure 3-5) below and Perceptions of satisfaction with East London).

**Figure 3-5: Satisfaction with the plans for the Olympic Park and surrounding area after the Games**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

A paper by the Institution of Civil Engineers, 'Delivering London 2012: master planning'<sup>91</sup> also provides valuable insight into the extent to which the plans for the Olympic Park engaged the local community noting that the 'initial master plan' in 2004 was shaped by "over 500,000 questionnaires" and "70 public consultation events held in and around the Lower Lea Valley" with the intention being to "ensure that the overall master plan was tuned to local conditions and needs while still meeting regional requirements and the specific demands of the IOC in terms of transport, sustainability, security, environmental issues and legacy benefits".<sup>92</sup>

In addition to the survey, two focus groups with East London residents were undertaken specifically for the meta-evaluation to gather their thoughts and gauge their views post-Games. One of the groups was comprised of members of the Olympic Park Engagement Network. The other was comprised of members of the Legacy Youth Panel. All participants reside in one of the four host boroughs that cover the Park (Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest and Newham), and all had historically been, and were still involved and engaged in LLDC's community engagement activities and the ODA's before that (see Annex B for the notes of the two groups).

In terms of the involvement of local people in shaping the plans for the Park, both groups acknowledged that there were opportunities to engage in the planning processes around the Park and welcomed the opportunity to input and were generally positive about it. They did however note that there was generally little interest from the community in development generally (i.e. not only in relation to the Park), until evidence of development could be seen and buildings were going up. It was also noted that in terms of planning for the Games, the engagement and consultation process felt like it was more about information sharing than meaningful consultation. This lack of influence was felt by some members of one of the groups to have significantly reduced the motivation of some to get involved as they 'gave up' trying to influence the shape and nature of the Park..

This view was also supported through the consultations undertaken as part of the meta-evaluation with a range of stakeholders. In particular, stakeholders noted that due to the nature of Games requirements, planning and delivery, the engagement with the community was more 'communication rather than consultation' and that it had eroded some of the previous successful consultation practice used previously. However, it was also noted by both consultees

<sup>91</sup> ICE (2011) *Delivering London 2012: master planning*. Published in Civil Engineering 164.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*

and participants in the focus groups that this situation was not the case with the legacy plans. This activity is led and coordinated by the LLDC and involves three broad types of activity:

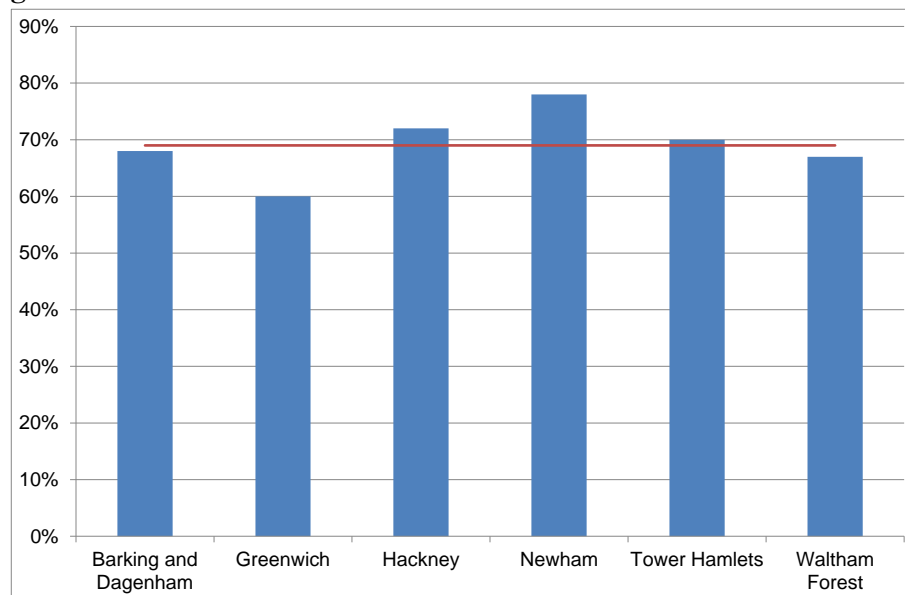
- Consultation – formal consultation exercises, including planning for real with different age groups and backgrounds;
- Communication – including residents meetings, written communications, the Olympic Park Engagement Network and a 24-hour hotline as a suite of activity which is guided by the principle of trying to be 'the best neighbour they can be'; and
- Community outreach – including proactive engagement, connecting people into local activities including sports projects on the local estates and pocket parks.

### (iii) Perceptions of and satisfaction with East London

Respondents to the survey were also asked, prior to the Games, whether they thought that the 2012 Games would be good for London as a whole, based on what they had seen or heard. Two-thirds (69%) of respondents felt that it had, with 37% 'strongly agreeing'. This headline view was broadly reflected across the different age groups, genders and working status, although in terms of ethnicity, non-white respondents (75%) were notably more positive than 'white' respondents (66%). Given that this survey was undertaken before the Games had taken place, and following a period of disruption (due to Games preparation activities) with little realisation of the longer-term benefits of the Games, this can be seen as a positive finding.

Across the six host boroughs opinions varied more significantly with residents of Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich generally less positive than those in Newham (20% and 23%, respectively, disagreed that the Games would be good for London, compared to 11%) (Figure 3-6).

**Figure 3-6: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that hosting the 2012 Games would be good for London as a whole**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

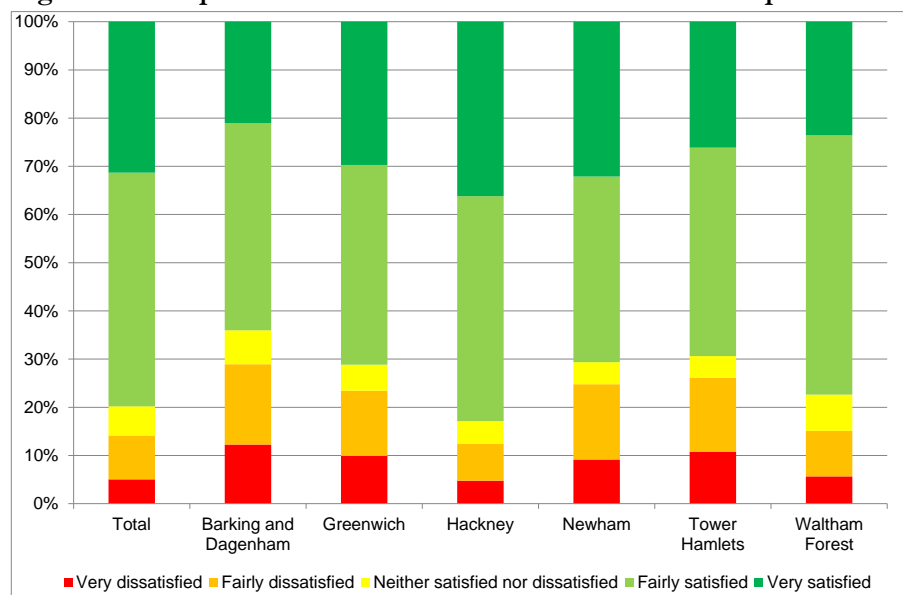
Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

Over three-quarters (79%) of respondents to the survey were satisfied with their local area as a place to live, a third of whom (31%) were 'very satisfied'. Only 5% of respondents were 'very dissatisfied' with their local area as a place to live (Figure 3-7). This finding compares<sup>93</sup> favorably with DCLG's 2008 Place Survey which found that across the host boroughs resident,

<sup>93</sup> It should be noted that this is an imperfect comparison owing to the fact that the results are taken from different surveys which will have been undertaken using different methodologies.

satisfaction with their area as a place to live was 65%, a finding that at the time was notably lower than the London average of 75%.<sup>94</sup>

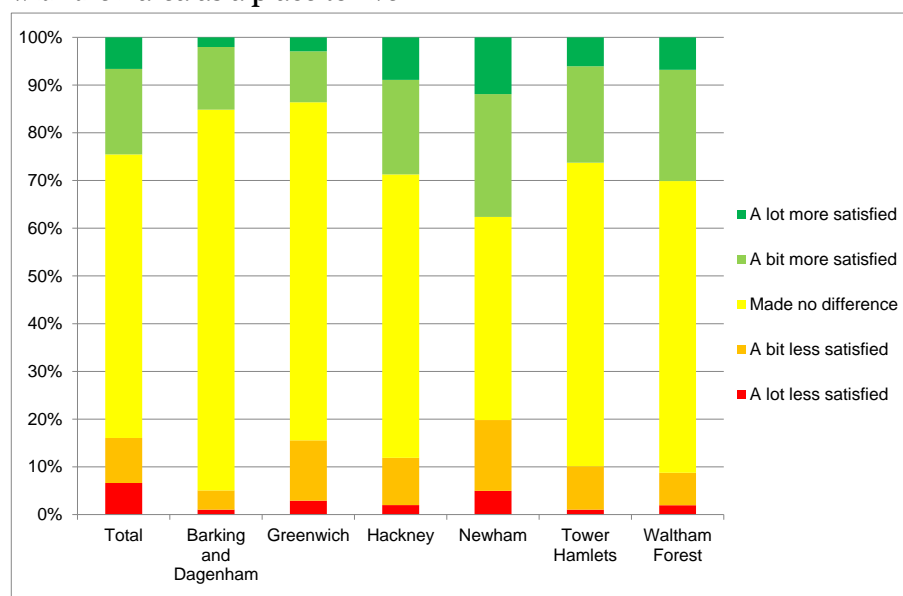
**Figure 3-7: Respondent satisfaction with their local area as a place to live**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

A quarter (26%) of the respondents felt that hosting the Games had made them more satisfied with their area as a place to live, 10% felt that it had made them less satisfied and the majority (63%) felt that it had made no difference. Respondents who lived in Newham were more positive than those in the other host boroughs with 39% stating that hosting the Games had made them more satisfied with their area as a place to live (Figure 3=8).

**Figure 3-8: Extent to which hosting the Games has made respondents more satisfied with their area as a place to live**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

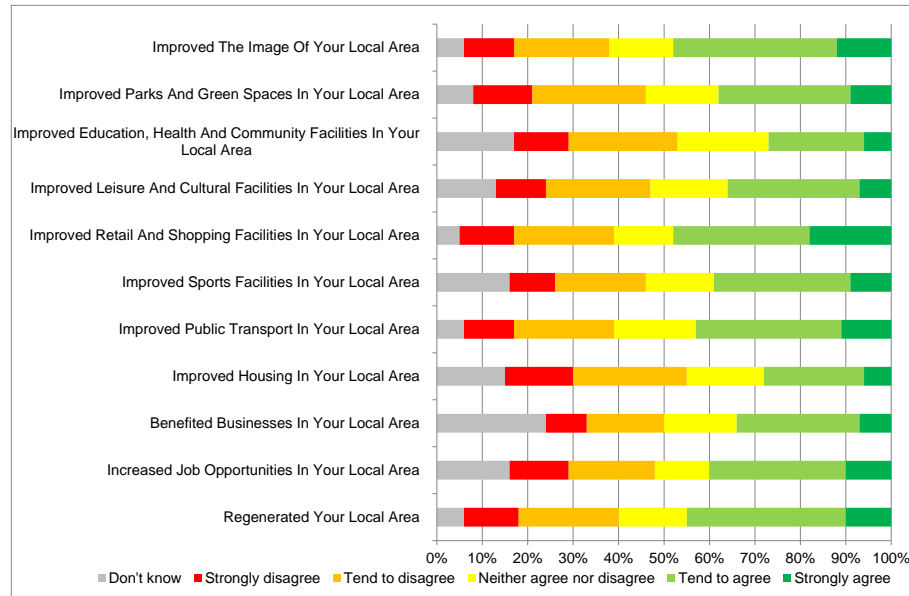
Respondents were asked to comment on the extent to which the preparations for the 2012 Games have already impacted on local neighbourhoods, in terms of the positive impacts. Respondents were fairly evenly split, between those that 'agreed' that the Games had already had a positive impact and those that 'disagreed' (Figure 3-9), with no one position supported by

<sup>94</sup> Department for Communities and Local Government (2008) *Place Survey*

more than half of the respondents. With this caveat noted, the three most significant impacts in the local area at this point in time (pre-Games) appear to be improvements to:

- Retail and shopping facilities (with 48% of respondents agreeing, most likely because of the opening of Westfield and the fact that it is a tangible benefit);
- The image of the local area (48%); and
- Public transport (43%).

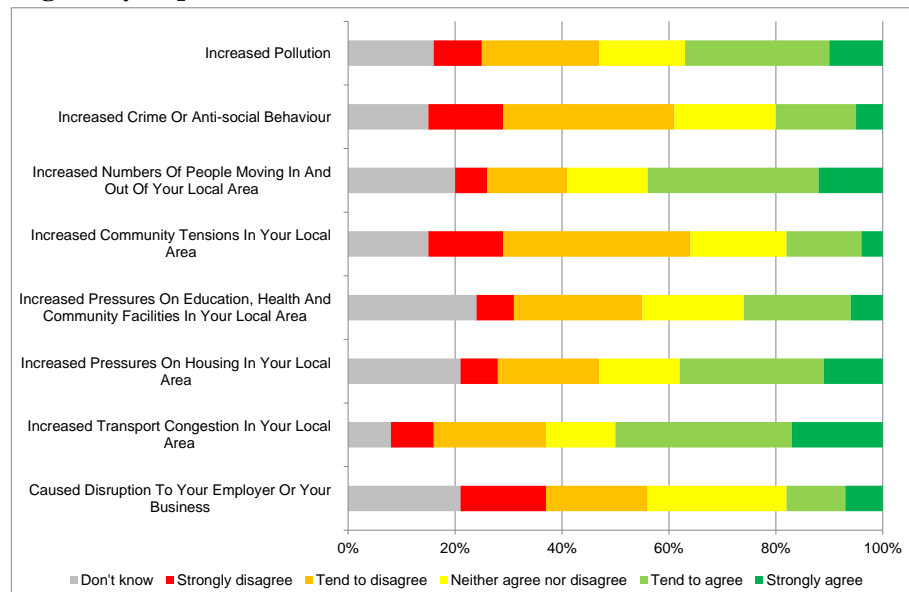
**Figure 3-9: The extent to which the preparations for staging the 2012 Games have positively impacted the local area**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

In terms of the negative impacts to date, respondent views were again mixed (Figure 3-10). Half of the respondents agreed that the preparations for staging the Games had increased transport congestion in the area (50%) and 44% felt that the Games had increased the numbers of people moving in and out of the area (a perception that is not supported by the results for questions about mobility, which suggest that three-quarters of the respondents had lived in the area for more than five years).

**Figure 3-10: The extent to which the preparations for staging the 2012 Games have negatively impacted the local area**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)



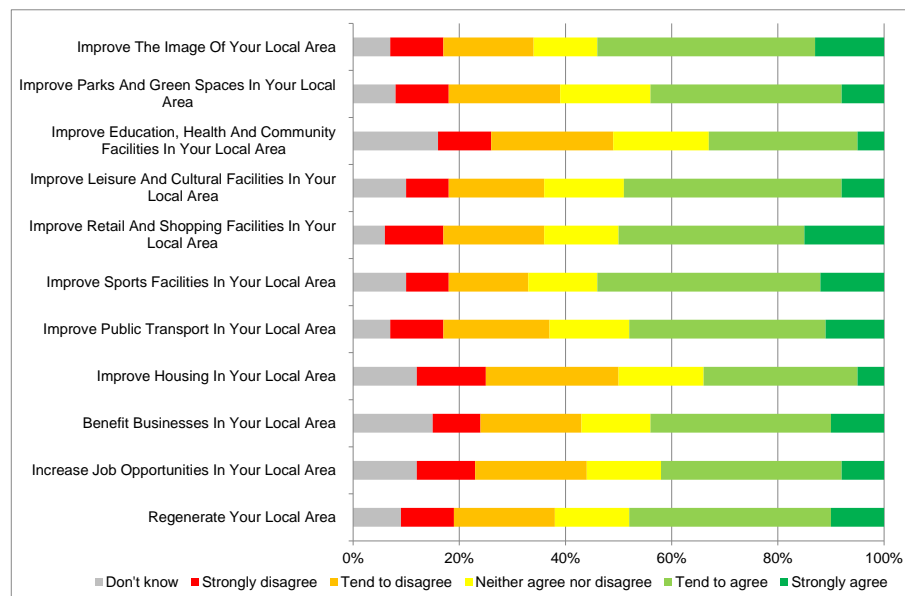
Thinking longer term, respondents were more positive (Figure 3-11). Over half of the respondents 'agreed' that the long-term impacts of the 2012 Games will improve:

- The image of the local area (54%);
- Sports facilities in the local area (54%); and
- Retail and shopping facilities in the local area (50%).

All of these suggest that respondents are aware of the potential future benefits arising from the transformation of the Olympic Park.

There were only two factors where more respondents disagreed than agreed and these were the extent to which the Games will improve housing in the local area (38% thought that it wouldn't compared to 34% who thought that it would) and the extent to which it will improve education, health and community facilities (where the same proportion of respondents at 33%, thought that it wouldn't as those who thought that it would).

**Figure 3-11: The extent to which the 2012 Games will positively impact – over the longer term – on the local area**

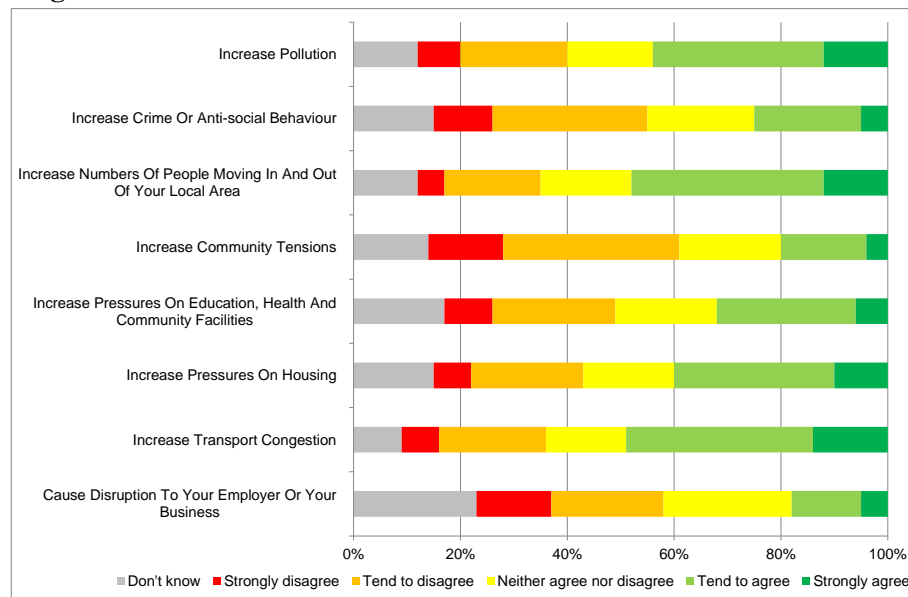


Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

With regard to the negative factors, increased transport congestion (49%) (despite the implementation of significant improvements in local transport facilities) and increased numbers of people moving in and out of the area (48%) remained the two most common longer term concerns, with respondent views generally mixed across the remaining factors (Figure 3-12).



**Figure 3-12: The extent to which the 2012 Games will negatively impact – over the longer term – on the local area**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

The two focus groups also provided some further valuable insight in to how residents now perceive East London and the extent to which they are satisfied with the area as a place to live.

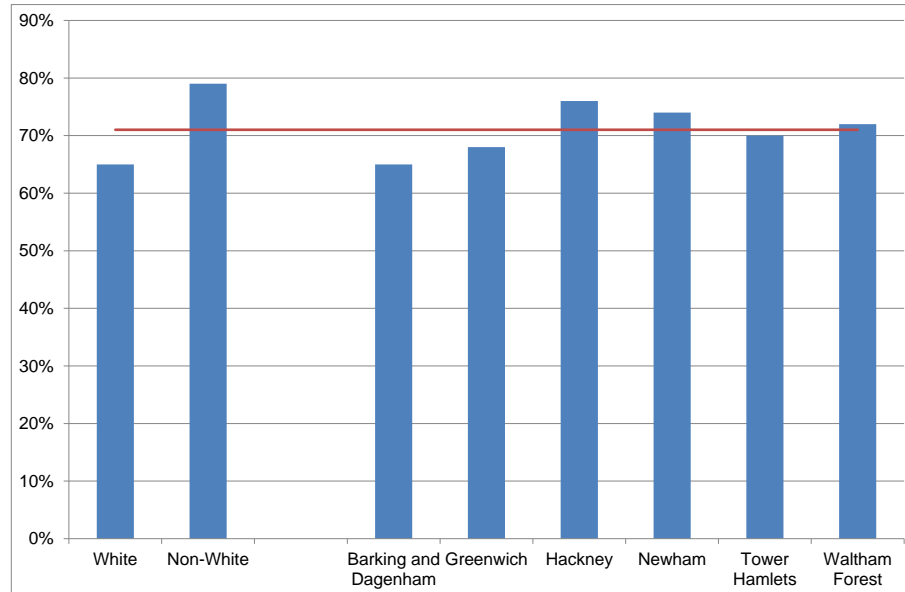
It was apparent from both groups that the Games gave residents a greater sense of pride in their area. Participants agreed that local people are no longer embarrassed to say they live in the area, as they once were. It was a pride that was felt to have arisen both from the success of the Games but also because of how visually different the area looked. Participants also cited the fact that transport has improved significantly; that they feel safer; that there is more green space in the area; and that people aspire to live on the Park and want to stay in the area. Westfield was also cited as a real positive in terms of providing a place for young people to go, shop and spend time with friends. Residents can spend their leisure time in the area whereas previously they had to travel to Canary Wharf or central London.

The focus group participants did however note that while the Games have significantly improved the area around the Park, further improvements need to be made across the whole of East London so that it can be 'brought up in line' with the Park improvements.

#### (iv) Community cohesion

Simply put a cohesive community is a community where people feel they belong to the area and people of different backgrounds get along with each other. Survey respondents were asked both of these aspects. When asked whether they felt that they 'belonged' to their local area, 71% said that they did; a finding that was more true for non-white (79%) respondents than 'white' respondents (65%), and across the six host boroughs the figures ranged from 76% in Hackney to 65% in Barking and Dagenham (Figure 3-13).

**Figure 3-13: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that they 'belong' to the local area**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

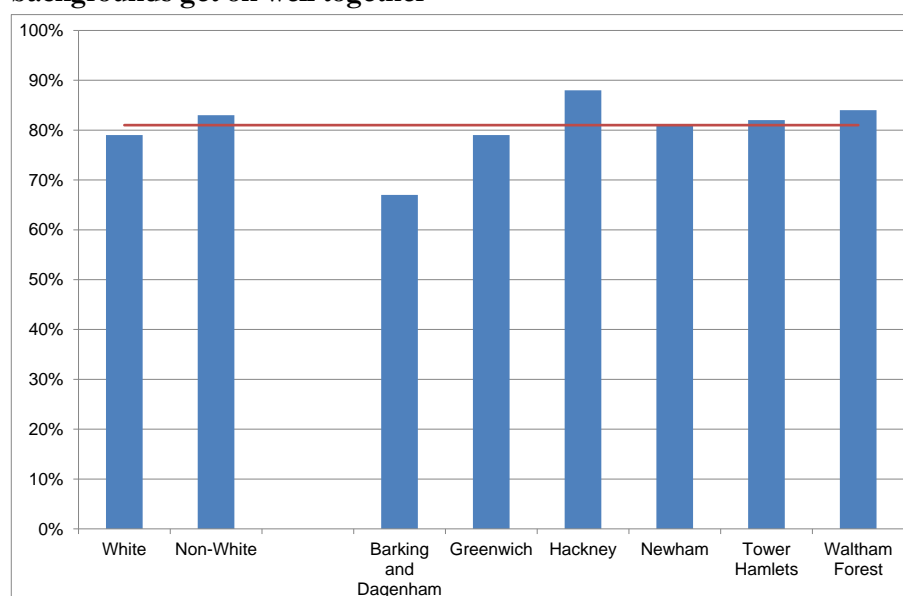
Eighty-one per cent of respondents agreed that their local area was a place where people from different backgrounds 'get on well together', a view that was supported by both the 'white' (79%) and non-white (83%) respondents alike. It is a finding that again compares favorably with the results of the DCLG 2008 Place Survey which found that 67% of host borough residents agreed that people from different backgrounds 'get on well together' (against a London average of 76%).<sup>95</sup>

However, there was again significant variation between the six host boroughs with a 21 percentage point difference between Hackney (the highest at 88%) and Barking and Dagenham (the lowest at 67%) (Figure 3-14). This pattern was also apparent in the 2008 Place Survey where 49% of respondents in Barking and Dagenham and 77% of respondents in Hackney agreed that people from different backgrounds 'get on well together'.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Department for Communities and Local Government (2008) *Place Survey*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*

**Figure 3-14: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that people from different backgrounds get on well together**

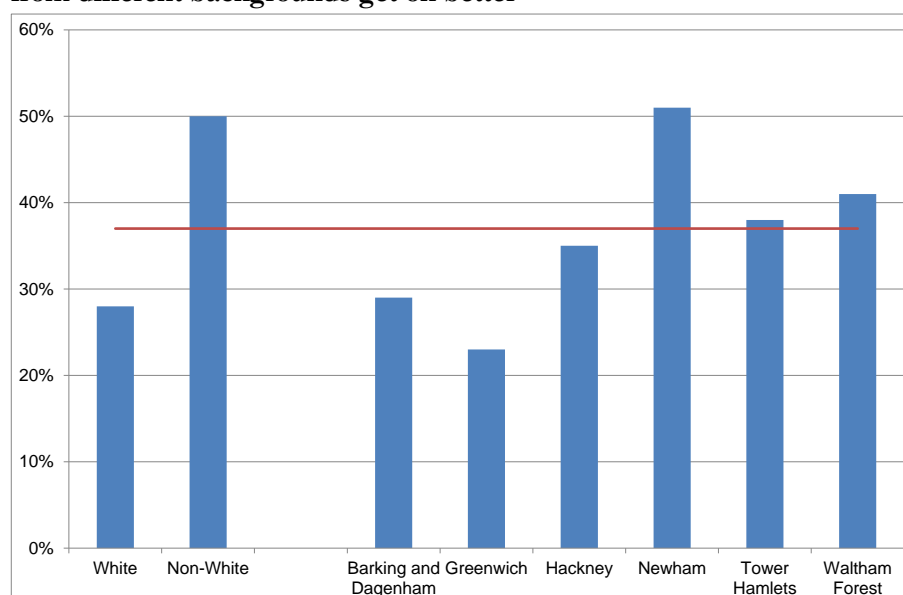


Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

Over a third (37%) of respondents agreed that the Games has made people from different backgrounds in their local area get on better, while the same proportion disagreed. Again, there is a disparity of views across the host boroughs with respondents living in Newham more likely to agree (51%) and less likely to disagree (27%), as opposed to respondents living in Barking and Dagenham who were less likely to agree (29%) and more likely to disagree (49%) (Figure 3-15).

**Figure 3-15: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that the 2012 Games has made people from different backgrounds get on better**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

When asked about a series of specific community issues (e.g. vandalism, graffiti, rubbish, litter and noisy neighbours) the majority of respondents did not view them as a problem in the local area and perhaps more significantly, an overwhelming majority of respondents felt that the preparations for hosting the 2012 Games had not exacerbated these problems in the local area.

The two focus group discussions provided further insight regarding community cohesion in East London. The over-arching view across both groups was that the Games had brought together the different communities in East London. It was a coming together that had been facilitated by a number of activities put in place as a result of the Games such as live sites and street parties. Community cohesion was also felt to have been enhanced by the fact that diversity was so openly celebrated during the Games, which had the knock on effect of valuing diversity more within East London.

It was also noted that the Games helped to build connections between the community and different levels of authority, including the local mayors and councilors, as it enabled people to interact on a social and friendly level and to unite over a common event.

In terms of ongoing community cohesion, and particularly the sense to which the new communities moving into the Park will effectively integrate with the existing communities a number of important issues emerged through the focus groups. Positively, participants felt that the schools on the Park will play a vital role in mixing the old and the new communities, particularly because they will be made up from pupils who live both on and off the Park and as the children become friends this will encourage the adults to mix. The facilities on the Park were seen as important in helping with integration. It was also noted that in addition to the showcase events on the Park planned for summer 2013 and beyond, there also needs to be a number of smaller local events because the feeling was that it is through these that the local communities are more likely to mix and become more integrated.

More negatively, there was some concern that if it is not managed carefully, there is potential for a divide to be created between the affluent Park residents and their surrounding areas, with the Park in effect becoming an 'island'. It was suggested that the older properties which neighbor the park look dated and out of place and that the refurbishment and development of these could help prevent certain perceptions from developing. Linked to this it was also noted that the Park cannot just be an extension of Stratford but that it needs to blend in with all of the communities that surround it.

There was also a significant amount of debate amongst the participants from the Open Network about the problem of gangs in the area and the potential for problems that could arise from giving the Park its own postcode (E20), specifically if different gangs seek to claim the territory. However, it was also noted by others that giving the Park the same postcode as one of the surrounding areas (e.g. E15) would have still presented the same issues and that a new postcode offered the opportunity to redefine the area altogether. The importance of Park management and programming was highlighted as key to ensuring the Park does not become a disputed territory. This perspective was reinforced by the participants in the young people's group who felt that public access to the Park and the community networks which are in place to protect the Park dampen the fear of gangs taking over the area.

The need to ensure that the new communities moving onto the Park are connected into and integrated with the existing communities in the area was also identified as a vitally important issue by a number of the consultees spoken to as part of the meta-evaluation. A 'them and us' culture was seen as a significant risk. In order to ensure that this does not happen, consultees identified the need to: breakdown a number of pre-conceived perceptions about who the Park is for; to ensure that there are both physical and social connections – not least that the edges of the Park are blurred and the communities of East London knitted together; and ensure that the desire to integrate local communities translates across everything that happens on the Park from pricing of events to the layout of the housing. Westfield was held up as a positive example of integration between new and existing communities.

### 3.4 Conclusions

It is clear that the LLDC has developed a comprehensive programme of activity which if delivered as intended will see the development of a significant number of new homes (both affordable and family) as well as a number of high quality community and social facilities, including both primary and secondary schools and health centres across five new neighbourhoods. The scale and nature of this development, coupled with the transformation of

the facilities developed for, and used during, the Games (such as the Athletes' Village, the Athletes' Health Centre and the Operation Centre) has the potential to drive forward the transformation of the East London community, not least in bringing about the development of a number of additional new homes and bringing forward a number of much needed community facilities.

The positive outcomes emerging from the transformation of the facilities developed for, and used during, the Games will begin to become apparent from as early as late-2013. This will include the conversion of the Athletes' Village and the re-opening of the North Park.

However, while some evidence of transformation is apparent in terms of the provision of new housing and social infrastructure, much of the activity is being delivered over a longer timescale with some elements not being fully realised until 2030. In light of this, while it is possible to point to what is planned and has begun to be delivered in terms of new housing and social infrastructure it is not possible to comment, at this early stage, on their impact, i.e. on the extent to which they have contributed to changing the socio-economic profile of the area.

The Host Boroughs Resident Survey does however provide some insight into the extent to which the Games have already contributed to transforming the community in East London. Through this survey, it appears that regeneration of the area was important for a notable proportion of those who had moved into the borough within the last year which suggests that as the regeneration effects of the Games have become more visible they are yielding a bigger influence on mobility. Perceptions of East London are also changing, both the resident survey and the resident focus groups point to higher levels of satisfaction with the area as a place to live. Levels of community cohesion were also high, with a real sense that the Games had helped bring people together.

However, ensuring that the new communities moving into the Park effectively integrate with the existing communities is a notable challenge that requires pro-active management. A 'them and us' culture is a significant risk. In order to prevent this from happening stakeholders consulted with as part of the evaluation identified the need to breakdown a number of pre-conceived perceptions about who the Park is for; to ensure that there are both physical and social connections – not least that the edges of the Park are blurred and the communities of East London knitted together; and ensure that the desire to integrate local communities translates across everything that happens on the Park from pricing of events to the layout of the housing.

## 4 Transforming Prospects

The focus of the transforming prospects sub-theme is on 2012 Games activities which directly created employment, along with wider initiatives designed to tackle worklessness and maximise the employment opportunities generated by the Games legacy venues. The aim is for the Games to have helped thousands of workless Londoners from the six host boroughs into permanent employment by 2012 and to create new job opportunities in the Olympic Park post-Games. Given the focus on employment in this sub-theme, there are close links with the employability and skills development sub-theme covered in the Economic legacy theme.

### 4.1 Legacy programmes and initiatives

Ensuring East London residents benefit from the staging and legacy of the Games, including the jobs and business opportunities created, along with the wider regeneration activities in the area, is a primary legacy aim. Given its scale and the nature of the activities involved in staging the Games and the subsequent transformation of the Park, the Games provided a real opportunity to address the skills gaps and shortages that exist in East London and by doing so, tackle the high levels of worklessness (particularly long term unemployment) and benefit dependency. The underpinning rationale was that skilled employment is one of the primary routes out of deprivation and therefore, the preparation and staging of the Games was seen as an opportunity to help more people into sustainable employment or higher-skilled jobs (particularly those that are unemployed or long-term unemployed) through effective training provision, employment brokerage and specific terms and conditions within delivery partner contracts.

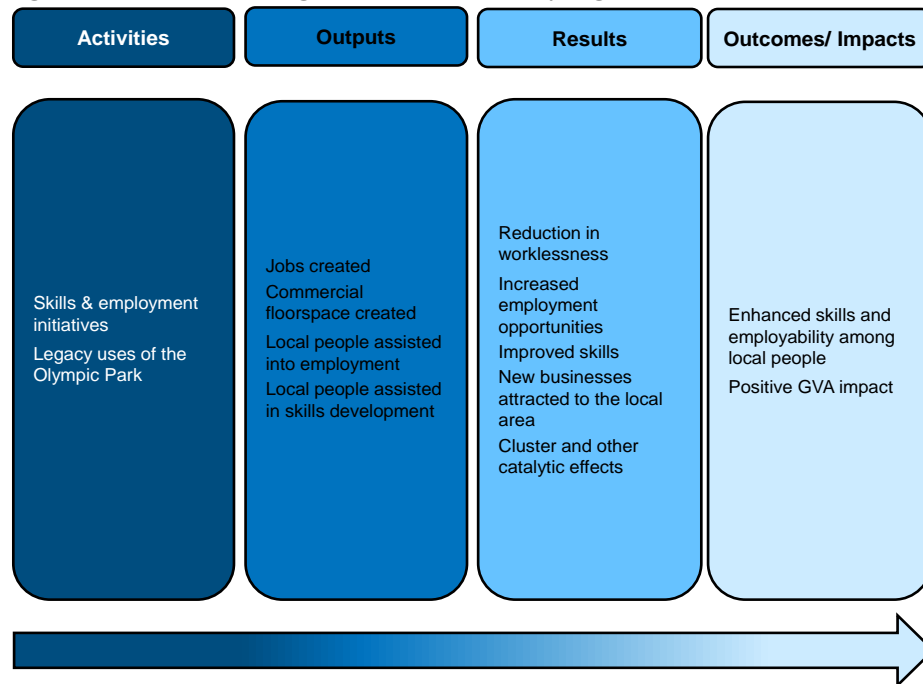
In this, a key objective was to use the 2012 Games in East London as a hook to raise local people's aspirations by encouraging them to take advantage of both new and existing job opportunities, and by motivating young people through expanding local career options. It was anticipated that the Games would also help to inspire local people, including the most disadvantaged, to take up skills and training programmes that enable them to compete for these jobs. Alongside this the Games also provided an ideal opportunity to address the under investment in skills and training and the appropriate infrastructure.

In light of these objectives, the legacy programmes and initiatives considered under this sub-theme broadly fall into four groups of activity:

- The activities within the London Employment and Skills Taskforce (LEST) 2012 that are focused on or have benefited East London residents. This includes the Local Employment and Training Framework (LETF) and its successor – the Six Host Borough Project – both of which were focused on developing skills, accessing work and supporting businesses within the six host boroughs, particularly in construction roles on the Olympic Park (see the Economic legacy theme);
- A suite of 2012 Games-related activities delivered across the host boroughs to tackle worklessness and skills shortages. This work is being coordinated through the Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) and its convergence target (see Section 6.5);
- The East and South East London City Strategy – a pilot scheme aiming to tackle workless and child poverty by engaging employers and other relevant agencies; and
- The legacy uses of the Olympic Park which will create a number of new employment opportunities, most of which will be through the conversion of the press and broadcast centres into an employment hub focusing on high-tech and creative industries.

The logic model below provides a summary of the activities, outputs, results, outcomes/impacts for this sub-theme (Figure 4-1).

**Figure 4-1: Transforming prospects summary logic model**



## 4.2 Expenditure

Much of the expenditure data for this sub-theme is covered by the sums quoted in Figure 2-2 and Figure 3-2 in terms of the ODA and LLDC expenditure (as it primarily relates to and is the result of expenditure on construction activities).

## 4.3 Evidence

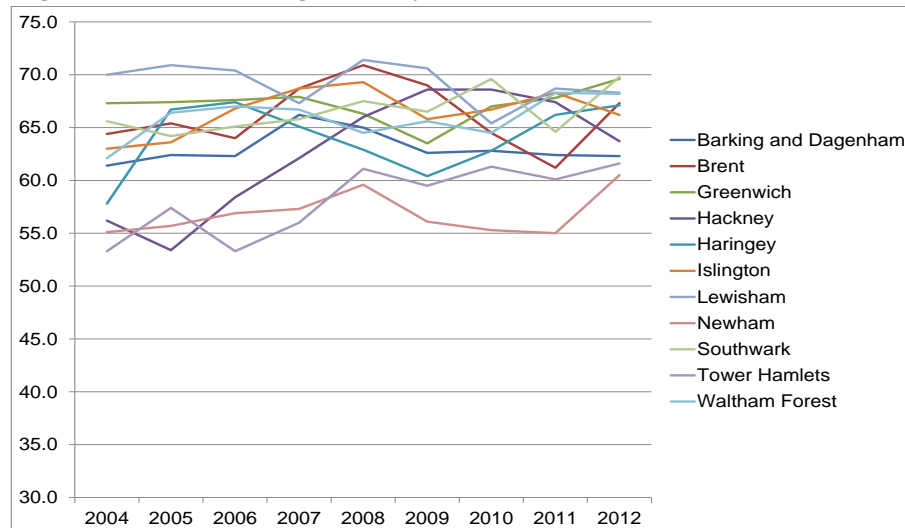
The evidence available for this sub-theme can be broadly split into the legacy results, outcomes/ impacts that are already apparent and those which are expected over the medium to longer term. The remainder of this sub-section looks at these two time period as it seeks to explore the influence of the Games in:

- Getting people into employment;
- Creating employment in high-tech, sport and leisure, creative and cultural industries; and
- Creating and attracting new businesses to East London.

### (i) People into employment

In headline terms it is apparent that employment rates across the host boroughs have increased. Between 2004 and 2011 (the latest available data) Hackney saw the largest increase, from an employment rate of 63 % to 73%, while Greenwich saw the least as it increased from 73% to 76%. Waltham Forest has the highest employment rate of the host boroughs in 2011 (77%, an increase from 68% in 2004) and Newham the lowest (65% and an increased from 61% in 2004) (Figure 4-2).

**Figure 4-2: Host borough employment rate 2004-2012**



Source: Annual Population Survey

In terms of understanding what, if any, of this change is attributable to the 2012 Games there are a number of sources of evidence, which while not providing a complete picture, when taken together suggest that the preparation for and the staging of the 2012 Games did create a large number of job opportunities for local residents. Further employment opportunities are likely to be created in the future through both activities related to the transformation of the Park to post-Games use and the on-going activities on the Park in legacy.

A valuable and robust source of evidence for this sub-theme is the beneficiary survey undertaken as part of the LDA evaluation of the LEST 2012 undertaken in 2011.<sup>97</sup> This survey had responses from 2,009 beneficiaries of LEST 2012 funded initiatives, 668 of whom were resident in the five<sup>98</sup> host boroughs.<sup>99</sup> This survey found that:

- 37% of host borough beneficiaries had never been in paid work before, compared to 24% across London as a whole;
- Those living in the host boroughs were significantly more likely to know about the link between LEST 2012 and the 2012 Games, and that this link influenced their decision to participate in the programme. Nearly half (47%) of the beneficiaries in the five host boroughs who knew about the LEST 2012 link with the 2012 Games felt that this knowledge had 'a great deal' of influence over their decision to take part;
- 28% of host borough beneficiaries moved into employment following the LEST 2012 support, compared to 33% across London as a whole. This figure rose to 32% and 39% respectively when those who went onto paid employment or self-employment having first progressed into voluntary work were taken account of and those still receiving support were removed from the analysis; and
- 22% of *all* beneficiaries (regardless of where they live) found employment in the host boroughs.

The LEST 2012 evaluation used the survey results to assess the overall economic impact of LEST 2012 up to March 2011. Through this analysis it was estimated that LDA-funded LEST 2012 interventions created a total of 6,090 jobs in the host boroughs, of which 1,909 were thought to be additional (i.e. would not have been created in the absence of the 2012

<sup>97</sup> PwC and SQW (2011) *2012 Games Legacy Impact Evaluation Study: Appendix B London Employment and Skills Taskforce for 2012*. Final Report to the London Development Agency.

<sup>98</sup> Due to the timing of the evaluation, Barking and Dagenham had not become part of the host boroughs and is therefore not included in the analysis.

<sup>99</sup> In terms of statistical robustness the survey had a London wide confidence level of +/- 2.1% at the 95% confidence level, and a confidence level of +/- 3.7% at the 95% confidence level for the five host boroughs.



Games).<sup>100</sup> In monetary terms this translated into a net salary outcome of £27 million and a net GVA impact of £54 million between 2006/07 and 2010/11 for the host boroughs.

Alongside the LDA's performance monitoring data for the programme, the LEST 2012 Implementation Group collected and reported employment outputs every quarter. This covered both LDA-funded initiatives and non-LDA funded LEST initiatives. Based on this data, it was estimated that LEST 2012 had created between 8,663 and 10,151 jobs in the host boroughs (depending on the method used) and that this number could rise to between 9,112 and 10,600 if safeguarded employment was included<sup>101</sup> (i.e. those jobs that would otherwise have been lost had 2012 Games not happened).

With a LEST 2012 milestone of a 10,286 reduction in worklessness (i.e. people in employment) in the host boroughs by 2010/11, these findings suggest that, at worse, good progress had been made (84% of target) and that at best, progress in reducing worklessness was ahead of where it should be (103% of target).

In 2013 the GLA commissioned a further evaluation looking at the contribution of the 2012 Games and associated labour market interventions *"to increasing jobs and employment in London and specifically the host boroughs"*. This evaluation sought *"to build on the previous evaluation of LEST 2012 activity up to [March 2011]...[and] to assess activity from April 2011 to the end of the 2012 calendar year"*.<sup>102</sup> This evaluation focused on four strands of activity:

- Interim evaluation of the GLA's Employment and Skills Legacy Programme – this comprised three projects, the most significant of which for this theme was the six host borough project;
- Evaluation of Games-time recruitment – this looked at the joint efforts of LOCOG and their partners in supporting Londoners into entry-level roles at the Games
- Post Games-time employment support – this looked at the effectiveness of partners' work to support people into further employment; and
- Assessment of indirect jobs – this looked at the number of workless people entering employment as a result of indirect Games-time jobs across London.

In terms of this theme, the most relevant strand is the first one – the interim evaluation of the six host borough project. The findings of all the strands are however relevant to and covered in the Employment and Skills sub-theme within the Economy Evidence Base.

The six host borough project is managed and delivered in each borough in different ways: *"some boroughs delivered the project through in-house teams, whilst others used subcontractors"*. The evaluation found that in terms of output performance the six host borough project delivered.<sup>103</sup>

- 5,099 starts (eligible beneficiaries registered onto the project and receiving support to improve their employability) – 99.5% of the target;
- 2,026 job entries – 107.7% of the target;
- 1,192 sustainable job outcomes for six months – 68.7% of target; and
- 735 sustainable job outcomes for 12 months – 62.8% of target.

In commenting on this performance, the evaluation notes that while it is positive that the project has supported over 2,000 beneficiaries into work the *"conversion of starts into sustainable job outcomes has been below target overall and across all boroughs, and have been particularly low in certain areas"*. It was however noted that it was *"expected that most of the boroughs will achieve more sustained*

<sup>100</sup> Through the survey PwC and SQW calculated that LEST 2012 had an 'additionality ratio' of 0.31 in the host Borough, this was marginally below the ratio for London as a whole of 0.32.

<sup>101</sup> The PwC and SQW work estimated that an additional 449 jobs were safeguarded in the host boroughs.

<sup>102</sup> SQW (2013) *Olympic Jobs Evaluation*. Final Report to the Greater London Authority.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*

*employment outcomes in Q3 and Q4 2012-13*". The evaluation highlights two factors that are likely to have contributed to this underperformance in achieving sustained employment outcomes:<sup>104</sup>

- *"For boroughs delivering the project as part of wider employment and skills brokerage services there has been a reluctance to develop new levels/types of services specifically designed to manage and support...beneficiaries through their first 26 and 52 weeks of employment";* and
- *"More broadly, with the then LDA and now GLA only relatively recently adopting 52 week sustained employment outcomes as key targets in their employment programme, this has involved a cultural shift for local authority and employment agency staff used to spending the majority of their time supporting and brokering clients into work, rather than supporting them whilst in work".*

Using survey evidence the evaluation seeks to estimate the economic impact of the GLA's programme. The results of this survey are statistically robust for the GLA's *"programme as a whole but not for the three component projects"*. As such the evaluation does sound a word of warning in applying the various additional assumptions to individual projects.<sup>105</sup>

With this caveat noted, the evaluation found that of the 2,026 job entries resulting from the six host borough project, 696 can be considered additional (i.e. would not have been created in the absence of the 2012 Games).<sup>106</sup> In monetary terms this was translated into a net salary outcome of £4.8 million and a net GVA impact of £10.13 million. It was an economic performance that the evaluation concluded suggested good value for money, with a cost benefit ratio of 1.57 (i.e. for every £1 spent £1.57 was generated).

A proportion of the jobs identified above through the two evaluations of LEST – although it is not possible to know exactly how many<sup>107</sup> – will have been created as a direct result of the demolition and build of the Olympic Park, the building of the Athletes' Village and the delivery of the Games themselves. Together, these activities also created a significant amount of employment (Figure 4-3) which benefited Londoners generally and host borough residents specifically:

- The demolition and build of the Olympic Park created in excess of 29,750 employment opportunities, 17.5% of which were taken up by host borough residents;<sup>108</sup>
- Building the Athletes' Village created 16,584 employment opportunities, 27% of which were taken up by host borough residents;<sup>109</sup> and
- The delivery of the Games saw the employment of 1,951 host borough residents by LOCOG as part of its Games time workforce (55% of whom were previously unemployed) as well as 21,000 host borough residents in its Games-time contractor workforce in roles such as catering and hospitality, cleaning, retail, event services and security, traffic management and logistics.

<sup>104</sup> SQW (2013) *Olympic Jobs Evaluation*. Final Report to the Greater London Authority.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>106</sup> This was based on an additionality ratio of 0.34 which was very similar to the additionality of 0.32 that was used specifically for the Host Boroughs in the earlier LEST evaluation.

<sup>107</sup> An issue also noted in the GLA London Jobs Evaluation.

<sup>108</sup> ODA (2012) *Cumulative Olympic Park and Athletes' Village contractor workforce totals April 2008 – December 2011*

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*

**Figure 4-3: People in employment - key outputs build and Games-time**

Lead organisation	Outputs	Units	Time period
ODA	29,750	Workers for contractors on the Olympic Park	2008-2011
ODA	5,241 (17.5%)	Workers for contractors on the Olympic Park who live in the host boroughs	2008-2011
ODA	10.2	% of workers for contractors on the Olympic Park who were previously unemployed	2008-2011
ODA	79.3	% of workers for contractors on the Olympic Park who were earning at least the London Living Wage	2008-2011
ODA	4%	% of workers for contractors on the Olympic Park who were women	2008-2011
ODA	1.1%	% of workers for contractors on the Olympic Park who were disabled	2008-2011
ODA	15%	% of workers for contractors on the Olympic Park who were BAME	2008-2011
ODA	16,548	Workers for contractors on the Athletes' Village	2010-2011
ODA	4,507 (27.2%)	Workers for contractors on the Athletes' Village who live in the host boroughs	2010-2011
ODA	10.5%	% of workers for contractors on the Athletes' Village who were previously unemployed	2010-2011
ODA	61.1%	% of workers for contractors on the Athletes' Village who were earning at least the London Living Wage	2010-2011
ODA	2.7	% of workers for contractors on the Athletes' Village who were women	2010-2011
ODA	0.5	% of workers for contractors on the Athletes' Village who were disabled	2010-2011
ODA	13.3	% of workers for contractors on the Athletes' Village who were BAME	2010-2011
LOCOG	100,000	LOCOG Contractor Workforce	2012
LOCOG	21,000 (21%)	LOCOG Contractor Workforce resident in host boroughs	2012
LOCOG	7,140 (34%)	LOCOG Contractor workforce who were previously workless prior to their employment with LOCOG	2012
LOCOG	8,300	LOCOG Games time workforce	2012
LOCOG	1,951 (23.5%)	LOCOG Games time workforce resident in host boroughs	2012
LOCOG	1,073 55%	LOCOG Games times workforce resident in the host boroughs who were previously workless prior to their employment with LOCOG	2012

Source: ODA data and LOCOG Employment & Skills and Games Time Recruitment Briefing Note

By looking in more detail at LOCOG data for its Games time contractor workforce it is apparent that the proportion of host borough residents in particular roles and the proportion who were workless prior to their employment does vary between sector. It is apparent from Figure 4-4 that in particular sectors such as catering and hospitality, cleaning and retail a significantly higher proportion of previously workless individuals found employment directly as a result of the Games.

**Figure 4-4: LOCOG Games-time contractor workforce by sector**

Sector	% of workforce resident in host boroughs	% of workforce resident in the host boroughs who were previously workless prior to LOCOG employment
Catering & hospitality	23%	60%
Cleaning	27%	65%
Retail	21%	62%
Event services & security	27%	35%
Traffic management	44%	-
Logistics	23%	-

Source: LOCOG Employment & Skills and Games Time Recruitment Briefing Note

The Olympic Park as a 'hub' of employment is set to continue into the future with a further 4,421 jobs expected to be created on the Olympic Park in legacy through the businesses occupying the range of employment space to be located there, along with the management of the venues and facilities. The converted press and broadcast centres are expected to accommodate a further 4,000 jobs. The process of transformation is also estimated to support 2,000 peak workforce construction jobs. At this stage, the proportion of host borough residents to benefit from these opportunities is still to be agreed (Figure 4-5).

**Figure 4-5: People in employment - key outputs transformation and legacy**

Lead organisation	Outputs	Units	Time period
LLDC	>4,421 #	No. of end-use jobs created (over the 15 yr construction period, excl construction jobs) through the Legacy Communities Scheme development	2015 onwards
LLDC	>2,000#	No. park-wide construction jobs created (peak number of construction workforce estimated to occur in 2023)	2015 onwards
LLDC	>4,000 #	No. of end-use jobs created (over 5 years with phased occupancy of buildings) – IBC/MPC	2014 onwards
LLDC	91,000 #	Square metres commercial floorspace	2014
LLDC	-**	% employees from the 6 host boroughs	2014 onwards
LLDC	-**	% employees women, disabled or BAME	2014 onwards
LLDC	-**	% supply chain spend with local SMEs	2014 onwards
LLDC	-**	No. days training provided to SMEs with supply chain contracts	2014 onwards
LLDC	-**	% workforce with permanent residency (12 + months) in the host boroughs	2014 onwards
LLDC	-**	% employees to be paid London Living Wage as a minimum - Tier 1 and 2	2014 onwards

Note: \* Figures correct as of the 31 December 2012; ~ Figures correct as of 21 May 2012 and based on conditional job offers; # These figures are target outputs as opposed to achieved. \*\* LLDC currently in process of defining specific targets

Outside of the LEST programme and beyond the employment created on the Olympic Park, and looking towards the wider activities of the host boroughs in tackling worklessness, it is apparent through the Economic Impact Study of Westfield that the Stratford City development had a positive impact on creating job opportunities for residents in East London. Although it is not possible to attribute all of this employment to the Games, it is apparent (see Transforming place) that at the very least the Games ensured that these opportunities were realised between five and seven years earlier than would have been the case had the Games not taken place in East London.

In terms of the scale of job opportunities created for East London residents, the Economic Impact Study looked at both the construction jobs created, as well as the jobs created through the day-to-day operation of Westfield, Stratford City.

- With regard to construction jobs, the Economic Impact Study estimated that 20% of all construction jobs were in the East London area, which equated to between 5,000 and 5,400 jobs with associated construction earnings of between £105 million and £110 million.<sup>110</sup>
- Of the 10,000 permanent jobs created to operate Westfield Stratford City, around 3,000 have gone to unemployed Newham residents.<sup>111</sup> This positive outcome is largely a result of the London Borough of Newham's job brokerage scheme and the Skills Place retail academy which delivered on a commitment from Westfield and its major retail anchors

<sup>110</sup> Volterra (2011) *Westfield Stratford City: The Inheritance before the Games*

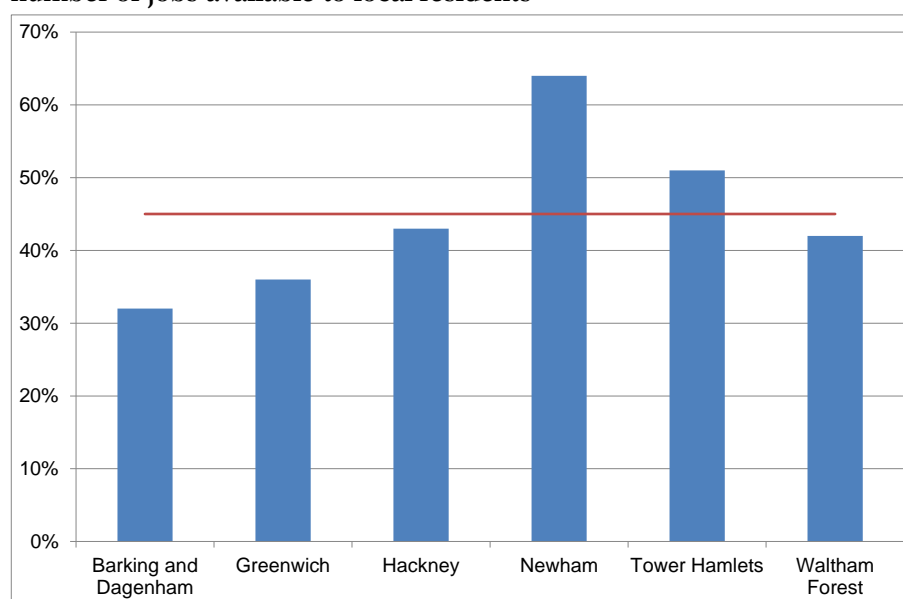
<sup>111</sup> London Borough of Newham

(John Lewis, Waitrose, Marks and Spencers and Vue cinema) to guarantee interview places for locally unemployed people living in Newham – something that was noted by Volterra to be an example of "*much needed effective employer engagement*".<sup>112</sup>

Based on these employment numbers, the Economic Impact Study estimated that the creation of the employment opportunities in East London would also generate an annual welfare saving of almost £11 million (in addition to the positive economic impact generated by earnings).<sup>113</sup> It is a calculation that the Economic Impact Study notes is also likely to underestimate the beneficial impact of getting unemployed people into work, as it only captures the direct benefits of reducing the cost of welfare payments and does not "*capture the knock on benefits such as reduced crime, better health and education outcomes for the next generation*".<sup>114</sup>

A further source of evidence that provides insight into the extent to which host borough residents benefited from the employment opportunities arising out of the Games is the Olympic and Paralympic Games Host Boroughs Resident Survey. The survey asked respondents a series of questions around the role the 2012 Games played in providing access to jobs. Just under half (45%) of the respondents agreed that the hosting of the 2012 Games in East London increased the number of jobs available to local residents, with 29% disagreeing. Interestingly, those respondents aged 16 to 24 years were notably more likely to agree (60%) than those respondents in other age groups. Respondents who lived in Newham and Tower Hamlets were also more likely to agree (64% and 51% respectively) than those in Barking and Dagenham (32%) and Greenwich (36%) (Figure 4-6). This finding may in part be explained by the proximity to the Olympic Park and Westfield, Stratford City, as these two developments provided significant job opportunities.

**Figure 4-6: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that the 2012 Games has increased the number of jobs available to local residents**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey

Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

That said, only 4% of respondents had directly (either personally (2%) or through members of their household (2%)) benefited from employment opportunities, lasting or due to last more than one year, resulting from the preparation of the Games: 2% on the Olympic Park; 1% in at Olympic venues and facilities; and 1% at Westfield, Stratford City.

Four per cent of respondents also noted that they had benefited (either personally (2%) or through a member of the household (2%)) from employment opportunities related to the

<sup>112</sup> Volterra (2011) *Westfield Stratford City: The Inheritance before the Games*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*

Games that have or are due to last for less than a year. Taken together these results suggest that 7% of respondents benefited, either personally (3%) or through someone in their household (4%), from employment opportunities related to the preparations for the 2012 Games.

Although based on a relatively small sample, of those respondents who had benefited (either personally or through a member of the household) from employment opportunities related to the Games:

- 38% noted that training in a new skill was required;
- 79% were already in work, education or training; and
- 16% were unemployed – 4% of whom were unemployed for more than six months and a further 5% who were unemployed for more than a year.

The two focus groups undertaken as part of this meta-evaluation gave very different responses. The OPEN group were of the opinion that no one they knew (friends or family) had worked (excluding Games-time volunteers) on the Park, although they did know people who had worked in Westfield Stratford City. Indeed they also called into question the definition of 'local' in terms of local people finding employment and questioned whether these 'local' workers had been living in the area 6 months prior to their employment. On the other hand, the young people talked passionately about their experiences, and the experience of people they knew, of working at Games-times and how these roles had helped them to gain valuable skills and experience giving them the 'edge' in future job interviews.

### (iii) Employment in key sectors

Through the Games and the subsequent transformation of the Park to its legacy uses it is hoped that a significant number of employment opportunities will be created in a number of key sectors including high-tech, retail, sport and leisure, and creative and cultural industries.

Figure 4-7 shows the number of employees in these key sectors in 2011 in the host boroughs and London, and the proportion of all employment in these two areas, while Figure 4-8 shows how this proportion of employment has changed since 2003.

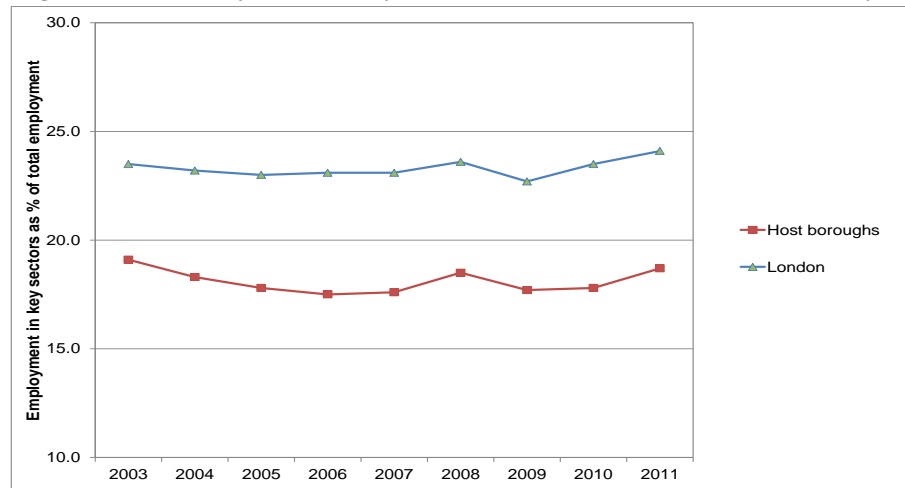
These figures show that in 2011 110,679 jobs and 19% of all employment in the host boroughs was in these key sectors, a proportion that has broadly remained the same, with some minor fluctuations, since 2003. However, the absolute number of employees has increased, for example, between 2008 and 2011 the number of employees in the key sectors increased by over 11,000. Across London as a whole a larger proportion of people work in the key sectors (24%), which does suggest that there is capacity for the host boroughs to grow their share.

**Figure 4-7: Employment in key sectors as a proportion of total employment, 2011**

Key Sector	Host Boroughs		London	
	number	%	number	%
High-tech manufacturing	921	0.16%	8,072	0.19%
High-tech services	32736	5.72%	301416	7.03%
Retail	41025	7.17%	373648	8.72%
Tourism	3718	0.65%	62947	1.47%
Sport	9715	1.70%	53983	1.26%
Creative	22564	3.94%	252818	5.90%

Source: Business Register and Employment Survey

**Figure 4-8: Employment in key sectors as a proportion of total employment, 2003-11**



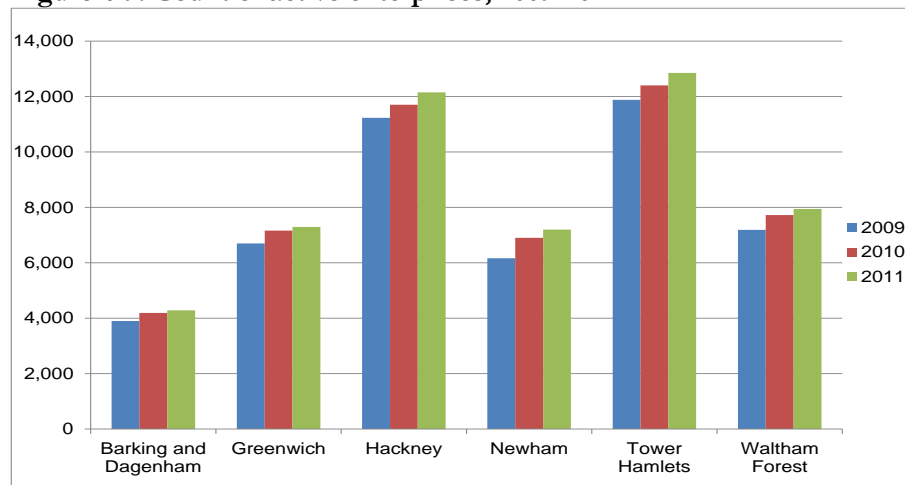
Source: Business Register and Employment Survey

Given the lack of data for 2012 it is not possible at this stage to comment on the extent to which the Games has created more employment in these key sectors. However, given the early stage at which the transformation of the Park is currently at, coupled with the fact the many of the new jobs located on the Park will not be created until 2015 it is unlikely that there would be any apparent legacy effect at this point.

#### (iv) New businesses

Like employment in key sectors, it is also too early, both in terms of data availability and in terms of legacy delivery, to be able to identify change in new businesses locating in East London as a result of the Games and their legacy activities. Figure 4-9 shows the count of active enterprises in each of the six host boroughs, and how this has changed since 2009. This shows that over this three year period Newham saw the largest growth in the number of businesses (17%) which was almost twice the growth rate of the other boroughs (Waltham Forest 11%, Barking and Dagenham 10%, Greenwich 9%, Hackney 8% and Tower Hamlets 8%). Although in absolute terms Newham still has notably fewer businesses than both Tower Hamlets and Hackney.

**Figure 4-9: Count of active enterprises, 2009-2011**



Source: Business Demography, ONS

The extent to which the Games helps to attract businesses to East London and the Park becomes a successful business location in legacy will depend in part on the success in transforming the press and broadcast centres. To do this, LLDC has appointed iCITY as the operator of these venues. iCITY is a Special Purpose Vehicle set up specifically to create a legacy use for the press and broadcast centres. They have taken a long lease of the two buildings (and the area in between them) and their vision is to create a digital and creative

district in this part of East London and a part of the wider London Tech City Initiative. To date, iCITY has already secured three anchor tenants:

- BT Sport moved in in February 2013 to start their fit out and will begin broadcasting in summer 2013;
- Loughborough University will create a new post-graduate research and executive education centre. Expected to open in 2015, the academic disciplines that will be based at iCITY are expected to include business and management, media and communications, digital technologies and sport (with a number of other subject areas being considered);<sup>115</sup> and
- Infinity will operate a state-of-the-art data centre of up to 260,000 square feet. It will be the UK's most advanced and environmentally friendly data centre supporting London's largest studios, innovation and research centres.<sup>116</sup>

Consultees noted that the press and broadcast centres are challenging structures to transform and successfully deliver in legacy, not least because of the challenges of transport and access given their location on the Park. However, consultees were confident that iCITY have appropriate measures and plans in place to create a viable legacy, and the number of strong tenancies already secured supports this confidence.

#### 4.4 Conclusions

The overriding conclusion from the evidence available for this sub-theme is that activities related to the 2012 Games have either directly (e.g. the construction of the Olympic Park) or indirectly (e.g. employment at Westfield Stratford City) created a significant amount of employment opportunities, a notable proportion of which have helped workless Londoners from the six host boroughs into employment. It is not possible at this stage to sum the employment opportunities noted above to provide an overall figure due to the risk of double counting and the incompatibility of the figures. This evidence does, however, provide insight into both the scale of employment opportunities created, which are likely to be in the tens of thousands, as well as the extent to which they can be considered additional, with the LDA and GLA evaluations estimating that the additionally of the employment opportunities created in relation to LEST 2012 are about 1 in 3 (i.e. for every three jobs created by LEST 2012, one would not have existed in the absence of the Games).

It is also apparent, through the intended plans of the LLDC, that a significant number of employment opportunities are still to be created both through the transformation of the Olympic Park (which will mainly be in construction) and the longer term legacy uses of the Olympic Park (which will include the creation of employment land resulting from the conversion of the press and broadcast centres, the management and operation of the venues and the staffing of the community and social facilities). These latter opportunities are particularly pertinent to this sub-theme as they are likely to be sustained opportunities, as opposed to time-limited; at a range of different skill levels including higher skilled; and across a range of different sectors (hi-tech, sport and leisure, retail, creative and cultural industries, education and health).

<sup>115</sup> See [http://www.lboro.ac.uk/service/publicity/news-releases/2013/49\\_LIL.html](http://www.lboro.ac.uk/service/publicity/news-releases/2013/49_LIL.html) and <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/london/>. Accessed 2 May 2013.

<sup>116</sup> See <http://infinitydc.net/2012/07/18/icity-preferred-bidder-status-for-olympic-press-and-broadcast-centres/>. Accessed 2 May 2013.



## 5 Convergence

This final sub-theme is in effect an amalgamation of all the activities covered by the other three sub-themes, as it has at its heart the overarching objective that: "*within 20 years, the communities which host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games will enjoy the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London*" (i.e. convergence between East London and London).<sup>117</sup> It was an objective which at the time Oxford Economics estimated could see the host boroughs producing an additional £6.5 billion GDP per year by 2030.<sup>118119</sup>

### 5.1 Legacy programmes and initiatives

The activity within the convergence sub-theme is encapsulated by the host borough's Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) that was first published in 2009. The SRF was an "*expression of the host boroughs determination to use the 2012 Games as a catalyst to reduce poverty and transform the environment for the benefit of [all] citizens*".<sup>120</sup> This was to be achieved by bringing together the physical regeneration of the host boroughs catalysed by the Games and the socio-economic regeneration of the communities who live within it. Essentially, the rationale for the SRF was to improve the coordination and delivery of socio-economic interventions linked to the Olympic Games legacy; to build on the 'Games effect' by providing sub-regional strategic leadership; and to harness the opportunities available through the sub region's improved connectivity, housing offer, improved public realm and economic growth. The SRF aimed to bring added value to the process of regeneration by supporting:

- More strategic planning and delivery;
- Building links between traditionally separate programme areas where an integrated approach offered significant gains; and
- Realising opportunities which lacked a clear champion to take them forward.

The activity of the SRF is currently guided by a framework and action plan for 2011-2015.<sup>121</sup>

This framework and action plan groups activities under the three themes of:

- Creating wealth and reducing poverty;
- Supporting healthier lifestyles; and
- Developing successful neighbourhoods.

For each of these themes the host boroughs have grouped a number of key activities which are shown in Figure 5-1.

<sup>117</sup> Host Boroughs (2009) *Convergence, Strategic Regeneration Framework, An Olympic legacy for the host boroughs*

<sup>118</sup> Oxford Economics (2010) *Six Host Boroughs Strategic Regeneration Framework – Economic Model*

<sup>119</sup> This modelling work was updated in 2013 and the results are discussed below.

<sup>120</sup> Host Boroughs (2009) *Convergence, Strategic Regeneration Framework, An Olympic legacy for the host boroughs*

<sup>121</sup> Host Borough Unit (2011) *Convergence Framework and Action Plan*

### Figure 5-1: Key convergence activities 2011-2015 by theme

#### Creating wealth and reducing poverty

- To ensure that the Work Programme<sup>122</sup> is effectively delivered and supports Convergence
- To maximise the Olympic employment legacy
- To maximise the inward investment legacy
- To develop partnership architecture with employers and training providers to support achievement of Convergence outcomes
- To increase the levels and relevance of qualifications of host borough residents

#### Supporting healthier lifestyles

- To give the children of the host boroughs the best start in life
- To reduce the number of people dying prematurely from preventable causes
- To reduce the number of people whose health affects their ability to secure or maintain work
- To increase physical activity and social capital through changes in the built environment
- To increase sports and physical activity participation especially in sports benefiting from a facility legacy from the 2012 Games
- To use Olympic and Paralympic momentum to motivate, raise aspirations and promote cultural activity

#### Developing successful neighbourhoods

- To develop partnership arrangements for the developing successful neighbourhoods theme
- To reduce levels of violent crime and gang activity
- To complete the Olympic public realm improvements programme and secure the legislative changes necessary for more effective environmental enforcement
- To increase the number of affordable homes and reduce overcrowding
- To deliver new city districts with a range of accessible and high quality facilities

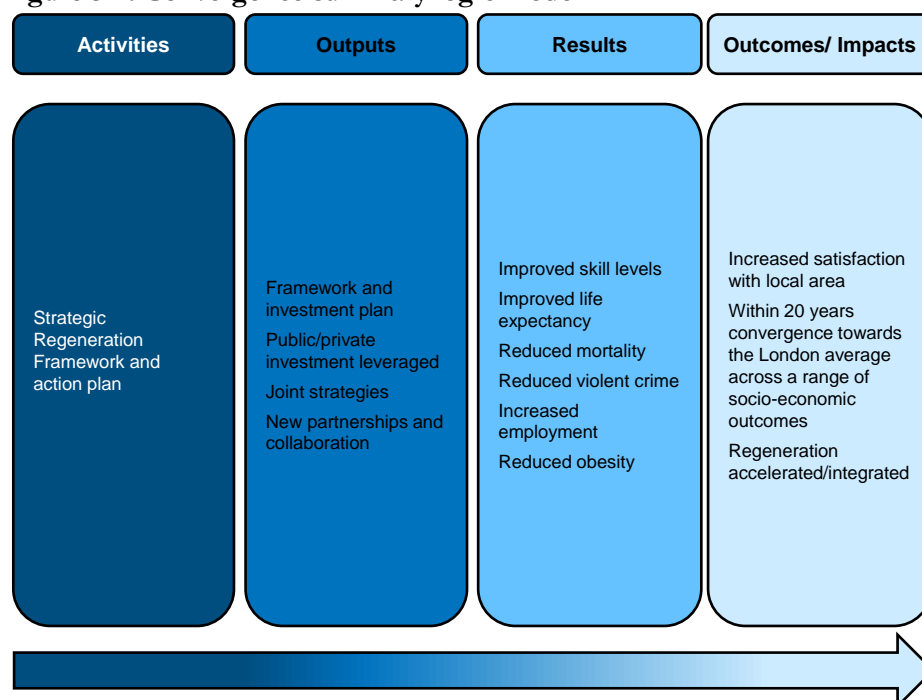
*Source: Host Borough Unit.*

Sitting behind each of these activities is a detailed action plan with clear ownership and timeframe for delivery.

The logic model below provides a headline summary of the activities, outputs, results, outcomes/ impacts for this sub-theme (Figure 5-2).

<sup>122</sup> A major new payment-for-results welfare-to-work programme that launched throughout Great Britain in June 2011.

**Figure 5-2: Convergence summary logic model**



## 5.2 Expenditure

Expenditure data for the Convergence sub-theme is not available.

## 5.3 Evidence

In reviewing the evidence for this sub-theme, this sub-section begins by looking at the current level of progress towards the Convergence indicators, before looking in turn at a number of other factors that have along with the 2012 Games helped contribute towards this progress. This includes the role and added value of the host boroughs, the wider East London regeneration story, the extent to which resident mobility has impacted upon progress and finally the image of East London.

### (i) Progress towards the Convergence indicators

For each SRF theme there is a clear set of 23 measures, based on secondary data sources, that allow for a regular and comprehensive assessment of progress, both in terms of actual improvement against a 2009 baseline, but also – perhaps more significantly – in comparison to the rest of London. The most recent assessment of progress was made in June 2012 using the latest available data at the time.

Based on the progress made by 2011 or 2012 (depending on data availability), and by looking at both the performance against the baseline and the comparison with London as a whole, the Host Boroughs Unit<sup>123</sup> has made a summary assessment for each of the 23 indicators reviewed<sup>124</sup> (Figure 5-3).

**Figure 5-3: Progress towards the Convergence indicators**

Indicator	Gap 2009	Gap 2011/2012	2014/15 Target	Progress and RAG rating
<b>Theme: Creating wealth and reducing poverty</b>				
Employment rate – aged 16-64	5.5	4.5	Narrow the gap to 2-3	Gap reducing – not on track
Unemployment rate 16+	2.3 %	2.2%	Narrow the gap	Gap reducing

<sup>123</sup> The dedicated team charge with coordinating the work of the six host boroughs.

<sup>124</sup> Host Borough Unit (2012) *Convergence Framework Annual Report 2011-2012*

Indicator	Gap 2009	Gap 2011/2012	2014/15 Target	Progress and RAG rating
	points	points	to 1-1.5% points	slightly – not on track
Median earning for full time workers living in the area	£30.7	£38.7	Narrow the gap to £25	Not on track – gap increased
19 year olds achieving NVQ level 2 threshold	4.4% points	2.4% points	Narrow the gap to 1-1.5% points	Gap reducing – on track
Percentage of working age population with no qualifications	5.4% points	3.8% points	Narrow the gap to 3-4% points	Gap reducing – on track
Proportion of children in working age families receiving key benefits	8.4% points	6.2% points *	Narrow the gap to 5-6% points	Gap reducing – on track
Pupils achieving at least Level 4 in English and Maths at Key Stage 2	2.2% points	0.9% points	Convergence with London average	Gap reducing – on track
Pupils achieving 5 GCSE grades A*-C (including Maths & English)	7.4% points	2.3% points	Narrow the gap to 3-4% points	Gap reducing – on track
Working age population qualified to at least Level 4	7.5% points	5.8% points	Narrow the gap to 3-4% points	Gap reducing – not on track
19 Year olds achieving NVQ Level 3 threshold	7.5% points	5.1% points	Narrow the gap to 3-4% points	Gap reducing – on track
<b>Theme: Supporting Healthier Lifestyles</b>				
Life expectancy – male	2.2 years	2.1 years*	Narrow the gap to 2 years	Gap reducing – on track
Life expectancy – female	1.7 years	1.6 years*	Narrow the gap to 1.5 years	Gap reducing – on track
% of children achieving a good level of development at age 5	6.0% points	1.0% points	Narrow the gap to 3.2% points	Gap reducing – on track
Obesity levels in school children in year 6	2.2% points	3.0% points	Narrow the gap to 1% point	Gap increased – not on track
Mortality rates from all circulatory diseases at ages under 75	26.0	21.5*	Narrow the gap to 25 points	Gap reducing – on track (2014/15 target achieved)
Mortality rates from all cancers at ages under 75	19.6	12.2*	Narrow the gap to 10 points	Gap reducing – on track
Recommended adult activity (3 times 30 mins per week)	2.6% points	2.5% points	Narrow the gap to 1% point	Gap reducing slightly – not on track
No sport or activity (0 times 30 mins per week)	5.4% points	4.4% points	Narrow the gap to 2% points	Not on track – gap reducing due to worse performance across London
<b>Theme: Developing successful neighbourhoods</b>				
Violent crime levels (Violence against the person per 1,000 population)	6.1	3.1	Narrow the gap to 3-4	Gap reducing – on track
Economic Growth – Income		15.52% points	Narrow the gap to 14% points	New measure and baseline
Economic Growth – Job Density	2.7% points	2.6% points	Narrow the gap to 2.0% points	New measure and baseline
Improved street and environmental cleanliness (new measure)		6.6% points	Narrow the gap to 10% points	New measure and baseline
% of households defined as overcrowded (new measure)		2.9 % points*	Narrow the gap to 2.2% points	New measure and baseline
Overall satisfaction (new measure)		6.4% points*	Narrow the gap to 5.3	New measure and baseline

Source: Convergence Framework Annual Report 2011-2012 and latest update

Note: \* = 2011 data.

Based on this analysis it is apparent that for 11 of the indicators the gap with the rest of London is closing and that the host boroughs are on track to achieve convergence by 2020. For a further four indicators the gap with the rest of London is closing but not significantly enough to date and for one indicator the gap has reduced but this is due to worse performance in London. There are five indicators that are new and only two where the gap has increased:

- The gap in terms of median earning for full time workers living in the area has increased from £30.70 in 2009 to £38.70 in 2012; and
- The gap in terms of obesity levels in school children in year 6 has increased from 2.2 percentage points in 2009 to 3.0 percentage points in 2012.

It is also worth noting that each of the themes uses one of the 23 indicators as its 'key measure', with two of the three currently on track so far. The key measure for:

- Supporting healthier lifestyles is 'life expectancy' for men and women, of which both are currently on track;
- Developing successful neighbourhoods is 'violent crime levels' which is on track; and
- Creating wealth and reducing poverty is the 'employment rate' which is currently *not* on track.

#### **(ii) Added value of the host boroughs working together**

Consultees were unanimous in their view that the six host boroughs responded to the opportunity presented by the 2012 Games and the Convergence agenda by delivering a more integrated approach to regeneration. It was a response that was always predicated on the context that getting six autonomous bodies, with different priorities and issues to work together was a significant challenge, and not one to be underestimated. The Games, from as early as the bid stage, provided the impetus for the host boroughs to come together, to think collectively and to sign up to the same legacy objectives. The result of this was that not only did they agree to work closely together (for example forming the Joint Planning Authority Team which significantly improved the speed at which planning issues on the Olympic Park site could be dealt with) but it drove a joined up and coherent approach to regeneration at the strategic level, as well as providing momentum to ensure things happened.

This coherence and integration was supported by the creation of the Host Boroughs Unit which had the resource and space – away from the day to day delivery of local authority activity – to think strategically about regeneration and how best to maximise the opportunity of the Games. The commitment of the host boroughs to work together was also formalised through the publication of the Strategic Regeneration Framework in 2009.

Consultees also noted two further inter-related benefits of integration and the creation of the Host Boroughs Unit. The first was that by working together they had power, and a voice, as six boroughs that they would not have had individually. This was seen as particularly important given the number of significant voices involved in the delivery of the Games and their legacy (e.g. ODA, LOCOG, GLA, TfL and Central Government). Linked to this, it also meant that the range of different stakeholders involved (such as ODA, LOCOG and TfL) only had to have one conversation, as opposed to six. As a result the host boroughs were able to ensure that all levels of Government and other related agencies were fully bought into the Convergence agenda.

It was however *"never a perfect marriage"* and as such there was a need for flexibility, not least because they could not always do everything together. The result was that, in practice, the six local authorities developed a way of working whereby they would work together on some issues where there was a common objective but separately on others. In some instances this was because the issue was a locally specific one, for others it was because it made more sense to work with a different local authority (for example it was noted that in looking at violent crime it made more strategic sense for Waltham Forest to work with Haringey).

In terms of the difference that this integrated approach has made the view of consultees was that the most notable difference has been in improving the public realm, health, employment and skills as well as generally strong progress on the Convergence indicators. Consultees were of the opinion that there has however been much less impact on issues such as transport, inward investment and housing.

Focusing in on those areas where the integrated approach has made a more notable difference it was apparent through both the consultations and the wider evidence available, that:

- The host boroughs drove forward the implementation of a joint programme of public realm capital schemes comprising 71 projects structured around 10 priority packages. These improvements have made a very positive contribution to the transformation of East London as a place;
- The host boroughs have invested significant resource and effort into ensuring that local residents were able to access the employment opportunities arising out of the Games. Based on data from ODA and LOCOG it is apparent that over 30,000 host borough residents found some form of employment as a direct result of the Games;
- The host boroughs provided a number of joint services including planning, building control and regulation which were instrumental in supporting the development of the Olympic Park and the successful delivery of the Games; and
- The host boroughs have secured a top slice of the public health grant as well as a grant from Hackney and City Primary Care Trust to support the delivery of activities aimed at improving the health of host borough residents.

### **(iii) Wider East London story**

In discussing the extent to which the host boroughs are closing the gap with the rest of London, a number of stakeholders pointed towards the wider regeneration story within East London. It is a story that began with Canary Wharf in terms of moving the centre of London eastwards. It is a move eastwards that has also been further encouraged by the success of Tech City, the web of interdependent technology and digital businesses clustered around Shoreditch and Old Street in Hackney.

Therefore, while the success of Canary Wharf and Tech City have been two of the most significant drivers of change and growth in East London and particularly in Tower Hamlets and Hackney respectively, East London is also home to a much broader programme of regeneration. Through its work for the host boroughs Oxford Economics<sup>125</sup> identified 17 public and private-sector led developments, in addition to those directly related to the Games and their legacy, that will provide the key economic development inputs over the next 10 to 20 years. Together the combined impact of these developments (coupled with the developments directly related to the Games such as iCity and the Park itself) they forecast would see the host boroughs gaining an additional 190,400 jobs and £36 billion GVA above baseline levels in East London by 2030. Alongside this economic activity, the work forecast that the proposed housing developments in the Host Boroughs could lead to an additional 521,300 people living in 93,874 new homes across the six boroughs by 2030.

Therefore, whilst the Olympic Games has and will continue to have a significant impact upon transforming East London, it is only part – albeit a significant and catalytic one – of a much wider growth story as London continues to move east. Given the scale of the growth forecast it is clear that the achievement or not of the Convergence indicators by 2020 will depend on much more than just the legacy of the Games.

To put this into context, about 10,000 new homes and around 8,500 new jobs will be created on the Olympic Park. This equates to 9% and 4% respectively of the new homes and jobs that Oxford Economics forecast being created in the host boroughs by 2030. As well as providing some context around the scale of the Olympic legacy within the wider East London story, this

<sup>125</sup> Oxford Economic/Growth Boroughs (2013) *Oxford Economics 2030 Forecast for London's Growth Boroughs – Summary*

also underlines the fact that the on-going regeneration is not – and nor should it be – only the responsibility of the LLDC. To deliver the scale of change forecast by Oxford Economics will require a comprehensive and coordinated effort across a broad range of public and private sector organisations.

#### (iv) Resident mobility

In considering the impact of the Games on the Convergence indicators and more generally on the transformation of East London, the question of resident mobility is also an important one. Understanding resident mobility lies at the heart of assessing the extent to which community transformation and Convergence have genuinely occurred or whether they are the result of new higher skilled, better paid and healthier people moving in and squeezing out the lower skilled, poorer and less healthy residents. It is an issue that is common to many large scale regeneration projects and it is argued by many that flagship regeneration projects do contribute to displacing existing residents and creating new divisions within areas.

In fact, resident mobility can work in a number of different ways. A 2010 study by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) looking into 'Population churn and its impact on socio-economic convergence in the five original London 2012 host boroughs' identified four types of areas:<sup>126</sup>

- 'Escalator' areas, where residents whose circumstance improve move out of the area;
- 'Gentrifier' areas, where better off households move into the area;
- 'Transit' areas, where households move in and out, to and from less deprived areas; and
- 'Isolation' areas, where households move in and out, to and from similarly or more deprived areas.

Indeed, this study started from the premise that while *"households in the five boroughs will gain, these families may then move out of the boroughs, to be replaced by more deprived incomers – leaving the deprivation profile of the boroughs more or less unchanged"*<sup>127</sup>. The study also noted that *"churn is not inherently bad"*<sup>128</sup> for an area, with different types of churn generating both positive and negative outcomes.

The evidence currently available on mobility is, however, limited in terms of the depth in which it explores the issue, the timescales it covers and the cross-sectional nature of the data available.

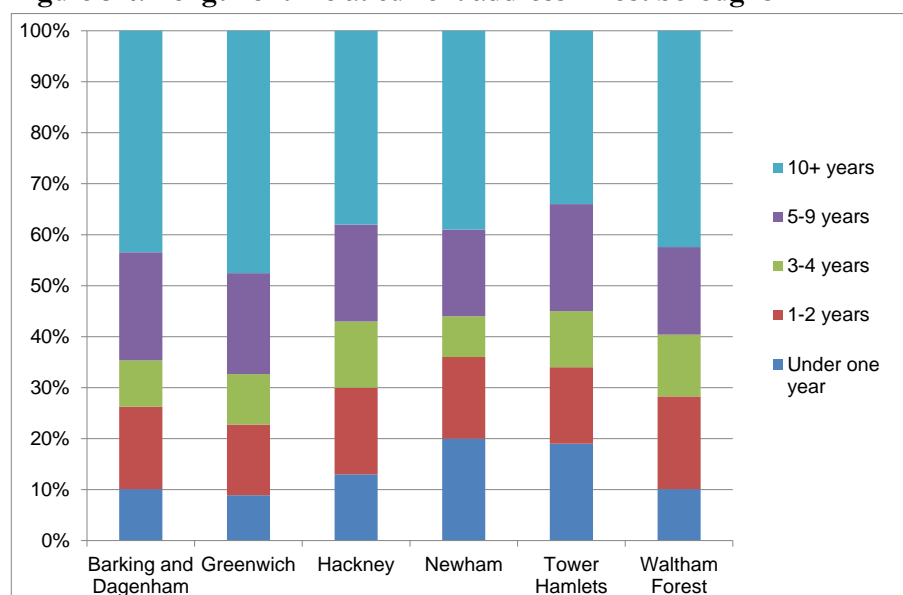
Of the data that is currently available, the Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey provides some interesting insight. The survey found that the majority of respondents (75%) had lived in the same East London borough for more than five years, although this headline figure did vary between the individual boroughs with respondents in Newham and Tower Hamlets appearing more mobile than those in Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich. Nearly one-third of respondents in Tower Hamlets (32%) and Newham (30%) had moved into the boroughs within the last five years, compared to only a fifth in Greenwich (18%) and Barking and Dagenham (22%). This is a pattern of variation further supported by the fact that 20% of respondents resident in Newham, and 19% resident in Tower Hamlets had lived at their current address for less than a year, while the corresponding figures for Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich were 10% and 9% respectively (Figure 5-4).

<sup>126</sup> DCMS (2010) *Population churn and its impact on socio-economic convergence in the five London 2012 host boroughs*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*

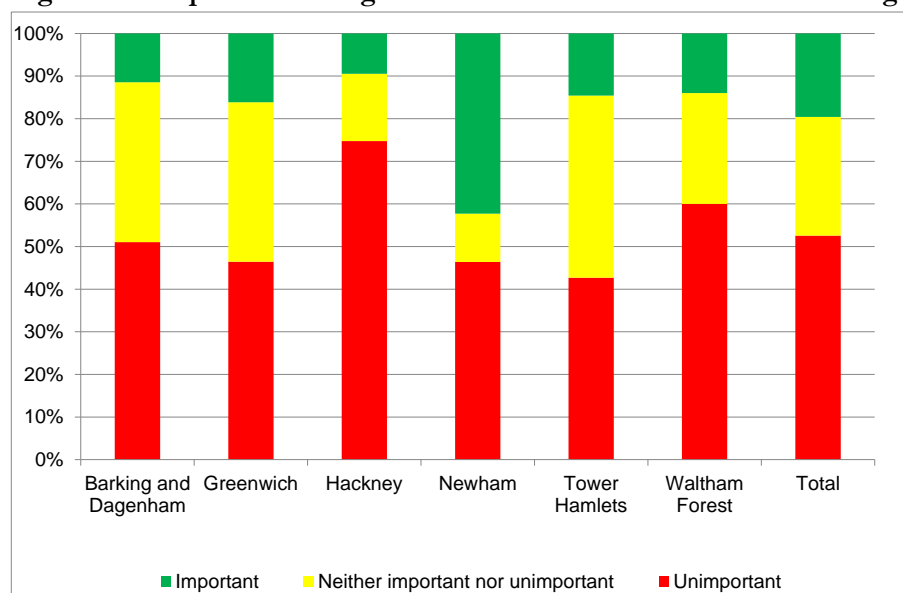
**Figure 5-4: Length of time at current address – host boroughs**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

The respondents who had moved into the borough they currently live in within the last five years were asked how important the regeneration of the area as a result of the 2012 Games was in making them decide to move to the borough. Although only based on a small sample of responses, a fifth (19%) felt that it was 'important' with 51% saying that it was 'unimportant'. This pattern was broadly reflected across the host boroughs with the exception of Newham where 41% of respondents felt that the regeneration resulting from the Games was 'important' in their decision to move into the area (Figure 5-5).<sup>129</sup>

**Figure 5-5: Importance of regeneration in decision to move into Borough**



Source: Olympic and Paralympic Host Boroughs Resident Survey (2012)

Interestingly, of those who felt that the 'regeneration of the area was important' in their decision to move to the borough, 52% had lived in the area for less than a year. Although only based on a very small sample of responses, this finding may suggest that as the regeneration effects of the Games have become more visibly apparent they have yielded a bigger influence on people's decision making with regard to moving into the area.

<sup>129</sup> Owing to the small sample sizes involved the confidence interval for this finding is +/- 14% at the 95% confidence level.



For those who felt that the regeneration effects of the Games were an 'important' factor in their decision, the three most commonly cited factors were the improvements to infrastructure/ facilities that had resulted from the Games (20%); the role the Games played in increasing money/ revenue/ business and being generally good for the economy (17%); and the transport improvements that had resulted (14%).

The fact that these survey results show that the majority of respondents (75%) had lived in the same East London borough for more than five years suggests that resident mobility is currently fairly low. However, to make firm conclusions this figure would need to be compared to other London boroughs which may have a higher or lower rate. This data is not available as the East London survey did not cover local authorities other than the host boroughs.

That said, given the scale of transformation activities still to be implemented on the Park, including the creation of nearly 9,000 new homes, coupled with a number of other private sector developments, there is a possibility that issues related to resident mobility and the impact they have on the socio-economic make up of East London may only just be emerging.

Through consultations it would seem that the issue is less likely to be one of 'escalator' area as the DCLG study first thought and more likely to be one of gentrification, as better off households are drawn to the area as a result of the *"housing, the environment and transport"*<sup>130</sup>

In order to mitigate the possible negative impact associated with resident mobility and resulting gentrification the current plans for new homes in and around the Olympic Park include a notable proportion of social and affordable housing (just under 50% of the homes in the Athletes' Village and 35% of the homes to be delivered by the LLDC through its transformation of the Olympic Park). However, as noted in the DCLG report, the provision of more affordable housing does *"also involve a significant task in community building and housing management"*.<sup>131</sup>

#### **(v) Image of East London**

It is apparent through the analysis of the Convergence indicators that East London is changing in terms of its socio-economic makeup. In addition, it is also apparent through early analysis discussed in this report that it is changing as a place (see Transforming place). An important question therefore, is the extent to which these changes have and are impacting on the image and perception of East London, both amongst local residents (see Transforming communities above) but also more widely, particularly in the media.

As part of the meta-evaluation Lancaster University<sup>132</sup> was commissioned to undertake a media analysis focused on answering a series of questions, one of which was: did the Games alter perceptions of East London as a place to live, work and invest (see separate Appendix). To do this, the study explored a very large collection of new reportage and general English: approximately 13 billion words of general English from 2008 to 2012; 93 million words of UK national newspaper reporting; and 35 million words of global press reporting.

Using specialised computer software and linguistically informed investigations of patterns the study was able to conclude that *"there is little doubt in the UK Press [that] the Games shifted discussion of East London away from what seemed to be an almost exclusively negative discussion focussed upon poverty and welfare dependence towards a more positive discussion focussed upon regeneration and investment"*.

More specifically, in seeking to unpick this effect the study found that in the UK press, the representation of East London in the first half of 2012 was split between reference to the City and the East End. The City was characterised *"as a place of big business"* and some of the negative connotations of that, while the East End was represented *"as being associated with welfare and economic problems"*. The result of which is that overall East London and particularly the East End is *"represented fairly negatively"*. However, in the latter half of 2012 East London is *"more positively*

<sup>130</sup> Department for Communities and Local Government (2010) *Population churn and its impact on socio-economic convergence in the five London 2012 host boroughs*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>132</sup> McEnery T, Potts A and Xiao R (2013) *London 2012 Games Media Impac Study*

*represented being written about in term of regeneration and investment and less in terms of poverty and welfare dependence".*

In terms of the Global Press in the first half of 2012, discussions of East London focused on the City and Canary Wharf in an even more pronounced way than in the UK press. In fact in the Global Press the study found that *"East London is seen as a place where one trades and invests through, rather than one trades and invests in"*. However, in the second half of 2012 there is again a change in reporting *"every bit as profound as that which occurred in the UK press"*, as the positive association of East London with the Games emerged as a *"notable focus for reporting"*. This leads the study to conclude that *"overall, the Games appear to have made the world focus more on East London, rather than the city of London, and appear also to have highlighted investment with regard to the area"*.

Looking specifically at the individual host boroughs it is apparent that in the UK press they *"gain positive associations via their identification with East London"* and in the case of Newham in particular the *"more negatively loaded associations...relating to welfare fell away after the Games and a more positive set of associations became evident"*. In terms of the global press the *"host boroughs generally attract positive associations relating to regeneration and investment through the Games"*.

The study concludes by noting that: *"the Olympics and Paralympics have [positively] altered perceptions of East London as a place to live, work and invest in"*.

In support of this, the Olympic Monitoring Research undertaken by the GLA pre, during and at two points post Games<sup>133</sup> gathered the views of a representative sample of Londoners through an online survey. At all four points this survey found that the regeneration of East London was the second most recognised benefit of the Olympic Games (after promoting London around the world): 56% of respondents identified it as a benefit in the pre-Games survey in May 2012, 64% identified it as a benefit in the during-Games survey in August 2012, 56% identified it as a benefits in the post-Games survey in October 2012 and 59% identified it as a benefit in the post-Games survey in March 2013.

## 5.4 Conclusions

Based on this evidence it is possible to conclude that good progress is being made on Convergence with 11 of the 18 indicators currently measured 'on track'. In addition, for a further five indicators the gap with London is closing albeit either not fast enough or not for the right reasons.

It is not currently clear how much this progress has been influenced and driven by the Games, particularly as there is a wider regeneration story in East London aside from the Games. However, it is apparent that the Games provided the impetus that was necessary to ensure that the six host boroughs thought more cohesively and collectively about their approach to regeneration, and that it was because of the Games that a more integrated approach to regeneration in East London has emerged (formalised through the creation of the Host Boroughs Unit and the SRF).

In addition to changes in the socio-economic indicators, it is also apparent that the image and perceptions of East London are changing. It would appear that in the media, at least, that East London is moving away from an image of welfare, poverty and economic problems and towards one that is more focused on regeneration and investment.

<sup>133</sup> Greater London Authority (2012-2013) *London 2012 Monitoring Online Survey of Londoners*

## Annex A: Property Value Growth

## A-1. Introduction

This annex presents the headline findings of the analysis undertaken by the meta-evaluation team in seeking to understand the impact of the 2012 Games on property values – both residential and commercial – in East London.

Understanding how the Games impacted on East London property values is particularly important in providing insight into the impact of the Games on 'Transforming place' and the sense to which the Games have changed the property market in East London; but it also has implications for 'Transforming communities' and 'Convergence', especially the influence that residential property prices may have on population mobility and pricing local residents out of the market.

In seeking to understand the impact of the Games on property prices there are four key issues that have implications on the quality and robustness of any assessment made. These issues are of a magnitude that they need to be noted at the outset:

- The limited availability of data – in scoping out the feasibility of this assessment it was quickly apparent that there is not a 'perfect' source of data. Some sources provided details of values but were not available at the spatial scale required, while others did not cover the necessary time period;
- The budget available – in order to truly understand how the Games have impacted on property values a significant amount of resource would be required to develop appropriate models, interrogate and analyse the data and to test and refine the findings with relevant stakeholders. The extent to which this was possible was limited at this phase of the meta-evaluation;
- The timing of the assessment – in addition to limiting the availability of the data it could also be argued that this assessment is being undertaken too early for impact to have materialised. For example, one academic the meta-evaluation team spoke to, who had previously undertaken some analysis on the impact of the announcement of the Games on property prices,<sup>134</sup> noted that he would not be undertaking any further work for at least a couple of years after 2012; and
- Truly understanding the counterfactual – making an assessment on the role of the Games in changing East London property values is a complicated assessment not least because the factors that determine and drive property values are numerous and multi-faceted (for example, house prices are based on the number of bedrooms and proximity to transport linkages). It is an assessment that is also further complicated by the global economic downturn that commenced in 2008 and the subsequent economic recession in the UK as this introduces the complicated question of whether the Games had a counter-cyclical effect i.e. did the Games 'protect' property prices from significant reductions.

## A-2. Method and approach

Given the caveats noted above the method and approach adopted has been to purchase the 'best available' data on commercial and residential property prices and to undertake some basic analysis using a difference-in-difference approach to compare changes in value in East London with other comparator areas.

### (iii) Commercial data

Through consultation with a range of stakeholders from within government and the private sector (e.g. commercial property specialists) it was apparent that given the requirements of the study the best data source available was IPD's property market data.

This data provides time series performance data on real estate investment properties covering market valuation, income, property expenditure, location and use. The data was available from 2001 to 2012 and could be broken down to the individual East London boroughs that are the

<sup>134</sup> Georgios Kavetsos (2012) *The Impact of the London Olympics Announcement on Property Prices*. Published in Urban Studies Issue 49.

focus of this study.<sup>135</sup> It should be noted that due to the small sample size that data was not available for Waltham Forest.

#### (iv) Commercial comparators

The commercial comparator areas used for the analysis were London City, London Mid Town and London West End. While not providing a 'like for like' comparison these areas had the advantage of being established commercial areas and therefore provided a good 'benchmark' against which to compare the emerging commercial market in East London.

#### (v) Residential data

Following similar consultation with regard to residential property data it was agreed that the best source was Land Registry house price data.

This data provides time series average house prices and was available from 1995 to 2012 and could be broken down to both individual borough level and also postcode, which enabled finer grain analysis to be undertaken including the Olympic Park opportunity area.<sup>136</sup>

#### (vi) Residential comparators

The selection of the London borough comparators for this analysis was based on two sources. First, the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) listing which ranks local authorities by their level of deprivation. It is a composite score based on indicators such as income, health, living environment, crime and employment. Under this method, the boroughs which most closely match the six host boroughs (on the basis of rank of average IMD score) are Brent, Haringey, Islington, Lambeth, Lewisham and Southwark.

Secondly, the ONS output area classification measure. This categorises local authority areas according to an indicator set based on individual and area-based indicators. Using this approach, the top six comparator boroughs are identified as Enfield, Haringey, Brent, Ealing, Southwark and Croydon.

### A-3. Change in commercial property values

In analysing commercial property values two measures were particularly important:

- **Capital Growth** is calculated as the change in capital value, less any capital expenditure incurred, expressed as a percentage of capital employed over the period concerned.
- **Rental Growth** is calculated as the increase in the open market rental value, expressed as a percentage of open market rental value at the beginning of the period concerned

In looking at both of these measures the data has been indexed to 2003 (i.e. the decision for London to bid to host the Games) and is based on percentage growth rates.

Looking first at growth in capital values it is apparent that between 2003 and mid-2007 the individual host boroughs experienced a similar capital value growth trajectory and at a similar rate. In Tower Hamlets capital values peaked in July 2007, at 42.7% higher than 2003. In Barking and Dagenham it was 41% higher, Hackney 40.9% higher, Greenwich 35.8% higher and Newham 32.7% higher.

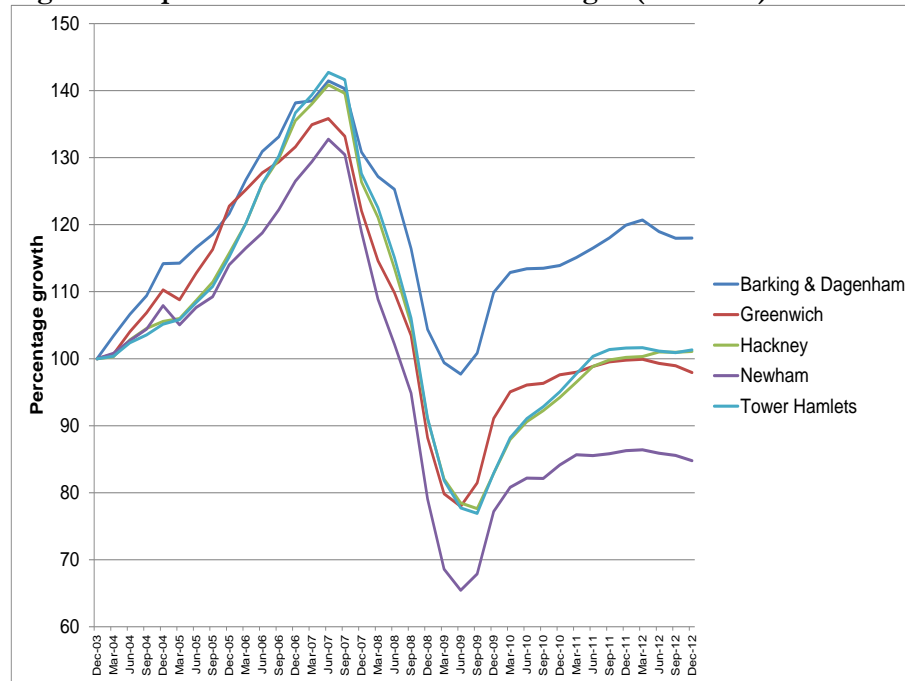
From this peak, capital values then fell between mid-2007 and mid-2009. However, whilst capital values fell across all of the host boroughs, it did so at notably different rates. Capital values in Newham reached a low point of 34.6% lower than in 2003. This was lower than Tower Hamlets, Greenwich and Hackney which fell to similar levels – 23.1%, 22% and 21.5% lower than 2003, respectively. However, Barking and Dagenham only fell to 2.3% below the 2003 level.

<sup>135</sup> The six boroughs are Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest.

<sup>136</sup> A 2km boundary around the Olympic Park comprising 14 postcodes.

Between mid-2009 and the end of 2012 capital values did begin to rise again across all of the host boroughs, albeit slowly and at different rates. By the end of 2012 only Barking and Dagenham had seen any notable growth in capital values growth compared to 2003 (18% higher). Hackney (1.1% higher) and Tower Hamlets (1.3% higher) saw a very minor increase, while in Greenwich and Newham capital values were actually below the 2003 level (2.1% lower and 15.2% lower respectively) (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Capital Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs (2003=100)**



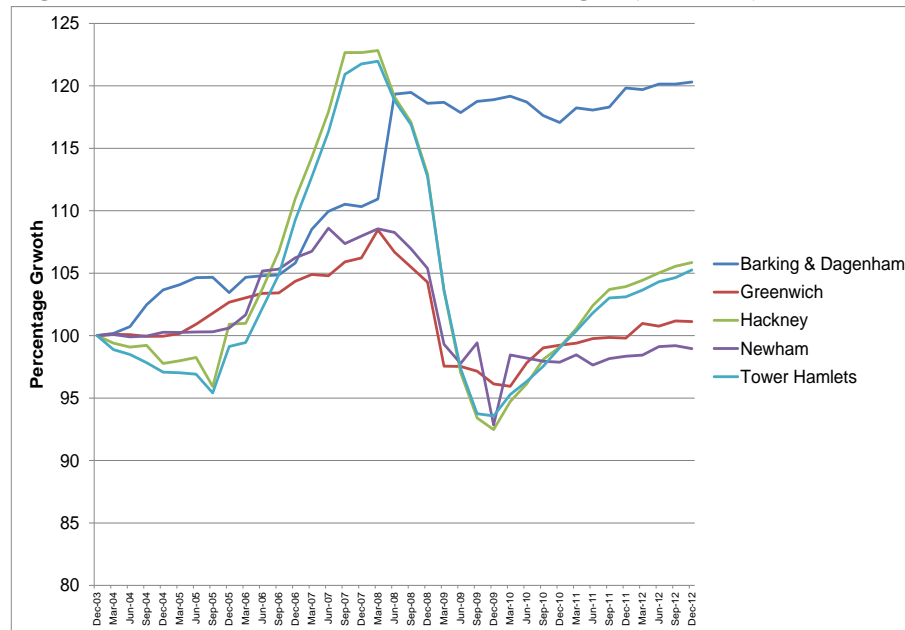
Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

In terms of Rental Growth the picture is slightly different. Between 2003 and 2005 rental value growth was relatively flat in all five of the host borough for which data was available. Hackney and Tower Hamlets saw very minor decreases while Barking and Dagenham, Newham and Greenwich saw minor increases – all within 1 to 4 percentage points.

However, from 2006 onwards rental value growth rates varied quite significantly between the five boroughs (Figure 2):

- In Newham, rental values grew by around 5 to 8% on 2003 levels between 2005 and 2008 before falling to below 2003 from early 2009 and have remained fairly steady at around 1 to 2% lower than 2003 to the end of 2012.
- In Tower Hamlets and Hackney (which followed a remarkably similar trajectory) rental values rose steadily and fairly quickly between 2005 and 2007, peaking at a high of about 22% higher than 2003 values in late 2007, early 2008. Rental values then fell almost as steadily and quickly between mid-2008 and early 2010 (reaching a low of 7% below 2003 values) before gradually increasing to about 5% higher than 2003 values in 2012.
- In Barking and Dagenham rental value growth has generally risen slowly but steadily between 2003 and 2012, peaking at 20.3% higher than 2003 values at the end of 2012.
- In Greenwich rental values rose slowly between 2003 and early 2008, peaking at 8% higher than 2003. Between 2008 and 2010 it then fell to 4% below 2003 levels, before increasing slowly to 5.3% higher than 2003 values by the end of 2012.

**Figure 2: Rental Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs (2003=100)**

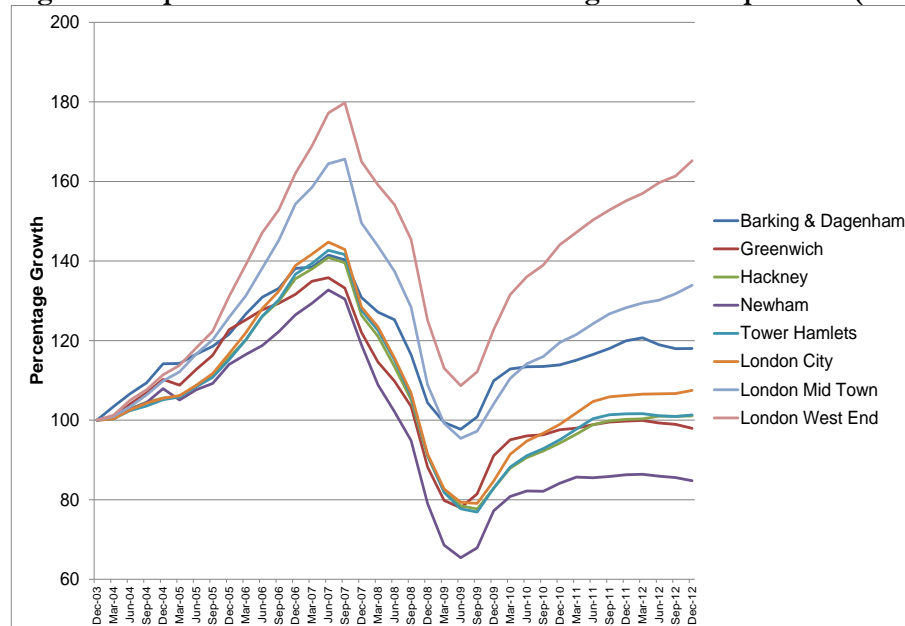


Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

In an attempt to understand the 'London 2012 effect' on these changes in both growth in capital values and rental values, in Figures 3 and 4 below the data for the host boroughs is compared to the three comparator areas of London City, London Mid Town and London West End.

It is instantly apparent from Figure 3, that in terms of capital value growth, there appears to be no 'London 2012 effect' as the rate and trajectory of change for the host boroughs closely mirrors that of the three comparator areas, albeit Mid Town and West End again have a higher rate of growth. Mid Town capital values peaked at 65.6% higher than 2003 in 2007 and had returned to 33.9% higher than 2003 by the end of 2012. While in the West End capital values peaked at 79.8% higher than 2003 in 2007 and was 65.2% higher than 2003 by the end of 2012, capital values in this comparator also never dropped below 2003 levels.

**Figure 3: Capital Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs and comparators (2003=100)**



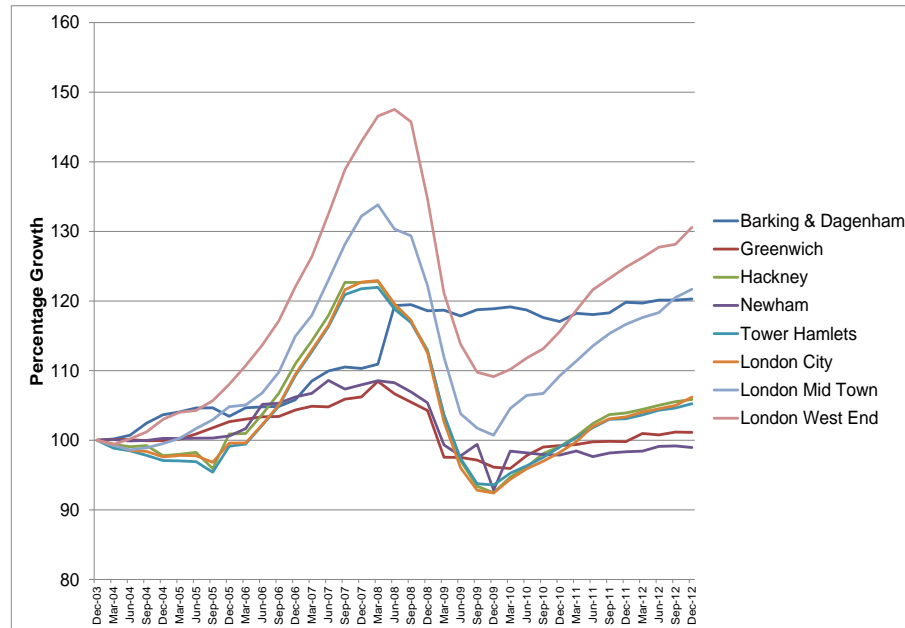
Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

As can be seen from Figure 4 below, the rate and trajectory of rental value growth in Tower Hamlets and Hackney is mirrored by the three comparator areas, with the City mirroring it

almost exactly. Rental value growth in Mid Town and West End is however higher than all other areas. In fact only Barking and Dagenham has shown a similar rate of growth to these two comparators, albeit following a different trajectory (slow and steady growth as opposed to peaks and troughs as was the case in the comparator areas. These findings would suggest that there appears to be no 'London 2012 effect' on commercial rental values is broadly consistent with the comparator areas.

A more comprehensive and detailed analysis would, however, be required to fully understand whether there was any Games effect on commercial property values. It is also something that may appear over time as further development of commercial land takes place in East London.

**Figure 4: Rental Growth 2003-2012 host boroughs and comparators (2003=100)**



Source: IPD UK Quarterly Index, Grant Thornton analysis

#### A-4. Change in residential property values

The analysis of residential property values is based on average house prices of properties sold in a particular borough or postcode.

Between 2003 and 2012 average house prices in the six host borough increased by 45%, and in the Olympic Park area of influence they increased by 49%. Between 2005 and 2012 average house prices grew by 28% in the host boroughs and 33% in the Olympic Park area of influence.

The general pattern of growth has been a steady increase between 2003 and 2007 before falling in 2008-09 as a result of the UK recession and global financial crisis, followed by a subsequent recovery and further growth between 2010 and 2012 (Figure 5).



**Figure 5: Average house price growth 2003-2012 host boroughs and Olympic Park area of influence**

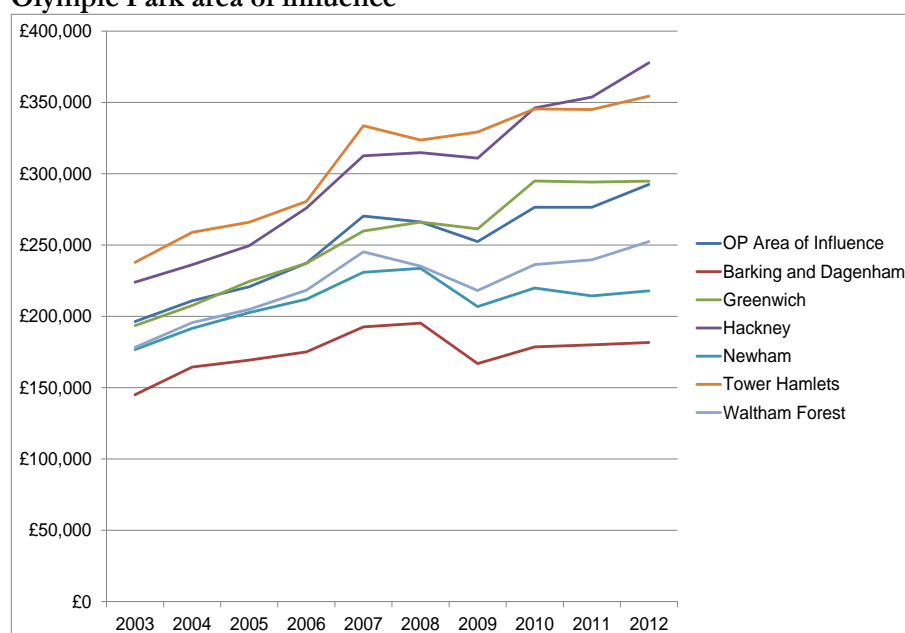


Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

However, by looking at individual host boroughs rather than them as a group a more varied picture emerges. Across the six host boroughs the average house price in 2012 ranged from £377,754 in Hackney to £181,717 in Barking and Dagenham. In terms of growth there was also significant variation. Between 2003 and 2012 average house prices grew by 69% in Hackney (the most) compared to only 23% in Newham and 25% in Barking and Dagenham. In Greenwich (52%), Tower Hamlets (49%), the Olympic Park area of influence (49%) and Waltham Forest (42%) growth rates were similar. The variance is even more apparent when looking at the growth in average house prices between 2005 and 2012. In this period house prices in Newham and Barking and Dagenham only grew by 7%, where as in Hackney growth was 51%. For the other four areas the growth rates were again similar: Greenwich (31%), Tower Hamlets (33%), the Olympic Park area of influence (33%) and Waltham Forest (23%) (Figure 6).

Across the individual boroughs a slightly different pattern of growth is also apparent, with the recession impacting differently on different boroughs, for example in Greenwich and Hackney growth simply slowed between 2008 and 2009 whilst in Newham and Barking and Dagenham it shrunk and is yet to recover to pre-2008 levels.

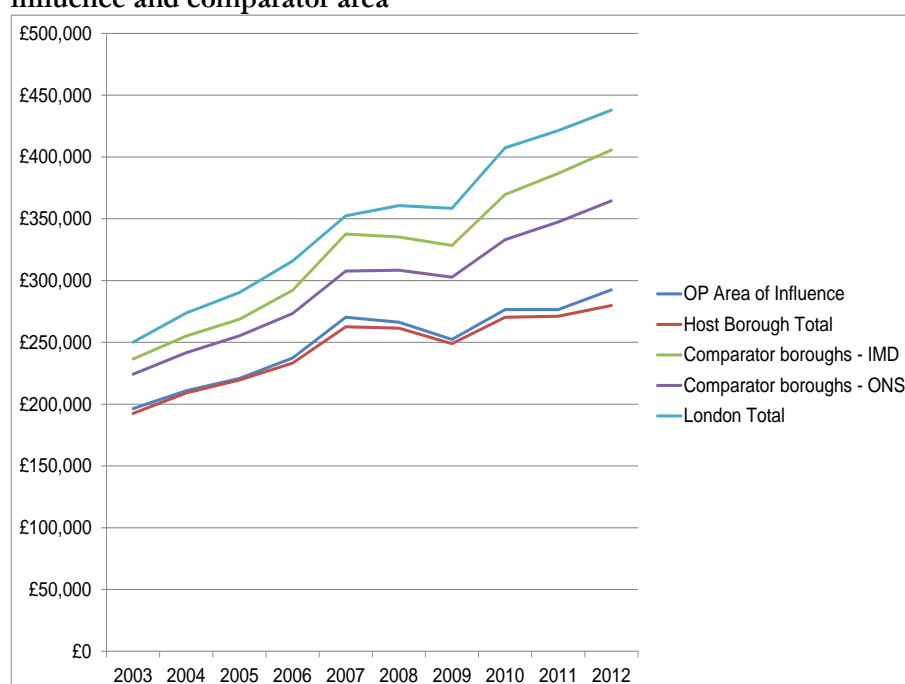
**Figure 6: Average house price growth 2003-2012 individual host boroughs and Olympic Park area of influence**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

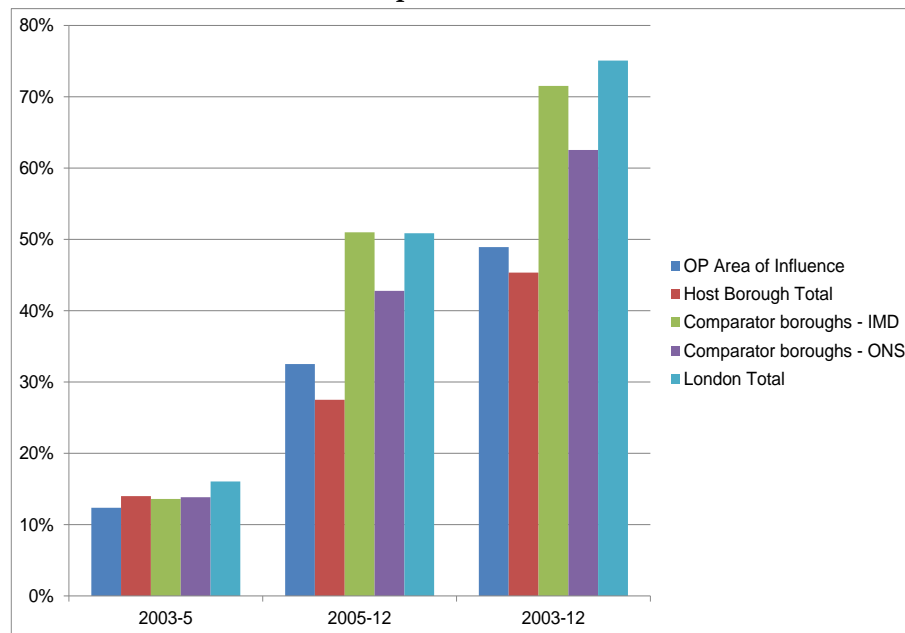
By comparing growth patterns in the host boroughs to growth patterns in London as a whole and the two comparator groups of authorities it is apparent that there has been little or no 'London 2012 effect' on residential property prices to date. Figure 7 and Figure 8 show that growth rates in the Olympic Park area of influence and the host boroughs follow a very similar growth trajectory to the comparators, only at a lower rate. Average residential property prices across London as a whole grew by 75% between 2003 and 2012, while in the IMD comparator boroughs they grew by 72% and across the ONS comparator boroughs they grew by 63% – all notably above the host borough average of 45%.

**Figure 7: Average house price growth 2003-2012 host boroughs, Olympic Park area of influence and comparator area**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

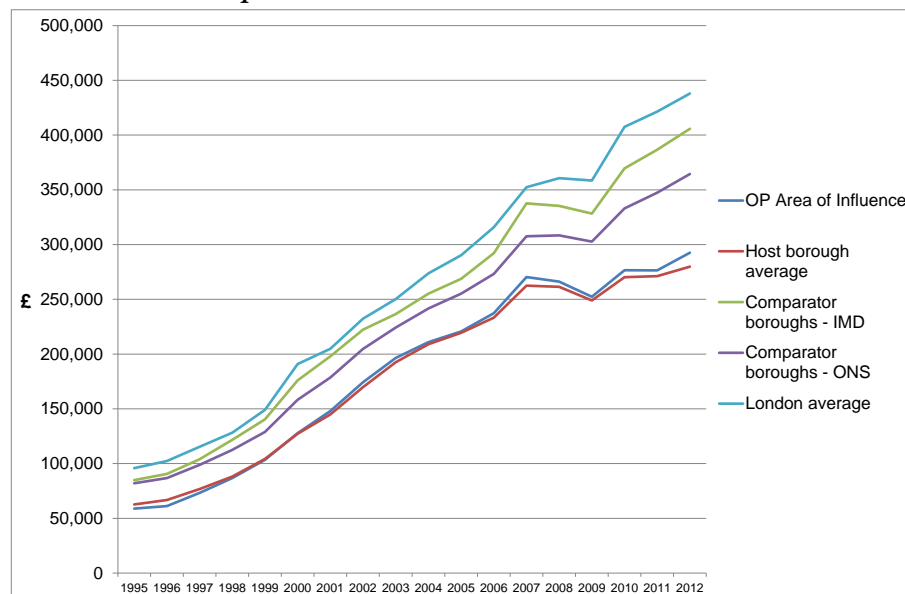
**Figure 8: Average house price growth (% change) 2003-2012 host boroughs, Olympic Park area of influence and comparator area**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

This finding is also true when looking at the data over a longer time period: 1995 to 2012 (Figure 9) reinforces the pattern noted above of the host boroughs following a similar growth trajectory to the comparators but at a lower rate. This would also suggest that there was little or no 'speculator effect' with investors purchasing property based on the rumours of a possible bid prior to the decision to bid in 2003.

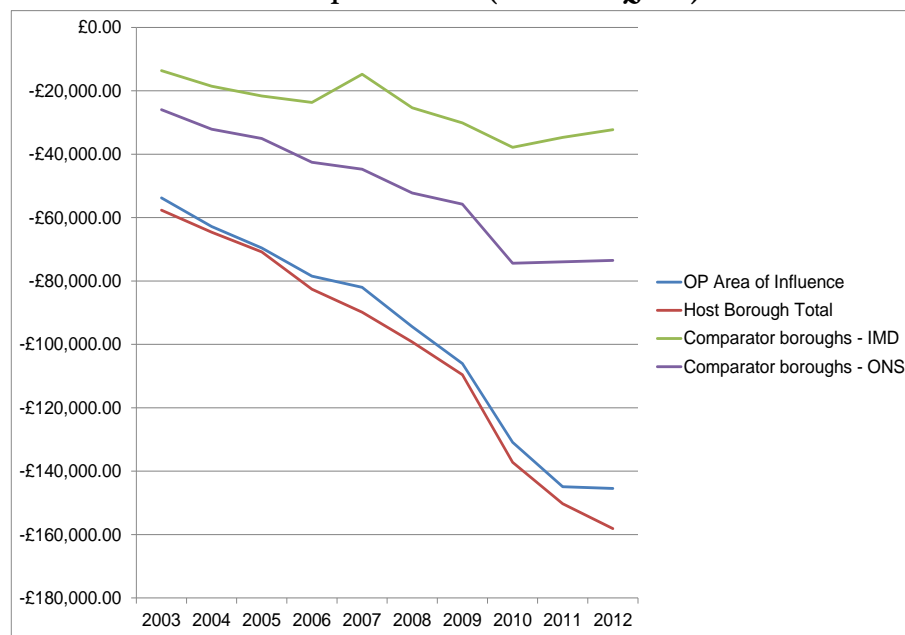
**Figure 9: Average house price growth 2003-2012 host boroughs, Olympic Park area of influence and comparator areas**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

In fact, the result of this difference in growth rates is that the 'gap' between average house prices in the host boroughs and in the Olympic Park area of influence and London has actually widened. The same is also true for the comparator boroughs, although to a notably lesser extent. In 2003 the difference in average price between a residential property in the host borough and in London was just under £60,000, in 2012 it was nearly £160,000 (Figure 10).

**Figure 10: Average price differential between London, host boroughs, Olympic Park area of influence and comparator area (London = £0.00)**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

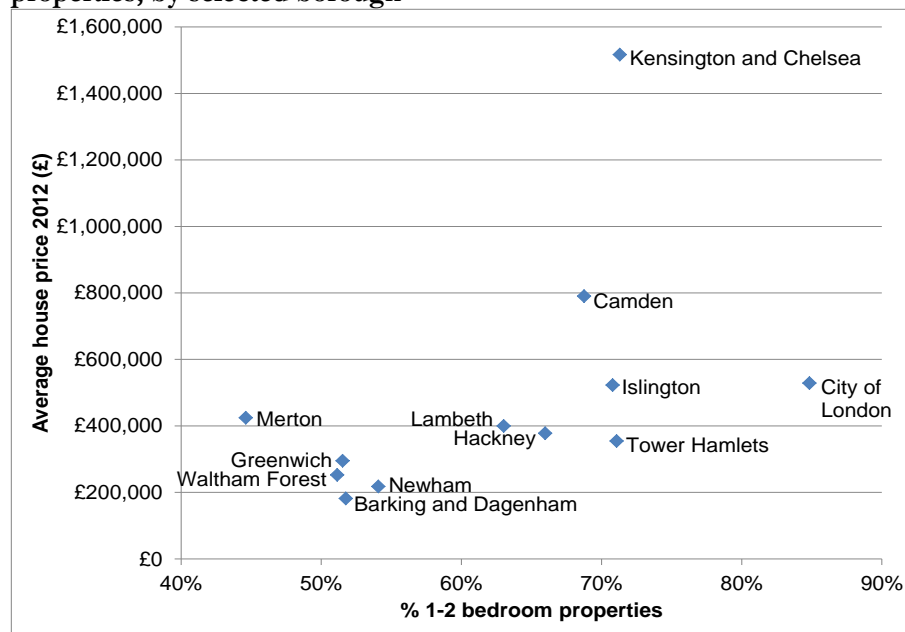
In some ways a comparison with the London average is not entirely useful, as London's average price is significantly inflated by a small number of boroughs. For example, average prices in Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea in 2012 were £1.1 million and £1.5 million, respectively, and between 2003 and 2012 had grown by 143% and 133%, respectively. It is a scale that clearly distorts the London average. For previous Games comparisons were often made between prices in the host city and those for the country as a whole; however, due to the unique character of London's residential property market relative to the rest of the UK, such a comparison would be of little value in this instance.

One possible explanation for the variation in prices is the size of properties in the host boroughs, with the hypothesis being that a significant number of one and two bedroom properties notably reduces the average. It is apparent from Figure 11 that this hypothesis is false. In terms of the host boroughs and comparators, Islington has the highest average house price (£522,744) of all the comparator boroughs in 2012 but also the highest proportion of one or two bedroom properties (71%<sup>137</sup>). Barking and Dagenham at the other end of the scale has the lowest average house price (£181,717) but has an average (compared to London) proportion of one or two bedroom properties (52%). Both Tower Hamlets and Hackney have higher proportions of one or two bedroom properties (71% and 66% respectively) and both have notably higher average house prices (£354,420 and £377,754 respectively).

In fact there appears to be no consistent pattern across London. Kensington and Chelsea, has the highest average house price of all the London boroughs in 2012 (£1,516,772) and also has the third highest proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties in London (71%). Merton has an average house price in 2012 of £424,446 but a lower proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties (45%) whereas the City of London, which has an average house price of £528,501, has the highest proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties out of all of the London boroughs (85%).

<sup>137</sup> Census 2011

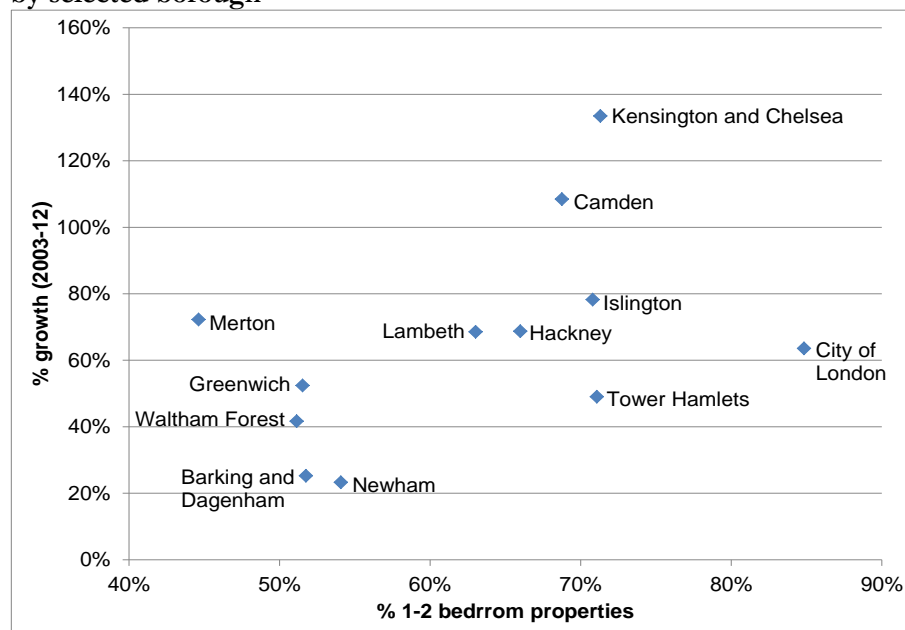
**Figure 11: Average house price (2003-2012) against percentage of 1-2 bedroom properties, by selected borough**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

Figure 12 shows a similar trend to that in Figure 11 but looks at percentage growth in house price (2003-2012) rather than average property price. The trend shown confirms the finding above as it shows that house price growth does not appear to be linked to proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties. Kensington and Chelsea which has the second highest percentage growth of all the London boroughs between 2003 and 2012 (133%) has 71% of 1-2 bedroom properties. However, Tower Hamlets which has the same proportion of 1-2 bedroom properties (71%), as Kensington and Chelsea, has experience 84 percentage points less growth (49%).

**Figure 12: Percentage growth (2003-2012) against percentage of 1-2 bedroom properties, by selected borough**

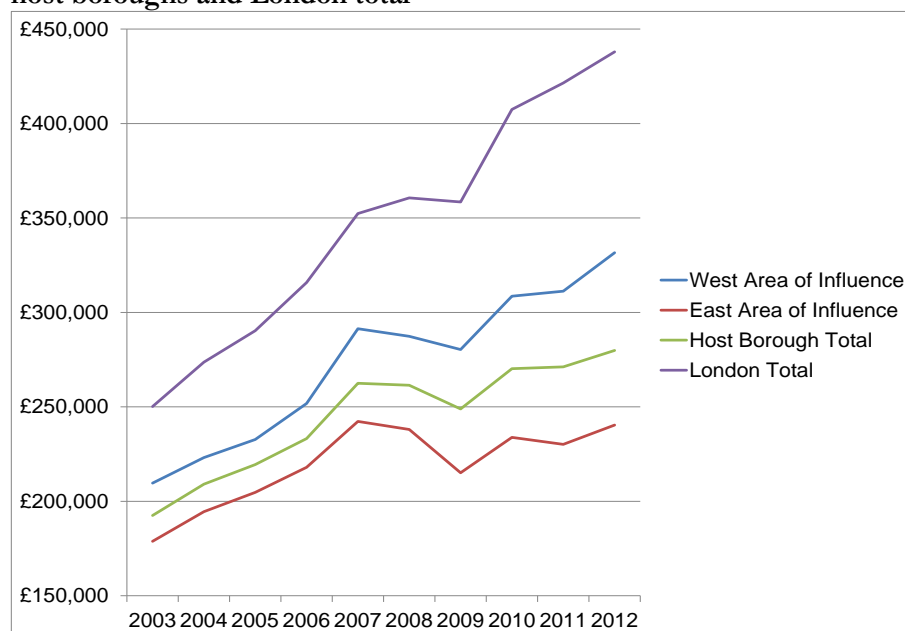


Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

In terms of the Olympic Park area of influence it is interesting to note that if the 14 postcodes that make up the area are split into two groups, one to the east of the park and the other to the

west<sup>138</sup>, there is a notable difference between the average prices in the two areas. The area to the west of the park has seen a growth rate of 58% between 2003 and 2012, while the area to the east has seen an increase of 34%. The gap between average property prices has also increased from £30,000 in 2003 to over £90,000 in 2012 with average property prices in the west of £331,590 and in the east of £240,398. While this is itself not evidence of a 'London 2012 effect' it does underline the need to ensure that the regeneration effects of the Games do not just stop at Stratford and that they do continue eastwards (Figure 13). As would be expected the host borough house prices lay in-between the two East and West areas of influence, however, as shown in Figure 7 and Figure 10 above, the area still lags considerably behind the London average.

**Figure 13: Average house price growth 2003-2012 East and West areas of influence, host boroughs and London total**



Source: Land Registry Data, Grant Thornton analysis

<sup>138</sup> Postcodes split: West are of influence contains E1, E14, E15, E2, E3, E5, E8 and E9. East area of influence contains E10, E11, E13, E16, E17 and E7.

## Annex B: Focus Groups

## **B-1. East London Focus Group – The Olympic Park Engagement Network (OPEN) (18.04.2013)**

### **(i) Introduction**

The following note provides a summary of the key points discussed and the views presented by eight members of the Olympic Park Engagement Network at a focus group specifically convened as part of the meta-evaluation. The eight members were all residents of one of the four Host Boroughs that cover the Olympic Park – Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest and Newham – and all had historically been, and are still involved and engaged in LLDC's community engagement activities and the ODA's before that.

The focus group broadly covered four topic areas, which form the headings of this note, although the discussions were very free flowing. Each of the following sections begins by summarising the topics used to guide the direction of the conversation, before providing an overview of the key points discussed. It should be noted that the summaries of the discussion are the views of the individuals and may or may not be factually correct, and that this write up is a summary and not a transcript.

### **(vii) Impact of the Games on East London**

The impact of the Games was explored through four discussion questions:

- How has East London changed
- How have you and your family/friends benefitted
- What have been the positive things about the Games
- What have been the negative things about the Games

In response to these topic areas a broad and wide range of different issues were discussed. These included the following:

- During the Games there was a pleasant and friendly vibe. People were being nice to each other, talking on the underground, a real sense of 'Olympic fever'. It was however a feeling that dissipated following the Games as 'the party left town'.
- One of the biggest changes discussed was the physical transformation of the Park itself which had changed the wider area beyond recognition (with the example given by one member of their Grandad, who used to live in the area, coming back and not recognising the change). The transformation of the Park was seen as being 'a great asset', as it will last – in contrast to the Games which were only temporary.
- It was noted that a number of community centres were rebuilt as part of the Park and that community activity, street parties and park tours all helped draw residents in the outer postcodes to the Park. A number of the members of the group were local tour guides for the Park and they noted how there had been a steady interest in the Park throughout the Games development phases and that this had continued on into transformation, as people wanted to see 'where it all happened' with bookings for 'Park in Progress' tours up to 2014 at present, from those all over the UK.
- One of the negative things about the Games was felt to have been the impact of messages from Transport for London encouraging people to stay away from the area to ease congestion around Games time. These instructions were seen to have had a negative impact on local businesses in Stratford, a number of which have not recovered. In addition, Games visitors were channelled straight from the transport links through to the Park and therefore the local businesses were not able to benefit from any potential passing trade.
- Participants noted the negative impact of the Games on the accessibility of residential accommodation in the area, reporting that some landlords ended tenancy agreements prior to the Games as they wanted to re-let with better rates due to the Games demand. It was noted that some landlords turned three bedroom properties into five bedrooms in order to meet expected demand.



- A further issue was that there were felt to be a lot of transient workers who were now squatting as the construction jobs decreased following the development of the Park for Games time.
- It was also suggested that there is now more poverty than ever in the area, particularly as rents are rising. Participants cited the increasing reliance on food being given out at soup halls by community support groups.
- There was also little belief that locals benefited from the construction jobs available on the Park. Participants challenged whether those who did receive jobs were actually "local", having lived in the area longer than 6 months or moving there for a job or once they had employment. No one in the focus group knew anyone local who had worked on the Park, they did however know people who work at Westfield.
- The view was shared that local people were upset that the Park was not open for longer following the Games and prior to access being restricted for the transition to post-Games uses. However, there were mixed opinions amongst the groups as to whether this would have added any value as it would have delayed the re-opening even more. The Park in Progress tours were felt to be important in allowing people to look past the Games and see where the Legacy is going to come from and how it is to be developed.
- During the Games, volunteers were treated very well and seen to have had a great impact in delivering a successful Games. As a result volunteering is now seen as respectable and the concept of being a volunteer is now acceptable across all demographics. Volunteers were seen as a big family working together, and the feeling was that the world saw this and respected what a great job they did during the Games. The feeling was that there have since been many new volunteers as a result of the Games.
- There was also a debate among the participants around the fact that the Park was given a new postcode (E20) with a number noting that this was potentially a huge mistake. Gangs were discussed as being postcode based and already a significant problem in the area. Therefore, some members felt that by giving the Park a new postcode this gives a new territory for gangs to attempt to claim as their own, possibly fuelling conflict between rival groups. However, it was noted by other participants that splitting the Park into the same postcode as the surrounding areas would have presented the same issues and possibly exacerbated them, as prior to its redevelopment the land the Park was built on provided a physical barrier between rival gangs. There was also a sense that giving the Park the new E20 postcode could create a community divide by making the area an exclusive zone.
- Quote " The establishment of a totally separate postcode of E20 we feel would help significantly to prevent any such conflict. This is a matter that has to be dealt with very sensitively and we certainly don't have the full answer to the problem. However we do believe that a clear presentation of all that the Park has to offer in the way of sport, leisure and other activities together with the gradual residential occupation would be very beneficial. We feel it important also that everyone, adults and young people, do not see the Park as their additional territory but see it as new territory for the enjoyment of all".

#### **(viii) Satisfaction with your area**

The key discussion point under this heading was around how satisfied participants were with East London as a place to live.

As part of this discussion the following points were made:

- The view was that people's perceptions of the area have changed as a result of the Games. People used to be embarrassed to say they live in East London. They are now very proud to live around the Park not least because it is now visually different and it has the great history from the Games. The Games was quoted as 'putting Stratford on the map'.
- As such, the Games could be the best thing that has ever happened to the area but the legacy needs to be managed and the whole area of East London needs to be brought up in line with the Park developments.
- Participants also noted that young people are starting to want to stay in the area, but there needs to be jobs for them in the future, and the property price rises could be pushing them out.

**(ix) Sense of community**

In addressing the sense of community, discussion focused on both the extent to which community members get on with one another, as well as how best the new communities on the Park can be integrated both with each other and the wider area.

In response, the following points were made:

- There are very different communities around the Park. It was noted in Homerton that locals in the north of the town stay north and locals in the south stay south.
- It was also noted that homes on the Carpenter Estate should not be demolished as this would ruin the Legacy by ejecting freeholders from their homes. Participants felt strongly that regeneration activity must avoid forcing people out.
- The Park cannot be just an extension of Stratford, it needs to be an extension of all the Host Boroughs. Therefore the rest of the surrounding areas need development work to bring them up to the same standard as the newly developed areas. It was suggested that the Park is blended into the separate communities that surround it rather than sitting as a block in the middle.
- There is a danger that industrial history of the area may become totally lost. Old companies and traditions are in danger of being lost as part of the development in the absence to date of any effort to commemorate or celebrate them.
- It was suggested that in order to help with problems associated with young people and gangs there should be a church presence on the Park. This would help to influence and give young people identity.
- It was suggested that the Legacy should 'take sport to the community not the community to sport'.
- It was also noted that access within the Park needs to work for those who find it difficult to move around large spaces.

**(x) Engagement with the Games and their Legacy**

The engagement with the Games and their Legacy covered three main areas:

- Involvement by participants in shaping the plans for the Park both pre- and post- Games
- Extent to which the plans for the Park reflect the needs and aspirations of the community
- Extent to which participants expect to make use of the new facilities provided

In response to this, the following points were discussed:

- The view was that local people are concerned with West Ham Football Club moving into the stadium due to the hooliganism associated with football. It was something that was felt could impact on the aspirational housing plans for the Park and ultimately on the feel of the area.
- It was noted that for the 1,400 affordable homes on the Park, there have been 19,000 applications, indicating a huge demand for the Park's desirable housing.
- The perception was that there is little interest from most of the community in planning applications, likely because people just do not have the time to engage or understand how to do so. It is only when the development begins and a building goes up that people become interested and show any concern.
- There were opportunities to engage in planning processes around the Park if they wished but in planning for the Games it was felt that it was more a matter of information being issued than any meaningful consultation (any consultations tended to be more around landscaping than actual building developments).
- Local people used to go along to planning meetings when they felt they had a chance of influencing things. However, the planning process for the 2012 Games gave few chances to actually influence and therefore this changed people's behaviour and reduced motivation to get involved.

- 'Planning for real' – which many locals were used to – requires real decisions to be made and gives residents the chance to impact and shape the plans and proposed developments. However, the feeling was that over the 7 year Games development period residents gave up trying to influence outcomes as it was seen as an impossible task. As a result cynicism has returned along with a 'what is the point' attitude.
- Participants felt it important that the promises made to the community around legacy are kept.
- It was noted that going forward the Legacy emphasis should be more on the Park and its benefits than the Olympics (i.e. 'drop the Olympics from the Park'). It was suggested that Legacy promises are being fulfilled, however, participants commented that the Legacy will not happen overnight as it is very much a long term vision that will be accompanied by short term gains.
- The London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) were thanked for giving people the opportunity to be involved, as the ODA had done previously.

## **B-2. East London Focus Group – The Legacy Youth Panel (19.04.2013)**

### **(i) Introduction**

The following note provides a summary of the key points discussed and the views presented by six members of the Legacy Youth Panel at a focus group specifically convened as part of the meta-evaluation. The six members were all residents of one of the four Host Boroughs that cover the Park – Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest and Newham – and all had historically been, and were still involved and engaged in LLDC's community engagement activities and the ODA's before that.

The focus group broadly covered four topic areas, which form the headings of this note, although the discussions were very free flowing. Each of the following sections begins by summarising the topics used to guide the direction of the conversation, before providing an overview of the key points discussed. It should be noted that the summaries of the discussion are the views of the individuals and may or may not be factually correct, and that this write up is a summary and not a transcript.

### **(xi) Impact of the Games on East London**

The impact of the Games was explored through four discussion questions:

- How has East London changed
- How have you and your family/friends benefitted
- What have been the positive things about the Games
- What have been the negative things about the Games

In response to these topic areas a broad and wide range of different issues were discussed. These included the following:

- The transport development, particularly, the London Overground, are a strong legacy of the 2012 Games. Transport links are now significantly better with improved links to places such as Richmond in the West and Croydon in the South.
- Canning Town regeneration was spurred on due to the Games, resulting in new affordable accommodation.
- Young people who were involved in the Games have gained valuable skills and experience to include on their CVs and to give them an edge in job interviews. Games related jobs have left those employed in them with great memories and experience and a sense of achievement and potential. The opportunity to be involved in something so big was excellent. During the Games the job opportunities were spread East London wide and continue following the Games with jobs in the Orbit along with various apprenticeships. Although Games roles were only temporary they gave long lasting skills and experience and taught young people how to behave and conduct themselves.
- A peaceful and friendly vibe was noted during the Games, everyone seemed more relaxed and the media attention was a lot more upbeat and positive. The 'Olympic fever' was hard to maintain following the Games and until the Park re-opens the 'Olympic fever' has faded. With Usain Bolt being part of the anniversary event this is expected to bring back and re-spark the vibe and good feelings seen during the Games period.
- Volunteers and Torch Bearers were given the chance to 'shine' during the Games. This has led to more promotion and volunteering in sports and other community projects. Young people are starting to do more both initiating projects and having their say. This is adjusting the negative view of young people which was further embedded during the 2011 London riots.
- Participants felt that businesses made a lot of money due to the Games but this was noted as being area dependent (i.e. the economic impact the Games had on local businesses differed between surrounding areas).

- The fact that the Park has been given the new E20 postcode and the effect that may have on gang behaviour did not seem to be a great concern with the group. They did however, agree that it would not be a good decision to make the Park an exclusive zone.
- The Games was said to have motivated young people to aspire to be elite athletes who, if they work hard, can achieve as those in the London Games did. An example was given of one girl who had given up on an early dream for this but has returned to her chosen sport following seeing the Games.

#### **(xii) Satisfaction with your area**

The key discussion point under this heading was around how satisfied participants were with East London as a place to live.

As part of this discussion the following points were made:

- The new green space developed as part of the Park gave inspiration to people in East London to do more gardening, take more pride in their land and try and replicate the flowers and landscape showcased on the Park.
- The Games have given residents a greater sense of pride in their area. People stopped moaning as much and got more involved with their community. Love your Borough awards have been developed to give recognition for volunteering.
- Local young people aspire and are planning to live on the Park.
- Rather than moving out of East London for University there is now a greater reason for young people to stay local as the area is developing. Westfield was mentioned as a great new area for young people to 'hang out', shop and spend time with friends, rather than having to travel to Canary Wharf or Central London.
- People feel safer now than before the Games. The Games showed that despite all the people visiting, the area was safe and pleasant. People are starting to care more and are therefore less likely to commit crimes. There is less litter than before the Games which was linked to the pride felt in the area and the associated guilt in littering what is a clean newly developed area.
- The demand for housing in East London was described as 'hot demand' following the Games, as people want to live where all the Olympic and Paralympic action took place.
- The public access and the community networks which are in place to protect the Park dampen the fear of gangs taking over the area. It was noted that the closing speech of the Games made reference to the Park being for everyone. The amount of people visiting the Park and the media and public interest will also make it difficult for gangs to dominate.

#### **(xiii) Sense of community**

In discussing the sense of community the discussion focused on both the extent to which the community gets on with one another, as well as how best the new communities on the Park can be integrated.

In response, the following points were made:

- The Games brought together the communities as 'one East London'. Live Sites gave the chance for those within certain areas to meet and mingle as a result of the Games. Links and relationships were built (e.g. new friends through street and garden parties).
- Values of diversity are developing more as a result of the world coming to East London for the Games. Diversity was celebrated during the Games.
- The opportunity to meet more people in the community due to the Games has a positive knock on effect in terms of reducing crime and litter. It was suggested that one is less likely to commit a crime if they know more people in their community.
- There were many community events during the Games: markets, shows, fireworks, parties. This made a change from people just watching TV or spending time on the Internet, instead it got people out and about and physically doing things.
- Connections were built between different levels of authority, for example, events with the Mayor and council representatives where everybody was able to interact on a social and

friendly level. Communities were all united over a common event and this bridged the gap between authority and local people.

- The Park's schools will take people from inside and outside the Park and help mix them, this in turn will further aid the integration of adult communities.
- Participants agreed with the presentation by the LLDC of the Park as a 'doughnut', where the centre of the doughnut is the Park and the outside is the network of roads and surrounding transport. It was suggested that the 'doughnut' should be flipped inside out in order to create a network inside the Park area where everyone can feel free to access and integrate.
- It was suggested that the older properties which now stand next to new developments look out of place and even more dated by comparison. There is the need to modernise these properties to allow integration with the new areas, otherwise perceptions will develop regarding certain physically tired looking areas. The old and the new should be blended.
- Facilities on the Park allow people to meet new people and help integration into the wider community. There is the potential for a divide to be created between the affluent Park residents and their surrounding area and it was suggested that getting their involvement in the community from the very start is key to ensure the Legacy is embraced by all.
- There were concerns that the Park would become a tourist area. With the view that tourists don't get involved very much with the community and often use the area around the Park as a transition zone.
- It was also felt that there needs to be plenty of small local events as people are not as likely mix and integrate at large festivals and sporting events.

#### **(xiv) Engagement with the Games and their legacy**

The engagement with the Games and their Legacy covered three main areas:

- Involvement in shaping the plans for the Park both pre- and post- Games
- Extent to which the plans for the Park reflect the needs and aspirations of the community
- Extent to which participants expect to make use of the new facilities provided

In response to this, the following points were discussed:

- Some people don't know what is going to happen in terms of Legacy. The question was raised, 'do people believe Legacy is sustainable and affordable?'
- The Legacy needs to include people. Residents can say they are connected to the Legacy but should be encouraged to actually get involved. Better communication of the different ways to get involved in the Legacy were felt to be required.
- There have been great sport and regeneration opportunities but there is a need now for more development of academic and industrial skills.
- The Park needs to be family friendly to allow people to live there long term and bring up families in the area.
- Green space is very important in bringing people out together and creating a good friendly atmosphere, as well as being environmentally friendly.
- There are concerns that the relocation of West Ham football club to the Park stadium will impact on the family residents. The 'zig-zag' lights on the stadium have had to be removed for West Ham which was noted as being 'a great shame'. However, West Ham have promised to support and deliver sport development and training programmes which could have a positive impact on the community.
- It was suggested that the Park is split into interest zones to give specific areas for people with common interests to meet and develop relationships.
- It was noted that the six Host Boroughs could be reduced to four going forward as people begin to forget about Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich, this would be a loss within the Legacy plans.
- In terms of facilities and venues it was acknowledged that the facilities which were determined as being most popular were kept on the Park. However, it seems a shame that

some of the more obscure but interesting sports could not have had facilities remaining on the Park to widen engagement and interest in participation, especially when the Games created the interest in them in the first instance.

- There is concern that in 20-50 years, when the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) and other organisations which are responsible for the Legacy disappear, the Park will slowly fade and fall apart. It was suggested that the Park should always be managed by a separate organisation and not absorbed by the local boroughs.

## Annex C: Host Boroughs Resident Survey



This Annex provides a summary of the survey of host borough residents. This survey was specifically commissioned to inform the meta-evaluation as it sought to gather information of the views, behaviours and attitudes of the residents in the six Olympic host boroughs: Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest.

The survey was conducted between the 27 February 2012 and the 27 April 2012.

### **C-1. Method**

The method used for this survey was consistent with that of the DCMS Taking Part Survey, which started in 2005/06 and collects data on the nation's engagement with sport, libraries, arts, heritage and museums and galleries.<sup>139</sup> The questions on cultural engagement, sports participation, volunteering, Olympic engagement and demographics in this survey have been replicated directly from the current Taking Part Survey.

In addition to these questions, questions were also asked in the Host Boroughs Resident Survey on perceptions of: the local area; community cohesion; access to jobs; green issues and sustainability; satisfaction with the Olympic Park legacy plans and the consultation process; and how long people had lived in the area. These questions were taken from a range of sources with some replicating those previously asked in the DCLG Place Survey or other local borough surveys.

This survey does differ from the standard Taking Part methodology in that it is currently a one-off survey (as opposed to a rolling annual collection) and that it was just focused on the six host boroughs (as opposed to England as a whole).

The survey was carried out using a quota sample, with sample points selected by a random location methodology. Random location is a tightly controlled form of face to face quota sampling where sample points are drawn from a small set of homogenous streets within a local authority. As 200 interviews were required within each of the six Local Authorities (LAs), the survey sample selection can be viewed as six random location selections (one within each Olympic Borough). Sample units were selected randomly, with the probability of each sampling unit being selected proportional to its population.

For each selected sample unit all of the addresses were printed out in a street list and sent to interviewers. Interviewers could only interview residents of these pre-selected addresses. This meant that interviewers were given very little choice in the selection of respondents, eliminating some of the selection bias that may be present in other forms of quota sampling.

Interviews were carried out on weekdays from 2pm-8pm and at the weekend to ensure that the achieved sample was not biased towards those who are more likely to be at home during the day. Quotas were set within each borough by age, gender and working status. This ensured adequate representation of harder-to-reach people in the sample – such as full-time workers and younger people. The quotas set on age and gender were based on ONS Mid 2010 Population Estimates and those set on working status were based on the latest available ONS Annual Population Survey (Jul 2010-Jun 2011). All interviewers had to leave 3 doors between each successful interview, to minimise the clustering of the achieved sample.

In total 1,320 adults responded across the six boroughs which gives an approximate level of confidence at the 95% level on the whole sample of  $\pm 2.7\%$ . But, in terms of sub-sample analysis (i.e. at the individual borough level) the approximate level of confidence at the 95% level rises to  $\pm 7.5\%$ . Given this, results that focus on a particular sub-sample should therefore be viewed with a degree of caution.

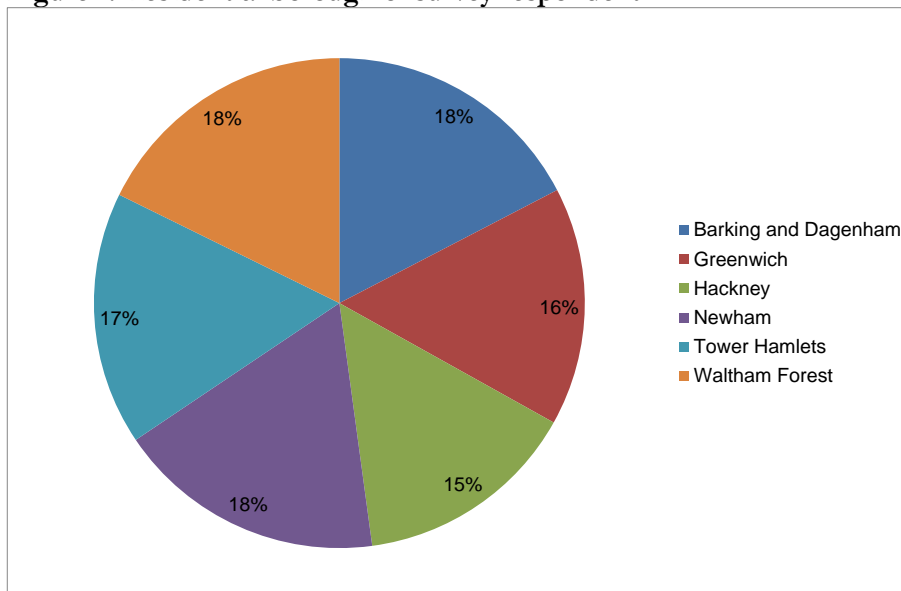
<sup>139</sup> See [http://www.culture.gov.uk/what\\_we\\_do/research\\_and\\_statistics/4828.aspx](http://www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/research_and_statistics/4828.aspx) for full detail on Taking Part and the methodology used.

## C-2. Results

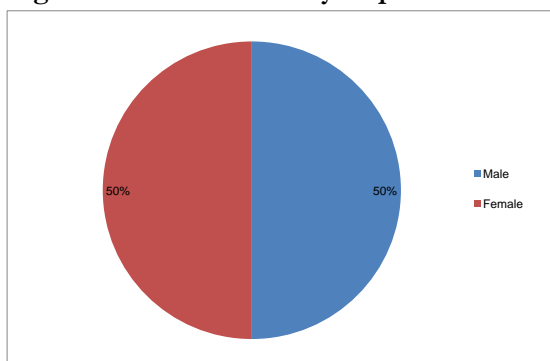
### (i) Respondent demographics

In total 1,320 people responded to the Host Boroughs Resident Survey. These respondents were broadly split across the six host boroughs (see Figure 1), with the following six charts providing an overview of respondent demographics looking at: gender, age, ethnicity, housing tenure, employment status and occupational grouping.

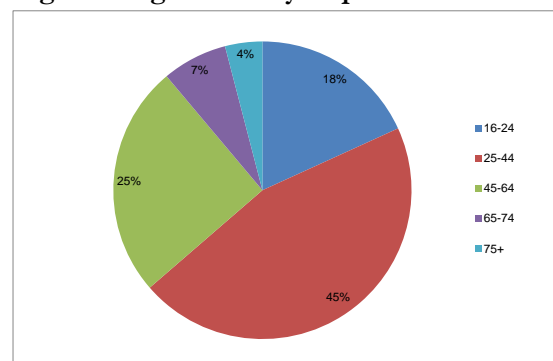
**Figure 1: Residential borough of survey respondent**



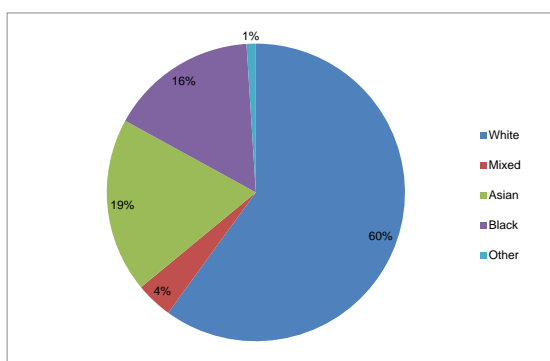
**Figure 2: Gender of survey respondent**



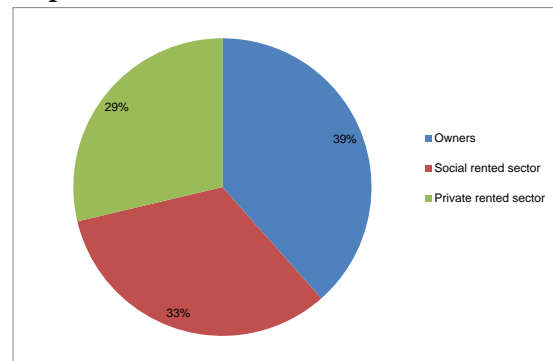
**Figure 3: Age of survey respondent**



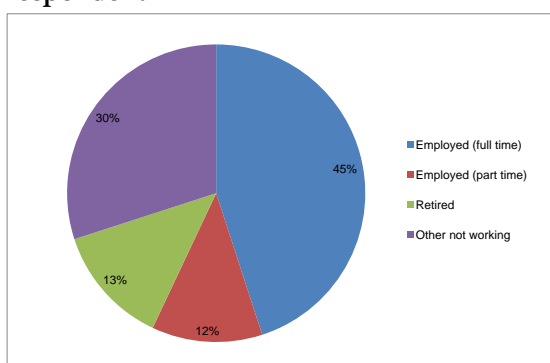
**Figure 4: Ethnicity of survey respondent**



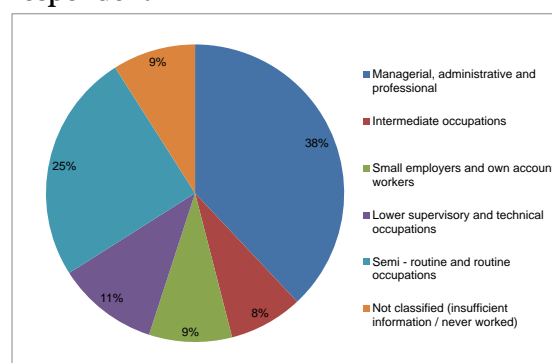
**Figure 5: Housing tenure of survey respondent**



**Figure 6: Employment status of survey respondent**



**Figure 7: Occupational grouping of survey respondent**

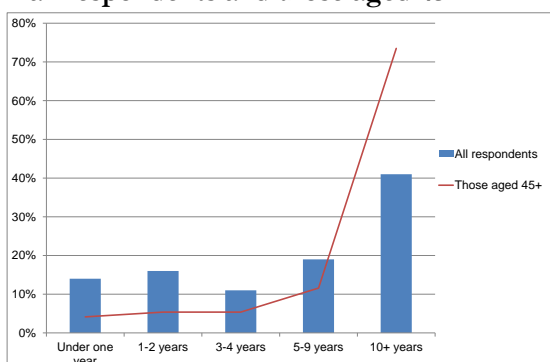


## (ii) Mobility to the new area

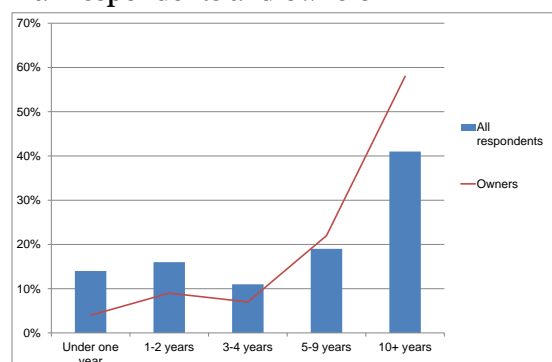
Respondents were asked how long they had lived at their current address with the majority (60%) stating that they had lived there for over 5 years, 41% of whom had lived there for more than 10 years. Only 14% had lived at their current address for less than a year.

As can be expected there appears to be a correlation between the length of time at the current address and tenure: with 79% of owners living at their current address for more than 5 years, 58% of whom had lived there for more than 10. As well as a correlation with the age of the respondent: with 85% of the respondents aged over 45 living at their current address for more than five years 73% of whom had lived there for more than 10 years (see Figure 8).

**Figure 8: Length of time at current address – all respondents and those aged 45+**

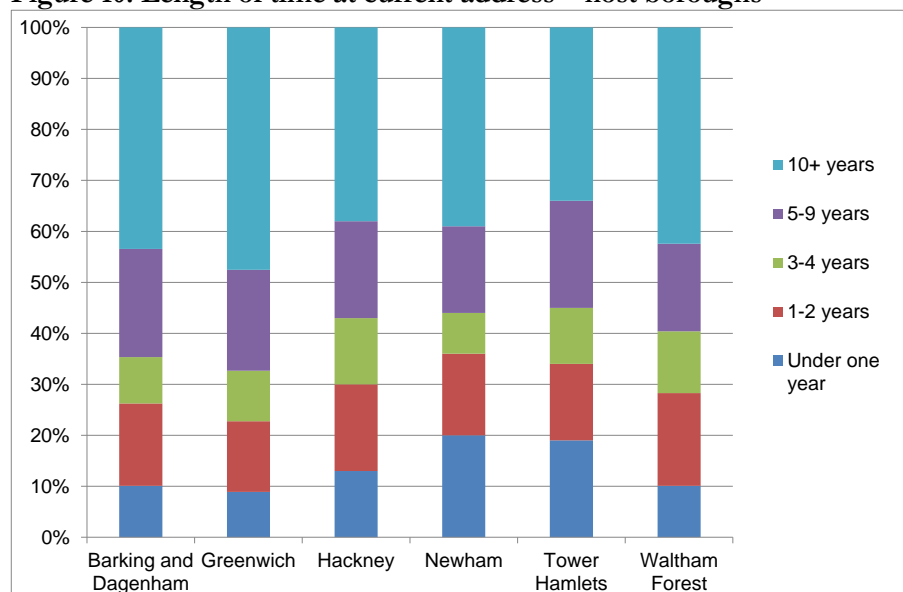


**Figure 9: Length of time at current address – all respondents and owners**



Looking at the results for each of the six host boroughs it would appear that respondents living in Newham and Tower Hamlets are more 'mobile' than those in Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich: a fifth of the respondents who lived in Newham (20%) and Tower Hamlets (19%) had lived at their current address for less than a year compared to only a tenth in Barking and Dagenham (10%), Greenwich (9%); and at the other end of the scale 43% and 48% of respondents had lived in Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich respectively for more than 10 years compared to only 39% in Newham and 34% in Tower Hamlets. There will be a number of factors behind these results including – but not limited to – the nature of the existing housing stock, the number of new homes being built and the proximity to central London.

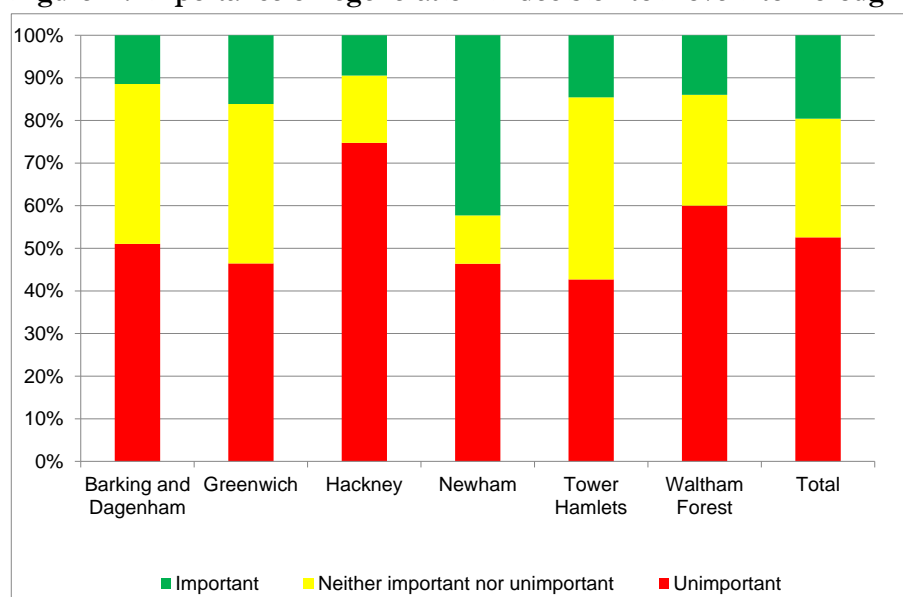
**Figure 10: Length of time at current address – host boroughs**



Of those who had lived at their current address for less than 5 years (40% of all respondents), just over a third (38%) had lived in the same borough for more than 5 years, of which a quarter (24%) had lived there for more than 10 years. A finding, which means that in total three-quarters of respondents (75%) had lived in the same borough for more than 5 years. This 'total' figure mirrored the pattern noted above in terms of the individual boroughs with respondents in Greenwich (82%) and Barking and Dagenham (78%) more likely to have lived in the borough for more than five years than those in Newham (70%) or Tower Hamlets (68%).

The respondents who had moved into the borough they currently live in within the last 5 years were asked how important the regeneration of the area as a result of the 2012 Games was in making them decide to move to the borough. A fifth (19%) felt that it was 'important' with 51% saying that it was 'unimportant'. This pattern was broadly reflected across the host boroughs with the exception of Newham where 41% of respondents felt that the regeneration resulting from the Games was 'important' in their decision to move into the area.

**Figure 11: Importance of regeneration in decision to move into Borough**



Interestingly, of those who felt that the 'regeneration of the area was important' in their decision to move to the borough 52% had lived in the area for less than a year. Although only based on small sample of responses, this finding may suggest that as the regeneration effects of

the Games have become more visibly apparent they have yielded a bigger influence on people's decision making with regard to moving into the area.

For those who felt that the regeneration effects of the Games were an 'important' factor in their decision making, the three most commonly cited factors were the improvements to infrastructure/facilities that had resulted (20%); the role the Games played in increasing money/revenue/business and being generally good for the economy (17%); and the transport improvements (14%).

### **(iii) Culture**

Over the last 12 months, 62% of all respondents had done some form of 'cultural' activity; a proportion that shrunk to 50% for the non-white population and rose to 70% for the 'white' population. Respondents who lived in Newham were also less likely to have done some 'cultural' activity – 47% had done 'none' – within the last 12 months compared to residents in Hackney (27%) and Greenwich (33%).

The most common 'cultural' activities – with over 100 respondents citing that they had done them within the last year – were:

- Reading books<sup>140</sup> for pleasure – 602 (46%) respondents;
- Buying novels, books, poetry or plays for themselves – 398 (30%) respondents;
- Painting, drawing, printmaking or sculpture – 127 (10%) respondents;
- Playing a musical instrument for pleasure – 123 (9%) respondents;
- Photography as an artistic activity<sup>141</sup> – 103 (8%) respondents;
- Buying original handmade craft (e.g. pottery or jewellery) for themselves – 102 (8%) respondents.

In the last 12 months 64% of respondents had been to a 'cultural' event, and again respondents living in Newham were less likely – 46% had been to 'none' – to have been to a cultural event within the last 12 months compared to residents in Hackney (29%) and Greenwich (29%).

The most common 'cultural' events – with over 100 respondents citing that they had been to them within the last year – were:

- A film at a cinema or other venue – 648 (49%) respondents;
- A live music event – 223 (17%) respondents;
- A play/drama – 222 (17%) respondents;
- An exhibition or collection of art, photography or sculpture – 206 (16%) respondents;
- A musical – 205 (16%) respondents;
- A public art display or installation – 124 (9%) respondents;
- Street arts – 119 (9%) respondents;
- A carnival – 116 (9%) respondents.

Just under half (44%) of all respondents had used a public library service at least once during the last 12 months. This figure rose for females (50%), those aged 16-24 (52%), those in part-time employment (58%) and the non-white population (53%). Greenwich residents were also more likely to have used a library service in the last 12 months (53%) than any of the other host boroughs, and notably more likely than those who lived in Waltham Forest (36%).

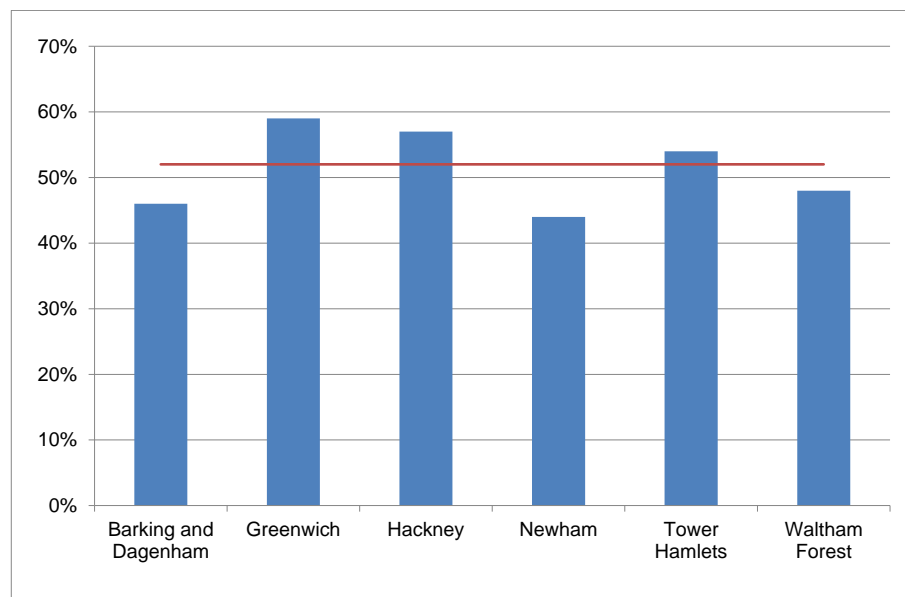
<sup>140</sup> Not newspapers, magazines or comics.

<sup>141</sup> Not family or holiday 'snaps'.

Of those who did use a library service in the last 12 months, 89% did so in their 'own time', with over half (57%) doing so at least once a month – 21% of whom went weekly. By contrast only 5% of respondents had been to an archive centre or records office in the last 12 months.

In the past 12 months, 52% of respondents had visited a 'cultural' place. This fell to 38% for the non-white population and 35% for those with a long standing illness, disability or infirmity. Across the host boroughs the figures ranged from 59% in Greenwich to 44% in Newham, with residents in Barking and Dagenham (46%) and Waltham Forest (48%) more likely to not have visited a 'cultural' place than to have visited one. In Hackney (57%) and Tower Hamlets (54%) the converse was true.

**Figure 12: Proportion of respondents that had visited a cultural place within the last 12 months**



Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

The most common 'cultural' places – with over 100 respondents citing that they had visited them within the last year – were:

- A city or town with historic character – 396 (30%) respondents;
- An historic park or garden open to the public – 393 (30%) respondents;
- An historic building open to the public (non-religious) – 309 (23%) respondents;
- A monument such as a castle, fort or ruin – 261 (20%) respondents;
- An historic place of worship attended as a visitor (not to worship) – 179 (14%) respondents;
- A place connected with industrial history<sup>142</sup> or an old historic transport system<sup>143</sup> – 122 (9%) respondents.

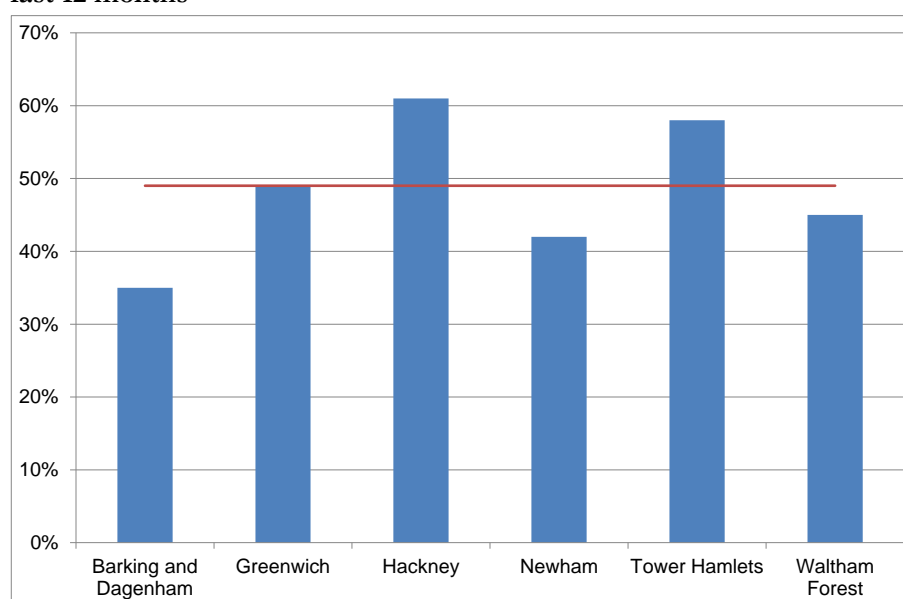
Half (49%) of the respondents had also attended a museum or gallery at least once in the last 12 months – a figure that varied significantly across the host boroughs from as low as 35% in Barking and Dagenham to as high as 61% in Hackney (see Figure 13). 'White' respondents were also more likely to have attended a museum or gallery in the last 12 months than non-white (57% compared to 37%); as were those in full time employment (54%) compared to those respondents who were retired (34%). Nearly all (95%) of those who had attended a museum or

<sup>142</sup> For example an old factory, dockyard or mine.

<sup>143</sup> For example an old ship or railway.

gallery had done so in their own time, but only 16% had attended a museum or gallery at least once a month, with a third (31%) attending on average 3 or 4 times a year.

**Figure 13: Proportion of respondents that had visited a museum or gallery within the last 12 months**



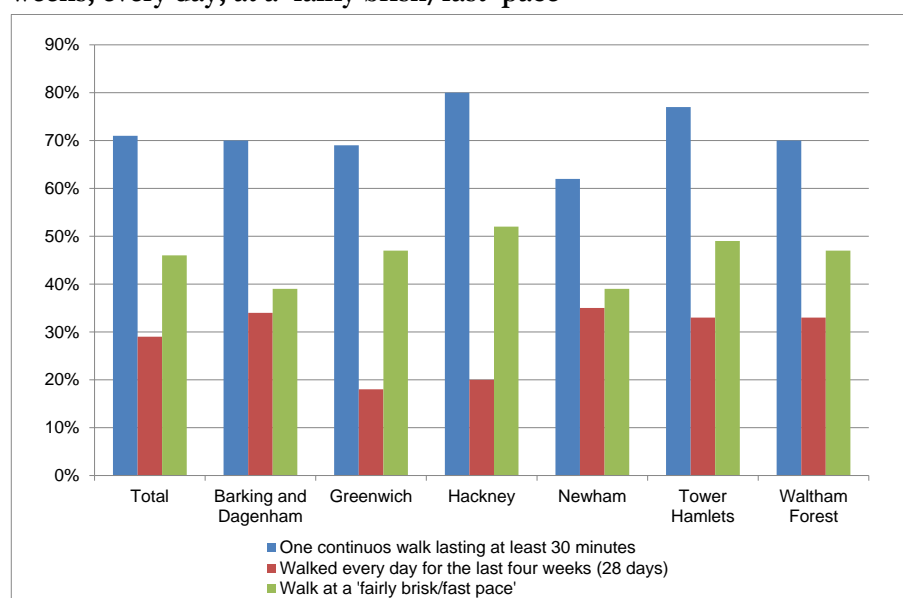
Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

#### (iv) Sports participation

Nearly three-quarters (71%) of the respondents had done at least one continuous walk lasting at least 30 minutes in the last four weeks. With respondents living in Hackney more likely (80%) to have done so than those living in Newham (62%). Those who had actively engaged with the Games were also more likely (81%) than those who have not (66%).

Of those respondents that had done at least one continuous walk lasting at least 30 minutes, 29% had done so every day of the last four weeks, 13% of whom said that they did so for health reasons. Nearly half (46%) said that they walked at a 'fairly brisk/fast pace' with the remainder (44%) walking at a 'steady average pace'.

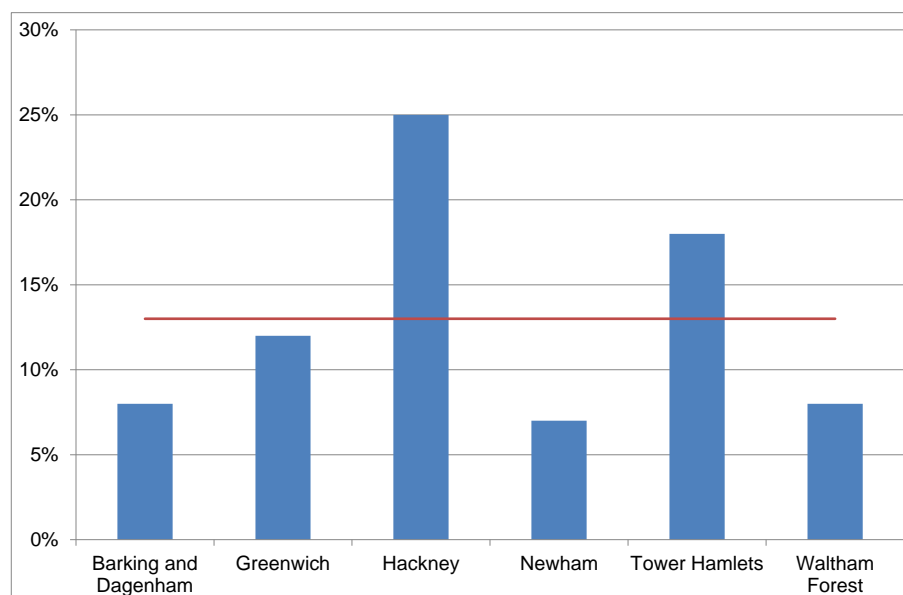
**Figure 14: Proportion of respondents that had walked for 30 minutes: in the last four weeks; every day; at a 'fairly brisk/fast' pace**



Thirteen per cent of respondents had done a least one continuous cycle ride lasting at least 30 minutes in the last four weeks. This figure rose to 20% for those in the 25-44 age bracket and

to 25% for those living in Hackney – this was in stark contrast to only 7% of respondents who lived in Newham and 8% of respondents who lived in Barking and Dagenham and Waltham Forest. Again, those who had actively engaged with the Games were also more likely (20%) to have cycled for at least 30 minutes in the last four weeks than those who have not (10%).

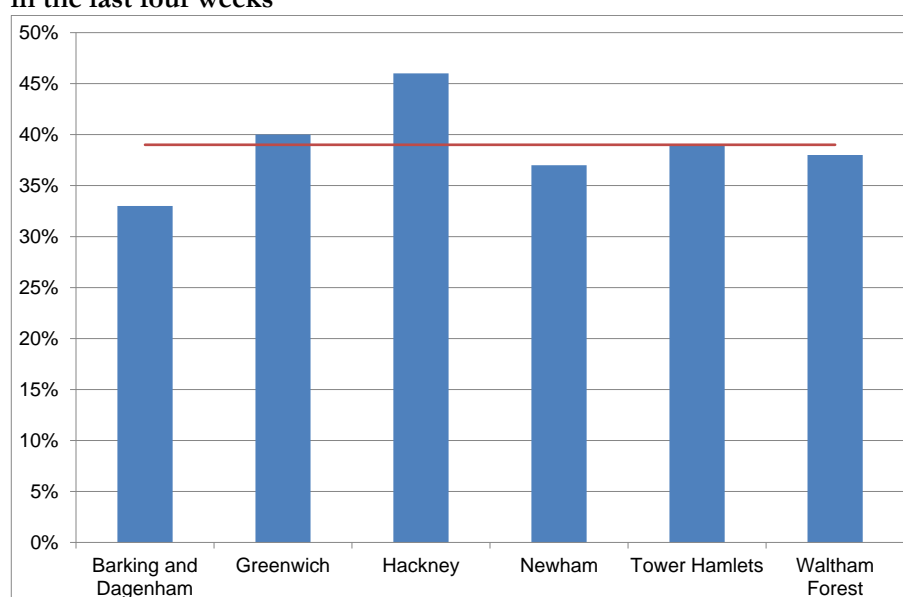
**Figure 15: Proportion of respondents that had cycled for 30 minutes in the last four weeks**



Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

A third of respondents (39%) had also done some other sporting or active recreation activities in the last four weeks, with men (47%) more likely to have done so than women (31%) and those aged 16-24 (56%) more likely than those in older age brackets (25-44 – 43%; 45-64 – 30%; 65-74 – 18%; and 75+ – 13%). Hackney was again the most 'active' of the host boroughs with 46% of the respondents who lived there noting that that had done other sporting or active recreation activities. Those actively engaged with the Games were also more likely 53% compared to 33% of those who have not had any engagement with the Games.

**Figure 16: Proportion of respondents that had done some sporting or active recreation in the last four weeks**



Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

The most common sports – with over 100 respondents citing that they had visited them within the *last year* – were:

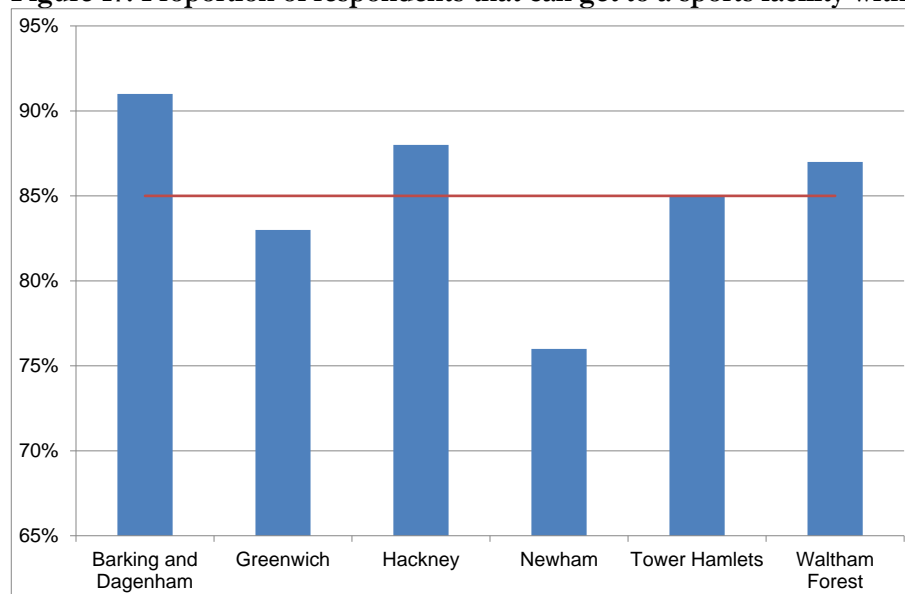


- Swimming or diving (indoors) – 303 (23%) respondents;
- Health, fitness, gym or conditioning activities – 276 (31%) respondents;
- Cycling – 163 (12%) respondents;
- Football (including 5-a-side and 6-a-side) – 161 (12%) respondents;
- Jogging, cross country and road running – 161 (12%) respondents;
- Keep-fit, aerobics and dance exercise (including exercise bikes) – 119 (9%) respondents.

Taking these findings together (i.e. walking, cycling and other sporting or active recreation), a total of 51% of respondents had done some form of active sport in the last four weeks, 83% of whom said that it was enough to raise their breathing rate.

Eight-five per cent of respondents cited that they can get to a sports facility within 20 minutes (either by walking or some other form of transport). This figure did however vary across the host boroughs with 91% of respondents in Barking and Dagenham stating that this was the case, compared to only 76% in Newham.

**Figure 17: Proportion of respondents that can get to a sports facility within 20 minutes**

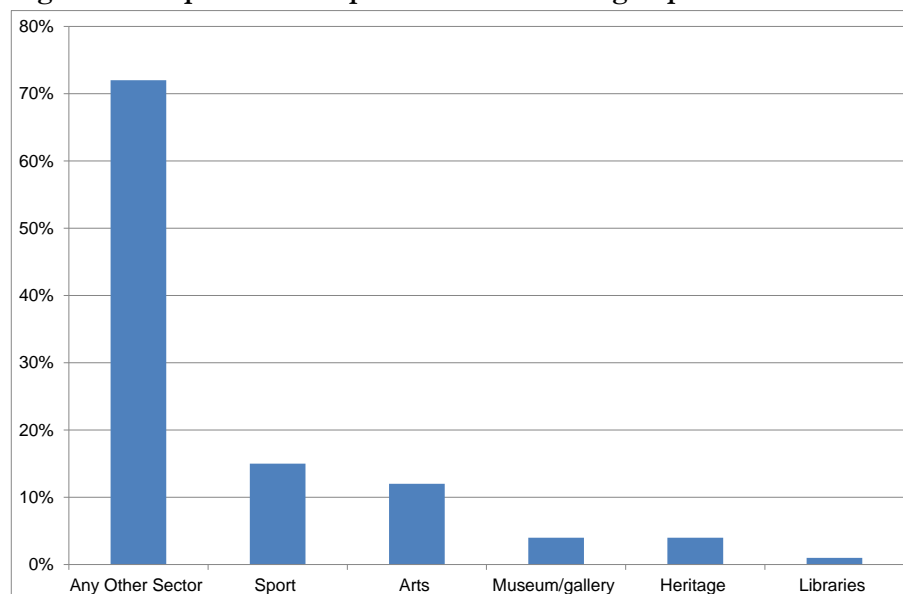


Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

#### (v) Volunteering

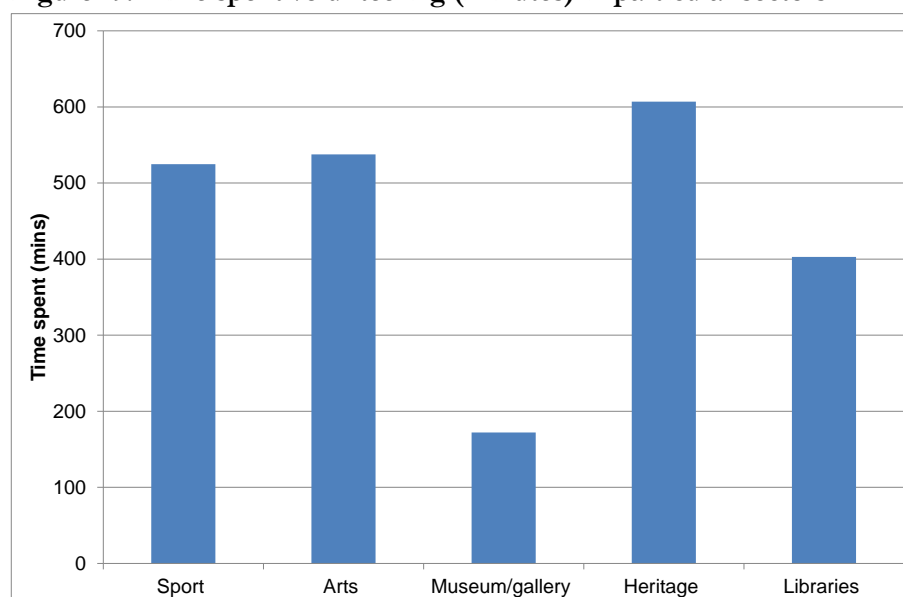
Twenty-one per cent of respondents had done some voluntary work during the last 12 months a figure that was broadly consistent across age, working status and ethnicity as well as across the six host boroughs. The only notable difference was between those who had actively engaged with the Games and those that had not (34% compared to 15%). Interestingly, a significant majority (72%) had volunteered in a sector 'other' than those directly asked about, with the next largest proportion (15%) volunteering in sport (see Figure 18).

**Figure 18: Proportion of respondents volunteering in particular sectors**



In terms of the time spent volunteering in the last four weeks in the particular sectors asked about, respondents had spent between 172 minutes (just under 3 hours) volunteering at a museum/gallery to 607 minutes (just over 10 hours) volunteering in heritage related activities. Across all five sectors the average time was 449 minutes (about 6 and three-quarter hours).

**Figure 19: Time spent volunteering (minutes) in particular sectors**



#### **(vi) Olympic engagement**

When asked what made them proud of Britain the top three answers were:

- The British countryside and scenery – 36%;
- The British health service – 32%;
- British history – 29%.

This view did however differ for some sub-groups. For example, for younger people (aged 16-24) the top three were:

- British education and science – 31%;
- British arts and culture (music, film, literature, art) – 30%;

- The British health service – 29%.

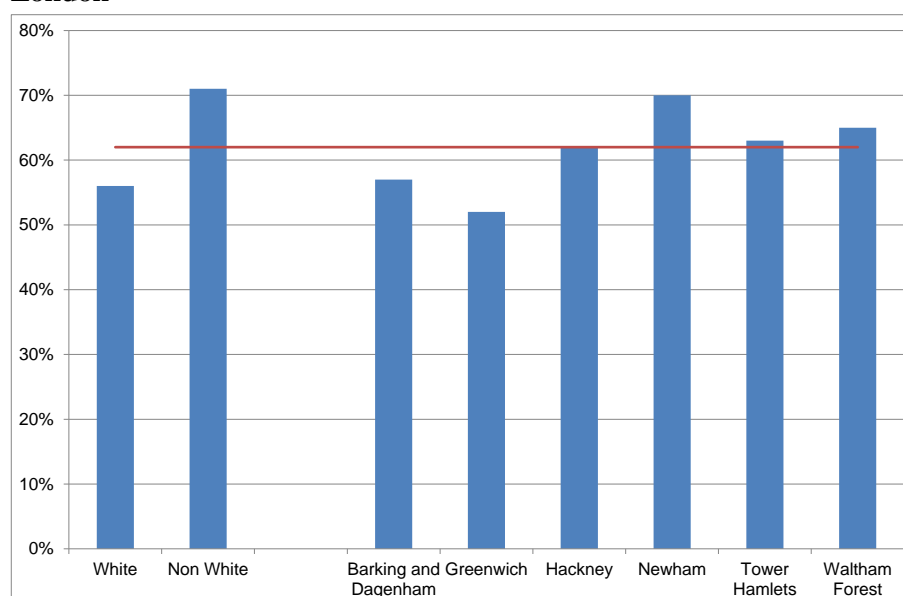
While the non-white respondents felt that the top three reasons were:

- The British health service – 36%;
- British education and science – 34%;
- The British people – 26%.

Nearly two-thirds of the respondents (62%) were supportive of the UK hosting the 2012 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games in London, 38% of whom were 'strongly supportive'. Only 15% of respondents were against (7% of whom 'strongly against') with 22% ambivalent.

Respondents of non-white ethnicity were notably more supportive (71%) than 'white' respondents (56%). Respondents who lived in Newham (70%) were also more supportive than those in Greenwich (52%). Those that had lived in the area for less than 5 years (71%) were also more supportive than those who had lived in the area for more than 5 years (59%) and – perhaps unsurprisingly – nearly all (91%) of those who thought that the regeneration of the area was important in their decision to move into the area were supportive.

**Figure 20: Proportion of residents supportive of the UK hosting the 2012 Games in London**



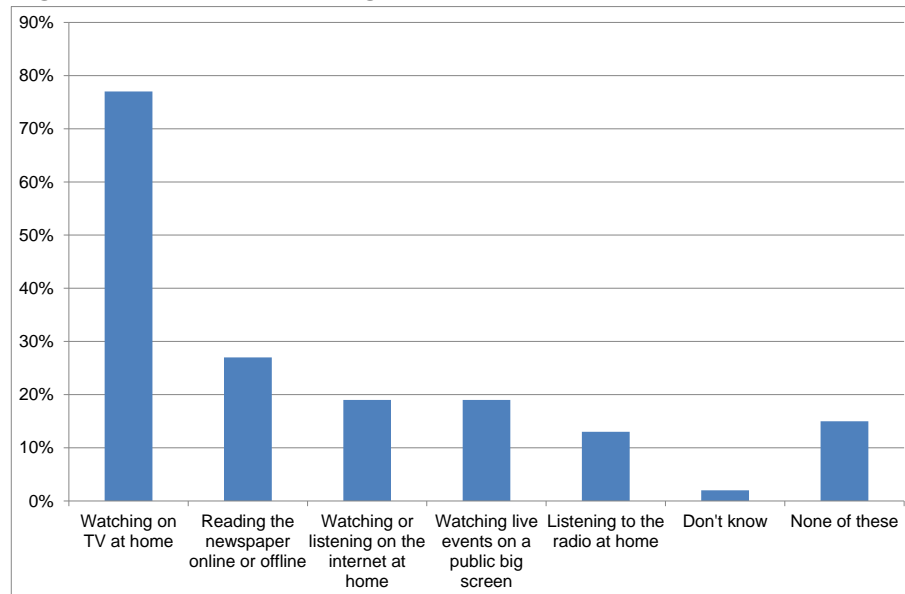
Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

Those respondents who were strongly against the UK hosting the Games in London were asked why with the most commonly cited concerns relating to the costs: 'costs too much' (29%); 'waste of money' (29%); 'money better used elsewhere' (16%). With the main other reason being the fact that they 'do not think UK will do a good job/cannot cope' (21%).

Likewise, those respondents who were strongly supportive of the Games were also asked why, with the most common responses generally focused on the benefits of hosting: 'good for the economy' (31%); 'good for London' (16%); 'good for the country in general' (15%); 'regeneration of the area' (14%); 'good for tourism' (12%).

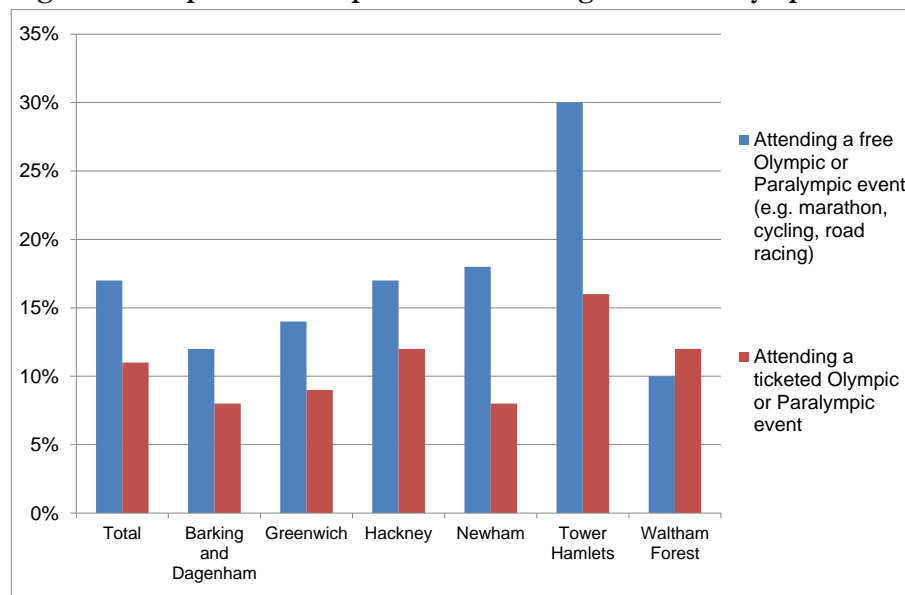
Eighty-three per cent of respondents 'intend to follow' the Games, the overwhelming majority of whom (77%) intend to do it by 'watching on TV at home'.

**Figure 21: Means of following the 2012 Games**



In addition, 17% intend to attend a free Olympic or Paralympic event and 11% intend to attend a ticketed event. In terms of attending events – either free or ticketed – respondents who live in Tower Hamlets appear more likely to attend an event than those in the other host boroughs.

**Figure 22: Proportion of respondents intending to attend Olympic or Paralympic events**



A fifth (18%) of respondents who had done some sport or recreational physical activity in the past 12 months thought that the 2012 Games has motivated them to do more. This finding is particularly true for those aged 16-24 (25%), those not working (24%), those of a non-white ethnicity (29%) and those who live in Newham (30%). The reasons given for this included: 'more interested in sport in general' (50%); encouragement to 'take part in sport more often' (29%); and an introduction 'to new sports' (13%).

Eleven per cent of respondents who had done some cultural activity in the last 12 months, thought that the Games has motivated them to do more – a finding that is more pronounced for the non-white respondents (17%). The reasons behind this increased motivation include: 'more interested in cultural activities in general' (51%); encouragement 'to take part in cultural activities more often' (20%); and an introduction 'to new cultural activities' (19%).

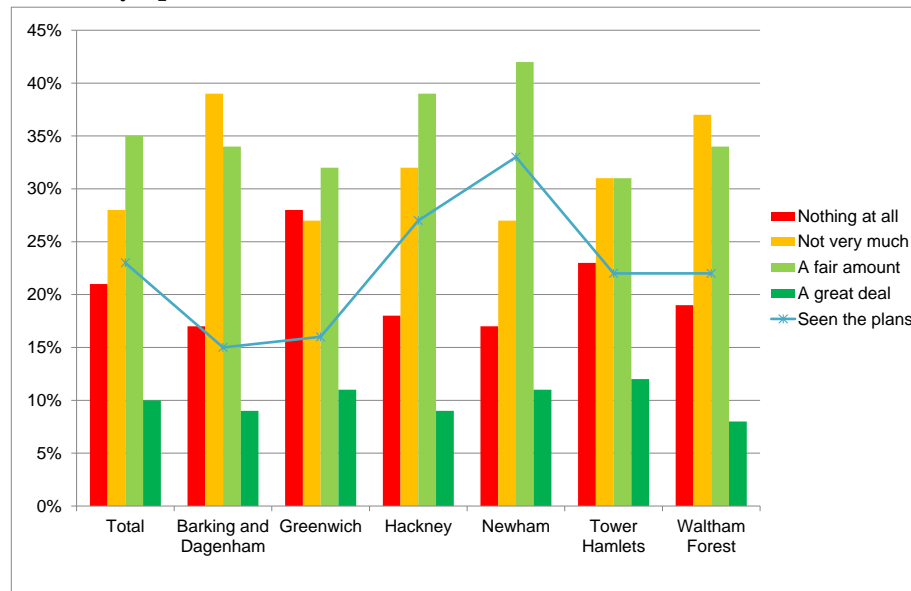
Fifteen per cent of respondents who had done some voluntary work in the last 12 months thought that the Games has motivated them to do more – again this finding was more common in respondents aged 16-24 (22%) and those of non-white ethnicity (27%). The reasons given for why this was the case included: being 'more aware of volunteering opportunities' (35%); and 'being more interested in volunteering' (32%).

#### (vii) Satisfaction with Park Legacy plans and the consultation process for Park Master Plans

Just under half of the respondents (45%) had heard about the plans to improve the Olympic Park and the surrounding area a 'great deal' or a 'fair amount', with only a quarter (23%) of respondents having seen the plans to improve the Olympic Park area. A fifth of respondents (21%) had heard 'nothing at all'.

A larger proportion of respondents in Newham had seen the plans to improve the Olympic Park area than (33%) than those who lived in Barking and Dagenham (15%) or Greenwich (16%). This is also reflected in the fact that 53% of the respondent who live in Newham had heard a 'great deal/a fair amount' about the plans compared to 43% in both Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich (see Figure 23).

**Figure 23: The extent to which respondents that had heard about – and seen – the plans of the Olympic Park**

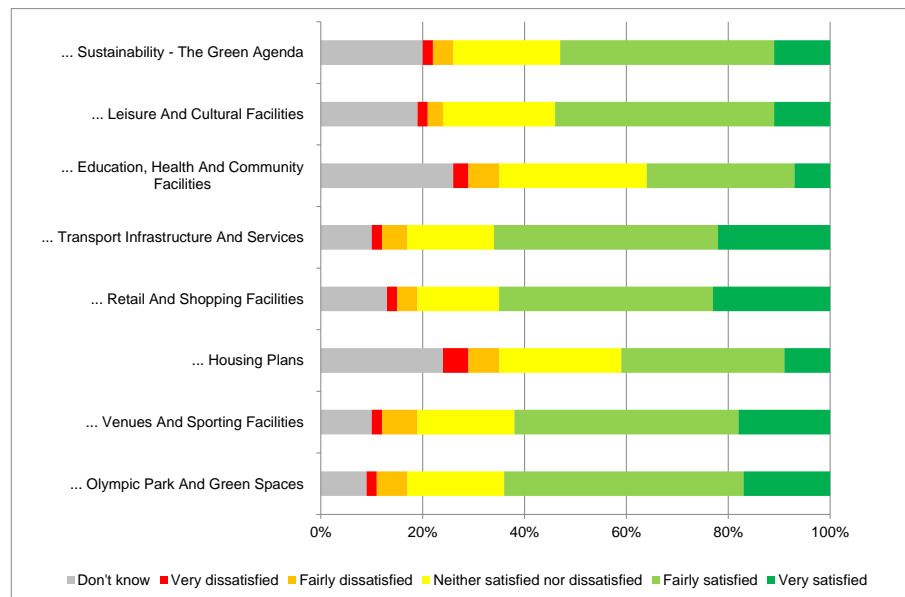


In terms of where respondents had seen the plans: 31% had seen them in a newsletter; 19% had seen them at a local exhibition; 15% had seen them in a 'community brief' document; and 49% had seen them in an 'other' format.

A quarter (23%) of the respondents are satisfied with the community consultation process on the plans for the Olympic Park and surrounding area and the opportunity to input their views. with 18% dissatisfied and 37% neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. The proportion of satisfied respondents rises to 40% for those who live in Newham and falls to 15% for those who live in Barking and Dagenham.

In terms of specifics, of those respondents who had seen the plans, over half of them were satisfied with the plans for sustainability (53%), venues and sporting facilities (62%), retail and shopping facilities (65%), transport infrastructure and services (65%), leisure and cultural facilities (54%) and the Olympic Park and green spaces (64%). With generally less than 10% of respondents dissatisfied with any aspects of the plans. Only 36% of respondents were satisfied with the plans for education, health and community facilities – a finding that is consistent with respondent's views on the extent to which the 2012 Games will impact on these facilities in the local area (see Figure 38).

**Figure 24: Satisfaction with the plans for the Olympic Park and surrounding area after the Games**

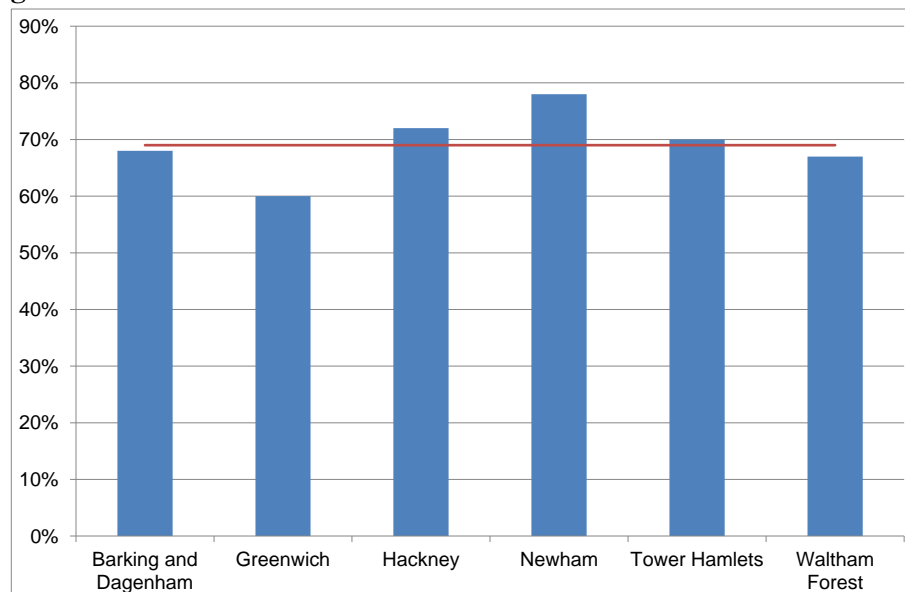


#### (viii) Perceptions of the local area

When asked whether they thought that the 2012 Games would be good for London as a whole – based on what they had seen or heard – two-thirds (69%) of respondents felt that it had with 37% 'strongly agreeing'. Nearly a fifth (17%) of respondents disagreed, but only 7% strongly. This headline view was broadly reflected across the different age groups, genders and working status; although in terms of ethnicity, non-white respondents (75%) were notably more positive than 'white' respondents (66%).

Across the six host boroughs opinions varied more significantly with residents of Barking and Dagenham and Greenwich generally less positive than those in Newham (20% and 23% respectively disagreed that the Games would be good for London compared to 11%).

**Figure 25: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that hosting the 2012 Games would be good for London as a whole**

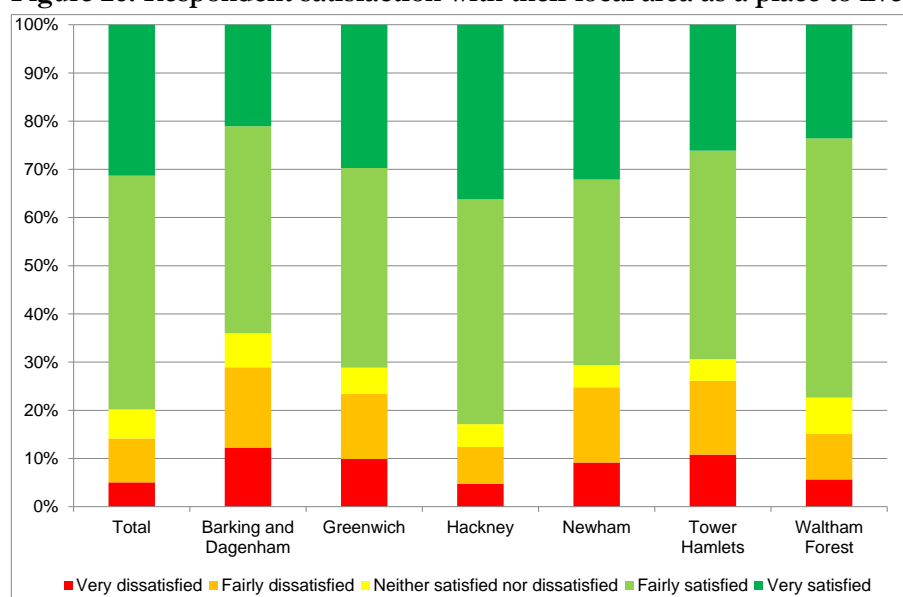


Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

As could be expected, those respondents that had actively engaged with the Games thought that the Games would be good for London (91%).

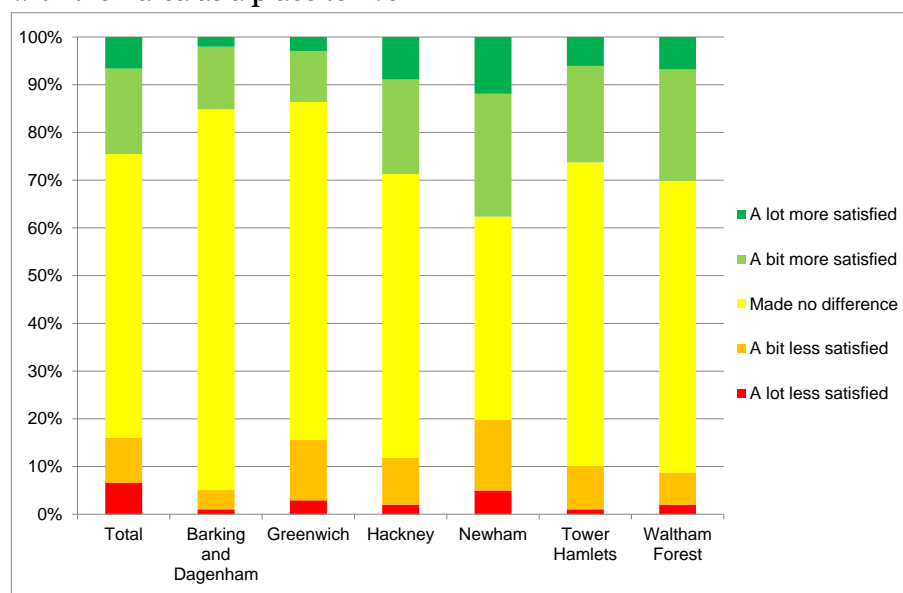
Three quarters (79%) of respondents were satisfied with their local area as a place to live, a third of whom (31%) were 'very satisfied'. Only 5% of respondents were 'very dissatisfied' with their local area as a place to live. Across the host boroughs, those respondents who lived in Hackney were generally more satisfied (87%).

**Figure 26: Respondent satisfaction with their local area as a place to live**



A quarter (26%) of the respondents felt that hosting the Games had made them more satisfied with their area as a place to live, 10% felt that it had made them less satisfied and the majority (63%) felt that it had made no difference. Respondents who lived in Newham were more positive than the other host boroughs with 39% stating that hosting the Games had made them more satisfied with their area as a place to live.

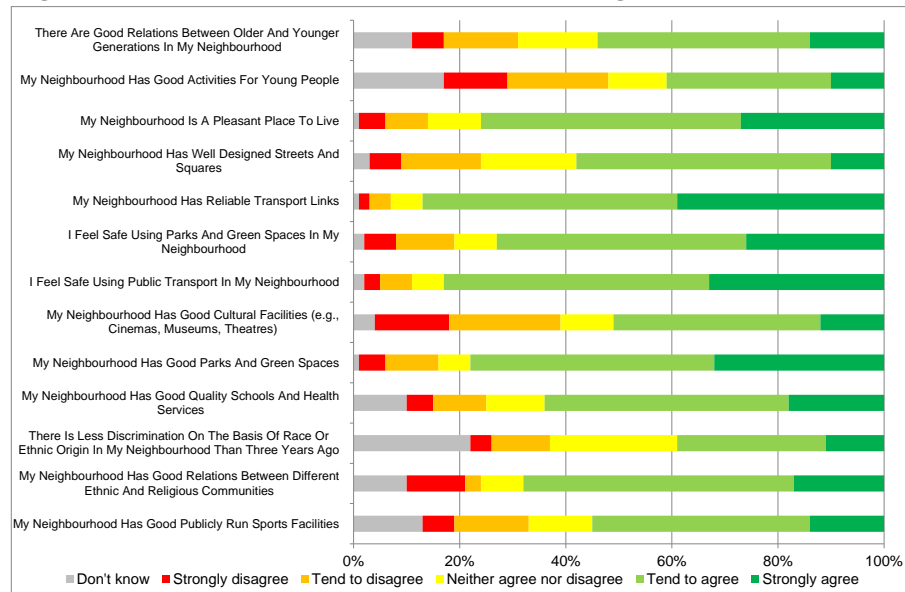
**Figure 27: Extent to which hosting the Games has made respondents more satisfied with their area as a place to live**



Respondents were asked to comment on the extent to which they agreed with a series of indicators about their neighborhood. On the whole respondents were generally positive with over 50% 'agreeing' with all but two of the indicators: only 39% agreed that "there is less discrimination on the basis of race or ethnic origin" in their neighbourhood; and only 41% agreed that their "neighbourhood has good activities for young people". Conversely over three quarters of respondents felt that: their "neighbourhood is a pleasant place to live" (76%); their "neighbourhood has

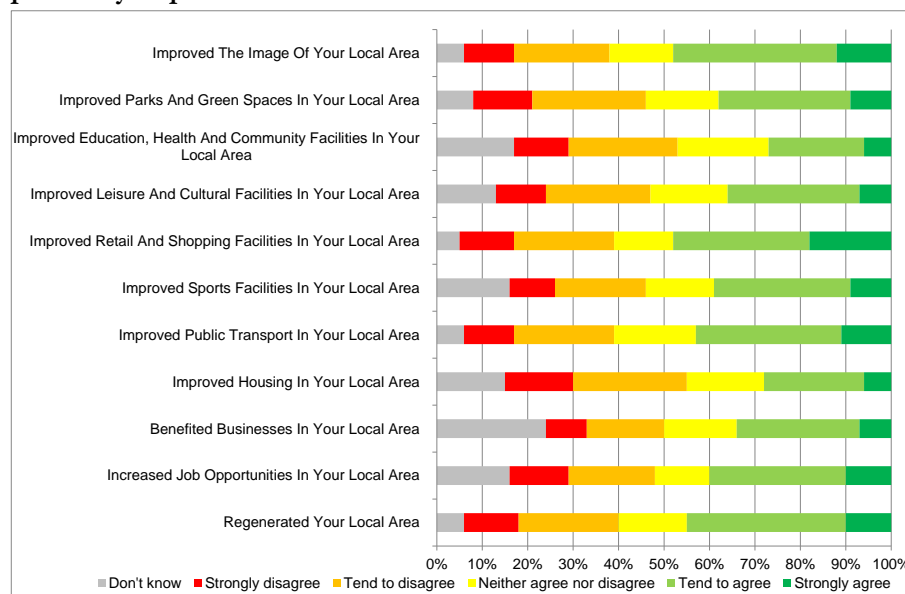
*good parks and green spaces*" (78%); they *"feel safe using public transport"* in their neighbourhood (83%); and that their *"neighbourhood has reliable transport links"* (87%).

**Figure 28: Respondent satisfaction with their neighbourhood**



Respondents were also asked to comment on the extent to which the 2012 Games 'have' already and 'will', over the longer term, have both positive and negative impacts on their neighbourhood. Thinking first about the extent to which the preparations of the 2012 Games have already impacted on local neighbourhoods, in terms of the positive impacts, respondents were fairly evenly split, between those that 'agreed' that the Games had impacted and those that 'disagreed' – with no one position supported by more than half of the respondents. The three most significant impacts in the local area to date appear to be the improvement to retail and shopping facilities (with 48% of respondents agreeing); the improvement to the image of the local area (48%) and the improvement to public transport (43%).

**Figure 29: The extent to which the preparations for staging the 2012 Games have positively impacted the local area**

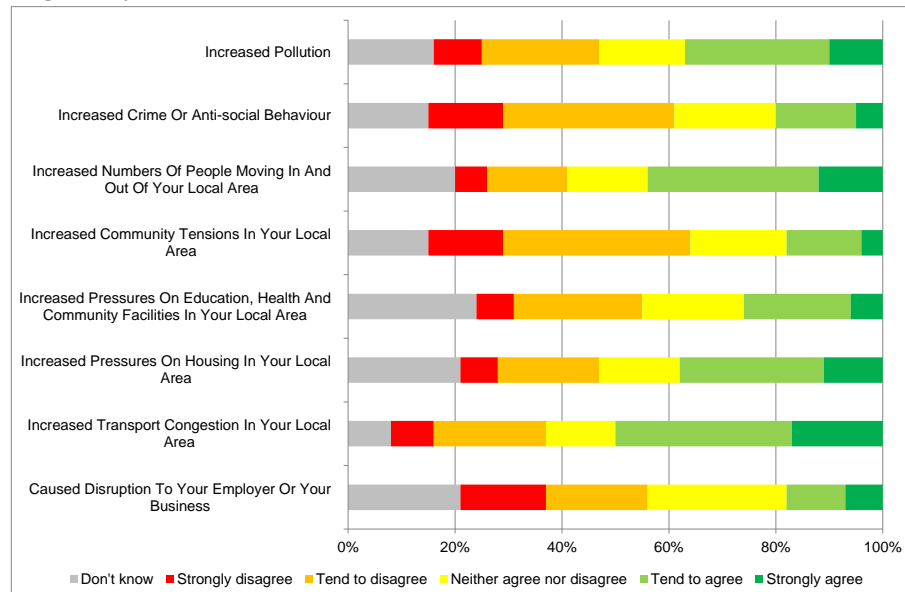


In terms of the negative impacts to date, respondent views were again mixed (see Figure 30). Half of the respondents agreed that the preparations for staging the Games had increased transport congestion in the area (50%) and 44% felt that the Games had increased the numbers of people moving in and out of the area. Conversely, 49% felt that the preparation for the



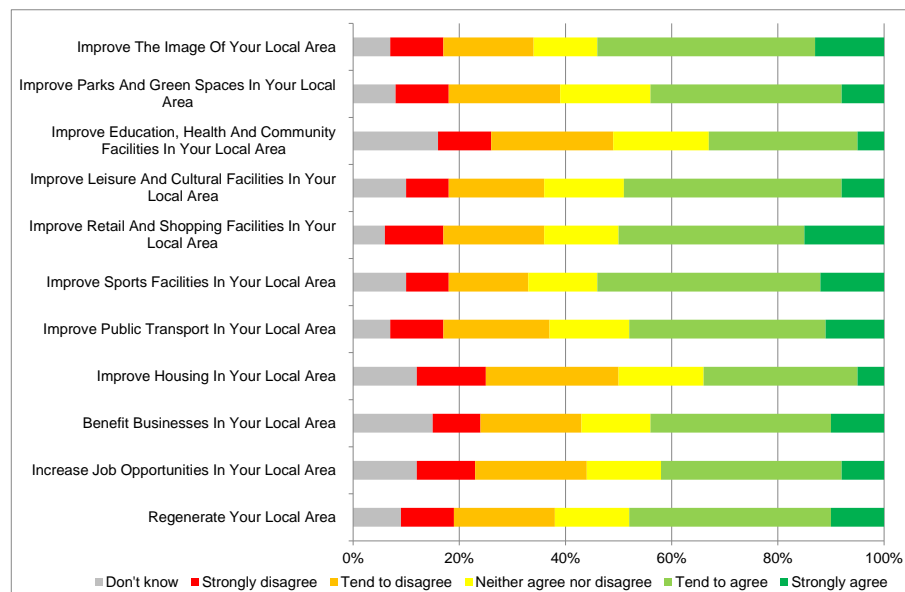
Games had not increased community tension and 46% felt that it had not increased crime or anti-social behavior.

**Figure 30: The extent to which the preparations for staging the 2012 Games have negatively impacted the local area**



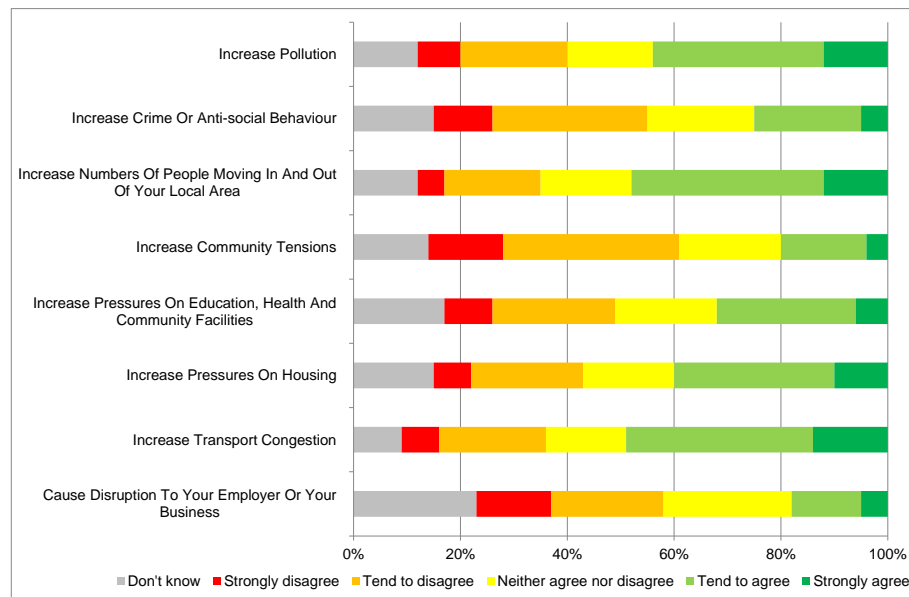
Thinking longer term, respondents were more positive (see Figure 31). Over half of the respondents 'agreed' that the long-term impacts of the 2012 Games will: improve the image of the local area (54%); improve sports facilities in the local area (54%); and improve retail and shopping facilities in the local area (50%). There were only two factors where more respondents disagreed than agreed and these were the extent to which the Games will improve housing in the local area (38% thought that it wouldn't compared to 34% who thought that it would) and the extent to which it will improve education, health and community facilities (where the same proportion of respondents (33%) thought that it wouldn't as those who thought that it would).

**Figure 31: The extent to which the 2012 Games will positively impact – over the longer term – on the local area**



With regard to the negative factors, increased transport congestion (49%) and increased numbers of people moving in and out of the area (48%) remained the two most common longer term concerns, with respondent views generally mixed across the remaining factors.

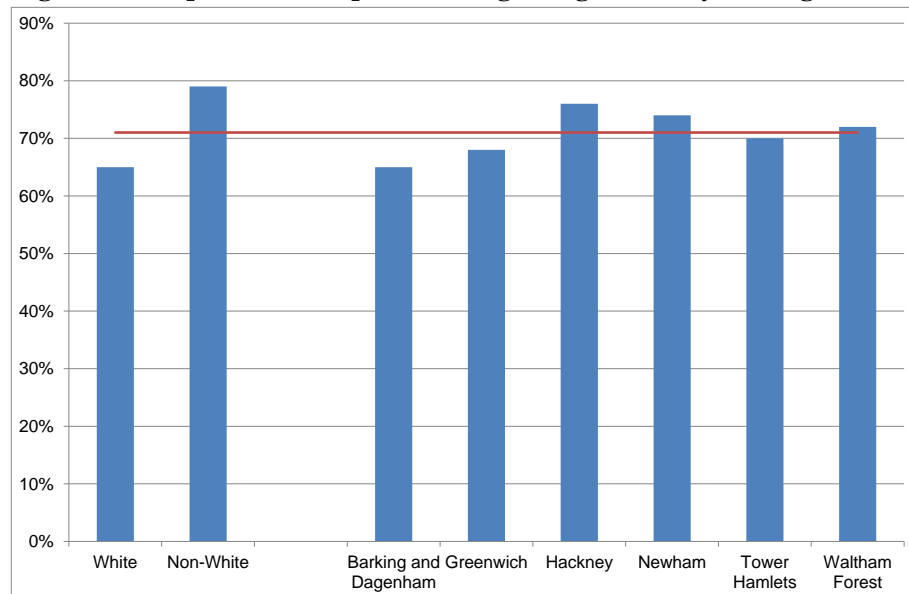
**Figure 32: The extent to which the 2012 Games will negatively impact – over the longer term – on the local area**



#### (ix) Community cohesion

Seventy-one percent of respondents felt that they 'belonged' to their local area, a finding that was again more true for non-white (79%) respondents than 'white' respondents (65%), and across the six host boroughs the figures ranged from 76% in Hackney to 65% in Barking and Dagenham.

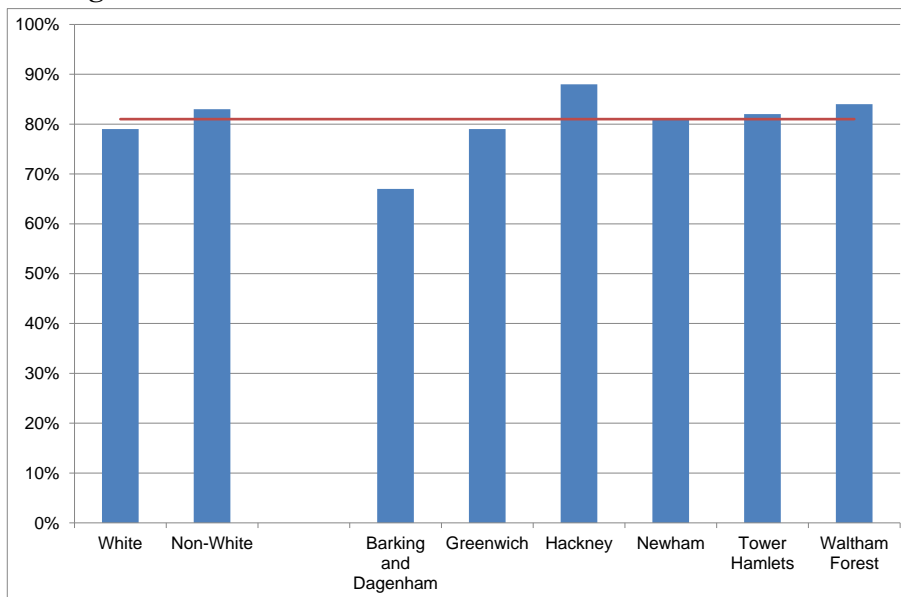
**Figure 33: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that they 'belong' to the local area**



Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

Eighty-one per cent of respondents agreed that their local area was a place where people from different backgrounds 'get on well together' – a view that was supported by both the 'white' (79%) and non-white (83%) respondents alike. However, there was again significant variation between the six host boroughs with a 21 percentage point difference between Hackney – the highest at 88% – and Barking and Dagenham – the lowest at 67%.

**Figure 34: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that from different backgrounds get on well together**

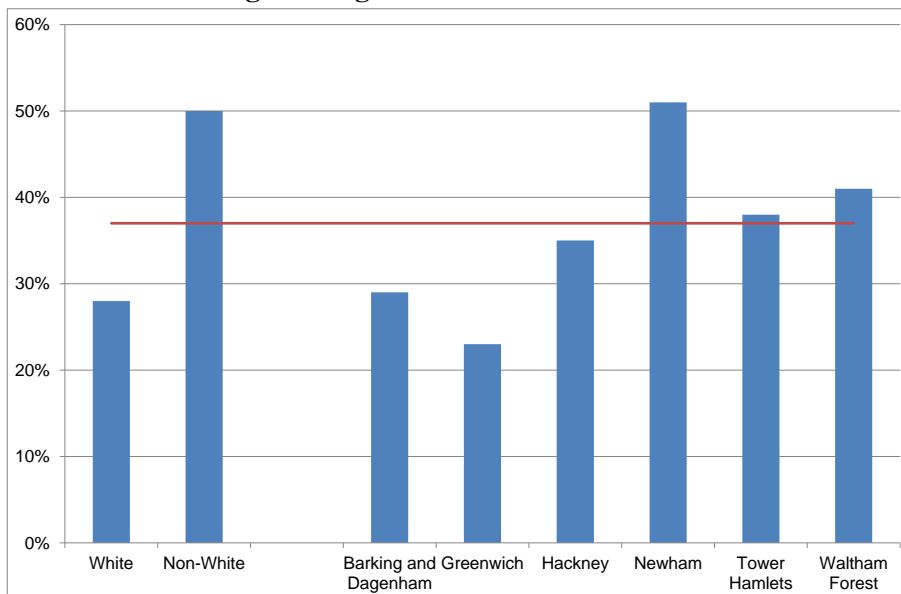


Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

Over a third (37%) of respondents agree that the Games has made people from different backgrounds in their local area get on better; while the same proportion disagree. Here the views of non-white and white respondents differ: with 50% of the non-white respondents agreeing and only 29% disagreeing compared to 28% and 42% respectively for the 'white' respondents.

Again, there is a disparity of views across the host borough with respondents living in Newham more likely to agree (51%) and less likely to disagree (27%), as opposed to respondents living in Barking and Dagenham who were less likely to agree (29%) and more likely to disagree (49%).

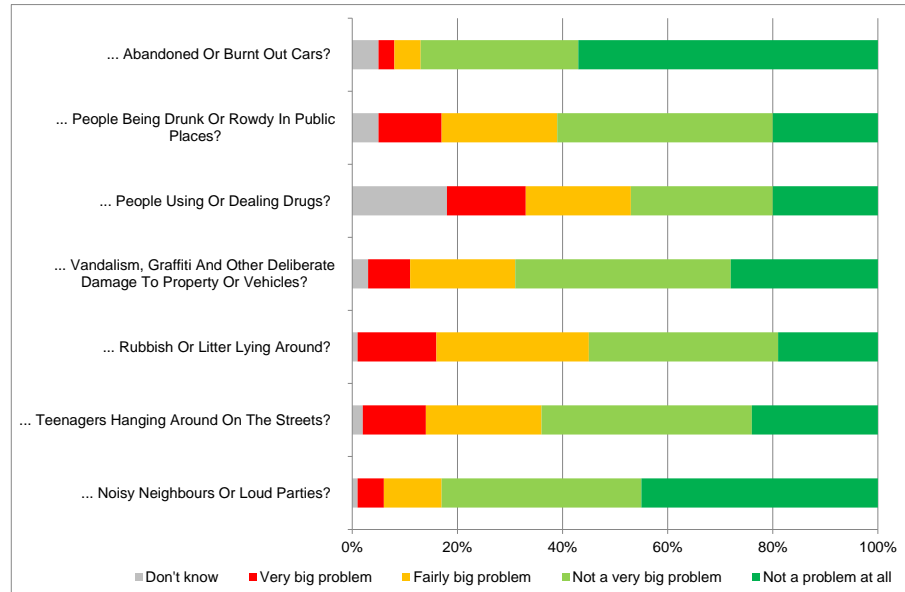
**Figure 35: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that the 2012 Games has made people from different backgrounds get on better**



Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

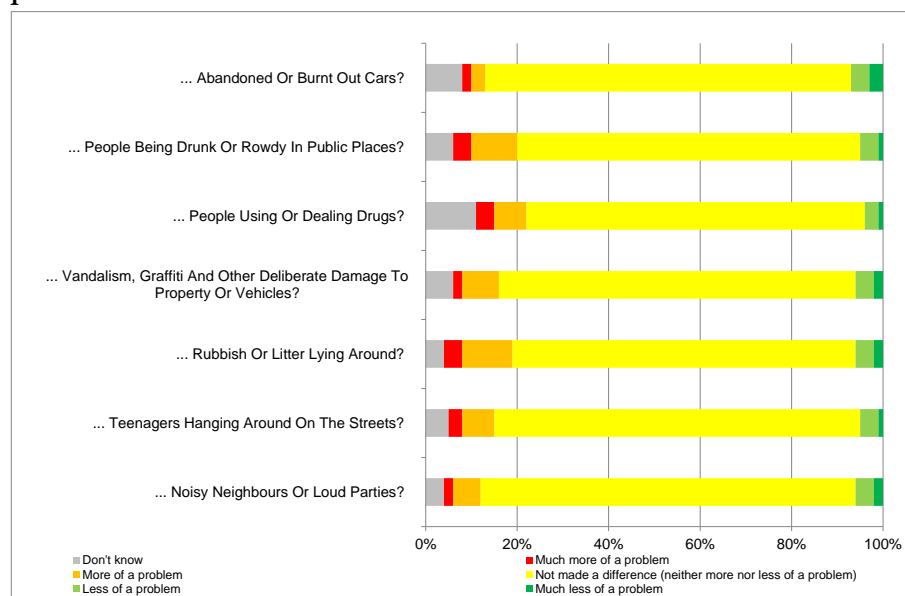
When asked about a series of specific community issues (see Figure 34) the majority of respondents did not view them as a problem in the local area.

**Figure 36: The extent to which community issues are a problem in the local area**



Perhaps more significantly, an overwhelming majority of respondents felt that the preparations for hosting the 2012 Games had made no difference to these problems in the local area.

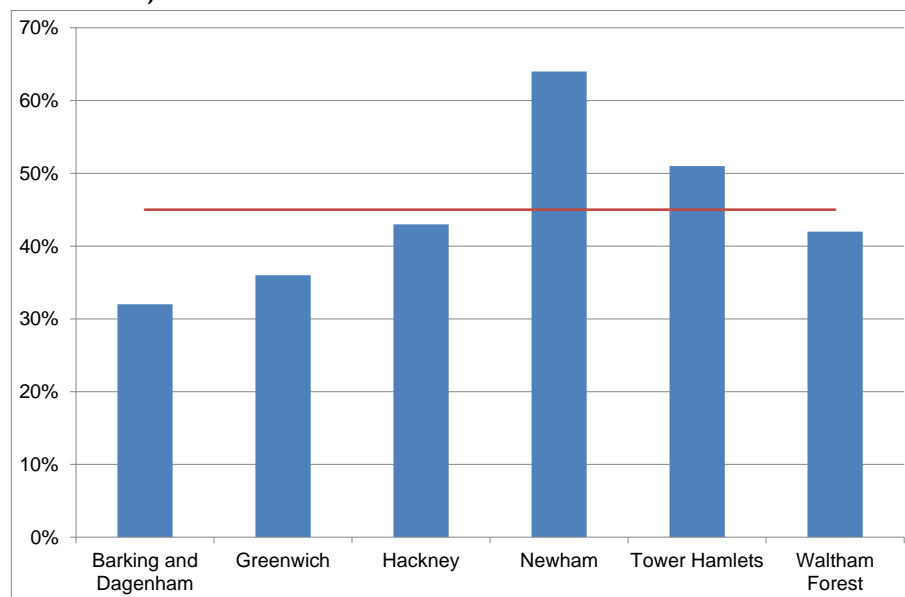
**Figure 37: The extent to which the preparation of the 2012 Games have exacerbated the problems in the local area**



### (x) Access to jobs

Just under half (45%) of the respondents agreed that the hosting of the 2012 Games in East London had increased the number of jobs available to local residents; 29% disagreed and 13% neither agreed nor disagreed or didn't know. Those respondents aged 16-24 were notably more likely to agree (60%) than those respondents in other age groups. While those respondents who lived in Newham and Tower Hamlets were also more likely to agree (64% and 51% respectively) than those in Barking and Dagenham (32%) and Greenwich (36%) (see Figure 36).

**Figure 38: Proportion of respondents 'agreeing' that the 2012 Games has increased the number of jobs available to local residents**



Note: Red line shows the total for all respondents.

These responses are likely to be related in part to the fact that only 4% of respondents had directly (either personally (2%) or through members of their household (2%)) benefited from employment opportunities – lasting or due to last more than one year – resulting from the preparation of the Games: 2% on the Olympic Park; 1% in at Olympic venues and facilities; and 1% at Westfield Shopping Centre.

Four per cent of respondents also noted that they had benefited (either personally (2%) or through a member of the household (2%)) from employment opportunities related to the Games that have or are due to last for less than a year.

Taken together these results suggest that 7% of respondents benefited (either personally (3%) or through someone in their household (4%)) from employment opportunities related to the preparations for the 2012 Games.

For the 3% of respondents who personally secured employment:

- 40% noted that they needed to be trained in new skills;
- 78% were already in work, education or training;
- 22% were unemployed – 7% of whom were unemployed for more than six months and a further 8% who were unemployed for more than a year.

For the 4% of household members who secured employment:

- 38% needed to be trained in new skills;
- 81% were already in work, education or training;
- 12% were unemployed – 4% of whom were unemployed for more than a year.

#### **(xi) Green issues and sustainability**

Prior to being asked the question, 29% of respondents were aware that the 2012 Games are aiming to be the greenest ever.

Of those respondents who knew about this aim, three-quarters (78%) said that the Games had not caused them to change their behaviors with regard to sustainability, with the 21% for whom it had prompted a change noting that it had prompted them to:

- Increase recycling – 10%;

- Protect their local environment – 10%;
- Conserve water/reduce water wastage – 7%;
- Improve environmental friendly transport behaviour – 7%;
- Reduce energy consumption – 4%;
- Change their attitudes to sustainability – 3%.



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