Career Legacy of the London Olympic Games 2012 Among Local East Londoners

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Abstract

East London, the host neighbourhood of the Summer Olympic Games 2012, had been a hub of economic deprivation and urban regeneration for the three decades leading up to the Games. The legacy agenda of London 2012 was therefore presented as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to accelerate the regeneration process and address the deprivation issues of the area. One of the primary legacy commitments of the London 2012 strategy framework was to mitigate the impact of the 2008 recession on East London employment by providing jobs, training and career prospects.

At the same time, the Olympic Games are also an opportunity for a host city to showcase its delivery qualities and organisational capacities to the world through global media channels. While, because the project nature of the Olympic Games is highly complex, risky and prestigious, the host city and Olympic deliverers have been commonly accused of giving priority to transnational elites over the local workforce.

This research addresses the employment outcomes of the London Olympic Games 2012 in terms of legacy commitments for local East Londoners and the delivery dedication. The main research question is:

What is the employment legacy of the London Olympic Games 2012 for local East Londoners?

The research question is examined by 1) reviewing academic papers and evaluation reports on Olympic employment and 2) a qualitative analysis of collected data from in-depth interviews with five Olympic experts and 80 locals in Olympic boroughs. In addition, 50 LinkedIn profiles of London 2012 professionals are analysed in a complementary study.

According to the findings, we can infer that although the Olympic employment programmes of London 2012 met their target number commitments, the occupational engagement of locals was limited to low-skilled jobs. The evidence shows that at the high-skilled employment level of London 2012, recruitment proceeded in an exclusive manner, with Olympic organisations being reluctant to put the delivery of the event at risk by taking people from outside their 'trust circles'. In terms of the bid rhetoric, it can thus be suggested that the legacy building of the London Olympic Games 2012 displayed particular shortcomings in ensuring that the labour market for the Games was effectively integrative and inclusive for local communities.

Although this study focuses on the reality of the employment legacy of London 2012, the findings may well have a bearing on the neoliberal notions behind the legacy-building agenda and may strengthen the idea that hosting a mega-event such as London 2012 could lead to the reproduction of inequality in the local labour markets of host cities.

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List of Abbreviations

IOC	The International Olympic Committee
GLA	The Greater London Authority
ODA	The Olympic Delivery Authority
TELCO	The East London Citizens Organisation
CLM	a consortium of CH2M Hill, Laing O'Rourke and Mace
LOCOG	London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
LLDC	The London Legacy Development Corporation
LDA	The London Development Agency
IMD	The Index of Multiple Deprivation
DCMS	The Department for Culture, Media and Sport
ONS	The Office of National Statistics
DCLG	Department of Communities and Local Government
SEG	Socio-economic Groups
ONS	The Office for National Statistics
TNC	Transnational Corporation
CEA	The Construction Employer accord

Chapter 1 Research Introduction

The Games will transform one of the poorest and most deprived areas of London. They will create thousands of jobs and homes. They will offer new opportunities for business in the immediate area and throughout London.

Rt Hon. Jack Straw MP, Foreign Secretary, statement to the house, 6 July 2005

1.1 Research Background

Hosting a mega-event constitutes a major triumph for a city, because of their potential for catalysing rapid development, image promotion and attracting global investment(Hiller 2000, Burbank, Andranovich et al. 2002, Horne and Manzenreiter 2006). The Olympics are the greatest sporting mega-events in the world, and they offer once-in-a-lifetime opportunities for host cities not only to display themselves to world audiences but also to obtain resources for developing their urban structures with massive budget infusions(Essex and Chalkley 1998). Thus, Olympic-led urban development is a strategy that catalyses existing regeneration plans (or existing visions) by providing financial, political and institutional support through media focus and global investment (Gold and Gold 2008). Mega-projects enable cities to leverage international media attention by showcasing their delivery abilities, organisational strategies and professional capacities to the world. Beyond these strategic utilisations, the impacts of mega-events are vast, and can be variously categorised as tangible or intangible, direct or indirect (Gratton and Preuss 2008) or economic, social and cultural. Each category can permanently alter the spatial and non-spatial structure of host cities. As a result, many recent studies carried out by city authorities, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the press and academia have concentrated on exploring these effects, with their focus being on the genuine benefits of Olympic-led development for host cities.

Since the 1950s, the lasting effects of the Games have been referred to as the 'Olympic legacy', though the strategic use of the Olympics to create specific outcomes in the name of legacy is a more recent phenomenon (Burbank, Andranovich et al. 2002, Gold and Gold 2008, Kassens-Noor, Wilson et al. 2015). In recent years, national governments and urban authorities have made increasingly strong efforts to anticipate and cultivate lasting effects and positive outcomes as a means of rationalising their extravagant expenditure on media

infrastructure, venues and ceremonies. Meanwhile, the IOC appears to have altered its selection agenda to stress legacy aspects. Today, legacy is considered a principal driver for the Olympics, alongside the Olympic Movement's historical political ideals of peace that underpin the staging of these international sporting contests.

However, much of the literature on past Olympic Games suggests good reason for caution in approaching the optimistic claims about legacy(Poynter and MacRury 2009, Watt 2013, Flyvbjerg and Stewart 2014, Kennelly 2015). The records of recent Olympic host cities reveal many forms of disaster in terms of massive intervention to ongoing urban planning, costly overspending and economic, environmental and social risks for host citizens(Hodges and Hall 1996, Grabher and Thiel 2015, Müller 2015, Broudehoux, Sánchez et al. 2016).

Despite this criticism which has cast a shadow over the Olympic industry(Lenskyj 2008), a positive semantics of the official legacy reports (in terms of the longer-term benefits and effects of such events) play a key role in supporting today's 'Olympic family'. However, a review of these literature indicates that still the term Legacy has been conceptualised rather loosely and with the rhetorical language.

1.2 Research Gap[1]

While the rhetoric of Olympic legacy is triggering the interest among cities in leveraging the hosting of this mega-event, it has also generated a large amount of critical academic literature and discourses. Olympic studies have sought, among other things, to define the term 'legacy', historicise its usage (Gold and Gold 2008, Cornelissen, Bob et al. 2011, Davis 2012) and evaluate the relations between official discourses on legacy, as formulated in the applied fields of planning, and the actual effects seen on the ground in host cities (Burbank, Andranovich et al. 2002, Cashman 2006)

Gold and Gold (2008) argue that it is important to consider that different sorts of outcomes may have different durations and geographies of effect. For instance, from the business aspect, the Olympics could bring benefits for many major industries and companies in a host city, but at the same time causes difficulties for the local small businesses, particularly in terms of competitiveness (Raco and Tunney 2010). Essentially, the legacy of the Olympics

[1] The initial time for me to realise the gap in the body of Olympic-related knowledge goes back to the year 2013. A great amount of academic and official studies has been carried out from 2013 till 2018(year of submission). Nevertheless, this research has tried to update its literature review, and address the question that has not been answered properly in this field of study.

can have distinct effects on each group and community within a host city, mobilising them towards different destinies. A review of the official evaluation reports and critical writing shows that most efforts towards legacy evaluation have been focused on the wide-ranging effects as indicated by national or city-scale statistics. While, there are few studies into the effects of the Olympic Games on specific neighbourhoods (Saborio 2013, Lindsay 2014). Moreover, regarding that Mega-events usually locates in a city area with vast brownfield, or areas with low-price properties, the neighbourhood of Olympic Villages are being resided with working class population or non-affluent residents. Recently, particularly from London 2012 onward, there have been some studies about the impacts of Olympic games on these working-class communities(Cohen 2013, Watt 2013, Bernstock 2016, Watt and Bernstock 2017). However, still in comparison with the broader city-scale studies, the research on specific communities or neighbourhood within host cites are few.

Thematically, much of the legacy analysis from the socio-economic aspect has focused on community volunteering(Auld, Cuskelly et al. 2009, Nichols and Ralston 2011), tourism(Duran 1992, Higham 1999, Solberg and Preuss 2007, Dansero and Puttilli 2010, Weed 2014) and inward investment(Preuss 2004, Gold and Gold 2008, Zimbalist 2016); while few of them have been about businesses (Raco and Tunney 2010) and housing (Bernstock 2016) for locals. However, when it comes to employment, as a critical socio-economic legacy, the impact of the Olympics as a huge temporary employer on mobilising local residents' jobs and careers has seldom been studied.

Moreover, many analyses of the Olympic impacts are dominated by a viewpoint from either before the Games (legacy estimation) or after the Games (efforts to compare post-event delivery outcomes with pre-event promises). There is little research that addresses the transformation and changes which occur during the Olympic setup. These 'before and after'(Lindsay 2014) assessments therefore overlook the shifting forces and dynamics happening among the communities in a city while it is preparing for the Games.

Taken together, this research seeks to bridge these gaps by explicitly addressing the way the Olympic Games leaves employment legacies within the neighbourhoods of an Olympic site. It looks at both the way Olympic delivery affects the local workforces through recruiting as a major project employer, and the way members of local communities pursue their career prospects during the hosting of the Games. Thus, this thesis sets out to examine the employment legacy of Olympic Games (as a huge employer in an area) for both Olympic deliverers and local communities.

To narrow down the research endeavour, I focus particularly on the employment legacy of the London Olympic Games 2012 among local East Londoners. More specifically, I intend to

investigate the reality of proclaimed 'legacies' about employment boosts for residents that London 2012 promised during the bidding process.

The ultimate goal of this study is to offer insights to a politically-charged debate of using global mega-events to achieve the specific socio-economic goals within a host city; and to provide empirical contribution to the under-researched issue of Olympic impact on labour market mobilization in deprived neighbourhoods.

1.3 Specifying the Research Context (Why London 2012?)

The Summer Olympic Games 2012 and their career legacy in East London is the focus of this research. This case study was chosen because of the global and complex nature of the city of London, its assertion of being the first Olympics to be committed to social legacy and the socio-economic position of East London within London and the UK.

1.3.1 London as a global city

London is a special case for examining the outcome of a high-profile event such as the Olympics, not just because it is the capital city of the UK, but also because of its role as a European and global hub for international capital. It is also a main destination for global migration, with 37 per cent of London's population having been born outside the UK – the highest foreign-born population of any city in the world. It is a multi-ethnic city and many boroughs are increasingly moving to a state in which there is no majority ethnic population (The Migration Observatory, 2016). Furthermore, London plays a global role in the job market for both the top and the bottom of the labour force (Sassen 2001, Gold and Gold 2008, Butler and Hamnett 2011).

Recently, London, like other global cities, has experienced severe process of polarisation in social income and occupation, which has led to the decline of the working middle class(Hamnett 2003). This process has not only created the particular spatial structures of the western and eastern parts of the city, it has also created a particular labour market pattern. Using a classical locality-based classification, the elite areas of highly skilled professional and managerial workers at the top of the service sector have been largely located in central and southwest London, while unskilled service workers such as cleaners, security guards and other maintenance workers find themselves at the bottom of labour and property markets and can mostly afford to reside in East London boroughs (Hamnett 2004). Although demographically and geographically London has become more diverse in recent years, still the pattern of East London boroughs versus affluent central and south western

London can be considered as the dominant socio-economic pattern in the city(Butler, Hamnett et al. 2008).

In the period leading up to the Games, the 2008 worldwide financial crisis became the momentum for a dramatic shift in London's socio-economic structure, and particularly in the London labour market(Goos, Manning et al. 2009). The city underwent austerity measures and a period of higher unemployment, while the advent of economic immigrants from European nations and the high flow of net migration from other more conventional routes generated high urban pressure in the context of the 'super-diversity' present on the streets of London (Hall 2015).

To recapitulate, the global, polarised, super-diverse and complex structure of London is the context for interpreting the legacy of a high-profile interventional project, while each of these attributes can be regarded both as an advantage and as a challenge.

1.3.2 East London and the urban transformation

'Historically, East London was not only London's gateway, but also its backyard' (Butler and Hamnett 2011: p.36). For many Londoners it used to be, and still is, an area where 'others' are living. During the boom of the London dock and its related industries, the working-class population greatly increased (Imrie, Lees et al. 2009). And by the 1950s, the population of the area witnessed a considerable demographic change in terms of the replacement of the white working-class population by ethnic groups coming mainly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Caribbean. Later, in the 1960s, when London, as one of the pioneer cities, started de-industrialisation, it was East London which was severely affected by the closure of the docks and their attendant industries(Butler and Hamnett 2011). These closures produced a high level of job losses and subsequent high rates of long-term unemployment and economic inactivity. Thus, the economic transformation of Twentieth century in Britain, particularly the Thatcherism, had critical consequence on East Londoners and their occupational destiny.

The consequence of breaking down the occupational community in East London was out-migration of young white natives to suburbs such as Essex, replacing by an ethnic new migration flow, leaving East London as the only un-gentrified area in modern London(Hamnett and Butler 2010). As the result, the post-industrial East End of London continued to be an area that was deprived, unorganised while carrying the stigma of being socially threatening(Butler and Hamnett 2011). Due to its high proportion of precarious jobs and low wages, the area, which once was holding the role of a labour 'backyard', is today known as a hub of poverty and social segregation within London. Therefore, as much as

London has stepped forward towards globalisation and increased urban competitiveness, inequality and social polarisation, especially between the east and west of the city, have increased.

Therefore, London's labour market got increasingly polarised and this has been reflected in the contemporary pattern of the labour composition of East London. There are professionals with highly paid jobs who are white British or who come from the US, France or Germany living in the West of London and working in Canary Wharf. On the other hand, the people who service these people by carrying out precarious and low-paid work are at the bottom of the occupational ladder (May *et al.*, 2007). Even the makeup of the low-paid workforce has changed from being largely male and working full-time in semi-skilled manual occupations to becoming a workforce based on a service economy which employs mainly female part-time workers (Butler and Hamnett, 2011) with good interpersonal and communication skills. Parallel to this pattern, a large proportion of domestic low-paid jobs, especially in East London, have been growing in the informal sector (Cox and Watt 2002) or ethnic economy, and they have employed those who have been the most marginalised from the rest of London.

It was within this context (Figure 1) that London's bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympics Games was justified to the public as the Games which would provide an 'inclusive' legacy(Minnaert 2012). Besides, it was assumed that the role of London 2012 would be as an accelerator for the greater regional regeneration plan (known as the 'Thames Gateway'), in terms of both business growth and the progress of infrastructure projects. Particularly Stratford area in the borough of Newham in East London, and the main location for the Olympic Park was identified as the centre of Olympic-led development.

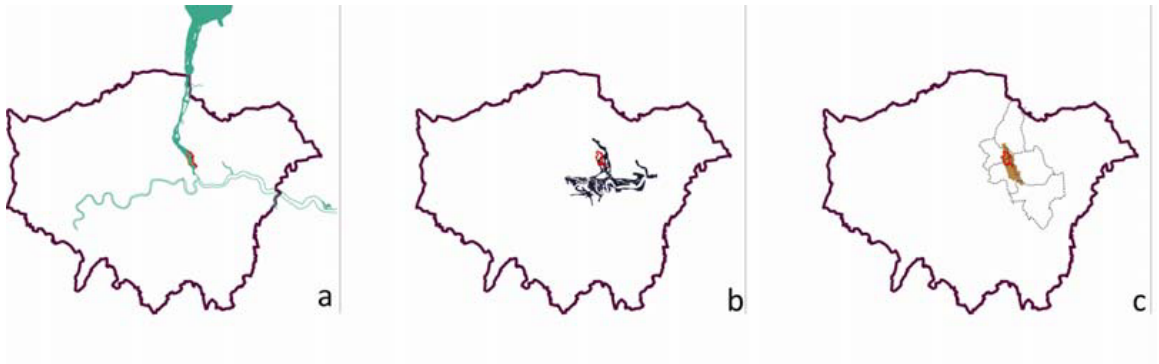

Figure 1: Locating the Olympic Site, a) the Lea Valley; b) London's former industrial areas and Docklands; c) the Olympic host boroughs and the scope of the Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework (GLA, 2007) (Source: Juliet Davis, 2011)

1.3.3 The London Olympic Games 2012

Today's London landscape continues to be changed by a wide range of infrastructure and renewal projects, including Heathrow Terminal 5, Crossrail, Paddington Basin, King's Cross and the Thames Gateway, all of which are large regional development projects(Raco 2014). And all are intended to increase the city's competitiveness, re-engineer the capital's neighbourhoods and let the market capture new flows of global investment. London has a rich history of hosting the Olympic Games (1908, 1948), and for the Summer Olympic Games 2012 the ambitious plan was re-engineering, or as the official bid book termed it, the 'regeneration of East London'. Because of this, it has been generally believed that the main reason behind the IOC's decision to choose London over its rivals, which included strong bids from New York and Paris, was its long-held desire for a robust legacy of urban regeneration, and its commitment to ensuring an inclusive legacy focused on addressing urban deprivation in East London (Imrie et al. 2009, Poynter and MacRury 2009).

The Olympic Games has become, for many, a key trigger for redeveloping London as a 'good city', and London 2012 through its Strategic Regeneration Framework pursued an agenda with four promises (Greater London Authority, 2013):

- Increasing opportunities for Londoners to become involved in sports;
- Ensuring Londoners benefit from new jobs, business and volunteering opportunities;
- Transforming the heart of East London;
- Delivering a sustainable Games and developing sustainable communities;
- Showcasing London as a diverse, creative and welcoming city.

Through such an ambitious social–economic legacy for East London, the government promised a unique opportunity to tackle decades of exclusion and transform communities, especially for young people, through providing a better market for their career prospects (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2008). The Host Borough Unit stated that:

"Those who hosted the 2012 Games will have the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London … the skill system has to become much more market oriented in terms of what it trains people for, the standards to which it trains them, the competitive edge that it instils in people as employees" (2009, p. 22).

Regarding the both ambitious commitment and the massive scale of public financing (£9.3 billion) involved for staging the London Games, it is critical that the 'legacy' of the Games is thoroughly and independently debated, and that this debate should extend beyond official assessment reports. Meanwhile, there is already evidences revealing that the legacy of the 2012 Games is questionable in terms of enhanced employment, training and housing

opportunities for existing East London residents (Bernstock, 2014; London Assembly, 2010; Raco and Tunney, 2010; Watt, 2013), and this will be discussed in detail in the literature review chapter. For now, this overview provides an appropriate context for the research question.

1.3.5 Local East Londoners

'Local East Londoners' is a term used in this research to identify a category of people comprising the defined population of East London in the direct neighbourhood of the London Olympics 2012. These are the people who lived in Newham, Waltham Forest, Hackney and Tower Hamlet – the boroughs around the site – during the setting up of the Olympics.

It is important to mention that the Olympic boroughs are six boroughs of Newham, Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest. And they have been designated by the convergence framework, as the 'growth boroughs', since they were regarded as the UK's strongest potential growth areas from staging the Olympic Games, providing a launch pad for Britain to move out of economic depression (LondonGrowthBoroughs 2011)

According to convergence framework the aim of Growth Boroughs Partnership is to utilise the Olympic Games to achieve a step-change in socio-economic development.

"Within 20 years the communities who host the 2012 Games will have the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London." (LondonGrowthBoroughs 2011).

However, the current research has excluded Greenwich and Barking& Dagenham from the study, as both of them did not have the direct spatial proximity to the Olympic Park.

1.4 Drawing Up the Research Questions

This study broadly questions the effects of the London Olympic Games 2012 on the careers of local East Londoners, and the research question has been formulated as follows:

What is the career legacy for local East Londoners of the London Olympic Games 2012?

The ultimate goal of the research is to understand the interactions which took place between London 2012 as a very large employer, the employment legacy agenda of the London 2012 and the local East Londoners as the labour supply for the Games. Achievement of this sense of understanding requires two sorts of knowledge to be acquired: 1) investigation of the employment legacy in terms of agenda and actual outcomes and 2) analysis of causalities.

In the context of this research goal, the research question has been broken down into the following questions:

a) How did the Olympic labour market of professionals perform its recruitment processes for London 2012?
b) How has the legacy agenda addressed the employment provision for local East Londoners?
c) How have local people residing in East London sought career prospects through the Olympic projects

1.5 Thesis Structure

Addressing these questions successfully relies on meeting three research objectives:

First, I aim to investigate those occupational sectors that provided the workforce for London 2012 and examine processes and measures of recruitment. To achieve this, I try to understand the nature of London 2012 in terms of being a 'mega-event'. In Chapter two, I review significant literature to define the Olympic Games from the perspectives of urban development and project management. Each of these perspectives highlights a critical component of the Olympic Games. The first is 'legacy', seen as an intentional and planned approach to providing positive impacts for the city through hosting the Olympic Games. The second is 'delivery', as the ultimate goal of a highly complex and high-profile mega-project such as the Olympic Games, and which brings about particular organisational ecology, culture of work and recruitment measures. At the end of this chapter, I draw my first research hypothesis in terms of the employment dynamic within the professional employment sector of London 2012. The examination of this hypothesis through primary and secondary data is presented and analysed in Chapter 6. Through this examination, I outline the career characteristics of those involved in running the London Olympic Games 2012, and the legacy of London 2012 for their occupational trajectories.

Second, I explore the share of local East Londoners in the workforce for London 2012 and reflect on their locality. In order to do so, Chapter (3) describes and elaborates the socio-economic structure of London generally and of East London in particular and investigates the contested realm between them. The hypothesis developed at the end of Chapter (4) is examined through empirical study in Chapter (7), which looks at the experience of London 2012 of local East Londoners in terms of employment. Empirical data has been gathered for both lower-skilled and higher-skilled jobs, and for the different socio-economic clusters in East London: traditional working-class, ethnic minorities, East Europeans and white 'creatives'.

My third objective is to assess the London 2012 employment programmes that were drawn up to distribute employment opportunities. In Chapter (4), I investigate the target groups developed by the Olympic agenda for these programmes, the level of employment they offered, and the designated target numbers and institutional approach within each employment programme. The lack of a policy and programme for middle and higher-level jobs at London 2012 forms the hypothesis, and this is elaborated and affirmed through empirical study in Chapter (7).

Chapter (5) considers how to address the research aims methodologically, and describes the path taken from the research questions to the findings. Therefore, the main structure of the thesis is based on developing three hypotheses, in chapter (2), (3) and (4), and examining these three in chapter (6), (7) and (8). The role of the chapter (5) is as a methodological tie, connecting the first and second part of the thesis together.

In the concluding chapter (Chapter 9), I reunion these three research hypothesis. I represent my conclusions in terms of the three propositions which relate directly to the structure of the research questions and their hypotheses. These propositions are theoretically articulated, and their conceptual implications form the final argument. In addition, I draw out the wider implications which can be taken from the whole research.

Chapter 2 Mega-events: Dual Dedication to Legacy and Delivery

2.1 Introduction

Mega-events can be defined as one-time occasions with a fixed duration that attract large numbers of visitors and have worldwide reputations (Essex and Chalkley 1998, Hall 2006, Horne and Manzenreiter 2006, Horne 2007, Gold and Gold 2008, Müller 2015).They come with significant costs and long-term impacts on the host city or even the entire country in which they take place. In recent years, cities have focused great attention on leveraging the global resources offered through hosting sport mega-events such as the World Cup and the Olympic Games. They have been regarded as major infrastructure provision opportunities that are accompanied by substantial "drama" (Roche 2002) and a high level of international scrutiny (Cornelissen 2010). The drama and media exposure of these 'hallmark events' (Brent Ritchie 1984, Hall 1992), causes them to be considered as a chance for placemaking, a process which includes both shaping the image of host cities, and acting as a catalyst for urban economic regeneration and development through attracting global investment (Gratton, Shibli et al. 2005, Hall 2006). However, the issue of urban growth through hosting a mega-event has received considerable critical attention. Some studies have emphasised that running a 'spectacle' and at the same time achieving local regeneration are tasks which are not easily reconciled, since the consumers of the spectacle are mainly middle-class (Eisinger 2000). Also, since the ultimate consequences of city renewal through event/consumption-led regeneration will be gentrification, prising-out and displacing locals and causing hardship for small businesses and disadvantaged populations (Vigor, Mean et al. 2004, Cohen and Watt 2017). These controversies have produced a great deal of debate about the legitimacy of hosting mega-events and their ultimate benefits, and this debate is articulated in this chapter. The goal is to provide a general understanding of the Olympic Games as a mega-event and to position this understanding within the relevant social and economic discourses. The specific objective of this chapter is to clarify the dilemma caused by the dual nature of mega-events, in terms of projects and urban occurrence.

2.2 Stakeholders

The various definitions of mega-events and the controversies about their implications for cities can be better understood when the stakeholders and their varied interests are clarified. In many cases, particular Olympic Games have similar patterns of division of

stakeholders, which Preuss (2004) and Gornostaeva (2011) categorise as sponsors, private business, government and local residents:

- Sponsors and television companies are interested in immediate profits along with preserving, promoting and developing their property rights, achieved by negotiations with Games organisers and by publicity campaigns.
- Private businesses, including construction, sports industries and tourist-servicing firms, are the stakeholders that directly benefit from visitors or from obtaining a contract for the development of Olympic venues, improving infrastructure or other related facilities. It is critical to bear in mind the differences between transnational corporations (TNCs), large national companies and small and medium-sized enterprises, which will each have their distinct positions in the production chain, and roles in providing services to the mega-event organisers.
- The 'government' includes city and/or regional/federal government and/or central government. In many host cities in the global North, city governments are initiators of the Olympic Games and the providers of public funds for the construction of the Olympic amenities and infrastructures.
- Local host residents are local populations of various kinds, including communities differentiated by ethnicity, nationality and/or socio-economic class.

Significant conflicts of interest exist within and between stakeholders. Particularly, the government has a dual interest in delivering the Games and at the same time serving the interests of local businesses and populations.

2.3 Urban Progress Versus Urban Neo-liberalism

A city hosting a mega-event places its emphasis in terms of expectations on 'image-promoting', since the exceptional momentum of an event like the Olympic Games can raise a city's ranking in the global economy through showcasing its performance in managing an 'urban spectacle' (Surborg, VanWynsberghe et al. 2008). Essentially, the main motivation behind this type of place making is the commodification of entertainment (Hiller 2000, Gruneau and Horne 2015). By directing capital accumulation to host cities through corporate sponsorship and media audiences, they become labelled as 'international', 'world-class' and 'global'(Nauright 2004). Within this discourse, mega-events have been regarded as a platform on which globalisation meets capitalism, and where the 'economy of appearances' and the production of global imagery act as stimuli for transnational financial exchange.

In contemporary globalisation with the shift from industrial to informational capitalism, knowledge and information are the fundamental categories of existence(Castells 1997). Consequently, the traditional role of government in capitalism has come under threat, since it can no longer guarantee long-term benefits and security to its citizens unless it can build ties with large corporations (Castells 1997, Butler and Hamnett 2007). In this context, mega-events can perhaps be regarded as the best example of the elisions between capitalism and globalisation, in which communication technologies (ICTs) have enabled movement towards a 'borderless' world of production. In this model, it has been assumed that money and people can move in a more-or-less frictionless manner, while nation states seem to have little option but to acquire and facilitate this process of production. For instance, the initiative of rebranding a city and facilitating the internationalisation of capital by hosting a mega-event is usually promoted by segments of financial elites. These groups pursue the idea through the public body (the state) by offering a rationale about bringing benefit for the whole city or whole nation (Hiller 2000, Horne 2007). This dual force of private and public bodies being behind the high-profile and large-scale urban interventions involved in mega-events is rooted in the prevalence of 'neoliberal' approaches in today's urban policy and practice in many cities.

Neoliberal ideologies portray the hosting of mega-events as exceptional urban strategies for place promotion and for catalysing city development schemes (Hiller 2006, Kassens-Noor 2012). This view has also been endorsed by many event-governing bodies, such as the IOC, consulting companies and city development agencies (PWC 2011, Raco 2014); which offer place making rhetoric rather than place marketing. As Müller (2015) states, what were once primarily sporting events or exhibitions have now become urban events which can be once-in-a-lifetime opportunities for large-scale urban transformation (Müller 2015).

While the main actors in and supporters of mega-events are particularly those urban promoters who advocate pro-growth strategies for long-term economic development and job creation (Hiller 2000), the state also advocates mega-events as a manifesto, stating that the marginalised communities could raise their voice and get high-profile coverage (Wills 2013). However, hosting a mega-event is not a community internal action. Because of the top-down nature of policy agendas, the process of place making through mega-events usually begins elsewhere than in the community itself (Raco 2014). Whether mega-events as public platforms would really be leverageable by locals or not, there is no doubt that hosting mega-events in a city can have game-changing effects within political powers. In holding a high-profile event, the institutions and actors that make it happen operate at the intersections of the bargains that are struck over public goods (Müller 2011). Thus, their

geographical networks and imaginations and the power relations within and between them are entangled and co-dependent (Wills 2013).

Despite the reality of the record of high costs and risks in preparation and celebration of mega-events (Flyvbjerg 2011), there is still considerable controversy about whether hosting is a 'chance' or a 'disaster' for cities. Mega-events can be seen as acting as shocks, albeit self-induced, to their host cities through, for example, forceful interruptions of everyday routines (Grabher and Thiel 2014), which cause abrupt spatial and human mobilisation. Whether this shock-oriented mobilisation is inclined towards private profit or public good is a core aspect of the dilemma around the rationality/irrationality of hosting a mega-event.

The idea of utilising a mega-event to pursue mass intervention by the state has been opposed by some scholars, who criticise the negative effects of such strategies on the trajectories of urban development and policy-making processes. Their concerns relate to the record of cost overruns, schedule slips, oversized infrastructures, and 'over-promising' about the benefits and optimistic futures for host cities (for example, Müller 2015, Boykoff 2014, Cottle 2011; Gaffney 2010; Hayes and Horne 2011, Shin and Li 2013). In addition, there is some evidence suggesting a triggering effect of mega-events on social polarisation and the displacement of existing working-class populations by middle-class residents (Bound 1996, Hiller 2000; Horne 2007, Watt 2017). Consequently, the mega-event issue has also become a worldwide platform for opponents who call attention to the destructive dimensions of strategies related to place making through mega-events, in terms of the erosion of democratic accountability and the overlooking of marginalised groups (Gruneau and Horne 2015). These critics view mega-events, along with their attendant 'syndromes' (Müller 2015), as the harnessing tool for a neoliberal agenda of socially unjust policies which benefit the interests of capital and marginalise the cities' poor. In this battle, local growth regimes and their oppositions extract their own meanings from the heavy symbolism of the Games to push for specific impacts and benefits for the host region (VanWynsberghe *et al*. 2012).

From a holistic viewpoint, and considering all the arguments presented above, it seems premature to claim that the modern Olympic Games have become a completely and fundamentally neoliberal phenomenon. Although the literature on planning processes suggests that the Games are increasingly neoliberal in their consequences for host cities, a careful examination also reveals a growing and genuine concern among host cities seeking to reconcile the economic lure of mega-events with popular local priorities of sustainability and social development (Hiller 2000, Black 2007). For example, the Vancouver Winter Games exemplified this shift in showing that progressive local political cultures could be co-opted into accelerating market entrepreneurialism, giving rise to a new hybrid of local politics

pursued by a growing number of hopeful host cities (VanWynsberghe *et al*. 2013). In considering this argument, the promotion of social inclusion could be a market opportunity for developing business models for social programmes, for instance, the overcoming of 'barriers to traditional employment' by private industry expertise in recruitment and employment.

This kind of potential of mega-events has also been asserted in some literature in the field of organisational geography, in elaborating on the 'field-configuring' capacity of a mega-event as "a high profile large-scale project located at the intersection of several organisational fields" (Thiel and Grabher 2015, p. 230). Grabher and Thiel (2015) perceive flagship projects such as the Olympic Games as providing a momentum, which "help orient diverse actors toward shared goals and mobilize both dormant administrative energy and external funding for the purposes of local development" (P. 528). Particularly when there is lack of resources, overstrained administrations and unclear political constellations for a goal (Ibert 2015). The success of the living wage movement, campaigned by the London Citizen at the London Olympic Games 2012 (Wills 2013) has been a good example of these significant mobilisation effects. Such potential has also been argued for when it comes to claiming responsibility for benefits delivered to the impoverished residents of host cities, for example in terms of employment legacy; examining the truth or fallacy of this argument is the focus of this research.

To sum up, I suggest that there are common dynamics behind the controversies attaching to the hosting of mega-events which plague almost every location worldwide to a greater or lesser degree. I call this the contradiction between the dual requisites of legacy and delivery. In these two concurrent and tacit conceptions of mega-events, delivery is the notion that understands the Games as a project that should be completed perfectly and on time; it exists alongside the counterpointing requisite of legacy, which conceives a mega-event as a tool for distributing and redistributing benefits to citizens. The combination of legacy and delivery as being an issue of 'public sector (goods) and private sector (profit)', covered by this one phrase, seems awkward at best and an outright oxymoron at worst, when only explained by the market base of city development. On the one hand, there is the desire and intention to create the greatest possible spectacle, and to put forward the best possible image of the city to the world; on another is the commitment actors have towards environmental, social and economic benefit for cities and their citizens. This duality results in the forming of two characteristics – the two-fold nature of mega-events – and each of these (delivery and legacy) should be examined according to recent narratives and the theories embedded in them.

2.4 The Legacy Aspect of Mega-events

Despite numerous attempts to define the concept of legacy within the recent literature on mega-events (MacRury 2008, Agha *et al*. 2012, Chappelet 2012, Malfas *et al*. 2004), the term is still complex, ambiguous and multi-faceted. Preuss (2007) conceptualises legacy as a three-dimensional concept, and this is a useful tool for developing a plural understanding of this complicated construct. He (2007) suggests that legacies can be planned or unplanned, positive or negative, and tangible or intangible. Although most pre-event studies focus only on planned, positive and tangible dimensions, the same legacy may be viewed positively or negatively, depending on who is making the assessment. Being focused on legacy in terms of all and any outcomes, Cashman (2013) argues that legacy is what remains when the Games have finished, and can be interpreted as 'aftermath'. In other words, legacy is "all that may be considered as consequences of the event in its environment" (Chappelet 2012, p. 77).

Officially, the IOC provides a list of broad meanings of Olympic legacies that it recognises and indeed promotes in order to help bid cities to frame their strategies. These include: a) economic impacts of the Games on host cities over time; b) cultural impacts connected to social values which host cities may wish to highlight, such as multi-cultural inclusivity; c) social debate created in the context of the development and reuse of Games infrastructure; d) political legacies arising through efforts to promote "peaceful", skilled and fair sporting contests; e) education relating to the Olympic mission; and f) "sustainable development" (IOC Olympic studies 2013, pp. 2–4). These categories suggest a wide range of possible outcomes, not all of which may figure to equivalent extents in cities' bids. The IOC points out that although some of these Olympic Games legacies may be 'tangible' or quantifiable, such as Olympic Village infrastructure or numbers of volunteers, others may be 'intangible', for example, the value of inspiration to athletes or a sense of belonging accruing through participation.

Within the city context, legacy could be also considered as a process of passing on through the generations – the handing down of a 'gift', or the inheritance of knowledge, property or particular attitudes (Macrury 2008). With this definition, the term legacy goes beyond of just 'prescribed set of outcomes'; rather, it offers "a narrative for thinking and linking past, present and future trajectories of a city in its developmental path" (MacRury and Poynter 2008, P.17). While it is critical to track those potentialities of legacy which go beyond planned outcomes, it is also critical to recognise that different sorts of outcome may have different durations and geographies of impact within cities' developmental trajectories (Gaffney 2010). For instance, one of the immediate aftermaths of an Olympic Games could be increased levels of tourism for a host city; however, such increases may prove difficult

to sustain. The 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games is considered the first and only Olympics to have generated long-term tourism legacies (Li and Blake 2009). Benefits such as a boosted construction industry may be felt at the level of the city, but simultaneously, costs may be born by localities in terms of rising property values, for example. Local people may additionally experience disadvantages through being dispossessed of their homes and livelihoods in order to make way for the scale of development that hosting a Games has come to imply. These facts raise important questions about the temporality of legacy and who is in a position to benefit from it.

In light of the record of cost overruns of previous mega-events (Flyvbjerg and Stewart 2012), and the impression that host cities can be disadvantaged by holding a mega-event, the issue of use of public funds creates considerable controversy. This controversy focuses on whether huge investments of this type return the money spent to citizens through delivering the claims and promises made. During the last decade, therefore, the idea of harnessing a mega-event to a broader urban agenda that moves beyond the interest of finance, developers, inner-city reclamation and the tourist industry has emerged in the mega-event literature (Hiller 2014). Critical writing on the subject conceives legacy not just as a set of predicted outcomes to be capitalised upon, but rather as a narrative of unfolding and continuing multiform achievements. These achievements are seen as "generative and driven by a momentum born of economic stimuli, infrastructure development and the elaboration of soft factors" (MacRury 2008, p.12) and affirmed values of communities and other stakeholders in the life of the city

In order to untie this 'knot', MacRury and Poynter (2008) categorised the current concepts and practice of legacy as two different and contrasting narratives: legacy as 'commodity' and legacy as a 'gift'. The concept of legacy as a commodity can be located in the wider perspective of organisational assumptions underpinning the physical aspects of mega-events, which in the context of cost-benefit planning is a supplementary part of mega-event delivery (to be further explained in the next section). Here, it is enough to say that the legacy agenda, used as the legitimisation 'story' attached to the whole setting-up mission, focuses on manifesting the benefits of mega-events as being the city's opportunity, by building new transportation infrastructure, parks and facilities. On the other hand, legacy as 'gift' is a necessarily tacit discourse defined from the city planning/urban sociology perspective. It is not just about the outcomes, positive or negative, of mega-events that 'happen' to citizens but should respond to the demands, that are made by people for their share of an event. Perceiving legacy as 'gift' (MacRury and Poynter 2008), which can be more accurately stated as the 'right of the citizen to the event', is based on equal distribution of the benefits of legacy and on the bottom-up development of the legacy

agenda. In the context of urban development, this ideology can be explained by the theoretical framework of 'right to the city' discourses. In order to be able to apply this framework in my analysis, I briefly outline the different formulation and interpretation of that as a separate piece of literature review on the section below.

2.4.1 Legacy building based on the 'right to the city'

The importance of legacy as an intentional positive benefit for the public is an official requirement of both the IOC and host cities' national governments. From the urban perspective, this necessity can be explained through diverse but relevant discourses presented in the 'right to the city' concept. Although, Lefebvre's concept of "the right to the city" (1996, pp. 147–151) was initially considered rather a revolutionary concept and a plea for a new and radical kind of urban politics, it is now widely accepted and used in reformist agendas. In this thesis, the application of this model presents an analytical tool for rationalising the importance of preserving public interests, such as legacy, within all the hosting processes of mega-events, including specifically the Olympic Games.

Lefebvre claims that the city should be created by its citizens through their acts of participation or "appropriation"; that is, through everyday routines and capacities used to realise their social needs, and not only through using "dominant strategies and ideologies" (1996, p. 174 and p. 154). Lefebvre suggests that 'right' in this context pertains to 'the interests of the whole society', but would be intended to privilege 'those who inhabit'. It can be regarded as a form of ownership, but one which, at least in philosophical terms, is differentiated from the processes of legally acquiring land and property by exchange.

For several recent writers, the 'right to the city' concept has been promoted in connection with criticism of distributive paradigms of social justice, combined with an emphasis on the continuing need to conceptualise and apply frameworks of rights for citizens in the context of international capitalism (Davis 2011). David Harvey cites some processes affecting the capacities of the contemporary city to "function as a collective body politic" (2008, p. 33). These include the global property market and the widespread tendency for an urban landscape to reflect defensive attitudes towards private property. Harvey writes that the "right to the city, as it is now constituted, is too narrowly confined, restricted in most cases to a small political and economic elite who are in a position to shape cities more and more after their own desires" (2008, p. 38). He argues that the idea of the 'right to the city' provides a useful conceptual framework within which to evaluate the implications of such issues, given that doing so raises important questions of "who commands the necessary connection between urbanisation and surplus production and use" (Harvey 2008, p. 40).

Along similar lines, but less radical, Amin and Thrift argue that the 'right to the city' is "the right to citizenship for all, the right to shape and influence" (2002, p. 154). The focus of their work is on how to apply this principle in practical terms. The 'right to the city', they argue, "cannot draw on the politics of urban design and public encounter alone, but also requires rights-based and other institutionalized actions at national and urban levels to build capacity and capability across the social spectrum" (Amin and Thrift, 2002, p. 154). In other words, it is not enough to allow people to participate in decision-making processes; people's existing capacities and their "capabilities" – defined in terms of the opportunity to realise the things they value (Sen 2009, p. 231) – also need to be developed so they can perform their citizen roles more effectively. The solution they propose, and which they refer to as a 'politics of the commons', does not begin with formalised rules of engagement, but rather with the recognition that the different interests people have and contributions they can make constitute valid practices of citizenship, and that is what a mature democracy should seek to support and cultivate.

Essentially, exposing legacy to the discussion of 'right to the city' is an urbanistic effort to 'de-alienate' of mega-events, as a massive urban intervention, from the citizens. From this viewpoint, the positive legacy of Olympic games should be evaluated by the extent of the spatial, economic, social engagements that the Mega-events make with the inhabitants of host cities.

2.4.2 Agreeing on legacy

To sum up, rather than accepting one of these definitions of legacy as a 'best-fit', or producing a composite definition, legacy has been assumed as a complex range of meanings in the discourse of the sports mega-event and in the evaluation of its implications for urban regeneration and economic development. It is not to be confused with the 'narrower' evaluation which uses rigid statistics of socio-economic impacts and whose focus is primarily on the costs and benefits of the mega-event itself. The focus here is to combine direct Games-related impacts with a broader examination of the additional or indirect contributions to the economic and social context of the host city. In this sense, 'hard' and 'soft', 'tangible' and 'intangible' legacies are interwoven. The effort here is to distinguish a 'commodity' concept of legacy, understood as a series of concrete outcomes planned and developed by the state, from a more thorough reality of legacy which encompasses generated mobilisation among citizens and the extent to which impacts are shared and negotiated, and which reflects the more normative discourses of the 'right to the city' by defining the right of people to the legacy of the event.

2.5 The Delivery Aspect of Mega-events

Hosting a mega-event means embarking on large-scale programmes that require delivering a set of transportation, venue and accommodation projects on time and integrating a diversity of resources with efficiency. The delivery mission is a powerful force in practice of mega-events, and it usually follows a different orientation from the legacy agenda. The public–private aspect, regulation, budget complexity, the immovable timeframe and exceptional public visibility creates a 'state of emergency' and 'action-generating capacity' temperament (Grabher and Thiel 2014). The former is a tactic used to overcome the multiple milestones that could emerge out of routine local political and administrative procedures, and the latter is the strategy which develops to facilitate swift adaptation to the challenges imposed to the city (Grabher and Thiel 2014). However, to understand better the delivery-derived dynamic, we first need to consider a mega-event as a particular type of major project, so that its management concerns can be positioned within the relevant literature of temporary organisations, project management and the major project.

2.5.1 Temporary organisation

The notion of organisation can be defined as the "social units of people that have been structured and managed to meet a need or to pursue collective goals" (Business Dictionary 2016). The relations between these units of people are concrete enough to be characterised as 'organisation' rather than 'community', and the theory of organisation attempts to explain organisational structures, relationships of organisations with the external environment, and the ways that "an organisation can cope with rapid change" (Perrow 1991, p. 134). The theory of organisation offers a variety of paradigms used to analyse the organisational structure of mega-events. One defines these structures as temporary, complex collections of firms, institutions and occupational groups and a second can be used to characterise the conjugations and interdependencies among people and organisations.

One of the main organisational attributes of mega-events is their temporality as a linkage node between the private sector and public bodies. The main responsibilities and operations of a mega-event exist as an 'organisation with institutional termination' (Lundin and Söderholm 1995). This particular form of administrative body enables mega-events to follow an organised (collective) course of action aimed at evoking a non-routine process while relying on longer-term structures and permanent organisations. It includes temporary contacts between 'permanent' systems creating inter-organisational temporary organisations with perceived time limits as a form of a functional organisation and as an agency for managing uncertainty (Turner and Müller 2003, Grabher and Thiel 2015).

2.5.2 Project

The considerable need for speed and flexibility of a project alters the classical notion of organisation towards a specific fluid form that is more responsive to rapid technological changes and the global market. Therefore, a project, as a one-off venture of a temporary organisation (Hobday 2000; Grabher 2002; Grabher 2004), is usually a special task, programmed by a committee or action group(s), appointed to address a problem or handle a requested action (Lundin and Söderholm,1995) and constrained by specific time and budget (Hobday 2000, Grabher 2002). The usual concept of a project, which certainly applies to the case of a mega-event, is as a plannable and unique task, limited in time, complex in implementation and subject to evaluation. The Olympic Games is one of the best examples of a spectacle project (Lundin and Söderholm 1995), and is run by the project-based organisation of the IOC and awarded as an opportunity to each host city. As a permanent body, the host city handles the high risk and uncertainty of delivering the Olympic Games on time through assigning it to a temporary organisation responsible for delivery.

In going beyond the basic notion of a project, it is essential to consider events such as the Olympic Games as inherently risky, with the risk resulting from long planning horizons and complex interfaces (Flyvbjerg 2006) which are critical sources of vulnerability for delivery. While the public perception is focused on the single event, the practitioners involved are well aware that the record of mega-events has largely been written as a chronicle of planning failures, financial disasters, reputational damage and infrastructural ruin which have led to significant operational and organisational risks (Grabher and Thiel 2014). Therefore, as an organisation, the practitioners involved in delivery need to integrate the necessary skills, knowledge and networks for dealing with non-routine tasks and limitations in costs and time. Within the project ecology of mega-events, the risks of misleading forecasts of demand and cost for the development and management of transportation infrastructure projects and venues are considered very high. Additionally, the "hyperpoliticisation" (Jennings and Lodge, 2010, p. 165) of global events heightens the risk that even small disturbances can cause lasting reputational damage (Grabher and Thiel 2014).

Therefore, being involved in manging at such high risk project, means significant career fame and prominent position in labour market (Grabher and Thiel 2015). To understand how the human resources (carrying the necessary knowledge and skills) of mega-events are mobilised, we should understand the 'project ecology' (Grabher 2002). The term 'relational space' of mega-events refers to the systematic ecology between the permanent contexts of

institutions, corporate ties and the personal networks within the dedicated organisations (Grabher Thiel 2014). It denotes the effect of career lift of new comers on reshuffling the elite structure.

Within this project ecology, risk management becomes the primary concern of the whole event in terms of predicting the cost of all manner of possible eventualities. The massive risk burden of staging a mega-event has resulted in the development of a widely held belief that state actors are unable to deliver the same levels of efficiency as those found in the private sector (Giddens 2009, Raco 2013). This inexorably leads to a process "in which experts participate in creating their markets by identifying new risks ever to manage their expertise" (Cutler 2010, p. 178). This necessarily involves a sorting process, as only a small number of major multinational developers have the capacity and the proven track record to be able to take on major development contracts (Raco 2014). The role of private developers as organisers and managers of increasingly complex assemblages of specialist consultants becomes normalised, and there is a strong belief among both public and private-sector bodies that skilled and well-resourced experts can act as guarantors of quality and efficiency in development practices (Raco 2016).

Therefore, assigning the project part of a mega-event to private-sector project management consultants means the mobilisation and concentration of qualified professionals into single-project organisations, and these recruits mainly via particular channels, namely predecessor projects, personal networks and permanent organisations, to both increase speed and reduce uncertainty (Grabher and Thiel 2015). The small number of people with mega "project capabilities" (Grabher 2004, p. 3) could be the likely explanation for the realities of the mega-project labour market, which comprises a transnational elite circle, usually very different from the policy rhetoric of 'inclusive' and 'devolved' planning that is found in many mega-event strategies and plans. As Müller (2015, p.11) stated, "event-induced gentrification contributes to elite capture and is a phenomenon that has become a familiar sight in most of the mega-event host cities that harness such events for urban regeneration.

Another explanation for the great emphasis on pragmatism within the politics of delivery, and the prioritising of private-sector consultants with specific skills (Raco 2016), is related to the internal logic of mega-projects and planning (Ibert 2015). This logic is embedded in the paradoxical nature of mega-events through the interpretation of and distinctions between 'decision rationality' and 'action rationality'. Ibert (2015 p.33) describes an essential attribute of "mega-projects as the tension between enhancing action rationality at the expense of decision rationality". While mega-projects violate almost all ideals of decision rationality, they appear desirable in terms of action rationality through the

increase in actors' motivations. The reflection of this project rationality landscape can be found in the existence of a parallel set of decision-making mechanisms, and can explain why it is increasingly common for firms in high-knowledge sectors to develop their own systems of exchange based on informal or private regulation (Riles 2008).

Recruitment from particular circle of transnational major projects, which is based on temporary ties but is fluid within specific communities and institutions, also denotes an ecology of organisational logic and individual identities, values and loyalties (Grabher and Thiel 2015). At the same time, mega-events are critical episodes in the biographies of professionals, who can prove their competence in management through a matrix of knowledge and techniques (Grabher 2002). For them, being involved in a major project provides momentum for boosting their reputation and channelling their careers through project organisation (Grabher and Thiel 2015). However, the cost of professional recognition and linkage adds to the cost of the project (Turner and Müller 2003). On the other hand, having staff on board who are capable of dealing with stress and feelings of insufficiency, and who share the same values of 'making things happen' decreases the likelihood of small incidents turning into major accidents (Grabher and Thiel 2015, Rodney and Müller 2003).

2.6 Discussion: The Dilemma of Legacy Commitment Versus Delivery Concerns

The whole process of Olympic planning and legacy building are about both delivering the event and engaging locals in its benefits. This literature review has concentrated on the paradoxical nature of mega-events, giving different narratives of the two-fold intentions of mega-events: the direct benefits (actual legacy) of host citizens on the one hand and delivery on the other. Although there is some analysis which puts forward the paradoxical features of mega-events, for example within the literature on legacy in terms of gift versus profit (Macrury 2008), and within the literature of major projects in terms of decision rationality versus action rationality (Ibert 2015), other literature typically concentrates on either legacy or delivery, but not both. There is, therefore, a lack of dialogue between those who emphasise the benefits that attend successful Olympic delivery and those who work on its aftermath.

The legacy assessment literature looks at mega-events within the context of an urban process and the way that the legacy agenda is formulated and practised for the indirect benefit of local citizens. The concept of this analysis and the views of its critics are rooted in the paradigm of the 'right to the city'. The literature mostly indicates the differences between the rhetoric of legacy and the facts, pointing to the values and priorities that alter in relation to the conflict between locals and corporate interests.

The other strand of literature is dedicated to the project-management aspect of mega-events, which much of the attention paid to the delivery process. In this context, the devotions are the innovation and learning, network expansion and reconfiguration potential that would take place in the particular platform of the project organisation of mega-events. The "one-shot, time-bound, goal-driven" (Arthur *et al.* 2001, p. 99) ecology within mega-events involves imperatives for imminent action and can trigger socio-economic reconfigurations (Grabher and Thiel 2014, Grabher and Thiel 2015). Within this project-oriented climate of mega-events, the identification of risk becomes an explicit strategy for managing the uncertainty that is central to capitalist societies. As DeFillippi and Arthur (1996) asserted risk can only be managed if it can first be identified which applies to organisations and individuals.

Meanwhile, the implications of considering mega-events as a chance to show how to be successful in delivering (under the conditions of complexity, risk, time pressure, and media exposure) has created a particular mechanism of "to-do management initiative and high expert arrangement based on preventing any meddlers defined as those who have limited knowledge of 'reality' of planning process. Therefore, elite capture curtails public oversight and participation" (Müller 2015, p. 11). At the same time, planning for mega-events turns into a technocratic process of delivery. Thus, it seems that democratic demands become risks that threaten to delay the planning and construction process of the event (Hiller 2000, Andranovich, Burbank et al. 2001, Raco 2014).

Regarding this dual dedication of 'legacy' and 'delivery' in the nature of mega-events, the first hypothesis of the career legacy of London Olympic Games 2012 can be formulated as:

Hypothesis 1

After winning the bid to host the 2012 Games, London 2012 enhanced the priority of 'delivery' in expense of 'legacy', which meant prioritising experts (i.e. those in higher-skilled jobs; elites) over locals as the source of the workforce for the Games.

Chapter 3 London and East Londoners

3.1 Specifying the Context

London, the capital city of the United Kingdom, encompasses the 32 London boroughs referred to as 'Greater London' (Figure 2). These boroughs are themselves divided into wards, each reflecting part of the highly diverse society of London. To provide a broad overview of London, and of East London as the context of the Summer Olympic Games 2012, this chapter situates and compares London as a whole and East London through their socio-economic features. The ultimate purpose is not to undertake a full socio-economic description, but rather to establish the contextual evidence needed to enable understanding of the occupational structure of the research context, East London. Thus, I first illustrate the global nature of London and specify its occupational structure from different perspectives. I then demonstrate the characteristics of the labour market in East London with reference to a number of discourses, and I draw assumptions regarding the area's occupational capacity likely to be affected by the Games.

Figure 2: London Olympic Boroughs

(Map available at: http://directory.londoncouncils.gov.uk)

3.2 London: A Global City

The global nature of London (Sassen 2001) and its role as the centre of global financial flows makes it a special case in the literature, with an unusual prominence in the discussion of host cities and mega-events (Viehoff and Poynter 2016, Poynter *et al*. 2015 Nobre, Bassani and D'Ottaviano 2017). As well as being a high-profile hub for international capital, along with its old and new rival cities, New York, Hong Kong, Tokyo and Shanghai, London is also an important destination for global migration, with 37 per cent of London 's population having been born outside the UK – the highest foreign-born population of any city in the world (ONS 2011). Currently, London contains 50 non-indigenous communities with populations of more than 10,000, and over 300 languages are spoken throughout the city (ONS 2011). These statistics indicate that London is indeed a major multi-ethnic city, and one in which many boroughs are moving towards a state of having no majority ethnic population (The Migration Observatory 2016). The pattern of global workforces in London during the late 20th century has been formulated by(Sassen 2001), who explained that this economic restructuring was associated with the rise of financial services in major cities across the world. The result of this economic shift in many of these cities, including London, has been the emergence of social polarisation processes, characterised by the expansion of both high-level and low-level service occupations. Although Sassen's thesis about 'social polarisation' within global cities has become the 'conventional wisdom' for understanding the changing social structure of global cities, it has also encountered many critiques and much discussion.

Furthermore, as a response to the labour market demands created by the large number of transnational corporate headquarters it contains, London is a node for the agglomeration of skilled international migrants (Hamnett 1994, Beaverstock and Smith 1996, Beaverstock 2005). Because of the number of low-paid jobs available in London, it has also been considered a 'land of opportunity', although workers who fill these roles are not considered as 'international' employees; instead, they are branded as 'foreign-born workers' (Butler and Hamnett 2011). Along with the increase in numbers in these two employment groups, there has been a considerable decline within the skilled middle-income groups of industry and manufacturing workers (Mollenkopf and Castells 1991).

3.2.1 The occupational structure of London: discourses and narratives

As mentioned above, categorising London as a city with social and occupational polarisation has chiefly been hypothesised by Sassen (2001) and this view is still one of the dominant discourses among scholars. However, Hamnett (2003, 2008) counters this by linking

industrial change to occupational and earnings structures, and he determines that in cities such as London, there is a long-term shrinkage of manual working-class groups along with a continued expansion of professional and managerial jobs. According to his premise, all kinds of manual employment have declined in London and hence the occupational structure has not polarised (i.e. concentrated at either ends of the distribution), but rather has become occupationally professionalised, with London becoming a middle-class metropolis (Hamnett 1986, 2003). Hamnett refers his argument to the economic shift of London by the 1960s towards becoming a 'post-industrial' city. He theorises that this was driven by neoliberal policies which dramatically changed London from being a city of large manufacturers with an active dock in East London and a large working-class population, to being an urban hub for finance, business, service and creative industries (Greater London Authority 2002; Hamnett 2011).

However, according to Davidson and Wyly (2012) and Butler and Watt (2007), the growth of the professional occupational sector in London does not mean the disappearance of occupational communities of manual workers, which have been significantly increased by the inflow of migration and issues of ethnicity. There are considerable numbers of migrant workers providing a huge source of workforce in London. This includes the foreign workers who arrived quietly during the 1980s and 1990s and filled gaps in London's low-paid economy, but were then themselves squeezed out by new arrivals from eastern Europe and other new profiles of migrants (May et al. 2007, Butler and Watt 2007). Davidson and Wyly (2012), argue that there should be a more detailed insight into London through the complexities of group formation and social geography (Davidson and Wyly 2012) in post-Fordist London, which should be narrated beyond the mono-categorisations of class and occupation (Butler and Watt 2007).

It should be mentioned here that in contemporary literature the definition of class is not just based on economic power. It also comprises status-related ascription factors associated with gender, race and age, as well as cultural and normative assumptions and the influence of contextual factors such as locality and community (Levitas *et al*. 2007). By applying this definition of class to the increasingly globalised character of London and the transnational capital flowing within the economic system, it can be suggested that London's landscape may no longer be so clearly divided along the industrially rooted class-relation lines that were so vivid and easily recognised in the mid-20th century (Davidson and Wyly 2012, Butler and Watt 2007).

Thus, along with an increase in inequality, there has been a direct consequence of the emergence of forms of affluence (Davidson and Wyly 2015), with the elite area of highly

skilled professional and managerial workers at the top of the service sector co-existing with people from 'old money' in London. This top career holder, partly with the international demographic pattern forms an important process of professionalisation of London Labour market. Within this professional sector, the quality of work life is associated with flexible working hours, agile production culture, multitasking, and boundaryless career(Beaverstock 2005, Grabher and Thiel 2015).

In parallel, the working class has become diverse along multiple industrial, ethnic, education and religious lines of division in the city's socio-economic groups; these too are socially and spatially fragmented (Hall 2011). The best spatial reflection of this economic sector is on migrant retails high streets. This sector also portrays character of agile culture in their lived realities, but in high correlation with precarious work condition, displacement and deprivation(Hall 2015).

3.2.2 Super-diversity in London

As has been discussed, the class relations and socio-economic divisions in London have become more difficult to identify (Davidson and Wyly 2015). Since contemporary London as a global and multicultural city is in part a product of its transnational relations and its postcolonial challenges, it has been recently characterised by the term 'super-diversity'. This notion underlines a level and type of complexity surpassing anything the London has previously experienced (Vertovec 2006). It appears that there are multiple industrial, ethnic, educational and religious divisions within both the city's lower socio-economic groups and professional groups, a feature verified by the SEG (2010) categories as being highly diverse. Subsequently, in describing London's transformation in the first decade of the new millennium, the use of the 'super-diversity' concept (Vertovec 2006) describes the London's spatial setting that tie to a complex pattern in migration phenomena and demographic dynamic over the past three decades.

Occurring in the period of the setting up of London 2012, the 2008 worldwide financial crisis became the momentum for a dramatic shift in London's socio-economic structure and, related to it, the London labour market. Consequently, London lived under austerity measures, increase of unemployment and 'politics of contradiction' (Hall 2017) toward immigrants. While the advent of economic immigrants from the EU Nations and high flows of net migration from other conventional routes generated high urban pressures contributing to a form of super-diversity that triggered a volatile life-world of migration in public discourse, policy and everyday life (Hall 2017).

Hall, in her other work, expresses the increasingly complex society of London as the 'urban vortex'. It is a metaphorical explanation, to explore how the city of London has been the sites where distinctive social and cultural formations of wealth and privilege are generated (2015). Moreover, this concept insists on how any massive external intervention in a built environment, with resulted in distinct and unpredictable socio-economic and environmental consequences (Hall 2015). Within this paradigm, the nature of the 'urban vortex' was a further source of destabilisation in the structure of London's professionalisation. This paradigm reveals the mosaic pattern of London society, in terms of class, occupation, and inequality at the different level (Hall and Savage 2016). The vortex phenomena can also offer to understand about how London acts as a distinctive 'attractor' and 'sorter' of human expertise, skill and agency; And the emergent dynamic of 'urban elites' at a specific site (Hall and Savage 2016).

3.2.3 London: sticking with the notion of the dual city

While respecting the diversity of today's London, in order to engage with the complexities existing between labour and capital in the occupational structure of London 2012, the dual-city notion of the transnational class and the reserved army of labour for London 2012 will be retained. Sassen (2001) characterised the occupational polarisation of London as the increased numbers and spending power of professionals and managers who could afford to obtain proper education and skills contrasted with growing numbers of people drawn into work in the informal sector (or the ethnic labour market) because of benefit dependency, exclusion or lack of formal skills (Cox and Watt 2002). Due to the growth of London and its residential and commercial property as a financial haven for global capital flows, new international elites have entered at very high positions on the career ladder in London, dominating business, management and financial sectors. Within this occupational sector, greater insecurity and non-standard jobs have been considered as risks that can open up opportunities and platforms for the trading of skills (Banks *et al*. 2000, Butler and Watt 2007).

3.3 East London

The contemporary multi-ethnic London working class, particularly as concentrated in East London (Figure 3), does not have as pronounced a one-class identity as did its post-war Fordist equivalent (Watt 2011). Thus, in this study, it is essential that its inner and outer relations be explored, especially in the four Olympic boroughs of this research.

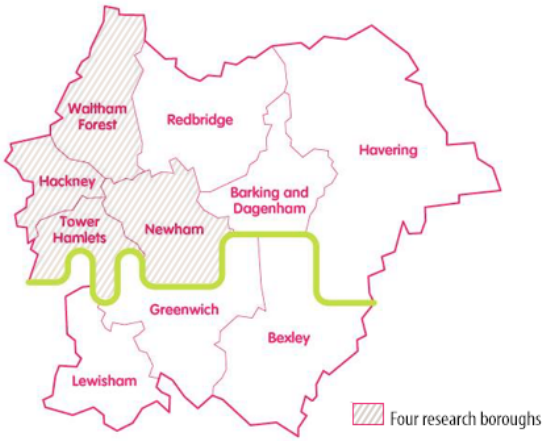

Figure 3: East London

(Map available at http://directory.londoncouncils.gov.uk/)

It should be mentioned that although the boroughs of Greenwich and Barking and Dagenham are also Olympic host boroughs, they are not part of this study, as they do not have direct spatial proximity to Stratford and the Olympic Village. Besides, the English Indices of Deprivation 2010 report described the Olympic area as remaining "particularly deprived, with Newham, Hackney and Tower Hamlets continuing to exhibit very high levels of deprivation" (Department of Communities and Local Government 2012, p. 45). On the basis of an averaging of rank over 50 different indices of deprivation (IMD2010), England's three most deprived local authority areas were the Olympic boroughs of Hackney, Newham and Tower Hamlets (respectively) with the fourth East London Olympic borough, Waltham Forest, placed thirteen (Department for Communities and Local Government 2011). The other two Olympic boroughs have been ranked higher, as the borough of Barking and Dagenham with 20th, and the borough of Greenwich, 29^{t} (Department for Communities and Local Government 2011). Hence, as highlighted in Figure 4, the four boroughs of this research (Hackney, Waltham Forest, Newham, Tower Hamlet) have some attributes in common in terms of majority working-class boroughs and close proximity to the Olympic Park development.

Figure 4: Four Research Boroughs

(Map available at: http://www.ypg2el.co.uk/boroughs/)

London 2012 delivery and concomitant Olympic-related regeneration might be expected to have impacted significantly upon these boroughs during the delivery phase and beyond(GrowthBoroughsUnit 2011). Since from the very beginning, the vision behind London Olympic was to fertile the ground for the expansion towards the East. Unsurprisingly, the Olympic regenerators were not the first to see East London's regenerative potential. The area has long been at the heart of urban renewal schemes and initiatives, such as Thames Gateway, and many years of widespread development has taken place (Imrie, Lees and Raco 2009, Hay 2005).

3.3.1 East London and occupational transition

Historically, East London was not only London's 'gateway' but also its 'backyard' (Butler and Hamnett 2011). During the 19th century industrial period, East London was the area outside the Roman and medieval walls, and its people used to be considered to be 'others' by many Londoners. Its working-class population greatly increased with the advent of the formal London Docks and their related industries (Imrie *et al*. 2009).

However, from the middle of the 20th century onward, East London witnessed a huge social transformation resulting from a number of interrelated phenomena. Firstly, by this time, the labour movement had developed in the UK in reaction to a permanently insecure labour market, poverty and social deprivation. These resulted in considerable structural changes in capital, state and labour, and finally led to the setting up of the British welfare state system (Amin 1994).

The first generation of mass non-European migration from the Commonwealth countries arrived during this period, and this influx was followed by a policy of ruin reconstruction after the Second World War. These migrants settled in East London both because it was the first affordable area encountered after disembarking in the Port of London, and because they were encouraged to supply labour for reshaped industries in the area. As a consequence, during the 1950s East London witnessed a considerable demographic change in terms of the replacement of the white working-class population by ethnic groups coming mainly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Caribbean.

Then, in the 1960s, London was one of the pioneer cities in the adoption of de-industrialisation, with East London being severely affected by the closure of Docklands. Consequently, the traditional occupational community in East London broke down (Butler and Hamnett 2011), which resulted in a high level of job losses, high rates of long-term unemployment (Buck *et al*. 1986) and out-migration of young whites (Butler and Hamnett 2011). The area continued to be considered by Londoners generally as being occupied by others, with deprivation, unorganised and even socially threatening issues (Butler and Hamnett 2011).

As the city of London (central, west, southwest and northwest) began evolving into a hub of global capitalism over six centuries ago, East London evolved paradoxically. As Dench, Gavron and Young (2006) illustrate, initially East London supplied food to the emerging urban community to the west. Then, as the city concentrated increasingly on the pursuit of profit, less valuable and more polluting trades were relocated eastwards. Thus, as London became wealthier and more important, the contrast with East London became more pronounced. Together, these two areas became the hub of the British imperial trading system. They were inextricably linked and yet offered contradictory narratives of the same story – one clean, wealthy and powerful and the other dirty, poor and powerless. As Lindsay (2011, p. 23) states, "In this pursuit of wealth, the City bought, sold and financed, whereas East London took, stored and transported". This unequal partnership transformed East London into the largest impoverished urban enclave in the world, one which was abandoned entirely to the working class (Mastrogiannakis and Dorville 2013) and which, by and large, remained this way at the time of London 2012.

London responded to these urban problems in a Thatcherite style characterised by the pursuit of an ambitious but ad hoc renewal scheme in East London called Canary Wharf. This scheme was intended to create a 'new Manhattan' in East London, expanding the global financial role of London to the east of the City and re-engineering the population of the area. The ultimate vision for this separate 'island' within East London was the replacement

of traditional manufacturing jobs with business and services jobs and replacing workers with professionals (Butler and Hamnett 2011). Consequently, from the end of the 20th century onward, East London's labour market has become increasingly polarised, with many people outside the Canary Wharf area being in the older occupational structure of mainly precarious and low-paid work (May *et al*. 2007). At the end of 20th century, the population of East London remained at the bottom end of the career ladder, in a mosaic pattern of formal, informal and ethnic economic sectors. At the other end of the career ladder were professionals in high-paid jobs who were white British or from the U.S., France and Germany, worked in Canary Wharf but lived outside East London. Therefore, by the beginning of the 21st century, this adjacent of Canary Warf financial district to the dense migrant high streets in East London converted East London the spatial manifestation of social and labour polarization of London. Although East London was still known as the focus of poverty and social segregation within the city.

According to the 2011 English Index of Deprivation, Hackney, Newham and Tower Hamlets had remained on the list of the most deprived English boroughs since the Level of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) was first published in 2004. Furthermore, the employment rate in East London was 63.8 per cent, which is substantially lower than the rest of London (70.1%) and the national rate (74.5%) (ONS 2011). Many link this problem to the significant skills gap that exists between people of working age in East London compared to the average for London as a whole. However, through the great transformation within East London in the late 20th century, the type of low-paid workforce changed from being largely male and working full-time in semi-skilled manual occupations to being based on a service economy that requires mainly female and part-time workers (Butler and Hamnett 2011). Job requirements also shifted from physical capabilities to good interpersonal and communication skills, such as English language proficiency and the ability to say 'have a nice day' to every customer. Because of resistance to this transformation of the area into a financial centre and the consequent high levels of job losses, a large portion of the area's traditional workers have gradually become economically inactive, known collectively as redundant masculine workers (McDowell 2011). Meanwhile, many low-paid domestic jobs were created in the informal or ethnic economies, specifically targeted towards those who were the most marginalised from the rest of London (Cox and Watt 2002). In this section of the labour market, jobs have lost the notion of being 'careers', and have taken on connotations of purely being a means of survival and of enabling people to 'hold their heads above water'. Those in these jobs can easily find themselves trapped at the bottom of the job ladder (Mastrogiannakis and Dorville 2013, Butler and Watt 2007).

3.3.2 East London and employment in London 2012

If London is a highly diverse city with a very complex demographical pattern, East London is at the core of this and its most dynamic part. It has been carrying the most pressure from demographic changes, displacement, clean up and exclusion, and has a high percentage of mixed ethnicity and class (Butler and Hamnett 2008). As Gavin Poynter (2009, p. 132), argues, East London's regenerative potential led to the area becoming "a laboratory, a site of social experiments in community development that incorporate a mix of wealth and poverty, high and low rise and social inclusion and exclusion". Subsequently, it was in this context that London's bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games was conceived with East London as the prime location for the Olympic Park (Poynter 2009). It has been disclosed that the IOC's selection of London's bid revolved around its focus upon regeneration in an area of cultural diversity and social deprivation (Poynter 2014).

The need for employment in the neighbourhoods that were identified by the London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) as the target boroughs was certainly pressing. For instance, before the Olympics, the four boroughs carried an unemployment rate that was double the national average, and almost a quarter of the population had no qualifications (Ryan-Collins and Sander-Jackson 2008), with rates being particularly high for black and minority ethnic (BAME) people in London (Froy and Pyne 2011, Gunter and Watt 2009). In the light of these factors, there were considerable equality and diversity challenges for policymakers in planning for the 2012 Games over and above the declared aspirations to enable local communities to access as many opportunities as possible. Under-representation of certain BAME groups and of women in the construction sector, the sector which was likely to see the greatest impact from the 2012 Games, would complicate efforts to maximise benefits for local communities. Additionally, the 60 per cent proportion of those born outside the UK who filled hotel and restaurants jobs, another key 2012 employment sector, implies that this sector is susceptible to penetration by new workers from abroad. Residents, regardless of whether they were born locally or had arrived at some point from abroad, would therefore need to be appropriately skilled and engaged if they were to take advantage of these opportunities (Experian 2006).

3.3.3 Migration and skills mismatch

Ethnic differences still exist in the London labour market, with non-white immigrants still tending to perform worse than both white natives and white immigrants (Clark and Lindley

2005). But whether there is a higher propensity for over-education[2] and a lower return to education for minority ethnic groups and immigrants, after taking into account differences in other socio-economic characteristics (Lindley 2009), is still not well researched. Battu and Sloane (2004) found that workers from different ethnic groups have varying levels of mismatch between education and occupation, and also that the holding of foreign qualifications increases the likelihood of mismatch for members of some ethnic groups but reduces it for others. For non-whites, Battu and Sloane (2004) find evidence that the effect of over-education on earnings is larger for immigrants compared to those born in the UK. Jones and Elias (2005) show that UK minority ethnic groups are far less likely than whites to obtain a first or upper second-class degree, with black Caribbean and African and Pakistani/Bangladeshi students performing particularly poorly compared to white students.

However, Jones and Elias (2005) also show that grades for UK minority ethnic groups are fast improving, as ethnic families consider education as the best platform for upward mobilisation for their children. Besides, some workers (especially among east Europeans) may have lower qualification levels but higher levels of job experience to compensate. According to Lindley (2009), immigrants are likely to possess much lower levels of UK labour market experience on average, although it is assumed that they accumulate UK-specific knowledge and skills with time spent in the UK labour market. Also, over-education differences may be a consequence of career mobility, since some higher-educated workers may be in the early stages of their careers and awaiting accelerated progression (Lindley 2009, Dex and Lindley 2007). Clark and Lindley (2005) demonstrated that immigrants are better educated on average compared to native-born workers in terms of the highest British National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) levels. Many immigrants could be regarded as workers trapped in low-wage and low-skilled employment and as having few prospects for movement into better-paid work or of gaining the benefits of security of permanent employment (Castells 2000, OECD 2001, Dobbs 2006, McDowell 2006, Perrons and Sigle-Rushton 2006, May *et al*. 2007). This is particularly relevant in the context of helping local people to access some of the more creative and/or higher-level jobs that the Games would be offering, and thereby providing them with highly transferable skills within the larger London labour market (Experian 2006).

[2] Over-education refers to the situation when a job-holder has an achieved qualification above that which would currently be required for someone to get the job (rather than to do the job)(Chevalier, 2003).

3.4 Clustering in the demography of East London

During the vital Dockland era, the East End of London and the rivers Thames and Lea provided work for many people, including many immigrants. From the 1950s onwards, there were influxes of population from New Commonwealth countries such as the Caribbean, Africa and India (Bell 1997). During the 1960s, East End immigration from Pakistan and Hong Kong surged, peaking in the 1970s, and then immigration from Bangladesh reached its height in the 1980s. Changes in UK immigration legislation and membership of the European Community resulted in a transformation in the national-origin mix of immigration cohorts throughout recent years, and as a result, the current immigrant population of East London is ethnically diverse. Table 1 illustrates the diversity of the population for the four host boroughs.

Table 1: Ethnic Profile of four host Boroughs %

	White%	**Black%**	**Asian%**	**Other%**	**Population**
Hackney	54.7	23.1	10.5	11.7	243,300
Newham	28.97	19.56	43.47	7.53	307,900
Tower Hamlets	45	7	41	6	254,000
Waltham Forest	57.5	17.3	18.3	6.9	258,249
London	59.79	13.32	18,49	8.4	8,173,941
England	85,4	3.5	7.8	3.3	53,012,456

(Source: ONS Census 2011)

This study identifies the increasingly multicultural character present in the complex process of class and ethnic interchange in East London. It also reveals that Olympic legacy has a different impact on each group within the 'super-diverse' area of East London. But in order to structure this understanding about the diverse population of East London in terms of socio-economic setting and career aspiration, the overall community is split into four main categories:

3.4.1 The traditional white working class

This group comprises those who have been considered indigenous East Londoners, who traditionally lived in East London and who worked in Docklands and related industries. The closure of the Docklands caused some of these people to become generationally economically inactive and to subsist on state welfare (McDowell 2011, Butler and Hamnett

2011). During the last two decades there was a split between the native white population who were lifted up to the middle class and left East London for terraced houses in suburbs further east (such as those in Essex), and those who stayed in their old neighbourhoods. The people who stayed are regarded as the traditional white working class in this thesis. They are the group who, because of lack of education and skills, could not be absorbed into the post-industrial economy of London. They also did not integrate into the informal and ethnic economies in which an alternative labour market formed as a parallel domain for migrants (Waldring *et al*. 1990, Cox and Watt 2002).

So work has not disappeared from East London, but changed its form, and those who previously did the work have gradually been replaced by an emergent workforce, drawn in part from minority ethnic groups and immigrants from the Balkans (Wacquant, 2008). Within this post-Docklands industrial climate of East London there is strong sense of redundant skills and masculinity among white working-class youth. Thus, the feeling among many working-class whites has been reported by both public media and scholars (Butler and Hamnett 2011, Wessendorf 2014) as resentment due to 'being at the back of the queue' for jobs, opportunities, council housing and state welfare.

This feeling intensified during the boom years of 2000s, at precisely the same time that new groups of migrants, mainly from the sub-Saharan Africa and, and more recently, the eight EU accession countries (the so-called 'A8'), began to move into the area (particularly to Newham). Therefore, the 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) of the area underpinned the motives of many whites who have themselves drifted away from their original 'cockney' neighbourhoods.

3.4.2 BAME (black and minority ethnicity)

3.4.2.1 The ethnic economy

In reaction to de-industrialisation, the closing down of largescale industries such as the docks in East London, while being excluded from the state-sponsored jobs and services that dominated London, many minorities were forced to rely on their own initiatives and entrepreneurial skills (Butler and Hamnett 2011, Wessendorf 2014). Meanwhile, the immigrants of the 1960s and 1970s (mainly of New Commonwealth and Pakistani origin) have grown rapidly in numbers as a result of family reunification and high rates of natural growth, and have been moving into the areas and housing vacated by the white working class. Meanwhile a complex process of inclusion and exclusion resulted in reproduction of ethnic boundaries across schools, communities, and the labor market. This inter-relation within

dense coethnic networks and alienation from „mainstream" society was the basis of ethnic economic formation(Salway 2008).

Regarding the form of production and social ties with other groups of ethnicity, and their interrelations with London's mainstream society, the ethnic economy has been categorised as a niche(associated with the concentration and specialisation of members of an ethnic group in particular industrial/occupational activities), or enclave(the form of economy in which an ethnic group specialises in the production of particular goods and there is spatial concentration of ethnic enterprises) or even a hybrid (Wilson 1999, Salway 2008). Essentially, the ethnic economy could be defined as any situation or economic platform where common ethnicity shared common sense of locality and provides an economic advantage' (Logan et al. 1994, p. 693). This type of economies is vital for the occupation of the inflow of marginalised workers and are viable sources of social capital and social networks which compensate for the difficulties that migrants often face in accessing mainstream occupational networks (Batnitzky and McDowell 2013).

However, the nature of this informal employment sector, particularly in the ethnic enclave of employment in East London is a precarious type of labour market, offering little prospect of escape or of moving away from marginal employment (Ryan-Collins and Sander-Jackson 2008). In fact, due to acceleration in labour polarisation within London, inequality continues to divide the population of the area from the mainstream labour market and push them into a segregated destiny, and this is one of the prominent social challenges found in contemporary East London. According to the recent studies, the limitations of being deeply immersed in the ethnic economies are increasingly recognised by many of their members, while having the desire, particularly among young educated ones, to „break-out", form wider ties, and have new employment experiences in mainstream labour market (Salway 2008).

The character of the ethnic business sectors of East London varies according to ethnic background, but they are generally more informal, and less profitable than mainstream business sectors in London as a whole. Nevertheless, because of the different forms of economic concentration that the Pakistani, Bangladesh, Indian, Caribbean, Afghan, black African and black Caribbean communities are operating in East London, and reflecting the measure of relationship with other ethnic economies they have, it can be argued that East London has a diverse pattern of economic activities. This has resulted in the shaping of a complex labour network based on reproductions of cultural identity, ethnic brotherhood, trust and values.

3.4.2.2 Ethnic communities in transition

While the demography of London is characterised by growing minority populations, their prospects are in transition. The newer generations of ethnic communities are attempting to look for new directions for their career destinies, while holding on to their ethnic local access to networks and capital. This is the generation that has been affected by the limitations of working in a traditional ethnic economy in terms of salary and social success. These people are mostly better educated and have higher skill attainments in comparison to their predecessor, but they still have a tangible sense of living in poverty, residing in social housing and experiencing social discrimination which makes them ambitious about working in the mainstream of economy of London (Lindley 2009, Salway 2008).

In terms of international immigration, patterns are already changing since the accession of the new EU member states, and it is difficult to analyse the patterns over the seven years of the run-up to London 2012. Recent research by the Greater London Authority (GLA) states that workers born outside the UK account for around 30 per cent of people in employment in London, although many of these have lived in the capital for some time and form part of long-standing local communities. For instance, 38 per cent of Newham residents were born outside the UK. In terms of specific employment sectors, around 23 per cent of construction employment is filled by those born outside the UK, while hotels and restaurants account for the greatest proportional share, with almost 60 per cent of hotel and restaurant staff in London having been born outside the UK. Conversely, BAME groups account for close to 35 per cent of jobs in distribution and catering and are also slightly over-represented in transport and communications and public services.

3.4.3 East Europeans

The new European migrants are defined as nationals of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia who have arrived in the UK since 2004. There is a vast public belief in their clear advantage in labour markets in terms of racial and ethnic advantage, in terms of being white. They are also considered as comprising 'near-neighbours' that is European states, both east and west, and especially European Union member states and their inflow was particularly increased by the 2008 financial crisis (Flynn 2005).

3.4.4 White creative class: entrepreneurs

'The white exodus' (Watt 2017) has produced not only vacancies for non-European Londoners but has also created a creative digital cluster which has emerged in East London

in the immediate aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. Young people in roles such as artists, academics, programmers and entrepreneurs, mostly from middle-class backgrounds, have been strongly attracted to East London boroughs, particularly Hackney, because of their affordability (Guardian 2013), and having proximity with other artists and musicians.

3.5 Employment Legacy for East Londoners: A Theoretical Framework

Within the context depicted above, London's bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games aimed not only to convert the brownfield sites of Stratford into a new centre for London, but also into connect this excluded area to mainstream services, jobs and opportunities into the rest of the capital. To be able to comprehend the actual dynamic between the rhetoric around 'Olympic jobs' and the actual experiences of the locals in terms of 'legacy' there is a great need for conceptual support in research practice. The following short theoretical review presents the analytical values of this thesis that enable it to reflect on the capitalising process of Olympic-related employment opportunities.

The classical contribution of Bailey and Waldinger (1991) defined Labour market of London as two divided categories of primary and secondary sectors. In the primary sector, the orientation is towards monopolising the professions in capital-intensive, highly profitable and technologically advanced industries (Bailey and Waldinger 1991). The primary sector is high wage, highly unionised and features an internal labour market. In the secondary sector, small, backward firms are located in competitive markets in retail trade, services and non-durable manufacturing industries such as clothing or food processing (Bailey and Waldinger 1991). In both sections, the limited and constrained choices and job opportunities were spread according to social factors such as skills, gender, race, ethnicity and religion (Blackburn *et al*. 2002). Hence, when we study occupational sectors, we would expect each sector to have its own 'rules of the game' and to assign value to different forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986).

To the social world of employment at the London 2012, the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his key social enterprise has been applied(Bourdieu 1990). The Bourdieu's conceptual model highlights the operation of the labour markets, in which individuals are socially located within a matrix of dispositions, opportunities and obstacles structured about their social class (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). He (1996) extends his idea on capital to categories such as social capital, cultural capital, financial capital and symbolic capital, while building his own characteristic theoretical vocabulary of habitus, doxa and field as a theory of reflexive sociology or theory of practice. Also, Bourdieu emphasises that the forms of capital

are created through dynamic processes that require time and effort, and that one form of capital can be transformed or converted into another resource (Bourdieu 1986).

He adds that, individuals develop their habitus in relation to the field in which they are located, with its own specific set of 'doxa' norms. The doxa of a field describes the common-sense beliefs and customs that are endemic to that field; when someone is in the field with which they are accustomed, typically the field in which they grew up, their doxa is like that of a 'fish in water' — they feel in place, in other words. On the other hand, if they are attempting to navigate a field with which they are not familiar, they can feel like a 'fish out of water', or distinctly out of place. Furthermore, habitus, which Bourdieu has defined as a "socialized subjectivity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 126), is shaped by the set of social relations to which the subject is exposed, and which are often inextricable from his or her class location in a stratified society.

In his classic text on forms of capital, Bourdieu enumerates four types of capital – economic, cultural, social and symbolic – the possession of which bestows power on the holder. Forms of capital are field-specific, and hence the content of these resources will be determined by each particular field (Savage, Warde and Devine 2005). About the cultural capital, Bourdie elaborates that as the accumulate of what he or she gains through exposure to ideas, institutions and credentials that accumulate to indicate his or her social position within his or her specific field (Thornton 1996, Kennelly 2011). Furthermore, certain dimensions of cultural capital could be deemed more crucial in particular fields, such as language capital (as an embodied form of cultural capital) or education capital (as an institutionalised form of cultural capital) (Bourdieu 1989). A prominent example of this feature in the French context of Bourdieu's work is attendance at one of the Grandes Écoles. Graduating from an elite institution of this type not only provides a diploma (institutionalised cultural capital) but is also converted into symbolic capital in the form of academic entitlement (Bourdieu 1996, Draelants and Darchy-Koechlin 2011) and social capital in the form of providing access to networks that are crucial to achieving occupational mobility (Bourdieu, 1996, Kadushin 2004).

In order understands the employment mobility in the post-industrial society, Bourdieu explains that there is a struggle in each field between "the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out the competition" (Bourdieu 1993, p. 72). Applying that in the current thesis, we take the established financial elites or traditional British as the dominant players in the field of mainstream London Labour market, the descendants of poorly educated migrants from Commonwealth countries can be considered as newcomers. Having entered, these new

agents need to become familiar with the rules of the game and the resources required, which in turn shapes their strategies in the struggle. While those in the dominant position try to monopolise their specific forms of capital and are inclined towards conservation strategies to reproduce or preserve their resources and positions, the newcomers "are inclined towards subversion strategies" (Bourdieu 1993, p. 74). Through these strategies, the newcomers aim to transpose the rules of the game and the valued forms of capital in the field, hence altering the system of domination within the field to their advantage (Keskiner 2017, Bourdieu 1993).

3.6 Building Hypothesis

Regarding the polarised labour market of London 2012, and the highly dynamic context of London society, it can be assumed that the 'losers and winners' in employment at London 2012 would reflect the continuing socio-economic structure of middle-class London versus East London. Therefore, in light of the literature review of London, East London and their occupational structures, the benefits of the Games would be unlikely felt by the people who most needed them, disengaged as such people often are from the labour market and unconnected to the development and regeneration going on around them. This is particularly so if the Games are to be inclusive of BAME groups, disabled people and women, who have severe lack of particular capital for pursuing employment at London 2012

The hypothesis 2: Local East Londoners had different types of capital (education, financial, social, symbolic) to be integrated into the employment benefits of London 2012.

In subsequent chapter 8, the accuracy or fallacy of hypothesis 2 will be examined. And the whole finding parts of the thesis explore consideration of whether London 2012 reproduced resources and norms; For instance, through its employment programmes or through establishing the old rules of the Olympic elite, leading to newcomers to the game (of employment) being excluded. The concepts of gaining access to elites and newcomers to the field are explained in the methodology chapter (Chapter 5).

Chapter 4 London 2012: Building Employment Legacy

4.1 Introduction

Hosting 'the greatest mega-event on earth' in a city that had been severely hit by the recent global economic recession was justified at the time as providing great momentum for London to maintain its economic position and increase employment opportunities (GLA[3] 2007). According to the London 2012 organisation (Learning Legacy 2014), London 2012 was envisioned as:

- A hook to inspire and encourage workless Londoners into meaningful employment through job opportunities related to the build-up, Games and legacy periods of the 2012 Games.
- A catalyst for bringing public-sector employment services and the private sector together to achieve a step-change in the coordination and quality of London's employment and training services.

For East London, for which regeneration and direct benefits for the community were fundamental promises (DCMS[4] 2008), some ambitious aims and commitments for skills and employment legacy were made, with a particular focus on those people who are usually overlooked by the mainstream job market.

This chapter reviews these aims and identifies the extent to which the legacy agenda of London 2012 was committed to local employment in the host boroughs of East London. However, it is important to mention that this chapter is not a policy and programme analysis. Rather than analysing the organisational structure and the funding available within the overall employment legacy programme of London 2012, it investigates the scope of the legacy agenda and the implications of legacy programmes for local target groups.

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[3] GLA: Greater London Authority

[4] DCMS: The Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport

Two categories of source material are used in this chapter: first, the vast number of official reports on employment legacy published by various national, city and local authorities. Through reviewing these, I intend to ascertain the way that the employment commitments made were translated into programmes for their targeted groups, and the extent of inclusivity of these programmes. Second, I will draw upon material from academic analysis and independent assessment studies about actual outcomes and delivery practice. This thorough examination will allow me to propose my third hypothesis, addressing the way in which the official London 2012 commitments materialised as a legacy plan.

4.2 London 2012 Employment Legacy Programmes

There were broadly three stages, from the winning of the bid to the regeneration of East London, which had the potential to contribute to skills and employment legacy. First, the preparation of the site and construction of the venues, led by the London Development Agency (LDA[5]) and the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA[6]), could create jobs and training opportunities, particularly in construction. The staging of the Games themselves would then create a large number of temporary paid and voluntary positions with the potential to provide new opportunities. Finally, the legacy use of the venues and the areas around them were planned to provide long-term jobs in various sectors depending on the final decisions taken about the use of the venues.

There were also three major Stratford-based construction projects that would need large workforces at various levels of employment: the Olympic Park, the Olympic Village and the Stratford City development. It was expected that some skills development and employment, particularly in the construction workforce, would go to residents of the host boroughs.

4.2.1 Strategy

The mission for employment legacy was intended to address structural employment issues, long-term worklessness, support of businesses and youth unemployment, through apprenticeships and training (Bowsher and Martins 2012). Strategy was therefore developed in three main areas: creating employment opportunities, offering skills and experience development, and delivering specific programmes for young people (LOCOG 2010, 2012), of

5 LDA: London Development Authority

6 ODA: Olympics Development Authority

which the actual employment opportunities strategy is the focus of this thesis. This mission of London 2012 was intended to move 70,000 workless Londoners into Olympic-related employment, including 20,000 within the host boroughs. It also aimed to support the government's target to achieve an overall national employment rate of 80 per cent by 2020 and to minimise the employment gap between West and East London.

Following the objectives of the London Employment and Skills Taskforce 2012 (LEST 2012) employment master plan, two Olympic employment schemes for London 2012 were established. These plans – the 2012 Employment Legacy Project and the Host Borough Employment Project (Learning Legacy 2011, GLA 2008) – aimed to move long-term unemployed people into Olympics-related employment. The Employment Legacy Project was designed to support people throughout London into employment for at least 12 months, while the Host Borough Employment Project focused specifically on the Olympic boroughs. Both were part of LEST 2012, which was a body established in 2006 "to bring together the main organizations and agencies responsible for employment and skills provision in London with the specific aim of maximising the employment and skills benefits of the 2012 Games for workless Londoners" (SQW[7] 2013, p. 44). The activities contained in these projects were performed by various Olympic institutions via programmes to tackle the target of creating sustainable employment through the Olympic Games: the ODA, LOCOG, the Host Boroughs Unit and the GLA (Learning Legacy 2010, Department of Culture Media and Sport 2008, GLA 2013, Mayor of London 2013, LOCOG 2010, London Citizen 2011). As part of these various programmes, the London 2012 organisation conducted several employment projects to facilitate its sustainable employment plan (Learning Legacy 2011).

4.2.2 Key stakeholders

The skill and employment legacy programmes were fragmented, and they drew on a large number of agency funding sources and commissioning and delivering services in the capital. The roles and functions of the key stakeholders in skills and employment activities related to the Games are set out below (London Assembly 2010):

a) The Mayor of London

The Mayor of London and the GLA group worked to ensure Londoners received the potential benefits of the 2012 Games. The Mayor of London was also co-chair of the Olympic Board with particular responsibility for ensuring that Londoners benefited as much and as widely as possible from hosting the Games in 2012. Tackling worklessness and maximising the skills and employment benefits of the Games were central to the Mayor's Economic Development

Strategy, which was released in May 2010. In addition, the Mayor appointed and chaired the employer-led London Skills and Employment Board which had a statutory responsibility to produce a strategy for employment and skills in London. He also had responsibility for the strategic direction of the Skills Funding Agency adult skills budget in London.

b) London Development Agency (LDA)

The LDA was a key source of funding in London for general skills and employment initiatives and for projects focused on capturing the opportunities offered by the Games. The LDA aimed to maximise London 2012 employment and training opportunities through two strategic initiatives: the £9.6 million Local Employment and Training Framework and the LEST. During the Olympic period, the LDA transferred to the GLA, the role and employment programme of which will be discussed further.

c) The host boroughs

The Host Borough Partnership of Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest was joined by Barking and Dagenham, because of its similar levels of deprivation and its proximity to the Olympic Park site. The host boroughs commissioned and ran job brokerage and training schemes which linked their local populations to opportunities provided by the various Olympic contractors. They played a critical role in building on the momentum of the employment processes and skills strategies for the Games and they continued to apply and develop them after 2012. The host boroughs' Strategic Regeneration Framework, released in October 2009, set out their commitment to achieving a sustainable socio-economic legacy from the Games. However, the release of the action plan, which set out how partners would work together to achieve this legacy, was delayed, with no indication given of when it would be released.

d) Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA)

The ODA was responsible for constructing the permanent venues, infrastructure and legacy facilities of the Games, such as the Olympic Village and the International Broadcast Centre and Main Press Centre. The ODA appointed a delivery company, CLM, to manage the delivery of the Olympic Park and its associated infrastructure.

e) London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG)

LOCOG was responsible for staging the Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2012 and was the liaison point for the IOC. As will be discussed further, it released an employment and skills

strategy which covered its own staff, its volunteer workforce and its contractors. LOCOG was the organisation which controlled most of the contracts for the services required to deliver and run the Games. It was the main body in relation to non-construction sectors, working closely with catering, retail and security contractors and employing a contractor for managing the volunteering effort.

f) CLM (a consortium of CH2M Hill, Laing O'Rourke and Mace)

Following the Games, the ODA handed over the venues and site infrastructure to CLM. CLM's organisation included teams responsible for the design and construction of the venues and structures such as bridges and highways, as well as logistics and security. This included all the business planning and marketing of the Olympic Park, venues and commercial opportunities leading up to 2012; the management of the Olympic Park and venues after 2012; the redevelopment of sites in the Olympic Park used for temporary facilities during the Games and their integration with retained venues; and working with partners to secure economic and social benefits and improvements in the areas of deprivation surrounding the Olympic Park.

g) JobCentre Plus

JobCentre Plus is an executive agency of the Department for Work and Pensions. It supports people of working age from welfare into work and helps employers to fill their vacancies. Its objectives are to help those who face the greatest barriers to employment to compete effectively in the labour market and move into and remain in work.

h) Skills Funding Agency

The Skills Funding Agency (now the Education and Skills Funding Agency) is an agency of the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (now the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy) and its job is to fund and regulate adult further education and skills training in England. It invests £4 billion per year of public spending in colleges and training organisations to fund training for adults across the country. However, in light of the government's move towards nationalising skills and funding policy, it seems unlikely that the Skills Funding Agency will have a London-specific budget.

i) Local businesses and employers

Local businesses and employers could be also considered as having a key role at the time in providing employment and skills opportunities to their employees and the local population.

j) Voluntary and third sector organisations

Local voluntary and community organisations are also key providers of employment and skills services and other support for local long-term unemployed residents and those with no or low-level skills.

4.2.3 The main Olympic employment programmes

a) The GLA: The programme goal of the GLA was to return long-term economically inactive Londoners to work and help them to achieve sustained employment outcomes through the Games projects. It assigned specific target people for each of its three Employment Legacy projects: The Construction Employer Accord (CEA), the 2012 Employment Legacy Project and the Host Boroughs (6HB).

b) The CEA was targeted to improve the access of workless Londoners to opportunities in the construction sector. This is an employment area in which companies often lack time to engage in lengthy pre-employment training because many contracts include high penalties for delays in completion. This grant-funded programme was commissioned by the LDA and transferred to the GLA following the LDA's closure in March 2012 (Cross River Partnership CEA Final Evaluation, 2015).

c) 6HB: This was a three-year programme applied to the Six host boroughs: Barking and Dagenham, Newham, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Greenwich and Waltham Forest. It was committed to contributing around £10m up to December 2009, and was then extended until 2015. The programme linked local labour and business schemes to job opportunities in the Olympic Park (contribution: £3m) and also provided training programmes in construction and other sectors to prepare local people for suitable opportunities (contribution: £5.6m).

d) The Jobs Skills and Future brokerage set out its aims as promoting sustainable employment opportunities and boosting skill levels through, in particular, helping local people and the unemployed to train and work on the Olympic site and other construction projects. At the beginning of the ODA strategy, Jobs Skills and Future set a target of 2,000 training interventions, work placements and apprentice opportunities with this figure later increased to 2,250. The strategy called for the Olympic Park's construction to leave a world-class legacy for training and to cover a broad range of expertise from bricks and mortar to specialist machine qualifications. At the beginning of this project, a target including work placements and apprenticeships, ranging from NVQ qualifications

to management training was also set (which training was never delivered to at the Olympic Project for trainees), but this was omitted in further stages. This reduction in target groups and focusing just on low-skilled jobs for workless people is one the criticisms that this research makes of the London 2012 Employment strategy, and which will be further examined in the findings section.

e) **The ODA** also played an active role in recruitment via an outreach programme that aimed to get young or unemployed people interested in construction (Learning Legacy, 2010). It can be claimed that the main achievement of the ODA was its emphasis, as a public body, on attitude change in its challenging sector and its CLM partners: "There is a big push in terms of equality and diversity across construction at that moment, it is much further up the agenda than it was maybe a year or two years ago even" (Delivery partner interview by Minnaert 2013).

f) **LOCOG**'s role in employment and skills initiatives was either to deliver (to drive and be responsible for delivery of initiatives); to partner (working with other stakeholders on initiatives); or to communicate (using its position to communicate and influence initiatives delivered by other stakeholders). Its plan to deliver its commitments to employment and skills was divided into three main areas: creating employment opportunities, offering skills and experience development, and delivering specific programmes for young people. Their key initiatives for creating employment opportunities for Londoners were providing approximately 6,000 full-time and temporary staff up to the Games for all Londoners and providing up to 100,000 opportunities during the Games in key services areas such as catering, cleaning and security. They approached their main contractors to ensure that vacancies were opened up to the host borough brokerages, and across London and the UK through JobCentre Plus and other recruitment brokerages.

It is also important to mention that JobCentre Plus also worked with both the ODA and LOCOG. As part of the Department of Work and Pensions, it supports job seekers and helps employers to fill vacancies (Figure 5). The recruitment process for jobs and training aimed to bring vacancies to as wide a cross-section of the population as possible. Candidates were reached via the local brokerages, via JobCentre Plus offices and via a range of charities and community organisations.

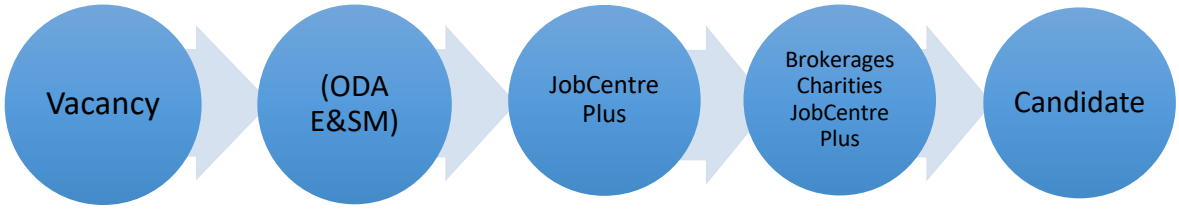

Figure 5: ODA recruitment Process, Source (Minnaert 2013)

g) **TELCO (The East London Community Organisation)** is a community organisation, part of Citizens UK, which sought to encourage the London 2012 recruitment process to reach particular groups in society that may be hard to engage via traditional routes. In 2004, the group known as London Citizens campaigned for an 'ethical guarantee' (jobs to be paid at a living wage; job opportunities to be taken up by people from East London; and a legacy of affordable housing) to be included in London's bid for the Games. They had considerable success with their long-time campaign aimed at uplifting the London minimum living wage, and their voice was echoed throughout the Olympic platform (Will 2013).

In addition, TELCO felt that, for the people of East London, if the Olympic Games were to be successful they had to deliver more than physical regeneration and also be about helping local people to get jobs. They therefore struck a deal with LOCOG that if they (LOCOG) delivered contractors that were hiring in bulk to their member communities they (TELCO) would use their own platform to screen and select candidates for those recruitment events.

4.3 Legacy Assessment

The assessment of the employment legacy of London 2012 has been underway from the very beginning of agenda setting, although in comparison with issues such a displacement, housing, and gentrification it has not been in the spotlight of attention.

After the Games, the results of an evaluation carried out by SQW (2013) confirmed the presumptions of pre-Games assessment studies, such as those by Minnaert (2011) and Experian (2006), that the ODA and its delivery partner CLM were quite successful in reaching the approximate target numbers to which they had been committed in their Olympic employment programmes. While the GLA encountered difficulties in meeting its output

volume targets with all three programmes, it was nevertheless successful in terms of delivering 3,000 job entries at a cost-effective rate.

Table 2: LEST 2012, Achievement versus Estimate, (SQW, 2013)

Employment provider/broker	Source	Lower estimate	Upper estimate
LEST: end 2010/11 (includes direct, indirect and direct (non-Olympic) jobs)	LEST 2012 Interim Evaluation	26,341	36,355
LEST 2011/12 to end 2012	LEST 2012 Monitoring data	10,328	10,328
GLA E&S legacy projects from 2011/12	Olympic Jobs Evaluation	2,836	2,836
LOCOG/LOCOG contractor workforce	Olympic Jobs Evaluation based on LOCOG briefing note	20,150	20,150
Indirect employment in 2012	Olympic Jobs Evaluation	1,810	5,600
Indirect employment, foreign direct investment	London & Partners	282	782
TOTAL		61,749	76,050

According to the early post-impact assessment by SQW (2013), 60 per cent of those who were unemployed and looking for work at the time of Olympic, entered employment following the programmes; in addition, the six Host Borough projects and the CEA were more effective in achieving their volume objectives and targets than the Employment Legacy Project. The overall achievement of LEST (London Employment and Skills Taskforce) is summarised in Table 2. The assessment by SQW (2013) also indicates that recruitment of half the total Games workforce, more than 25,000, came from among the residents of the Olympic host boroughs.

It can be seen from the data shown in Table 2 that the LEST 2012 met the targets that it had set. Between April 2008 and June 2010, 15.7 per cent of those who worked on the Olympic Park lived in the host boroughs. At the end of June 2010, 11 percent of the workforce had been previously unemployed and it is estimated that 4.6 per cent of the

Olympic Park workforce were previously unemployed residents of the host boroughs at the end of June 2010.

However, the LOCOG has previously raised concerns about these targets in their official reports. Since the report, there has been a suggestion of a lack of clarity over whether these targets would have been met if the Olympic Village workforce were to be incorporated; the residency requirements do not distinguish between existing borough residents and new arrivals, so it is not known what the employment outcomes were for people already living in East London, and host London Boroughs of Newham and Hackney have expressed their disappointment at the low number of jobs their residents gained on the Olympic Park to date.

Focusing on more reflective outcomes, aside from policy documents, bidding reports and media accounts, which mostly praise each organisation's commitment and their target goals, there have been very few independent academic studies conducting evaluative research about the employment agenda of London 2012.

Minnaert's (2011) study, for instance, focused on the interpretation of diversity and inclusivity within London employment programmes, while her empirical work was undertaken before the Games. Her results focused on the strong commitment across the key stakeholders for London 2012 to use the Games as a lever or catalyst for engaging with a more local, diverse and inclusive workforce (Minnaert 2011). But the employment opportunities were often framed along with terms such as employing an 'inclusive and diverse workforce', and Minnaert (2011) suggested that these phrases were very broad and were interpreted differently in different institutions, since the various actors in the system (LOCOG, ODA and the Host Boroughs partnership) prioritised different elements of inclusivity and diversity in their practices. For instance, while the host boroughs and local JobCentres were more focused on employing local people, LOCOG emphasised diversity and inclusion by employing people with disabilities. As a result, the implementation of these different interpretations was characterised by an uneven application of policies which had been designed to bring local and previously workless people into employment (Kennelly, 2016).

An after-Games study by Kennelly (2016) revealed that it has been quite challenging to find a consistent estimate of the number of previously workless host-borough residents who attained employment through the Olympics. One estimate suggests that 9,700 residents of the Olympic boroughs were employed by the Olympics (Abbott 2013, Ali 2013), but this number does not account for how many of these were previously unemployed. In an

unsourced document posted to the London Growth Boroughs website, a briefing paper intended for senior officials and politicians in the six host boroughs claims the numbers were much higher. Specifically, the document states that 1,951 host-borough residents were directly employed by LOCOG; of these, they claim that 1,064 were previously workless. They further state that 22,381 people employed by Olympics contractors were host-borough residents, of whom 7,609 were previously workless (Connelly and Rahman 2012). The report claims that these numbers were measured at 'the peak' of Olympic-related employment, yet evidence from the ODA's own numbers suggests otherwise. Brown and Szymanski (2012) argue that the peak period of Olympic employment was in 2011 when the construction phase was at its most active, and that at that time, only 3,110 host-borough residents were employed by Olympics contractors (Kennelly 2016).

Furthermore, there was significant concern among London residents, in particular among East Londoners, that 'foreigners' were coming in to scoop up Olympic employment, effectively displacing long-term local residents from such opportunities. This concern was expressed by participants in Lindsay's (2014) work, and also by many public media reports, identifying eastern European workers as those most likely to 'take' people's jobs. The truth of this claim is difficult to verify, as the notion that 'outsiders' were stealing jobs from hard-working Londoners could easily be propagated as part of wider xenophobic and racist politics (Lindsay, 2014). In the findings sections of further chapters, I reflect on this issue in more detail. However, it is critical to mention here that both the works of Kennelly (2016) and Lindsay (2014) point to the considerable shortfalls in programmes reaching the core part of the East London community. The definition of core population in Lindsay's (2014) work is composed of older residents of the deprived boroughs, such as Newham, while Kennelly (2016) sees it as containing vulnerable youths struggling with their lives in East London.

Furthermore, through reviewing these various reports it seems that the employment agenda of London 2012 completely ignored the educated population of East London. The assessment of employment potential, such the one by as by Experian (2006), proposed job provision at all levels of the job market, even at the highly skilled level, through uplifting the skills of local residents. But later, the SQW (2013) report shows the absence of any employment programmes or job brokerage projects aimed at middle- or higher-skill-level jobs at London 2012. It was not only ODA and its delivery partner, CLM, that did not draw up projects or policies for helping university-educated and professionally qualified people into employment opportunities provided by London 2012; LOCOG and GLA also avoided creating any meaningful plan or programme to address this part of East London's labour market.

Another pitfall of London 2012 employment legacy programmes was their delay in operations, such as in implementing policies encouraging the Olympic employers to recruit locally for example. This inefficiency from the biding phase to delivery phase meant that many Olympic subcontractors and worker suppliers had already recruited their workforce without encountering London 2012's employment policies (Minnaert 2011) or using the official Olympic recruitment platform.

In contrast, one of the greatest employments and labour market successes of London 2012 was the increase in the living wage for all those employed in Olympic-related jobs (LOCOG no date, Will 2011). This was achieved through the Wage campaign, which pre-existed the Olympic bid and advocated that wages should be set according to the cost of living in London (Living Wage Foundation 2015). However, although the London living wage achievement was positive for the lowest-paid workers, such as those in security and logistics, it did not have much impact on construction workers, who were already paid above this level (Druker and White 2013). On the other hand, the construction industry was governed by a Memorandum of Agreement signed by the ODA and representative trade unions that set up, among other policies, an agreement that all construction workers on the Olympic Park would be directly employed, that is that they would be paid directly as employees rather than being self-employed. This shift provided an advantage to workers, as those who are nominally self-employed are more likely to be at the bottom of the wage structure (Kennelly 2016).

Last but not least, most of the studies carried out are from the official 'Olympic outcome' perspective, and have been produced as depersonalised 'before and after' analyses (e.g. Preuss, 2004, Gold and Gold 2008), while in fact engaging disadvantaged and hard-to-reach groups was the primary focus of Olympic employment programmes. The legacy agenda of London 2012 has therefore tended to focus on the 'local labour' issue, and there was a lack of relevant knowledge in the staff who were leading or involved in these employment initiatives. This, however, is understandable, because staff were recruited to these initiatives for their expertise in local labour skills and employment, not in outreach work.

Another under-investigated area seems to be the segments of employment opportunities in which local people have a realistic chance of gaining work, including upskilling those already in the sector. Local job seekers who had been outside the labour market for a long time should have been considered for harnessing through the volunteer programme and for enrolment in pre-employment schemes, work trials, interview training and in-work mentoring. This would have reduced the risks to employers when giving individuals the chance to build and demonstrate their capabilities and skills.

More detailed evidence is quite thin on the ground for aspects which might have been hoped for, such as evidence of the distinction between direct and indirect jobs attributable to the Games, or on the spatial impact of the Games, or on the origin of workers employed in jobs.

4.4 Hypothesis 3

According to the information gathered about the London 2012 employment legacy programmes and their initiatives, it can be assumed that:

The commitment to designate some of the jobs for locals (East Londoners) was limited to low-level jobs, while for jobs requiring higher levels of skills, there was no encouragement or inclusiveness policy put in place by the employment legacy agenda.

Chapter 5 Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

Three related hypotheses regarding the research questions about the career legacy of London 2012 for local East Londoners have been outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4:

Hypothesis 1: The whole Olympic Games agenda would gravitate towards the delivery aspect. In contrast, legacy promises were framed as a limited part of the project's goals for delivery, which means prioritising experts over locals as the source of the workforce for the Games.

Hypothesis 2: The Local East Londoners did not have sufficient 'capital' to enable it to be integrated into the employment benefits of London 2012. Thus, it is unlikely that the benefits of the Games would be greatly felt by the people who most expected them, disengaged as such people often are from the main stream labour market.

Hypothesis 3: The commitment to designate some jobs for locals (East Londoners) was limited to low-level jobs; for highly skilled positions, no encouragement or inclusive policy was developed within the employment legacy agenda.

Examination of the premises contained in these hypotheses underpinned the design of this study, and this chapter explains the research processes and empirical paths followed to bring about this examination. The contexts of these hypotheses clearly require interdisciplinary research approaches. Given my background as an urban planner and my interest in the employment effects of the Olympic Games, I investigate these premises from the perspective of the socio-economic structure of host cities. The work is therefore an attempt to integrate 'ways of seeing' (Berger 1972) in organisational studies, urban sociology, urban geography and urban planning, and the methodological approach calls for eclectic research methods.

Applying wide-ranging methods rigorously and consistently in the context of the study of a mega-event has been a significant challenge. The term 'legacy', with all the rhetoric behind it (as discussed in the literature review), implies a bequest with the purpose of producing benefits for people in the future. It involves determining beneficiaries in relation to a conception or potentially multiple conceptions of these people's needs and aspirations

(Davis 2011). In the case of the London Olympic Games 2012, the legacy promises focused on value for and need among the local communities. To identify the consequences and negotiations that the legacy agenda created with specific groups and communities, there is a need to clarify the boundaries around the concept of legacy building and around each target-group community, and this adds to the methodological challenge.

5.2 Methodological Design

The nature of this work is qualitative and mainly based on inductive data, since its main inquiry is the examination of the realities of what happened in the 'territory' of London 2012 (the London Olympic boroughs and the Olympic companies) in terms of career trajectories. It can also be characterised as phenomenological research, as it involves "exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to social and human phenomenon" (Creswell 2014, p. 4). As it contains some measuring and interpreting of the available national and institutional legacy assessment reports, it also uses a deductive research approach.

This hybrid inductive/deductive approach demonstrates how the analysis of raw data, such as interview transcripts, can be synthesised with organisational documents. As asserted by Blaikie (2007) and supported by Ritchie *et al.* (2013), qualitative research should not be depicted as a purely inductive process. In the work of these researchers, the kind of data generated, the questions asked and the analytical categories employed are all influenced by assumptions deductively derived from the literature review and previous work in the field. This is a similar pattern to the one developed and used in this research

5.3 Research Phases

The rationale pursued for the selection of each research approach was based on the research objective, as explained in Chapter 1.

1. Phase 1: Examining the hypothesis regarding the logic of recruitment through case studies, in-depth expert interviews and social media (LinkedIn) analysis.
2. Phase 2: Interpreting and analysing the legacy building of the Olympic employment programmes through document analysis and expert interviews.
3. Phase 3: Discovering and understanding the sociological world of the legacy's direct target groups (local East Londoners) through an inductive ethnographic strategy, including participant observations and interviews.

5.4 Research Strategies

To conduct empirical research systematically, there is a need for strategies that link the conceptual underpinnings to the desired data through the valid selection of methods. Saunders *et al*. define research strategy as "the general plan of how the researcher will go about answering the research questions" (2009, p. 600). In other words, research strategy provides the overall direction of the study, including the process by which the research is conducted. This section presents the rationale for selecting two strategies: first, the case-study method used for conducting fieldwork in selected groups of people in East London and Olympic companies, and second, the ethnography used to examine their community dynamics, behaviours and motivations.

5.4.1 Case study

Yin defined a case study as an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (2003b, p. 13). Through drawing the boundaries for an individual project, a case-study strategy enables the cases and what will become the setting for the cases to be specified (Flyvbjerg 2011). Studying the Olympic and legacy missions of the host boroughs offers the opportunity to consider how the realities of London 2012 careers and their trajectories were encountered and represented from the perspective of the host population (local East Londoners).

The choice of the East London boroughs (the boroughs of Waltham Forest, Newham, Hackney and Tower Hamlet) as the context for the case of London 2012 came about for several reasons. Given my urban planning background, it felt natural to use a territory with a specific boundary to circumscribe an area of research, or what Robert Stake (2008, pp. 119–120) calls a "functioning specific" or "bounded system". Additionally, as highlighted in the literature review, the Olympic site has been regarded by many Londoners as 'bizarre' and, in many ways, uncharted territory. For urban researchers, it is a laboratory for social experiments in community development practice, social exclusion and inclusion, and high-rise and low-rise living. The area has also recently gained the attention of urban strategists seeking development opportunities in central London, which led to it becoming a hub of urban renewal projects such as the Thames Gateway (Poynter 2009). Thus, I considered East London as the best territory to use to study the effects of the Olympic Games.

A further advantage of research led by case study is that it offers the opportunity to develop in-depth understanding, whether of socio-economic structures, human subjects, or both

(Flyvbjerg 2011). The selection of certain communities within the highly diverse and complicated society of East London (as specified below) can be explained through the pattern of case study needed to encompass the variety of employment processes in play, while still maintaining a tight focus on those excluded from or included in the jobs at London 2012.

Lefebvre also argues that through the case-study approach urban research should be able to move between different "levels of social reality" and should progress "from the most general to the most specific ... [and to] the general by identifying the elements and significations of what is observable in the urban" (1996 p. 113). Interestingly, in this methodological trajectory, the case-study groups became involved in different timeframes of the research, one leading to another, creating the possibility of continuing to portray accounts of different layers of workers' or job seekers' interpretations, their career prospects and aspirations.

5.4.2 The 'people' of the case study

Through the case-study approach, this research has classified the time period of the Olympic project in the East London area (from 2005 onwards) and different experiences of East Londoners into specific categories. Full awareness of the highly diverse society of East London, especially in terms of ethnicity, race and nationality has been ensured.

- **BAME (black and minority ethnic) groups in East London**

Membership of an ethnic group is something that is subjectively meaningful to the person concerned, with the terminology used to describe ethnic groups having changed markedly over time. The definition of the ethnic minorities of East London (ironically, they are not actually minorities in East London itself) used in this study is that they are immigrants who have settled in the area from the 1960s to today, being mostly Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian from Commonwealth countries, or black African and black Caribbean. As a result of family reunification and high rates of natural population growth, these groups have transformed East London into a highly diverse location in which they occupy areas that have been substantially vacated by white working-class residents (Butler and Hamnett 2011).

- **White working class**

The traditional white working class have been considered the indigenous East Londoners, residing in East London and working in Docklands and its related industries. However, during the last two decades, following the closure of Docklands, the white working class have either

taken an upward life trajectory, becoming middle class and leaving the area for terraced houses in suburban areas towards the M25 and beyond, or they have stayed and struggled with long periods of economic inactivity and/or a sense of distance from the old neighbourhood. At the time of the Games in 2012, they constituted less than 40 per cent of the population of most of the Olympic boroughs, especially in the boroughs of Newham and Tower Hamlets (McDowell 2011, Butler and Hamnett 2011).

- **White creatives**

The term 'creative groups' refers to a specific class of people attracted to a place by its consumption characteristics; traditionally this group was composed of artists and musicians, but recently hi-tech 'nerds' have been added to their number. Their attraction to East London started with an influx of artists into Hoxton in the early 1990s, using the streets for experimental shows. While most of people from this group at the time of the event did not born in East London, but rather moved to their neighbourhood. At the time of the Olympics, the main areas this group lived and worked in were Shoreditch, Dalston and Brick Lane in the borough of Hackney.

- **East European**

There was before a notable immigrant flow to the UK from Eastern European countries in the 1990s. But the expansion of the EU into the Balkan countries in 2004 led to another major wave of immigrants from the A8 countries (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) seeking residence in East London.

5.4.3 Ethnography

A valid starting point is to consider exactly what constitutes ethnography and what type of research pursuit constitutes this type of research strategy. Ethnography is used to pursue qualitative research by focusing on an "entire culture-sharing group. The aim of this type of research is to see the world through the eyes of the members of the culture being examined, and to document the social interactions among these members" (Pettigrew 2000, p. 120). This includes accounting for information learned by members to enable interaction, and studying how behaviour is subsequently organised (Triandis 1980). In this approach, the research describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs, and language (Harris 1968) of the group. It focuses on developing a complex, complete description of the people culture (a 'culture-sharing group'), while it is not the

study of a culture, but a study of the social behaviours of an identifiable group of people (Lambert and Chasteen 1999).

The ethnography target group within this study comprises all four local community groups in East London, and their discernible working patterns in London in 2012 have been examined. However, in practice, the ethnographic results are mostly about shared-identity groups of non-white people who have settled in the area. The methods employed here incorporate both traditional ethnographic methods such as interviewing, participant observation and chatting/interviews with locals on the street in a semi-random selection, together with less traditional ones, such as cyber- and telecommunication-based methods.

For uncovering implicit knowledge, it has been suggested that researchers can simply 'hang out' with the people of target groups in a sensitive manner that promotes mutual respect (Lindsay 2011). For this study, this was easier said than done. Consequently, ever-increasing amounts of time were spent in East London boroughs in the hope of acquiring inside knowledge by being 'a native'. Access was negotiated to local community events and the researcher began to attend a variety of such events, including focus groups in mosques, community meetings, coffee evenings and the like. While BAME communities were quite open, and my accessing of inside knowledge seemed possible, I faced some distinct barriers in encounters with the white population of East London, and that is the reason the ethnographic interviews are mainly focused on the BAME category.

Participant observation is also an essential complement to the ethnographical method of interview because, as ethnography attempts to describe occurrences as they are experienced by the subject, there is an acknowledged lack of objectivity in most ethnographic work (Atkinson 1992). By acknowledging the subjective, partial and local nature of the analysis, ethnography claims to provide one interpretation of the phenomenon of interest, and this is potentially only one of many interpretations. Furthermore, I tried to be cautious about the distinction between discourse and everyday non-linguistic common knowledge, while Baloch warns against making too much of what people say (Graham 2002, Baloch 2003).

An important consideration of ethnography is, according to Poplin, that this type of research should attempt to describe the research community as "a totality and see the manifold and complex interrelations of its parts" (1979, p. 275). This theoretical perspective would prove problematic in the ultra-diverse, multi-linguistic location of the Olympic boroughs. This was to become manifest in both linguistic and cultural interplay. The question at the outset of this ethnography revolved around considerations of how best to undertake research in this

highly diverse and generally deprived location. As Van Maanen suggested, "ethnography is infinitely more than a single method and can be distinguished from participant observation by its broader aim of achieving an analytical description of a culture" (1979, p. 539).

To surmise, ethnography is often referred to as a means of 'telling it like it is' from an insider's view. However, ethnography can never hope to truly accomplish such a bold proclamation. What this research did was to apply all the ethnographic means of enquiry, from stopping random people on the street, suggesting having a cup of tea with the clients of ethnic cafes, participating in mosques gatherings, etc. The ethnographic target was to gather information about the local communities who had encountered London 2012 and its employment agenda, with the focus on these groups' career expectations and behaviours.

Ultimately, the methodological concerns of this research that have been highlighted here revolved around the difficulties of creating an authentic account of 'Olympicisation' (Lindsay, 2014) within communities of great deprivation and segregation. Authenticity-related concerns that could never hope to be fully overcome are noted and, wherever necessary, acknowledged as shortcomings. Alternatively, as Armstrong stated, "you've [ethnographers] got a difficult job trying to make sense of all this ... all you can do is say this is how you saw it as an outsider and this is your interpretation" (1993, p. 37).

5.5 Methodological Process

Flyvbjerg (2001, p. 47) proposes that social science research that involves "non-dualistic and pluralistic methodologies" enables a subject to be revealed in a variety of different perspectives and thus, potentially, with greater accuracy than through singular approaches. Bauer and Gaskell also advocate forms of what they term "methodological pluralism" (2000, p. 4). The 'both/and' or pluralistic methodology of this research allows me to consider different sociological and geographical paradigms, employing different data collection and analysis approaches through visual, verbal and written modes of communication in which views and values are propounded and/or decisions are reached.

This section is divided into two main parts, recognising Bauer and Gaskell's (2000) differentiation between the processes of data collection as part of constructing a research corpus and the analysis process itself. Within this, there are also three elements to the data collected: first, the employment processes in the Olympic delivery sector; second, the London 2012 employment programmes and third, the employment of East Londoners at the Games.

5.6 Data Collection

The data collection phases in the Olympic boroughs were carried out from October 2014 to September 2017.

5.6.1 Phase one: The Employment Process in the Olympic Delivery sector

The objective here is to examine hypothesis one, about the logic of the recruitment process among different Olympic organisations. The case study group comprised professionals who were involved in staging the London Olympic Games 2012, including project managers from the private sector and project coordinators in the public sector.

5.6.1.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews are different from other types of interviewing in that the researcher gives the participant a brief opening summary of what they are interested in, allowing the interviewees to then tell their stories (Corbin and Morse 2003). A conversational style of social inquiry is often used when researching peers, friends or young people, as it is said to minimise power imbalances that can be associated with more structured interviews (Bryman, 2004). Such an approach can be challenging for the researcher, who often needs a good knowledge of the issues being discussed to keep discussion flowing in the way that an everyday conversation does; indeed, the time taken for such interviews ranges from 20 minutes to one hour.

I used in-depth interviews with a set of open questions for the London 2012 professional-elite interviewees. I found the subject of careers and networks to be quite sensitive for some of the respondents, particularly when they were asked to explain their recruitment approaches. These professional-elite interviews were conducted with the following individuals:

- Klaus Grewe, senior project manager of London 2012 at CLM Laing O'Rourke, and senior integration manager park-wide (from 2007 to 2012);
- Shaun Dawson, chief executive, Lee Valley Regional Park Authority;
- Davendra Dabasia, director at Mace Group, construction director of Olympic Legacy Transformation and project leader for the Velopark;
- Anup Patel, project manager at Mace Group (one of the mother delivery companies);
- G. Sh., Communication Consultants, ODA.

I began to conduct interviews during the second year of the research and continued to pursue conversations with some interviewees until late in the writing process. Five semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with Olympic deliverers at the professional level were conducted in total, as presented in Appendix B. These include only pre-arranged or planned conversations, and many informal and valuable conversations with people at the range of Olympic-related events I attended over the course of the research are excluded. Generally, interviews were conducted with individuals representing their organisations or companies in terms of their designated roles in the London 2012 project.

Interviews were held at several locations, mostly at the interviewees' work locations, and were audio recorded with note-taking. It is critical to mention that getting appointments was challenging; many people had suffered at the hands of the press, and their full timetables were handled by very protective secretaries. Finally, after a number of emails and phone calls, I chanced to be introduced to an Olympic senior manager who then introduced me to others, and I was then recommended from one to another in a snowball sampling process.

The research abstract with key interview questions was prepared and sent to the interviewees one day in advance in the format of general open-ended questions. Initially I was curious about the process of their careers and the networks that led them to the Olympic positions they held, and about how they staffed positions when necessary. Then I focused more directly on their different experiences and views, and this necessitated conducting more in-depth and nuanced conversations.

The prepared questions, sent in advance of the interview, enabled these professionals to consider their responses in advance; some of them had critical positions in their organisations and this allowed for the balance of power in the conversation to be level. In some instances, it seemed that the presence of a list of questions led to rather quick-fire, unspontaneous exchanges, and it was challenging to find ways to get past the reiteration of institutional rhetoric or mere statements of fact.

The volume of data gathered through the interviews with the London 2012 elites was significant. For the shorter interviews (up to 40 minutes), I transcribed them briefly the next day. This resulted in all interviews being transcribed by me twice, briefly and then in detail. I found that being able to transcribe the data quickly after it was produced helped me to prepare for future interviews and to gain confidence in holding conversations about a broad range of topics.

5.6.1.2 LINKEDİN INSPECTION

The potential to use social media to collect rich data and generate new insights has also emerged within qualitative research through the observation of virtual communities, the collection of personal documents and focus groups. It has been considered as a complement to face-to-face qualitative research, with the advantage of online facilities allowing the collecting of narratives from individuals or groups who are geographically distant, resulting in reducing costs and saving of time (Mann and Stewart 2000).

I presumed that the London 2012 professionals who were involved in operations, planning, or delivery of the 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games had written their CVs accurately. I used 'London 2012' as the keyword to find those LinkedIn users who had worked on this project as part of their career path. I finalised my selections to 50 people based on the diversity of their profiles, in terms of their job positions, education and ethnicity.

I assessed their previous job experiences and professional networks by examining other personal data they shared on LinkedIn and other social networks, such as education and ethnicity, to examine how their careers could have been mobilised by the London 2012 Olympics.

A few intriguing areas for consideration within the LinkedIn method are as follows:

a. **Ethical dilemmas:** Qualitative researchers will always need informed consent for interviews and direct exchanges with research participants. However, the situation is fuzzier when the researcher is conducting observations or drawing content from posted materials in online settings where it may be hard to distinguish the public from the private.
b. **Selection bias:** Purposeful sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich data, but its use could also lead to inaccurate estimates.

c. **Exacerbation:** A social media network such as LinkedIn is a platform for self-marketing in terms of users' careers. Therefore, even if we assume all information to be factual, it could still be biased by some level of embellishment.

5.6.2 London 2012 Employment Programs

The objective for this section is to addressing the hypothesis three and explain how the process of legacy building and delivering jobs to the community was negotiated among stakeholders and reflected within their agendas.

5.6.2.1 The main Games-assessment reports

A range of documents relating to the Olympic employment improvement commitment and its related legacy agenda is used in these investigations, focusing on their objectives and their group targets. Agenda reports and related assessment reports relating to the London employment legacy are as follows:

a. Review of 2012 Employment and Skills Legacy Programme, carried out as part of the GLA 2012/13 audit plan;

b. SQW Final report, Olympic Job Report, Mayor of London;

c. LOCOG Employment and Skills Strategy, produced by Learning Legacy of London 2012;

d. OECD publication, Local Development Benefits from staging Global Events: Achieving the Local Development Legacy from 2012 – a peer review of the Olympic and Paralympic Legacy for East London (A peer review proposed by the Department for Communities and Local Government, United Kingdom);

e. Convergence Annual Reports (2011-2012, 2012-2013), Strategic Regeneration Framework of Growth Boroughs

f. Five Legacy Commitments, from the Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone (2007c);

g. The London Plan (2004, 2008, 2009) and associated documents relating to strategic plans for the Lower Lea Valley;

h. National, metropolitan and local government policy and policy guidance relating to regeneration, under headings including 'Urban Renaissance' (for example, Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 1999) and 'Sustainable Communities' (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2003; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005; ODA and LDA, 2007);

i. The London Development Agency's strategy and internal policies relating to employment (ODA and LDA, 2008);

j. Lasting Legacy: How can London fully exploit the opportunities created by the Olympic Games? A DCMS report in association with the Work foundation.

Finding, interpreting, and comparing economic impact studies and their spinoff products (such as press releases, bid committee promises and follow-up evaluations) are challenging tasks. The language of economic impact studies is often intentionally opaque, and multiple caveats are included in order to protect the authors from accusations of inaccuracy (Crompton 2006). The numbers that are used in the various documents are often unsourced, and the methodologies used are described in only the loosest terms (Kennelly 1985). Comparing across documents creates additional challenges, as there is no consistent format or methodology used in career-impact studies (Kirkup and Major 2006); even more confusing is that the numbers subsequently broadcast through the media rarely resemble the results of the economic impact studies themselves. According to Kennelly, while the claims of academic integrity are frequent, the checks and balances of academic publications, such as blind peer review and transparent citation of sources, are notably missing (2016).

5.6.2.2 Conducting interviews

In seeking answers to specific questions arising from the London 2012 Employment and Skills programme, two experts were interviewed via telephone, using semi-structured questions:

- S. E, project manager of the Host Borough Employment Project for London 2012;
- Vicky Clarks, project manager of the London 2012 Employment and Skills Legacy Programme.

5.6.3 East London employment process

This section seeks relevant data to address hypothesis two to discover the career experiences and career behaviour of several individuals living in East London. The questions are about their work routines, the work values they consider more important, their incentives, the changes in and variability of their jobs, and their relationships in the workplace. Moreover, this section examines the ways work and life roles are intertwined.

5.6.3.1 Archives and statistical review

This data gathering includes collecting national and local statistical reports and academic reports on labour market change in each Olympic borough and collecting assessment reports produced based on the statistical numbers they contain, such as the following:

- *Right Skills, Right Jobs, Final Report* (Krasnowski and Vaid, 2012), which was produced by the Mayor of London, in association with the Centre of Economic and Social Inclusion;

- *Trends in the demand for labour and skills in London and the East Sub-region* (Marsden and Hitchins, GLA, 2016);

- *Education, skills, and employment in East London: An ecosystem analysis* (supported by G. P. Morgen, UCL Institute of Education);

- Statistics on different aspects of the population of East London in terms of demography, employment rate, type of employment, education, home ownership obtained as secondary data from The London DataStore.

5.6.3.2 Ethnographical research

At the first phase of ethnography in October 2014 it seemed, disturbingly, that the findings proved to be indulgent and vacuous. This period of reflection occurred while assessing the hosting of poorly attended community focus groups and uninspiring interviews, and evaluating apathetic questionnaires. However, after identifying the missteps taken and technical flaws in the collection processes, and in learning the trick of approaching people using the right tactics to engage them in interviews, the aspiration to achieve greater depths of knowledge began to take hold. There was a clear initial desire to understand the specific cultural history of the careers that this community shared and that this place represented; however, insightful knowledge would not reveal itself through questionnaires, interviews or focus groups, or indeed by 'hanging out' on the off chance that clarity would appear organically.

An interesting similar experience was encountered by another East London (Newham) ethnographic researcher (Lindsay 2011), in which a local Pakistani-born Muslim reflected on standard ethnographical enquiry:

> *It's pointless. I mean, it's important for you to know stuff but it's not important for anyone you're asking. There's been so much [research, media interest, consultations, etc.] and nothing's happened. Old people might want to talk to you because they haven't got anything better to do but no one else. We're busy and nothing ever changes, our ideas aren't ever used and, that's it, it's pointless. Waste of time.* (Private interview, Mo, 38, long-term Asian resident, from Lindsay, 2011)

Reflective analysis of the present study revealed that this view was echoed in many early interviews. A feeling of resentment towards research was prevalent. The initial belief that people would be open to interviews, perhaps even grateful to have a forum to air their opinions and to be asked what they think in empirical work in East London proved to be very naïve. This was supplemented by the insurmountable perception that all researchers were simply transient outsiders only interested in self-promotion or self-benefit, or that they had ulterior motives, such as working for the police, benefit agencies or some other authority.

In addition to those that questioned the purpose of the researcher, the research itself, or both, there was the underlying perception that the community's views regarding the Olympics was a topic that had already been 'researched to death' during the Olympic bidding process.

5.6.3.3 Conducting interviews

Interviews were conducted with 85 local people, and this includes all phases of interviews from 2014 to 2017. The selection of study participants was carried out using a mix of convenience sampling and systematic methods[7]. This means there is no coherence among all boroughs or all categories of local East Londoners, with the criteria used being feasibility of accessing as diverse a sample as possible from the people who seemed (by their appearance) to be skilled workers or employable for Olympic job positions. In the end, majority of the interviewees were from BAME groups (Figure 6), and the data collection process within this proceeded more easily than for the other groups (artists, east European, white working class).

In addition, as I was residing in the Leyton area during most of the empirical study phases, the majority of the interviews took place in Waltham Forest (Figure 6), around Leyton, Leytonstone, and at weekly markets at Waltham Forest station.

[7] Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher. Systematic sampling is a technique for creating a random probability sample in which each piece of data is chosen at a fixed interval for inclusion in the sample.

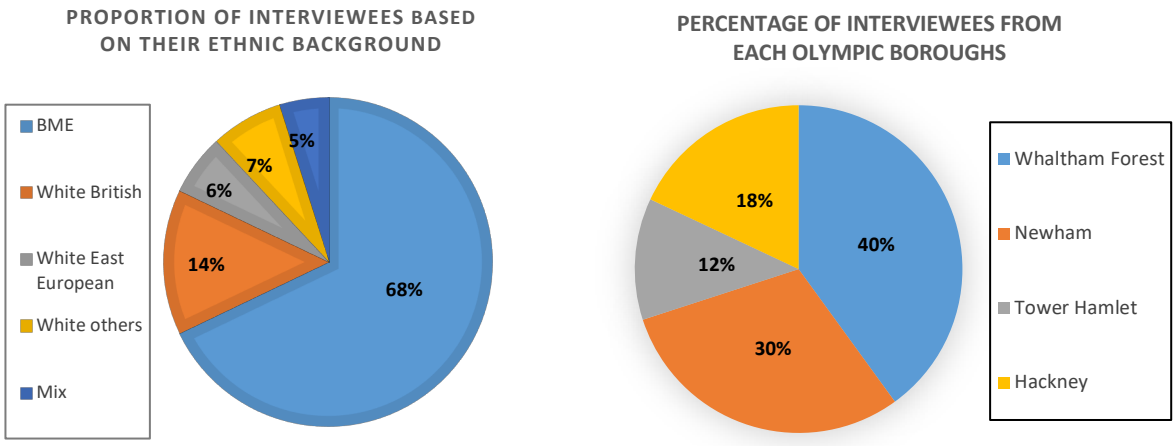

Figure 6: Profile of the interviewees

5.6.3.4 Observation and participation

Participant observation is the ethnographic methodology most closely associated with the ethos of ethnography. This method has a long history in community studies and the wider discipline of sociology. A broad definition of the methods used in participant observation is as follows: "active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience" (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002, p. vii). Participant observation enables researchers to learn about people, phenomena and communities in a natural setting – often over a prolonged period – while either living or spending a great deal of time in the social setting. The active participatory observation of this study was carried out along with interviewing and interactions with people on streets, in mosques, cafes and tubes. The actively structured observation took place while I was living in Leyton (a district in the borough of Waltham Forest) between October and December 2015. It was carried out by watching the daily lives of East Londoners from different socio-economic backgrounds at various times of the day and different days of the week, discussing jobs in general with them, but with interest directed particularly towards opportunities at big projects such as London 2012.

I also observed community internal dynamics subjectively, for example, the way people integrated themselves with local public channels of communication, such as the local newspaper, local library, local cafes and bakeries. The findings from this part of the research were very worthwhile.

5.7 Analysing the Data

Data collection may presuppose an initial gathering of personal – habitus – accounts as a way of building an ethnography of field participants. However, biographical accounts are never enough on their own. They need to be analysed in relation to field position, structures and their underlying logic of practice. Crucially, the relationship between field and habitus (what we can call field analysis) and its interactions with individual habitus need to relate to a further analysis of the relations between the field and its position in the overall structures of fields of power (Bourdieu 1989). To construct such a field analysis, the researcher needs to obtain the maximum sense of data analyses to undertake the construction of a relational analysis, particularly within ethnographic case studies. The search for the conversion of such data into a conducive narrative involves negotiating access, getting in, staying in, surviving, and getting out with enough insight to convert into academic prose (Lindsay 2013). This conversion or, more accurately, translation from 'reality' to academia may be considered the key to the challenge of the analytical part of this research.

5.7.1 Analysing interviews using MAXQDA software

As a set, the interview transcripts contain a considerable amount of information. They comprise a variety of different claims, statements and propositions about the purposes and effects of regeneration of the Olympic site. The various transcripts reveal subtle differences in terms of how people say things – intentional or otherwise – and they thus communicate their intentions, views and/or meanings. Beginning to analyse the content of the transcripts involved a series of linear and iterative processes. These were a) coding the data according to categories established by the research aims and in terms of the thesis chapters; b) examining the transcripts for other terms or categories that appeared to correlate with the research themes (such as community involvement, site value or piecemeal development) and c) rereading, checking, and recoding. Manual techniques were selected for coding printed transcripts using MAXQDA.

MAXQDA software was employed as the qualitative data analysis tool, for analysis and evaluation through sorting materials into groups using a hierarchical coding system, defining variables, and assigning colours and weights to text segments. Although writing the transcripts and coding them in MAXQDA involved many hours of work and a rigorous, consistent approach, I was continually aware of being guided by hunches or intuitions about the material or by having a greater interest in some topics than in others.

5.7.2 Content analysis for Olympic employment reports

These documents were analysed in ways that also drew on the approaches to discourse outlined above. Taking the Mayor's five legacy commitments for example, I considered the kinds of rationalities they underscored with respect to the purposes of Olympic-led employment improvements and building 'communities'. Dijk argues that "ideologies are developed by dominant groups in order to reproduce and legitimate their domination" (1997, p. 25). It is important that analysis of them considers their social functions.

5.8 Methodological Challenges

A number of challenges were encountered during data collection and analysis:

a. A feeling of resentment and scepticism among the people of East London. This was supplemented by the entrenched perception that all researchers were simply transient outsiders only interested in self-promotion and self-benefit or had ulterior motives, such as working for the police, benefit agencies or some other authority. After asking them if they obtained a job at the Olympics, the look (and sometimes the actual words) revealed that the individuals found the researcher to be naïve and that the question was perceived as 'stupid' in terms of finding a 'serious' job at Olympic projects.

   There was a pervasive perception among local East Londoners that similar topics had already been over-researched during the Olympic bidding process, and that all the community consultations, community-oriented research and media interest had ultimately left community members sceptical of the purpose of research participation, which made them not want to participate again.

b. Lack of resources to set up a real group interview or to be part of a community organisation for a long period. For instance, the people of the East London central mosque were invited for a group interview without any reward, which resulted in no participants coming forward.

c. Perceptual and cultural barriers from the core society, especially from the traditional white community and the Caribbean black community, which challenged the validity and credibility of the ethnographic effort for these communities.

d. Lack of ties and access to information and statistics from community centres and government institutions.

Chapter 6 The Professional Labour Market at London 2012

6.1 Introduction

It is hypothesised that there would be a sense of exclusiveness, a kind of tight circle of job positions, for the high-skilled sector of the London 2012 labour market (Chapter 5, hypothesis statement). As has been suggested in the literature review (Chapter 2, p. 13), it seems that for a worldwide, high-profile venture such as the Olympic Games the prioritising of particular elites over the local workforce would be intensified. But very little was found in the literature about the reasons and parameters that drive mega-events such as the Olympic Games to follow an exclusive and highly elite-oriented recruitment strategy. The premise above is in contradiction with the employment legacy agenda of London 2012, both in its conceptual promises, such as that they would be "the most inclusive Games ever" and that there would be an "incentive to bring the global benefits for locals" (Coe 2009) and also in its practical objectives, such as enabling the upskilling of local workers to "access the higher-level jobs, particularly in management and technical occupation" (London 2012 2008, p. 34, 2012 Games Meta-Evaluation 2013, p. 75). This chapter therefore aims to evaluate the recruitment approach for higher-level jobs at London 2012 and to elaborate the causality behind the approach.

The study is based on the collection of five in-depth interviews with London 2012 delivery professionals who narrated their experiences both as individuals and as representatives of their institutions and firms. The study is complemented by the examination of 50 LinkedIn profiles of professionals who worked for LOCOG, ODA or CLM (or one of the mother companies of CLM). The focus of this examination is the professional life and career trajectory of workers before and after London 2012. Since the ultimate goal of this chapter is to understand the reality and rationale behind the employment process within the professional sector of London 2012, the narration of findings has been structured as: a) the personal background of London 2012 professionals; b) the organisational ecology of London 2012 at the delivery level; c) the drivers of the recruitment approach; and d) the career trajectories of London 2012 professionals. It should be noted that the figures provided focus on highly skilled employment which was directly attributable to Games projects at the ODA or LOCOG and do not relate to any indirectly provided jobs in related projects.

6.2 Who Were the Professionals Employed at London 2012?

6.2.1 Socio-demographical profile

Significant numbers of highly skilled positions in management, planning, IT/technology and construction were involved in setting up and delivering London 2012, and one of the overall rhetorical 'mottoes' of London 2012 was "showcasing the English Excellency, not only in sport but also in planning and delivering the Olympic infrastructures" (DCMS 2008, p. 4). However, the results of this study show that when it came to the demographic population of the deliverers of the Games, both in administration (mostly carried out by LOCOG) and the built environment (mostly by ODA), a majority purely 'English' composition for its human resources was not a reality. Rather, from 2008 onwards, a transnational workforce from all over the world as well as the UK was sourced for the highly skilled and specialised jobs required for London 2012.

As Klaus Grewe (senior programme manager at London 2012) revealed, in the specialist level work at London 2012 there was no nationality limitation or any such thing as 'English excellence'; rather, there was an effort to bring the right people on board:

> *Our group were highly international from everywhere: management of time and budget by Germans, many parts of our planning and design were with an American group … documentation by Malaysian ones … programming by an Iranian group and so on (K. Grewe, personal communication, 12 October 2015).*

Staying in the professional sector but stepping down from the highly specialised roles to look at the highly skilled (but not specialised) employee sector, such as middle management level, planners etc., the population had a more UK-based demographic pattern. The pie chart in Figure 6 displays the race and nationality characteristics of the sample of 55 people who were approached through face-to-face interviews (5 experts) or by LinkedIn examination (50 profiles). In terms of racial background the majority are white, mostly UK nationals but with some from northern countries such as northern Europe and the USA, followed by a very small percentage of people of BAME origin (Figure 6). The results are not surprising, and they support the existence of a very strong correlation between the two parameters of race and nationality and highly skilled employment in major London projects. However, with a small sample size such as this, caution must be applied, as the percentages might not be representative of the whole population within the highly skilled employment sector of London 2012.

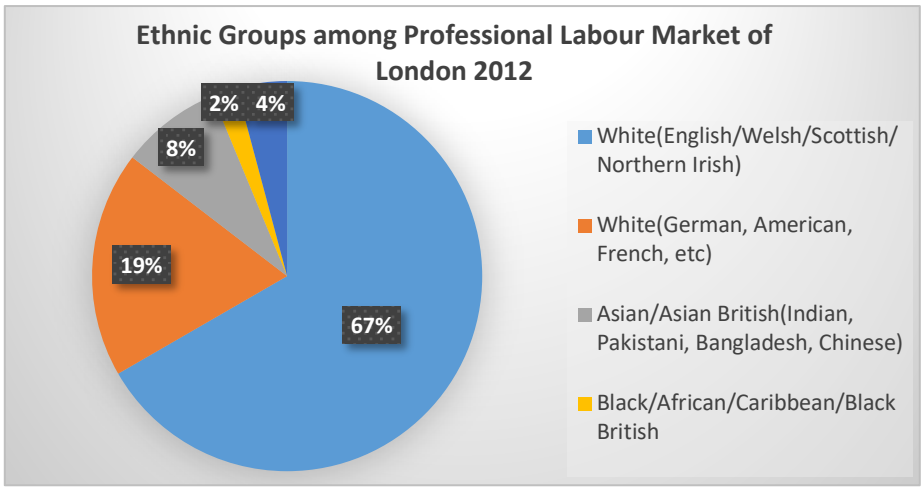

Figure 7: The demography of Surveyed professionals

Hence, although it is tempting to think that aspects of personal background such as ethnicity or race were not relevant in the international, diverse environment of the Olympic-related workforce, the evidence from this study suggests that they influenced recruitment decisions in the job environment of London 2012. Despite the anti-discrimination legislation in place, the data presented in Figure 7 implies a possible role for racial/ethnic background as critical criteria in recruitment, in demonstrating and symbolising the capabilities, reliability and suitability of applicants for certain positions.

- **Particular absence of BAME employees in the construction sector**

A large proportion of the jobs required for setting up the Olympic Games were in the construction sector, and the numbers of people with BAME backgrounds in this employment cohort have been found to be very low. Before the Games, Minnaert (2011, p. 4) had already anticipated this low number, arguing that not only were such groups already considered hard to employ in London's mainstream labour market, but also that the construction sector has a set of specific characteristics which make it a more challenging environment for BAME people to be employed in.

The interviewees in this study confirmed Minnaert's ideas, particularly among those with Indian or Pakistani backgrounds. Three interviewees, two of Indian background, and one Pakistani, opened up about the existing stigma around working in the construction sector in their communities, where it is seen as a low-status industry characterised by a 'laddish' culture. Two of the three interviewees asserted that despite the general poor image of this industry within their community, they found themselves in the job of construction management because of the exceptional career histories of their families:

Well, my father and our family first moved to Kenya, being occupied in construction sector … he saw the family of Mum also in Kenya who were also working at construction … so when we immigrated to the UK, he continued his profession here in London … My sister and I both went to private school in north London … you know in our community good job defined as being doctor, lawyer, or at least engineer … but when I continued my study and work in this field, it was maybe surprising for others but was all right in our own family (Dabasia, personal communication, 25 November 2015).

6.2.2 Locality

Until the time of writing (April 2018), no evidence of a single case of a professional (senior manager, project manager, consultant, architect, planner) residing in the host boroughs was found. From interviews and LinkedIn profiles, and for those with white or BAME backgrounds, none of the subjects considered themselves to be East Londoners. For instance, all three interviewees with ethnic backgrounds lived in suburban housing. Two of them grew up in north London and went to private schools and the other grew up in Sussex and went to a neighbourhood state school.

Because of the sample size, it is difficult to explain a direct correlation between locality and employment chances at London 2012; nevertheless, it is possible to hypothesise that these opportunities would be less likely to occur if people lived in East London. This is despite the fact that it was exactly this area, East London, that was supposed to be the main direct beneficiary of the various aspects of London 2012 legacy, including employment. The present study raises the probability that locality not only affects people's networks, school quality (education) and career motives, but also acts as a form of 'symbolic capital'[8] in defining their career class.

6.2.3 Education

According to the in-depth interviews and LinkedIn assessments, the study found a significant difference in terms of educational level between white and non-white people

[8] In sociology and anthropology, symbolic capital can be referred to as the resources available to an individual on the basis of honour, prestige or recognition, and serving as value that one holds within a culture (Bourdieu, 1989, pp.14–22).

working at London 2012. Table 3 shows that, while all the people with ethnic backgrounds held post-graduate degrees – three of them from top-five universities, there were many white professionals who did not have a relevant degree, and five of them were not graduates. From this, we can determine the critical role of the education factor as a means of recognition and uplift for those with ethnic backgrounds.

55 London 2012 professionals – interviewed and from LinkedIn profiles	
Whites with non-university-level educational background, but working in a professional corporation	19
Whites with university-level educational background, working in a professional corporation	29
BAME s with university-level educational background, working in a professional corporation	7
BAME s with non-university-level educational background, working in a professional corporation	0

Table 3: Educational Background of London 2012 professionals

6.2.4 Career history

Delivering an Olympic event effectively is based on employing the different skills and expertise needed for the output of innovative products and services within fixed periods of time. The inherently complex and ambiguous nature of the tasks involved is problematic for the planning and organisation of a large-scale event. The demographic pattern of the interviewees and the results from the LinkedIn examinations revealed that more than 87 per cent of people who got jobs at London 2012 as professionals were already part of the high-skilled sectors of their professions, working in leading construction, planning, design, engineering or project management companies. In addition, 61 per cent of them had already worked on a major project such as a stadium, airport or tunnel. These results accord with Grabher and Thiel's (2015) findings, in which they draw a correlation between recruitment and previous career trajectory in terms of predecessor projects, networks and being

associated with the key organisations in particular projects. This view was echoed by many interviewees:

> *Working on Olympic is indeed exciting … I hope good things happen through this project … but was nothing out of the blue … I do the same job, maybe with more sensibility (Patel, personal communication, 26 November 2015).*

In order to react rapidly to emerging problems in mega-projects such as London 2012 there is a great need to be able to step beyond knowledge of predominantly standardised skills, applying certain qualifications which could have been obtained through 'learning by doing' (Gibbons *et al.* 1994; Grewe 2014). Additionally, many of the tasks undertaken by professionals were about dealing with complicated and complex coordination between the GLA, ODA, CLM, Transport for London, private corporations and many community organisations. This type of work required much face-to-face negotiation, rather than just carrying out a job in a routine way.

6.2.5 Career drive

Career attitudes are also a very critical measure, being considered as defining the competence for delivering a task, especially for those that are very large and complex. Programme managers always strive for a successful project and so focus on the factors that influence success. Bringing in the right "men of work" (Grewe, personal communication, 12 September 2017) as project managers is one of the key necessities in guaranteeing delivery, while the character and attitude of the project managers play critical roles.

In all cases, the informants among the professionals in the private sector reported the systematic practice of 'protean' career[9] development as their routine career approach. By comparison, the general working population at London 2012 were well established in occupational groupings and were able to effectively navigate their jobs from one project to another. In addition, most of the interviewees already had working experiences in a boundaryless career[10] or in adjusting to an unconventional career environment. They mostly

[9] The 'protean career' is one in which a person manages their own career development by: 1) monitoring and assessing the job market; 2) anticipating future developments, trends and industry shifts, 3) gaining the necessary skills, qualifications, relationships and assets to meet these shifts, and 4) adapting in order to thrive in an ever-changing workplace (Block, 2011; De Vos, 2008).

[10] Boundaryless careers, generally, are the opposite of organisational careers, i.e careers that moves across the boundaries of separate employers.

considered the mobilisation from one project to another as a strong source of learning of new skills and meeting new people. Their career visions were about being globally employable and regarded as being part of an international workforce.

Because of this attitude towards career development, and through working in flexible and dynamic work contexts, the skills and abilities of these high-skilled workers were being improved, which this has been very necessary within the multi-stakeholder projects of London 2012. It enabled the key actors to confidently navigate their project missions through the dynamic organisational environments in place using their 'soft' skills, including relationship development, team building, influencing, collaborating and negotiating.

6.2.6 Socio-demographic profile: conclusion

To encapsulate the above parameters, the combination of all the findings on personal and career characteristics provides some support for the conceptual premise about who would and would not be involved in London 2012. It also implies that the extent to which London 2012 left an employment legacy was dependent on individuals' race, nationality, locality, career attitude and job histories.

6.3 The Organisational Ecology of London 2012

A large-scale event is located at the intersection of several organisational fields (Thiel and Grabher 2015). Its structure can be understood through the logic of public and private partnership aimed at addressing both the requirements of the market-based economy and the interests of the public as taxpayers. London 2012, institutionally, was a collaborative project between Olympic permanent organisations such as the GLA and the IOC and temporary organisations such as the ODA and CLM. The ODA, a non-departmental public body, and CLM, the delivery partner, are examples of a "legal and financial entity, which dissolved upon successful completion of project goals" (Whitley, 2006). Their role was to act as organisation nodes for the collaboration of the various networks involved in putting together the delivery measures: programme management, engineering, construction and planning.

There was, therefore, a great demand for recognising the specialists needed for a mega-project of this type, because delivery was believed to be beyond the ability of a single

company's capacity (Smedley 2011, Davies and Mackenzie 2014, Raco *et al*. 2016). One of the most vital recruitment strategies was to have staff on board who were capable of dealing with stress, handling the fear of major projects, and sharing common values around 'making things happen' (Grabher and Thiel 2015; Turner and Müller, 2003).

LOCOG, which was responsible for the running of the event, was mainly involved in work that was carried out during the periods leading up to and during the Games, particularly in the six-week preparation period in the summer of 2012. These were mainly temporary jobs, often in specialist areas.

The ODA was the single delivery body responsible for creating the infrastructure for the 2012 Games, as well as undertaking some operational work while the Games were underway. The ODA itself was built from a small initial nucleus of around 70 people composed of LDA staff and members of the bidding team. After the bid was successful, this grew to around 300 people.

> *For the first 80 on board, we pulled from the internal consultancy, first from our mother company, and then we went to open market (K. Grewe, personal communication, 12 October 2015).*

The ODA staff remained relatively stable until the end of the construction work when delivering the legacy commitments including bringing the employment benefits of the Games to local Londoners, which was a task allocated to the ODA. On the other hand, at CLM the commitment was all about delivery, thus, there was considerable pull from a range of private companies whose expertise and mindset were all about taking on as many manageable, realistic and deliverable tasks, while practicing 'pragmatism' as a form of common sense.

> *Well, the idea of Olympic Games and that we can affect communities really inspired me at the beginning, but what I am practicing so far is who deploy that pragmatically … honestly what I am hearing over and over at work is pragmatism [laughing]. (Borntraeger, personal communication, 21 September 2015)*

CLM, as the largest of all the temporary organisations in the context of London 2012, reserved the position to take the 'efficient' steps needed for setting up the Olympics, while using a network of global experts and keeping the cost of human resources down. The company recruited 2,000 people for flexible contract periods and in non-hierarchical positions, to enable downgrading when needed (Smedley, 2011). Thus, due to the complicated projects that had to be set up consecutively and to very strict deadlines, a particular staff mobilisation was used in order to manage and cope with "just-in-time" issues

(Grabher and Thiel 2015, p. 6), structures and scheduling. This approach made the general workforce environment at CLM one of high turnover during the development of the Games (Grabher and Thiel 2015). However, investing in human resources for short-term work seemed to increase the risks to delivery, the project cost and the time needed, all of which could mean that the investments made would not pay off. The programme management of the Games therefore tried to minimise these risks through the creation of clear processes (Davies and Mackenzie, 2014), and focusing on each niche of the labour market to employ professionals' whose competence was proven by their expertise.

> *The management complexity driven by the need is a very critical situation that we tried to go to worldwide open market … who understand programme already, who understand a very major project documentation programming. Because it is a very different project … you have a very big budget … you do not have so much flexibility in time, to change people during this time, so it is highly critical to find people in the right place (K.Grewe, personal communication, 12 October 2015).*

On the other hand, employed professionals had to stay flexible and dynamic enough to pull together vital knowledge and capabilities from past projects (Grabher and Thiel 2015). They therefore relied on experts being provided by corporations worldwide where "the knowledge, capabilities and resources of the firm are built up through the execution of major projects" (Hobday 2000, pp. 874–875). Within this fluid and highly dynamic work environment of the Olympic projects, employees also had to keep themselves active in gathering experience and skills to work in multi-directional ways, which partly resembles the nature of boundaryless career culture:

> *It is all about being known to the work culture, rather than language or ethnicity … we have very limited time for dealing with work daily awkwardness or mentoring an individual (A. Patel, project manager, Mace Group, personal communication, 26 November 2015).*

> *You could be overwhelmed by this project's scale, its complexity and the sheer volume of things … you really have to divide it up into bite-sized chunks otherwise it would run away with you. The site is divided into a series of zones, with 'tier one' contractors looking after their own bits … learning to do your own and collaborate with others in this scale and complexity is a challenge (Payne, ODA, interview, 10 December 2010).*

In terms of the organisational ecology of the different firms and institutions involved in London 2012, it was observed that, in both the private and the public sectors, the intra-organisational structures had dual hierarchical and unboundaried characteristics. Even

within the ODA work environment, the narratives of interviewees suggest that the organisational nature was different from the classic hierarchy of public bodies. It combined legal personality, centralised authority and investor ownership with personnel who did not follow the traditional route of staying in a single company and climbing the promotion ladder. In contrast, at the ODA there was a strong sense of flexibility and dynamism in terms of their career management and learning resulting from being involved in different projects and work environments.

> *It is all about moving among the projects … knowing the team of that project and imagine yourself how you could be helpful (D.Dabasia, personal communication, 25 November 2015).*

6.4 The Recruitment Logic of London 2012 at the High-Skilled Level

Peck and Kirkbride (2001) mention the four main fears that employers tend to have when recruiting: the fear of costs associated with hiring, the fear of additional supervision and loss of productivity, the fear of not being able to dismiss if things do not work out and the fear of the employment being purely charitable and not making good business sense. However, when the interviewees were asked about their recruitment fears, the participants were unanimous in putting the cost of social awkwardness and communication in first place, with the fear of lack of necessary skills second:

> *You have to create a climate where clients, team members, sponsors and managers can communicate with clarity, deal more effectively with challenges and make committed choices to act strategically and swiftly. And you have to have the people to make this climate (D.Dabasia, personal communication, 25 November 2015).*

> *It is not just about culture or language. It is basically about understanding each other and having flowing teamwork … I have to say, for example, I did not hire a man from Wales … my team were all international, fluent in English, but we simply could not understand him because of his accent (K. Grewe, personal communication, 12 October 2015).*

Grabher comments that "the recruitment for the particular transnational major project, which is based on temporary ties but fluid within a specific community and institutions denotes also an ecology of organizational logic and individual identities, values and loyalties" (2004 p. 104).

In summary, the statements above reveal that recruitment decisions were taken based on the following criteria: having the right attitudes and work culture, great emphasis on

actional rationality within politics (Ibert 2016), and risk-taking and fear-handling capabilities when things went wrong. The reflection of this logic in the reality of the recruitment at London 2012 is discussed further in the next section.

6.5 The Reality of the Recruitment Approach

Previous studies have indicated that the preference of Olympic Games organisations was not to employ directly from the labour market but rather to hire through permanent organisations (Grabher and Thiel 2015) and project partners. The results of this research are in agreement with this view.

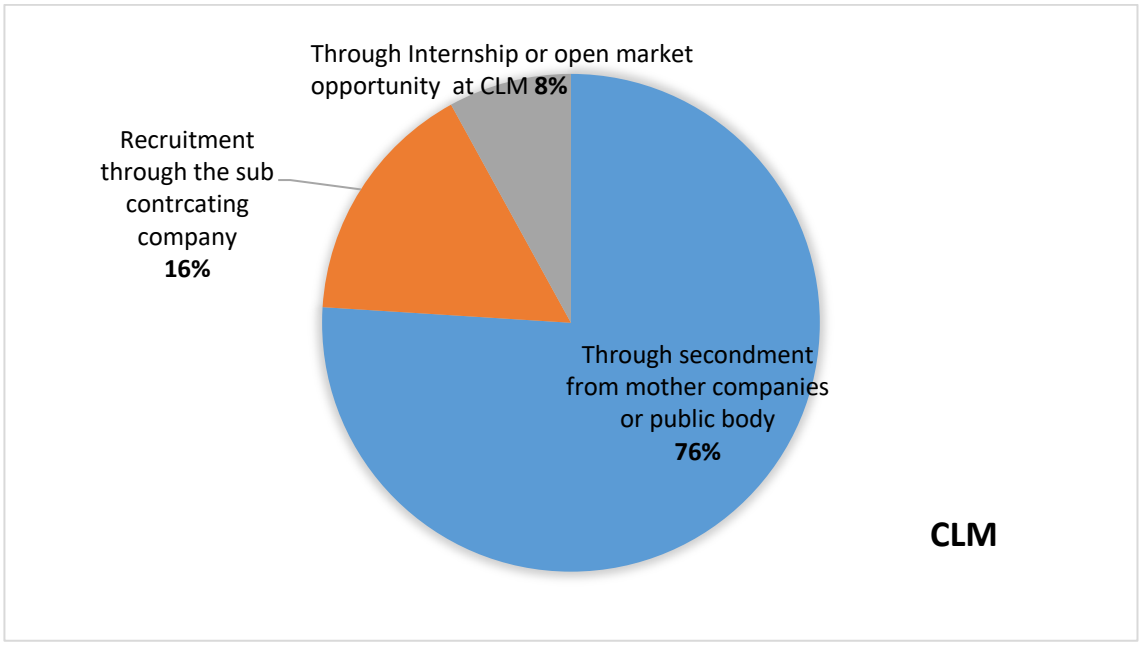

Figure 8: Trajectory of Recruitment for CLM

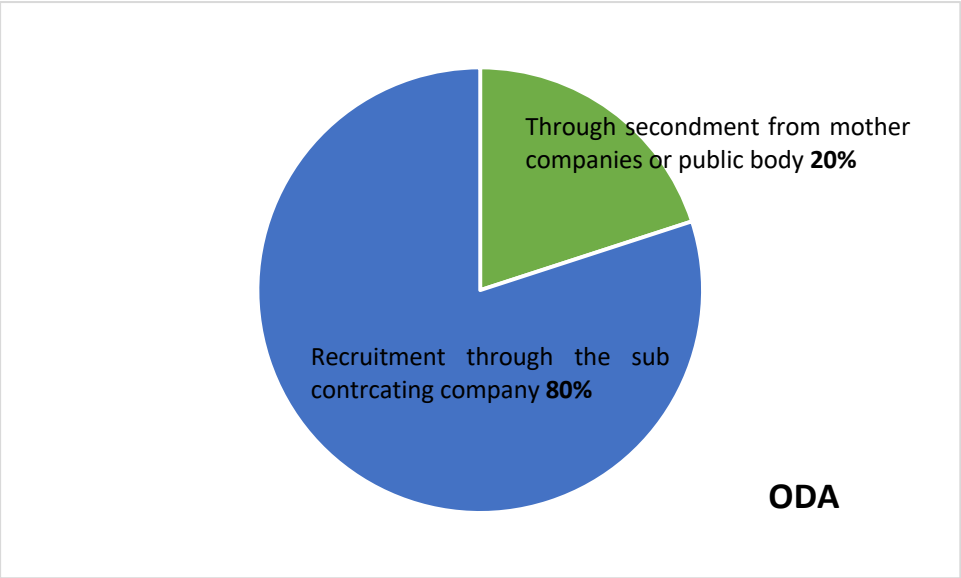

Figure 9: Trajectory of recruitment for ODA

The LinkedIn examination (Figures 8 and 9) indicates that most of the recruitment by the ODA and CLM was carried out through secondment from the mother public body or mother companies (CH2M Hill, Laing O'Rourke, Mace). However, to fill staff gaps or in specific circumstances, also they went to the open market to hire directly.

During the mass recruitment that occurred between 2006 and early 2011, the three parent firms were acting as the channel of employment for London 2012 primarily by transferring their existing staff to the Olympic project (Smedley 2011), through some of their specialised strategic partners or through the subcontractors who won contracts through the contract bidding portal.

> *It was not a programme, but was a lack of professionals … when you build up the Olympic Programme you need around 600 people who are able to manage a major project. How many just people in London was able to do?! … was 70 to 80. So then you have a gap between 200 to 280, and now you start asking companies to provide people who are able to manage a major project … but that means you get skilful people on the scale of worldwide … We asked companies to provide, but they had to put in the open market. Because the skills are something that people could not deliver, so we had to go to open market. So we had some positions that we asked directly the delivery partners (CH2M Hill, Laing O'Rourke, Mace) so they programmed to deliver the right people, but still none of us and them had that much professional in that much demand … in this context we with the mother partners pulled highly paid project specialist from all around the world (K. Grewe, personal communication, 12 October 2015).*

Therefore, as Mackenzie and Davies (2011 p. 3) have noted, "working with familiar partners" was critical in order to preserve organisational common sense and recruit those who could be considered as "enabling forces" for successful programme management (Mackenzie and Davies 2011, p. 11). In this sense, legacy values, such as 'local inclusion and diversity' or 'EU open labour market' as the bases of employment regulations, were considered as violations of the delivery promises.

> *No, there were not any policies. It was an international accomplishment so on that level there was no any specific pull on local … trying to absorb the best from the whole global labour market … just in construction site, catering, transportation, services, security…which the preference was for locally … so many went locally … like cab service, to give opportunity to smaller or local companies … But still not with a clear policy … otherwise it would be with high risk … you're not knowing what exact speciality a project needed that could be controlled by some policies … that would be too much prescription … but having a perspective would be interesting … like bringing up encouragement can change the mindset, which through this Olympics can bringing these changes as a catalyst. But without 'having to' … as with the Olympics there was not enough time, so no possibilities for taking the risk, so I prefer not to test, but rather get people who have already shown their success through the test … I accept there is this mindset and prejudice about skills, not about people (Sh. Dawson, Personal Interview, 23 November 2015)*

The interviews revealed that the recruitment process operated under the shadow of delivery concern and thus ignored the employment legacy promises. Because of the dilemma for the Olympic Games partners around delivery versus employment legacy, the focus of the delivery orientation of the private sector (London 2012 and CLM) was dynamism for a quick and flexible labour market access (Davies and Mackenzie, 2014), while the public sector avoided entering the labour market directly due to fear of jeopardising the delivery process.

In other words, the permanent organisations functioned as the workforce pool within personal networks in terms of availability and quality of the potential workforce, and as a database pool for recruitment needs as they arose (Grabher and Thiel 2015, Smedley 2011). Insisting on recruitment through a personal network of key individuals who had worked together in the past and had a mutual 'understanding of the characters involved' (Mackenzie and Davies 2011) was regarded as an external quality filter which could shorten the period of time needed for people to get used to each other (Grabher and Thiel 2015, Grewe, 2014) and fully acquire the attributes of the job. This sometimes went further, by focusing on a special enclave of qualified people that could operate globally based on their networks:

> *You get skilful people on the scale of worldwide. Which in this part you can call them minorities, but from the high-skilled sector … For example, document controlling has been all done by a Malaysian group from Bolio … project management software has been done by an Iranian group … and in this case, often minorities sometimes were very specialised in programmes because by understanding it completely, so I launched the programme using the big overview, not the details … It was sometimes like groups from different countries, or people specialised themselves (K. Grewe, personal communication, 12 October 2015)*

Within this professional niche that was considered as the human capital of London 2012, diversity was welcomed and considered a strength as long as it brought innovation and new networks from different parts of the globe. However, for the sake of project efficiency, when it brought the potential for social awkwardness, team mismatching and increasing the cost of delivery, it was strongly avoided.

6.6 Career Trajectories Resulting from London 2012

It is widely believed that being employed in a mega-event is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for developing ones professional biography, through providing new horizons of knowledge, techniques and networks (Grabher 2002). It is also considered as a momentum for boosting ones reputation and channelling ones career trajectory (Grabher and Thiel 2015). In the case of London 2012, according to its Chairman, Sebastian Coe, "Hosting the Summer Olympic Games can showcase our people's technical excellence, our ability to deliver world-class infrastructure projects and our sector leadership position" (London 2012, 2009).

According to the following up of careers after the Games, it has been found that more than half of the professionals acquired better positions after the termination of their work for the Olympic Games. This study found that 30 per cent of the sample stayed at the same level or positions in an ongoing project at London 2012, while 13 per cent of those who worked at London 2012 as high-skilled employees showed significant change in their career trajectories immediately after the Olympic project. Many of them launched their own businesses in services and consultancy, and others reoriented their professions into new specialisms by applying the knowledge, perspectives and networks they acquired through London 2012. As a result, the performance record and reputation gained through being part of London 2012 was a career boost for most of the key individuals and firms, letting them manifest "their capabilities (knowing-how); social capital (knowing-whom) and motivation and identity (knowing-why)" (Grabher and Thiel 2015, p. 3).

The findings also point to the competitive climate, mainly trans-organisationally, between one company and another. Through the high-profile, prestigious and risky nature of the Olympic Games, the companies involved publicised the capabilities of their firms and the key individuals within those firms. Thus, the trajectory of involved professionals and the industry environment as a whole has been one of selective upwards mobility for professionals in prominent and/or specialised positions as well as for the firms involved in planning, consultancy and construction.

6.7 Findings Analysis

6.7.1 Beyond the 'right time, right place'

More than half of the interviewees used the common expression of "right time, right place" to explain how they got the opportunity of working for London 2012. The demographic/social findings of this research attempts to reflect this assertion in terms of their socio-economic contexts and abilities to extract the potential privileges from the reality of their lives. It has been shown that the employment opportunities in London 2012 were very context-dependent, with high sensitivity to the matching of affinities. For instance, it has been revealed that almost all the London 2012 professionals from BAME groups had very strong educational backgrounds (Figure 6), and that they grew up in middle- to upper-middle-class white neighbourhoods. It has also been revealed that they had a very strong sense of developing a 'protean career', by taking personal responsibility for their own skills training and by channelling their careers towards new opportunities. However, having occupational ties to some critical companies working in the various London 2012 projects (such as being employed by a mother company or through a subcontractor) was an overriding factor.

It can be determined that being employed by London 2012 was related to nationality, ethnicity, locality and education, but that rather than direct conventional privileges, the culture of work and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1989) that can be extracted from the matrix of these parameters. The people who hold this culture of work and symbolic capital form a niche sector of the workforce; they are those workers who have well-proven skills in communication, are expert in project management, have connections to relevant networks ('you know who') and knowledge ('you know how'), are exceptionally able to work with different projects and motivate teams, are adept at dealing with uncertainty and abrupt risks, and are careful with time and budgets.

These people also tend to have sufficient financial and social capital to be tolerant of the job insecurity inherent within this type of project and the career risks relevant to contract

length, reputation risk, pressure handling and fear. Within this niche group, it seems that people do not look upon their work as a job or a tool for survival, but rather as a step on their career ladder, while sharing the same values of 'making things happen' in their particular path along with other members of their niche sector.

6.7.2 Pragmatic approach of the ODA

The increasing organisational complexity of the London 2012 project generated precautions about vulnerability and alerts about the high level of potential challenges. In order to prevent delivery risks, the recruitment process of London 2012 chose 'bringing the right people on board' as its main motto, in order to manage the delivery of the Games within the budgets and timescales to which it was committed. In addition, political forces and strict deadlines constrained the network of major projects to the specific loyalties of the project members, connecting them to their home organisational networks, and disconnected them from the contextual workforce of East London. In terms of the vast responsibilities the various organisations had to deliver on time and to budget, they mobilised the necessary human resources from all over the world. The recruited staff should have been mobilised externally and brought in to the inner circle of occupations within the new organisations. The great majority of the workforce, however, came from networks of reputation (Platman 2004), while occupying either a central or peripheral position within one of the London 2012 projects.

Within this ecology, in order to access expertise immediately to fulfil demands and to be flexible in terms of downsizing, the private sector of London 2012 (the CLM delivery partners) deployed temporary secondments from mother companies as their main recruitment strategy, based on department recommendation and word of mouth (Grabher and Thiel 2015). This quick, nonconventional approach for mobilising the workforce from a transnational global workforce into a large-scale single project resulted in denying people in the open labour market the opportunity develops their career trajectories within London 2012. Thus, the need to be highly cautious in employing people with 'mega-project capabilities' (Grabher 2004) and following a purely pragmatic strategy is the most valid explanation for the realities of the labour market of the London 2012 Games in terms of its organisational recruitment ecology. This reality disregarded the employment legacy commitments of 'inclusive', 'diversity' and 'English excellence'.

These findings can be understood through the work of Raco (2016), which explain the recent climate within major project consultancies. Since the tasks and commitments of mega-projects have become more complex, more experts are represented as being the only ones

who can handle them. This resembled a population which Sklair (2001) describes as 'transnational global capital'[11]: a special global class of labour that is usually found among states, corporations, technical areas and consumers, and among whom knowledge and networks flow across major projects.

In the case of the London 2012, and in the general setting of the Olympic Games, there is a strong belief among both public- and private-sector bodies that skilled and well-resourced experts can act as guarantors of quality and efficiency in development practices (Raco *et al*. 2016). The pragmatic and delivery-guarantee recruitment approach that followed from this belief resulted in an enclosed labour market that was an enclave of 'highly skilled globetrotters' (Mahroum 2000), resulting from the needs of global managers to protect their own and their companies' competence and reputations. This process eventually resulted in strong but invisible barriers being set up, and these operated particularly against East Londoners. Therefore, it can be assumed that at the high-skilled level of its workforce, the London Olympic Games institutionally alienated local people. This reflects the implications of a 'to do' management climate which, in terms of its high-skilled arrangements, considered outsiders as meddlers who not only had limited knowledge of the 'reality' of the planning process, but were also the wrong match for the whole team ecology. It also proves that the elite technocratic process of planning for mega-events sees democratic demands (included in employment commitments) as risks that threaten to delay the planning and construction processes of the event (Raco 2014, see also Andranovich *et al*. 2001, Hiller2000; Müller 2015).

6.8 Conclusion

The combination of findings provides some support for the conceptual premise that professional-level opportunities for local people were very rare, and were subject to strong competition from specialists from across the UK and the globe. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the hypothesis around prioritising elites over locals has been examined through reviewing it from within the occupational realities of London 2012 at the high-skilled level, and by exploring the causality behind these realities. At the professional

[11] Transnational global capitalist class (TCC or TNC) is that segment of the world economy that represents transnational capital, and is unconstrained by national boundaries (Sklair, 2001). The transnational capitalist class is organized in four overlapping fractions: TNC executives, globalizing bureaucrats, politicians and professionals, consumerist (merchants and media) (Sklair, 1997, p.514).

level, working for London Olympic Games 2012 meant being involved in an interwoven but dynamic network of worldwide experts in the performance of 'non-routine' tasks. Therefore, London 2012 was not only about testing the capabilities of athletes, but was also a platform for manifesting the competence of experts and firms. The exercising of extreme caution in bringing the 'right people' on board in order to avoid any delivery risks resulted in an exclusive network based on 'you know how' which was manifested as follows:

a. The risky and complicated nature of tasks meant that the emphasis was on pragmatism, and so it seemed absolutely rational to give such roles to those who had already proved themselves as having major project capabilities.
b. Protean careers and privilege: The backgrounds of professionals employed reflected socio-economic ties and matching affinities, which was more than race and ethnicity.
c. The presence of symbolic capital in the form of work culture: a sense of collective identity and group position ('people like us'), containing a strong protean career approach used to navigate the dynamic organisational environments of the Games.
d. Finally, it could be that an intention existed among organisations to support each other by conserving the work opportunities within their circle. The whole issue of individual and firms' expertise seems to have led to the reserving of the top opportunities in the various Olympic occupational sectors for stakeholders with direct beneficial connections.

Chapter 7: The Performance of Olympic Employment Programmes

7.1 Introduction

Prior discussion of employment programmes in Chapter 4 has noted that London 2012 hoped that its employment agenda would inspire and encourage workless Londoners and act as a catalyst for collaborative employment projects through public and private partnerships.

During the period between the bid and the delivery of the event, the regeneration and direct employment benefits for East Londoners were continually emphasised, with a particular focus on those people who are usually overlooked in the mainstream job market.

The literature reviewed has provided clear evidence that the legacy commitments played a crucial role in influencing the employment process at London 2012 to bring the benefits to people in the host boroughs. But what has not been demonstrated are the particular group(s) of East Londoners impacted and the types of jobs offered. The literature also revealed that the employment legacy agenda had some shortcomings in bringing jobs provided by London 2012 to the core population of East Londoners. This section places this focus on the operational processes of the various employment programmes in directing locals to the offered Olympic jobs, while concurrently providing evidence to examine the study hypothesis.

Regarding the report assessments in chapter 4, the main reasons behind these shortcomings were the vague definitions and the loose approaches used to target genuine local communities. Additionally, there was a wide belief that 'new immigrants from east Europe took the jobs instead of locals'. The hypothesis posed in Chapter 4 states that the jobs for local East Londoners were limited to low-level jobs, and there was no policy or regulation to promote inclusive recruitment. In order to examine this hypothesis, empirical studies have been conducted to address the following questions:

1. Was there any EU, national or organisational policy regulating inclusive recruitment for high-skilled jobs?
2. What was the definition of 'local East Londoners' used in the organisational context, particularly when it came to hard-to-employ people?
3. Was there any significant change in the legacy-building approach from the time of the Olympic bid through to the delivery of the Games?

Generating information to address these questions was approached through telephone interviews with two elite personnel (public body, working at the administration level for employment programmes) and two experts in the Olympic delivery sector. While the elites' interviews were short, limited to yes/ no question type, the expert interviews were part of the in-depth interviews carried out face to face. The interview subjects were:

- S. E., project manager of the Host Borough Employment Project for London 2012;
- Vicky Clarks, project manager of the London 2012 Employment and Skills Legacy project;
- Klaus Grewe, senior project manager of London 2012: CLM Laing;
- Shaun Dawson, chief executive of Lee Valley Regional Park Authority.

The data uncovered through the interviews was gathered in the format of objective facts and information which were then applied, as relevant, to the issue of the Olympic employment legacy of London 2012.

7.2 The Interviews

7.2.1 Job profiles

All interviewees identified flaws in terms of the exclusive nature of Olympic employment legacy programmes. They stated that there was no employment project or policy encouraging inclusive recruitment at the professional level. One reason attributed to this was said to be lack of proper legacy realisation and thorough insight about the skills and professional capacities of local East Londoners:

> *But now after the Games, I would say we could do that absolutely but of course with more budget for training … but I would not and I will not be open to regulation or policy rather an encouragement policy (D. Dawson, personal communication, 23 November 2015).*

7.2.2 Profile of target groups

In both of the elite interviews with the project managers who were in charge of employment programmes the respondents were very conservative, mainly repeating the content of written employment reports. But both of them accepted that at the establishing of the employment legacy agenda there was no specific categorisation of target groups or definition of who counted as 'locals'. Moreover, the emphasis of the legacy agenda on hard-to-employ people was not incorporated into the actual programmes.

As has been revealed, there was a significant concern among London residents, and in particular among East Londoners, that 'foreigners' were coming in to scoop up Olympic employment, identifying Eastern European workers as those most likely to 'take' people's jobs. The claim was recognised, and the reasons behind it were partly addressed by a respondent:

> *We put proof of address as the criteria for being East Londoners … what in many cases happened was some people with east Europe background registered their address and could entered to the job brokerage project … we were quite happy … there were many skilful machinery guys or carpenters, who made our two-week training much easier (V. Clarks, telephone communication, 16 February 2016)*

There was a strongly rhetorical environment, mainly because of political motives, which exaggerated the benefits of legacy for local people:

> *Well … it was so much atmosphere of having an inclusive legacy … and also pressure of course … if there was a single worker on machinery for example that happened to be from ethnic minority, it was a strong excitement around it, and we would put that in the report immediately, as 'done'! … 'we were inclusive' … in reality the main attention of the ODA was it should be done and it should have a good image! (K. Grewe, personal communication, 4 July 2017)*

> *But about the gender equality, we wanted someone at the senior manager of specific transportation project, and we were recommended to get women … we did not have it in our team and network, so we went to open market and we found a very good one (K. Grewe, personal communication, 4 July 2017)*

Another downside of the London 2012 employment legacy programmes was the delay in initiating the employment programmes. This delay occurred despite clear previous warnings about waiting until 2011 to set them up. Many of the contractors had already appointed their workforce before the employment programmes, such as the Host Borough Employment Project, had been developed and put in place. As a result, the success of such projects in terms of sustained employment outcomes was jeopardised through delays in engagement with the Olympic labour market.

7.3 Conclusion

This short chapter set out with the aim of assessing the Olympic employment programme processes by focusing on two main concerns: policy for high-level occupations and the definition of local East Londoners in the organisational language of London 2012. To briefly sum up the employment programmes as a whole, it can be verified that the commitment to designate some of the jobs for locals (East Londoners) was limited to low-level jobs, whereas for jobs requiring higher levels of skills, there was no encouragement or inclusiveness policy put in place by the employment legacy agenda.

In addition, the main reasons behind the shortcomings of the employment legacy agenda in targeting the traditional residents of East London with long histories of unemployment have been shown to be related to ignorance of the super-diversity of East London and its volatile dynamics. The observed problems could be attributed to delay in initiating the actual programmes and the absence of genuine study about the skills and employment capacities of East Londoners. Moreover, as delivery time approached, the organisational power shifted from government-based actors to delivery actors, as the private companies and the IOC.

Chapter 8 East Londoners as the workforce for London 2012

> *As an organization, we aim to guide our members into work. The more successful members of our community are those who have started their own businesses such as cafes and restaurants or car washes. However, all this changed when London was bidding for the Olympics. We were promised many opportunities for employment by [Sir] Robin Wales if we won the Games. We were invited to community meetings between us, the Mayor of Newham and the Olympic people. We were told that there would be free training for the unemployed that would lead to jobs in construction and not just the manual work but skilled positions too (Interview with an Albanian community organization founding member, Lindsay, 2014, p. 86).*

8.1 Introduction

The notion that the 2012 Olympic Games would act as a panacea for East Londoners' employment problems was the central rhetoric of official legacy narratives. For instance, in the aftermath of London's surprise victory in the race to host the 2012 Olympic Games, Jack Straw made the following statement in the House of Commons:

> *London's bid was built on a special Olympic vision. A vision of an Olympic Games that would not only be a celebration of sport but a force for regeneration. The Games will transform one of the poorest and most deprived areas of London. They will create thousands of jobs and homes. They will offer new opportunities for business in the immediate area and throughout London (Jack Straw, House of Commons, 6 July 2005).*

After the Games, some of the post-impact assessment studies such as SQW (2013) argued that the aspiration for the LEST 2012 Action Plan in supporting 70,000 workless London residents into employment by 2012 (20,000 in the host boroughs) had been accomplished. The number of previously workless Londoners who secured Games-related employment was estimated to be in the range of 61,750 to 76,050, with a mid-range figure of 68,900.

However, the local voices that echoed around Olympic legacy have strongly rejected this view of beneficiary legacy (Ali 2013). They have asserted that the jobs did not go to local

residents, and they feel that for young people of East London their main concern has remained jobs (Kennelly and Watt, 2012). In addition to the complaints of young people and job seekers about being overlooked at the recruitment process, Lindsay (2014) revealed that many local residents in Newham (the geographic focus of his research) refused to participate in such schemes, saying that the Olympic jobs offered were futile. The avoidance of locals from Olympic jobs has also been clearly observed during the fieldwork of this research, and will be elaborated further in this section.

In 2006, the mayor of Newham, Sir Robin Wales, predicted this result when he controversially stated that "the residents of Newham are too idle to get jobs on London 2012 projects" (Wales, Daily Mail, 2006). In contrast to the LDA and GLA's envisioning of a positive legacy for the careers of East Londoners, he foresaw that local residents would not be able to exploit these employment opportunities despite being "unemployed" or not "inclined to work"; he assumed they would not be ready for the jobs offered in terms of skills, training and the losing of council benefits.

In addressing these issues, this section first examines the meaning of the 'readiness' of the residents of the Olympic boroughs within the mainstream labour market, and then elaborates their experiences of and attitudes towards the Olympic recruitment process. It focuses on two levels of employment, high-skilled occupations for career seekers and lower-level occupations for the long-term workless. For the lower-level occupations, this chapter reflects on Lindsay's (2014) findings in Newham about jobs for workless locals, while at the high-skilled level, which is the main focus of this thesis, it investigates professional employment opportunities for the qualified workforce of East London.

The goal of this work is to generate knowledge about the way Games-related jobs were approached by different communities through their occupational trajectories and career aspirations. To do so, I first offer an overview of the labour market of East London at the time of London 2012, to specify contemporary East Londoners' prospect and aspirations. Then, I look at the way that jobs and career opportunities are contested in today's East London. The primary objective is to examine if and how local residents were ready to pursue their chances of work at the Olympic project, both before and during the Games, while offering some ethnographic analysis. Finally, I offer narratives from local people about their experiences of employment at London 2012 and the causality behind their experiences.

8.2 Overview of the Labour Market in the Olympic Boroughs

8.2.1 East London in transition

As it has been mentioned in Chapter 3, the occupational transformation of East London was from traditional working-class employment in manufacturing and warehousing, mostly male and full-time, to occupations within the retail and financial services economy, which is largely female and part-time in nature (Butler and Hamnett 2011). The result of this abrupt change has been long-term economic inactivity among great numbers of households, and an increase in informal and ethnic businesses run within the local and segregated division of labour. At the time of bidding to host the Summer Olympic Games of 2012, the eastern boroughs to the north of the river (Hackney, Tower Hamlet, Waltham Forest, Newham) were listed as the most deprived boroughs in London (IMD 2010).

Meanwhile, as property prices in London have been always been at a premium, the land formerly used by the East End's docks was not ignored. Thus, in the early 1980s, the government set up the London Docklands Development Corporation and set out plans for a new financial hub in the East End. As well as offering office space, the Docklands development became home to expensive luxury housing developments that offered predominantly private homes for those looking for more reasonably priced property (Poynter 2012). These developments were accelerated through various development plans, while in the 21st century they have been rebranded as 'regeneration' projects. For instance, the Thames Gateway, as the largest regeneration development in Europe, is targeting different aspects of spatial, social and economic deprivation from inner East London out to the Thames Estuary. East London's contemporary transformation has therefore been driven by large-scale regeneration programmes, of which the Olympic Games were seen as the accelerator and financial promoter (Watt 2013, Poynter 2012). Thus, both market forces from the private sector and the determination of London to tackle high deprivation levels in the East London boroughs provided the legitimacy for hosting the Summer Olympic Games 2012 (London Growth Boroughs 2016).

8.2.2 Statistical overview

The locality of East London is composed of four distinct areas – near East London (Tower Hamlets and Hackney), middle East London (Newham, Waltham Forest) and far East London (Barking and Dagenham). Thus, the idea of three 'economic and social ecologies' is currently conceptualised in relation to both distance from the focus of London's economic activity in the financial and technological centre, and recent urban development projects such as Canary Wharf and Hackney (UCL Institute of Education, 2017). As it has been mentioned in

methodology chapter (5), this research is focusing on near East London and middle East London (the boroughs of Tower Hamlet, Hackney, Newham and Waltham Forest). As the social profile of all four boroughs demonstrates that they continue to suffer greater social challenges in terms of homelessness, low pay, worklessness, education and within-borough inequality than other parts of London (OECD 2015).

According to ONS data from 2011, the original four host boroughs account for the greatest cluster of deprivation in England and Wales: "62.7 percent of the population are employed in the host boroughs compared with 68 percent in London; and 16.9 percent of adults in the host boroughs have no qualifications, compared to 11.8 percent in London; 33.5 percent of adults in the host boroughs have National Vocational Qualification Level Four (NVQ4) qualifications" (GLA 2011, p. 14).

Focusing on the occupational patterns in four of the Olympic boroughs (excepting Greenwich), London DataStore 2011 shows that in comparison to the rest of London, particularly affluent boroughs such as Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea, the four Olympic boroughs have a higher proportion of jobs in non-managerial occupational groups. This includes skilled trades, caring, leisure, sales and customer service workers, process, plant and machine operatives and elementary occupations (which includes transport vehicle drivers, as well as elementary roles such as security guards, storage staff, bar workers and cleaners) (Figure 10).

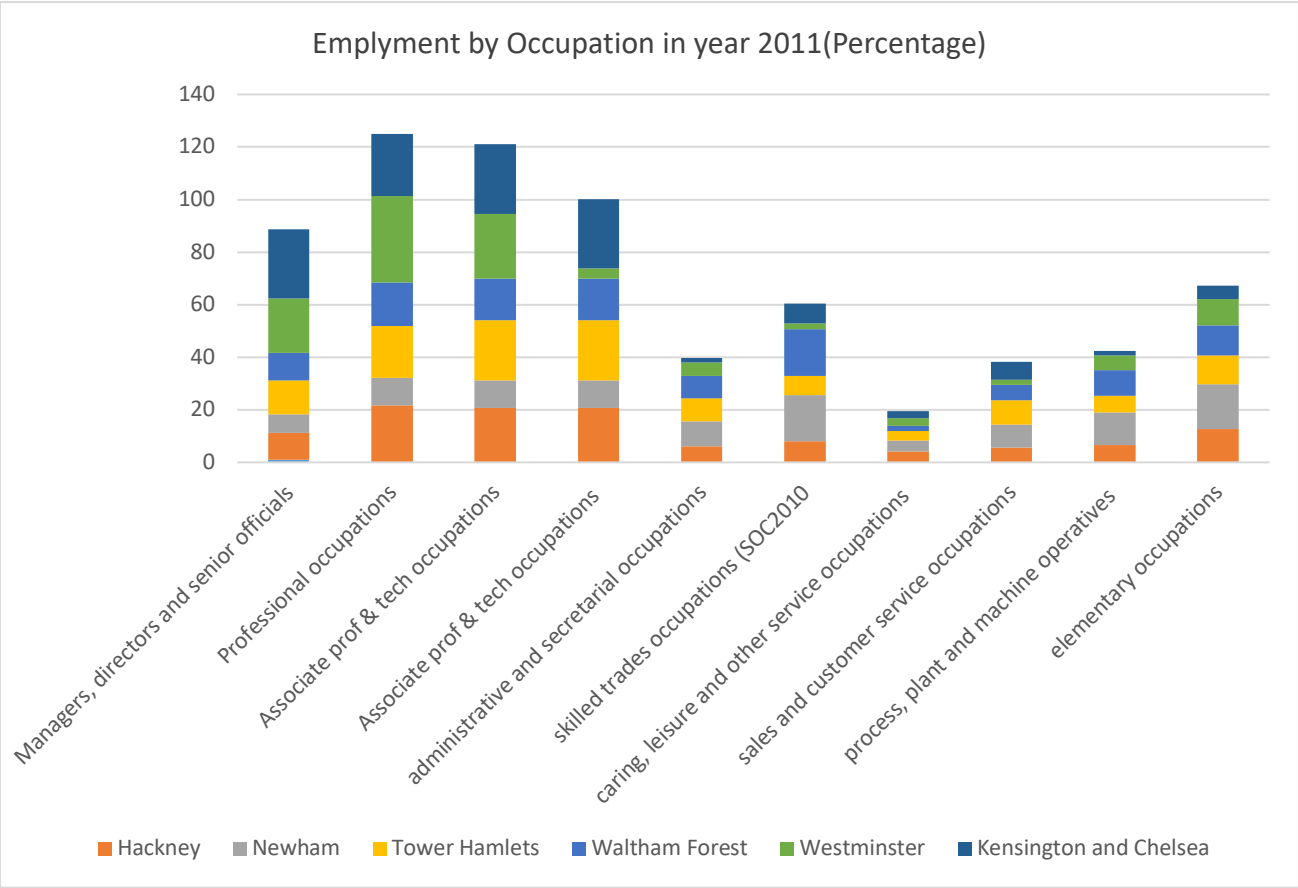

Figure 10: Occupational Pattern of four Olympic boroughs versus two affluent boroughs in London (ONS Census 2011)

In considering the Department for Communities and Local Government's interpretation of ONS census 2011, it is also critical to mention that the occupational polarisation revealed is not only between the east and west boroughs. The four East London boroughs themselves also demonstrate a notable employment pattern, by having the highest-paid jobs in the financial sector in Canary Wharf, which is located in Tower Hamlets, and in new office buildings in Hackney, while also having a large and precarious sector of elementary jobs in the outer wards of these boroughs and much of Barking and Dagenham and Newham (Figure 10).

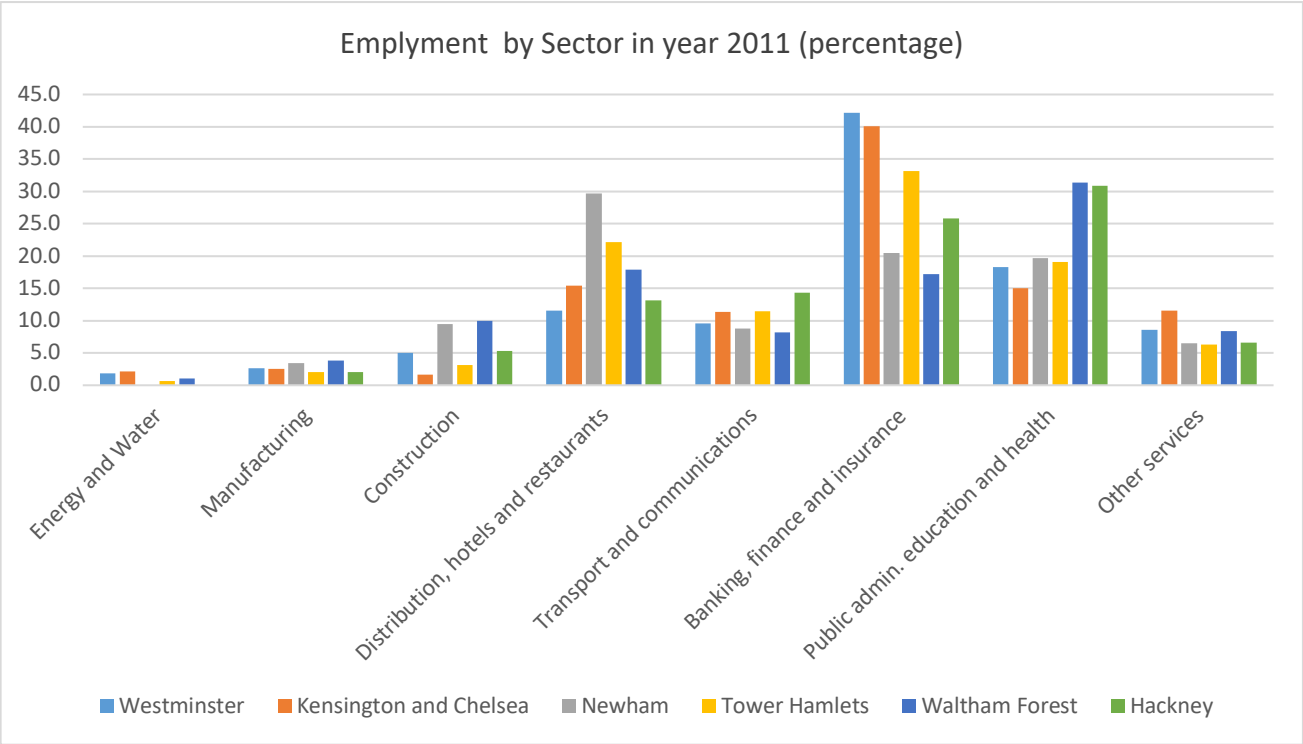

Figure 11: Employment rate by economic sector, Source: ONS Census 2011

It can be seen from the information presented in Figure 11 that, while banking is the major profession for the City of London, the four East London boroughs are heavily dependent on the public administration, education and health sectors, which grew in importance from less than 17,000 jobs in 1998 to almost 24,000 in 2010 (ONS 2011). During 2002–2008, this sector grew by over 40 per cent, while jobs in manufacturing declined noticeably (ONS 2011). Meanwhile, although the construction sector formed a very small portion of the labour market in all four boroughs it was still considerably higher in East London than in the western boroughs.

8.3 The General Barriers Facing East Londoners in the London Labour Market

The particular occupational profile of the workforce in the Olympic boroughs has to contend with a number of barriers in engaging with mainstream labour markets (UCL Institute of Education, 2017):

- Low qualifications or non-recognition of foreign qualifications;
- Poor basic employability skills;
- Poor English language skills;
- Poor employment histories;
- Caring responsibilities (particularly for the large number of lone parents in the boroughs)

- Cultural barriers to work, which are particularly pronounced among some BAME groups, notably Pakistani and Bangladeshi women;
- Health barriers – these barriers come along with institutional barriers
- The relatively widespread perception locally that there is a 'benefits trap', resulting in workless residents believing they are better off being on benefits than they would be in work.

As well as these issues, at the time of setting up London 2012 there were particular problems at the national scale, such as the UK recession, that added to the challenges of deploying the employment legacy of the Games.

8.3.1 The UK recession

During the so-called 'great recession' and its aftermath – 2008 to late 2014 – the UK's labour market performance was distinctive in its resistance to the downturn. Nevertheless, it did result in an intensification of the polarisation of the London labour market (OECD 2015) and, on average, an increase in unemployment. However, much of the employment growth which offset job losses at this time occurred in part-time jobs and self-employment, with considerable decline occurring in middle-level 'real' jobs in well-paid sectors such as finance. Within lower-sector jobs, some workers, particularly older ones, remained in precarious jobs and accepted the insecurity, lower pay and/or lower-skilled employment available rather than becoming unemployed, while younger workers opted to remain in education to 'ride out' the downturn (Coulter 2016).

Meanwhile, due to the 2008 UK recession and considerable cuts in both manufacturing and the financial sector workforces (OECD, 2015), "the gap between west and East in terms of employment got even [further] increased" (Lindsay 2014, p. 110). Although much attention has focused on high-end jobs in the City, in an economic downturn, the real human cost is likely to hit lower-skilled workers, who find it harder to move into another job because of financial and mobility limitations. In addition:

> *The graduates as the new workforce at the entrance [to the] volatile job market, witnessed the unemployment [situation] sharpening, as vacancies continued to evaporate, and competition for any job available had become fierce especially when carrying [a] disadvantageous background (Jane Will, conference lecture, 30 September October 2015).*

8.4 The Employment Legacy and the Disappointment of East Londoners

The legacy rhetoric conveyed the presumption that, when the Olympic employment opportunities were injected into these deprived boroughs, local people would grab them with both hands (Lindsay, 2014). The Olympic media coverage during the delivery period also indicated that reclamation projects would be strongly oriented towards community enhancement, and they were said to have very positive local-level support (London 2012, 2011). But, aside from these stakeholders' claims, the proportion of occupational gains going to local East Londoners, from the beginning of the bid onwards, was considered with scepticism, particularly when it came to high-skilled positions (Poynter and MacRury 2009, The Guardian, 2008, BBC News 2012). This cynicism was hardened by aftermath studies which indicated that the career legacy of London 2012 was either not reaching local people at the expected level or was not, in fact, what local communities had envisioned (Raco and Tunney 2010, Lindsay 2014, Ali 2013). The empirical part of this research, including on-site interviews, was not able to find a single case of an East London resident working in skilled position (technicians, managerial, supervisory) in the Olympic projects. At the non-skilled (security, catering) and semi-skilled (machinery) sectors, according to Lindsay (2014) and Kennelly (2016), the jobs and legacy did not meet the needs of the core part of the boroughs' populations.

The objective of this part of the research is to understand the disappointment of local East Londoners encapsulated in the attitude of 'the London Olympic Games 2012 happened here, but its jobs were not for us'. It focuses on the occupational trajectories and job aspirations that locals were hoping to pursue on the platform of London 2012. Hence, its approach is rooted in the amalgamation of attitudes, qualifications, job values and desired activities featured in these issues.

8.4.1 Qualifications

Qualifications are the central determinant of an individual's ability to access employment, with individuals with higher qualifications having higher employment rates, and those with no qualifications being at greater risk of being out of work (Berthoud 2003).Figure (12) shows that the proportion of people with higher-level qualifications (at NVQ4 and equivalent) is much lower in the four Olympic boroughs in comparison with the more affluent boroughs, while the proportion of people with no qualifications (20 per cent) or other qualifications (24 per cent) is much higher.

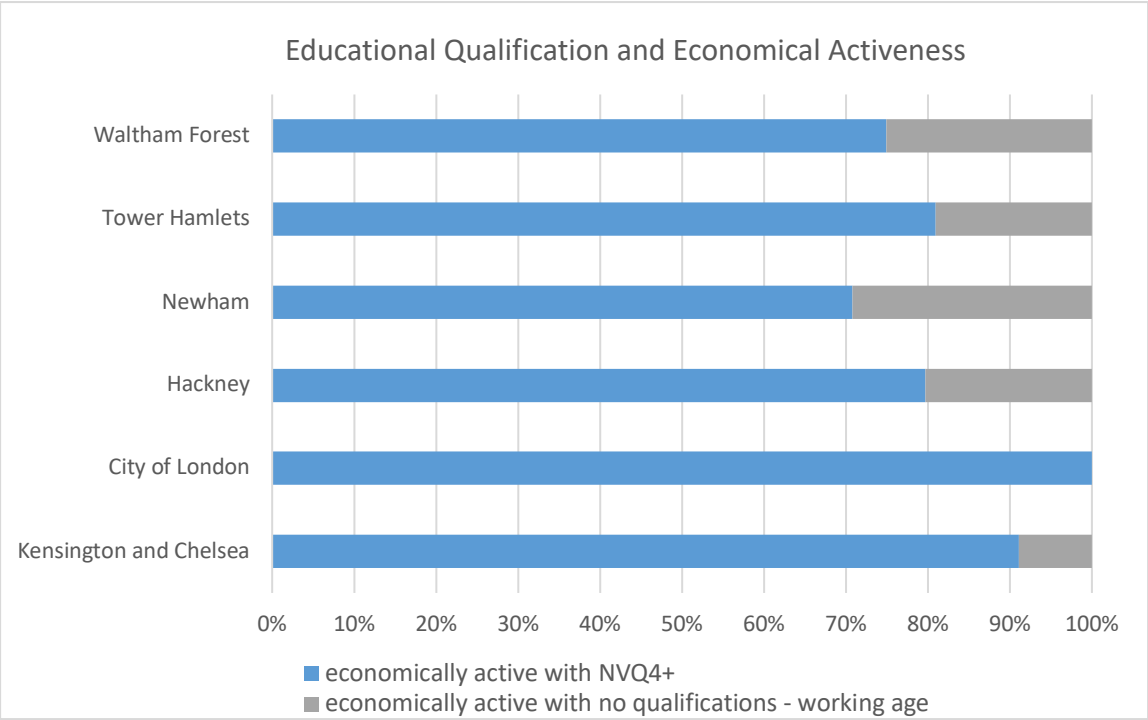

Figure 12: Educational Qualification of economically active people in East London boroughs versus more affluent western boroughs (ONS Census 2011)

Correspondingly, in terms of education the eastern boroughs differ in significant ways to London-wide patterns. According to Figure 12, the most deprived borough in terms of education is Barking and Dagenham, but overall there is a large gap between the four eastern boroughs and rich western boroughs such as Kensington and Chelsea.

Additionally, according to the Annual Population Survey of 2010, above-average levels of joblessness occurred in black, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian groups which, from the mid-1970s until 2008, had had higher worklessness levels in comparison to other groups and to white British residents. The lower levels of qualifications found in parts of these communities explain the 20 per cent employment gap between Pakistani/Bangladeshi and white groups. The pattern of these findings has been already emphasised by Meadows (2008) and Tackey *et al.* (2006) as a problematic issue among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, in comparison with Indians who have higher levels of education.

This issue was elaborated through the empirical results of this study. Through the interviews with locals, it was perceived that some regarded qualifications as the tool for social status progression rather than for accessing work. During the London Olympic Games, many of the East London job seekers used their educational backgrounds for their 'profile marketing', but the jobs they were looking at were entry-level positions which did not require formal qualifications.

I have a BSc degree; I registered to a catering agency which apparently had the contract with Olympic … I got something there, and I am still working there … my cousin though, still a job seeker … she got her degree for almost a year! (Khadijah, young Bangladeshi woman in Newham, personal interview, October 2014)

Where lack of qualifications does stifle progression and lead to a failure to progress, some felt this led to lower retention and job churn (Sissons 2010).

Meanwhile, the construction sector has also become more competitive due to employers favouring applicants with qualifications combined with experience (UCL Institute of Education 2017). There has therefore been a belief among some young people from East London that when there is a lack of trust in the abilities of potential employees, a degree can significantly compensate.

8.4.2 Occupational motives

8.4.2.1 Long-term unemployment

The 'discouraged worker' hypothesis (Van Ham *et al*. 2001) suggests that job-seeking activity is sometimes reduced when individuals feel that their chances of finding a job within a reasonable length of time are low. Periods away from the labour market are associated with lower self-esteem, anxiety and depression. And while worklessness is associated with negative psychological effects and feelings of alienation, in areas with high levels of worklessness, being out of work can become habitual and even "a basis for personal identity" (Ritchie *et al*. 2005, p. 9). Lack of aspiration, motivation and confidence arising from long-term unemployment were commonly cited by some officials, such Sir Robin Wales, Mayor of Newham, as the major barriers preventing people from taking up training courses, from applying for jobs and from portraying themselves in the most advantageous light during job interviews. Therefore, this lack of demand is often offered up as the most important barrier to labour market participation: low levels of demand results in high levels of worklessness (Beatty *et al*. 2009).

According to one of the interviewees, who are working in Local Authority of Tower Hamlet, it has been believed that there was not enough aggregate demand in the borough. As well as the jobs coming through the Olympic Games, there were other new job opportunities from the gathering pace of new retail opportunities opened up, for example, at Westfield shopping centre. He also claimed that the entry-level jobs were filled very quickly with people from outside of the borough, whereas more skilled positions were filled at a more moderate pace as local resident were less likely to possess the requisite skills. Therefore,

it implies that the boroughs needed to provide additional entry-level jobs to bring about a better balance in the labour market. Large numbers of jobseekers were only qualified for entry-level positions which therefore puts pressure and congestion on this part of the labour market.

> *My father's local sport shop is losing to the Westfield, we do not have any customer anymore, we are going to shut it in two to three months. But do you think I will find a job in a sport shop in Westfield?! (with displease smile). No, I won't. (Mustafa, a Pakistani boy in Leytonstone, personal interview, 10 November 2014).*

8.4.2.2 Career seekers

For those with better skills or higher levels of education, the Olympic Games could have been considered as a career booster rather than as just a place for finding a job. But what has been observed among them was a strong climate of 'get your head above water', and 'grab the most robust rope to rely on'. Therefore, work stability, job security, wages and unemployment protection were the most important career issues, while an innovative environment, job satisfaction and less hierarchical structures did not have a role within the career aspirations and values people held. This inclined them to take taking cautious steps, and may explain their reluctance to direct their careers into innovative industries, start-ups or to founding their own entrepreneurial enterprises, as they were avoiding any risks in performing their jobs and proving their skills. In comparison, according to McRobby (2011) this tendency changes considerably when it comes to young whites of the same financial class as BAME people, particularly in the Hackney part of East London.

> *"My cousin got a job in local authority here in Tower Hamlet…my family invested a lot till I got graduated with management degree. I do not know how to get a job similar to his. He has easily got his mortgage, got his apartment. Married…. I am sending 10 applications a day for 6 months…for any opening in any boroughs…. working at the Olympic? That would be ridiculous to think about. I am not that ambitious, or delusional, also I did not find any Olympic related job advertisement on the internet. I am not sure if the jobs got publicly advertised." (Jalal, Personal communication, 17 November, 2015).*

8.4.3 Career cautiousness

The findings show that the central rhetoric for East London workers is job security, because they consider themselves very vulnerable to having to bear the costs of temporary joblessness. For instance, when entering the mainstream labour market, people with

immigrant backgrounds need extra profile promotion, which many of them considered financially and socially beyond their means.

> *I was an engineer in India, now I work as a management assistant in Blacks store, they are closing now and I am going to jump to another company. meanwhile I have registered myself as 'removalist', also on the evening I help my wife with her bakery next to our place … see I have no time to look around for next big things or to know what Olympic is about … I lost my life, I know but I have two kids … they would have life (Siraj, Newham, personal communication, October 2015)*

Therefore, the career in East London for skilled workers translated as a job to live life. This behaviour changes when for example people with ethnic background locate themselves in the migrant or ethnic economy. While in the ethnic economy they behave more agile, as professionals or traders, who can trade and negotiate in different languages and cultures and mastering their everyday business risks (Hall 2015). From the perspective of Bourdieu's enterprise, it seems that they have habitus in the field of migrant streets, but when they enter the mainstream labour market, they lose it. And that has made them to act very cautious and not ambitious to peruse the Olympic job opportunities.

8.4.4 Social networks

Recent research on job-seeking strategies in an area of high unemployment found that personal contacts were rarely used by long-term unemployed people to look for work (Lindsay 2009), as living in an area of high worklessness can in itself reduce the number of employed people within an individual's social network (Social Exclusion Unit 2004).

Among skilled career seekers, it was found that a lack of references had been a problem for many interviewees in enabling them to get through the 'narrow funnel' of initial selection. Another key element of being outside appropriate social networks was that people did not have the connections needed for hearing about and responding to employment opportunities (Wilson 1996).

8.4.5 Discrimination

It is important to consider that it is likely that refugees and migrants, and other ethnic minorities, albeit possibly with work experience and/or appropriate qualifications, remain excluded from the labour market because of more general employer discrimination (Heath, Rothon and Kilpi 2008). For instance, studies have shown that employers have concerns about employing Pakistanis and Bangladeshis for religious reasons, or because they think

they would take longer to train up for the job, or for fear that they would not fit in with other workers (Tackey *et al*. 2006). The 2006 London School of Commerce/LDA report on targeting worklessness in London found that employers admitted that, although they did not discriminate directly against people from BAME groups, their HR infrastructure was often insufficient to ensure that discrimination did not take place inadvertently. Moreover, in a recent field experiment by Wood *et al*. (2009), job applications from ethnic minorities were likely to be treated significantly less favourably than those from white job applicants. Other forms of discrimination may also be playing out.

Therefore, for the disaffected youth of East London life was bleak, and the demographics of the boroughs, highlighted earlier, strongly point to the typical image of the urban 'underclass'. The applicability of the urban underclass conceptualisation of East Londoners can be illustrated through exemplifications of this gender-differentiated group in which young male members have been described as aggressive, criminally inclined 'gang-bangers' and young females as benefit-reliant, lazy 'welfare mothers' (Lindsay 2014). Therefore, in the specific context of London 2012, there was a constant renegotiation of locality, ethnicity and symbolic status between people and opportunities.

8.4.6 Different channels of information

During the fieldwork in the Olympic boroughs, a distance was observed between the people of the boroughs and some aspects of the mainstream London media. It has been determined that local East Londoners, especially ethnic minorities, used different channels of information from many west Londoners. Through the systematic observation carried out and an interview with an Evening Standard distributor, it was found that readership of local daily newspapers, such as the Metro and Evening Standard on the tube, was very low among ethnic minorities. Moreover, all the TVs at the ethnic minority shops and local businesses visited were tuned to their home-country programmes. This phenomenon implies a barrier to percieve their environment, which could help to explain the claims of many interviewees that they did not even know about Olympic employment programmes. However, at the group interview in the Central East London Mosque in Whitechapel, most of the regular attendees were aware of Olympic job and housing opportunities, which indicates that their ties to their mosque as a community centre were compensating for their lack of access to mainstream channels of information.

8.5 Workforce Groups and Their Career Mobilisation

At the very beginning of the post-Fordism era, the East London working class and its close-knit occupational niche played a key role in both challenging and transforming the relationship between the state and its working-class citizens. Because of the permanent closure of Dockland and the relevant manufactures, and as the consequence, large numbers of unemployment, the labour market changed toward a particular structure that only a welfare state and nationalisation of every part of its economic infrastructure could offer (Hamnett and Butler 2007). This led to the market economy and capital agreeing to the state funding that resulted in supporting those who lost their jobs. A great part of this people could never effectively re-enter the formal labour market. This resulted in long-term economic inactiveness for many of the white working class and ethnic migrants. While some of the ethnic groups who set up their own niche economies.

Through the case-study approach, this study has classified the different experiences of East Londoners around London 2012 into specific categories from 2005 onwards, while remaining fully aware of the highly diverse society of East London, especially regarding ethnicity, race and nationality. The fact that local people were not gaining employment prompted this part of the study to question the nature of employment aspirations and habits, rather than simply criticising residents for being lazy (Daily Mail 2006) or pointing to the insincerity of Olympic promises (Games Monitor 2007). The main data is primary data acquired through empirical study undertaken in the form of local interviews in the Olympic boroughs using face-to-face interviews and a questionnaire survey with 85 people in four boroughs: Waltham Forest, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Hackney.

8.5.1 Ethnic minorities

Ethnic Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and Africans are most likely to experience persistent poverty (Understanding Society 2011) and occupational segregation. By looking at the industrial sectors of those in employment, it is clear that these groups have mainly concentrated their employment routes in the wholesale and retail sectors, with males additionally concentrated in the hotel and restaurant sector (Salway 2008). As elsewhere in the UK, Pakistani men are particularly involved in mini-cabbing, Bangladeshis are concentrated in restaurants and Kosovan Albanians in construction. This pattern can be due the fact that these are large employers offering entry-level jobs requiring few qualifications (Salway 2008).

The slightly higher percentage of women of these groups working in education may reflect the popularity of working as teaching assistants, a job with hours that are compatible with

looking after school-age children. However, it is critical to consider the employment challenges for these groups of religious segregation, a situation which continues to affect Muslim workers in the mainstream market. However, because of the dynamic of the ethnic economy of East London, the population with a background from Commonwealth countries (except black Caribbean) has a much lower percentage of economical inactivity in comparison to traditional white working class and black groups of East London (Bhachu 1991).

The majority of ethnic minority groups, particularly in East London, have long been at the bottom of the occupational and income ladder, but according to Butler and Hamnett (2011) and Salway (2008), this is now beginning to change. The new generation of ethnic communities and those with immigrant backgrounds are attempting to examine new directions for their career destinies while maintaining their ethnic local networks and capital. They are the generation that has been introduced to all the limitations of working in the traditional ethnic economy in terms of salary and social success.

Their appreciation for education as the key to occupational success and economic mobility has resulted in recent upward movement within the social ladder of East London. In this respect, they have joined the white professional classes in recognising education as the key to being successful in social position and career. They consider educations as the only option for an individual taking the first step towards leaving the ethnic economy and joining the mainstream London labour market. Thus, members of the new high-skilled workforce from ethnic minorities of East London, mostly with English as their mother tongue, are aspiring to professional and managerial jobs. They are generally more highly education and skilled than their parents and grandparents, but they have a tangible sense of living in poverty, residing in social housing and experiencing social discrimination, and this has made them ambitious about working in the mainstream economy of London.

According to the Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2010), job seekers with an immigrant background are much more flexible in terms of job type and career choices, and that is the reason they have a greater chance of finding a job compared to their white male counterparts. However, this research argues that when choosing between different job offers, the ethnic minority residents of East London most probably go for the more stable job, even if it is less favourable in other ways. It has also been observed that ethnic minorities are searching for jobs in different parts of the British labour market than their white male counterparts. They look for jobs in IT, administration, engineering, and are less interested in construction and consulting jobs.

Their criteria for a 'good job' may be shaped during their early childhood (Dustmann and Theodoropoulos 2010). For instance, they have a positive view of working in big organisations and companies, which as a result inclines them to the big companies and big names in the labour market. In comparison, young white people from middle-level families are more eager to work as freelancers (Tanti 2015). The career vision for ethnic minorities has been described as 'doctor, lawyer, or engineer'. Thus, among the interviewees there are strong statements of doubt about looking for a job in construction due to the stigma around working on construction sites, this being a form of 'labour working in the dust'.

> *If am going to do a manual job in a dirty place, I prefer in my cousin's supermarket (Shah, Newham, personal communication, October 2014)*

When it comes to the occupational aspirations of many ethnic minority people, many hold a traditional vision for their careers, such as working as a manager in a big company and gradually climbing the hierarchical ladder. However, when asked about applying for Olympic jobs, they mostly claimed that they were too prestigious and that they knew they would not be accepted, as they needed extensive professional experience. Consequently, they saw themselves as so far away from the required criteria that applying for Olympic jobs was unrealistic and time-consuming.

> *I am very waiting to finish this master's and being always in a suit … you know what I mean? (Saqib, Waltham Forest, personal communication, October 2015)*

Therefore, the ethnic minorities residing in East London who are taking their first steps in the mainstream labour market as high-skilled workforce have very orthodox visions for their careers. They aspire to be employed in the most secure jobs and prestigious positions as possible, while job satisfaction and high pay are lower priorities for many. Hence, in general, since they have observed and have close experience of living in 'survival mode', they have considerable antipathy to acting ambitiously in their career paths. While many new white middle-class people were not interested in working in huge businesses such as the Olympic-related companies, the ethnic minorities considered these Olympic jobs as being unreachable, and not fitting their visions about work.

> *I am civil engineer … but jobs at Olympics … of course not … what are you thinking?! We Newhammers have nothing to do with Olympics … I was lucky enough I found a place in my father's firm (Saleh, Waltham Forest, personal communication, October 2014*)

They believe that although they are educated, their backgrounds (as the measure of discrimination) disqualify them from success, in the sense of the signals they give in

everything they do and say making them unsuitable for higher positions. Consequently, those with ethnic minority backgrounds more or less expect failure. It is tempting to think that personal characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and disability are no longer impediments to recruitment in contemporary society, but despite anti-discrimination legislation, it is clear that these impediments still play a role, particularly in certain sectors (Lindsay 2014). The educated children of ethnic minorities were aware of the fact that they could easily be considered to be socially awkward in particular labour markets such as the 'up-tight' Olympics.

> I have the international Politic from the UEL…for the last three months I applied for 560 Jobs…from the most of them did not hear anything…I have a job for two days a week as zero contract which hardly covers my living till the end of the week …It is a long time I have not thought about ambition or any long term plan as 'career'…through these job applications, I remember there were some related to the Olympic, even I went for an interview for one…but did not get a reply…I heard 2000 applied but 500 short listed!! So what would be a chance for me?!(Arli, mix of Caribbean black and British Black, 20th October 2014)

8.5.2 White working class

The white working class were the population who resided in East London as the workforce of the Docklands and factories. While before the Thatcher era there was seen to be a nobility to the working classes, after the great economic transformation of London and the closure of the Docklands, there was a big shift in working-class aspirations and economic success. Some of them, through the capital growth seen by white Londoners in the 20th century, could move up the socio-economic ladder and make the dream of having a house in the country a reality, which resulted in a great number of households moving out of East London towards Essex (Butler, 2013).

The movement of this white British population has often been characterised as 'white flight', which process is also seen as the indigenous population being forced out of their neighbourhoods by foreign migrants. That might have been part of the story: "actually those who could get out have already left, joining an expanded middle class, and those left behind have become the underclass: ugly, obnoxious, feckless and amoral" (The Guardian 2008).

> *Everyone knows that if there are jobs going over here, the English do not need to apply. (no name, personal communication, November 2011).*

For many white British households, who once were known as part of the 'heroic' working class "the 2000s had left them without a job but with a sizeable chunk of capital in their

home" (Easton, BBC, 2013). Some had also benefited from redundancy pay-outs and pension deals offered by Ford. However, the majority of those who stayed in East London did not benefit from the property boom in the way many other inner and outer boroughs enjoyed. Instead, they now experience the worst levels of unemployment and lack of skills in the four Olympic boroughs.

> *I hear words like multiculturalism and community and I think it's nonsense. We are in an area that has massive unemployment and that is about to become overcrowded and you feel ostracised. People like me feel like they are being forced out (BBC, 2016).*

8.5.3 The new white middle class

> *I am an architect and job seeker…of course I want a job to feel a bit innovative…but my interest has nothing to do with a big construction companies and LLDC that are relentlessly bashing forward into this area with their giant cranes (Matthew, White British, Hackney Wick, personal commutation, September 2016)*

At the time of bidding for the Olympics, the new sector of white middle classes residing in East London comprised the surviving white working class who could push up economically and culturally into the middle class. Additionally, there were some high-skilled workers (managers or freelancers) who were unable to afford the areas gentrified in the 1980s and 1990s but were unwilling to move further out to the suburbs, and so moved into East London (notably Victoria Park in Hackney) (Lindsay 2014). Among these new white middle-class groups, the career path tends towards setting up business partnerships or to pursuing careers in creative industries, particularly among young whites in Hackney (McRobbie 2016). This group can be regarded as the social class with a strong 'protean' career sense, who keep up in their occupational trajectories despite holding insufficient material assets.

> *It has been three years since I moved from west London to Hackney … I got my MBA at Westminster University … I am Dutch and with this job condition I knew I would have no chance … but here I do not feel the pressure of being part of London rush world … I have started this café with homemade snacks in Hackney … it's quite new and things going well so far … Olympics? I knew it coming but nothing to do with someone like me (Caro, Hackney, personal communication, September 2015).*

> *I am here for 25 years, with other resident make a lot of documentary on this ignored but charming area. Recently it is not ignored anymore, big things are coming*

> *… I do not like them … I had already escaped from this big thing (Zoei Hackney, personal communication, September 2016)*

This social class is differentiated from the traditional white working class, for whom the profound economic and social change of recent years has increased their isolation and fear and this in turn has lowered their participation in new careers.

8.5.4 Eastern people but not East Enders

Since the 1990s, there has been a flow of immigrants from eastern Europe. Many came from the Eastern European countries of the EU who from 2004 led a major wave of people seeking residence in East London. By reviewing the public press and literature, it can be seen that many shortcomings in Olympic employment programmes have been justified by accusing other parts of East London society, such as: 'the east Europeans came from outside and grabbed the opportunities', and 'newcomers got the jobs'.

This belief is also supported by politicians (for instance the Mayor of Newham, Sir Robin Wales) and the media, who provided easy-to-follow narratives that blamed both local people and foreigners for these construction jobs not being filled by local residents. Apparently, since the Olympic Park was the largest construction site in Europe during the Olympic delivery years, it attracted many immigrant workers seeking employment. But what Lindsay (2014) revealed anecdotally was that the mass recruiting of eastern Europeans was due to them displaying the attitudes and skills that firms wanted. They were also used to poor wages and long hours in their native countries, especially on construction sites. These perceptions were also confirmed by Olympic delivers:

> *The carpenters … and people in heavy machinery … very professional that we did not need to provide any skill training for them … of course we went for them … also was not any policy as long as their home address was from East London … so basically, we did not do any violation of the local recruitment motto (K. Grewe, personal interview, 12 October 2012)*

Since for the diverse population of the area, the length of stay is one of the most important criteria in considering someone local, the newcomers from east Europe were known by both traditional whites and ethnic communities as white Easters but not East Enders (Lindsay, 2011, 259). These newcomers were the most recent concern for the old local East Londoners, who considered the new migrants their number one rivals for employment opportunities. However, half of them were in the second-lowest skills category, which includes administrative and secretarial, sales and customer services, etc.; the rest were in

the lowest 'elementary' occupations, including the most basic occupations such as cleaning and fruit picking (ONS, 2011).

> *I live with another Lithuanian man in a room in Newham…If I just had one university certificate from here, If I could just speak English like them (showing people of street from the Bus window) I would find a job at Olympic immediately. The minimum wage, health and safety, and 'the rules' in general exist only for natives. Not for a man just arrived with nothing. (Andri, Lithuanian, Bus number 147, Personal communication, 5th November 2015)*

The general attitude towards east European workers among both residents and recruiters was that although the Eastern European workforce did not have English language proficiency they were mostly economic migrants and so did not have access to social benefits. They were thought of as highly motivated and hard working. In addition, as there was a considerable problem in matching local skills to the specialist requirements of the construction period, many skilled workers such as Polish plumbers (Lindsay 2014) were simply the workforce responding to the insufficient time available to train skilled workers here.

> *Well … we prioritised the locals of each borough for our programmes according to their address registration. But what happened was that many, well mostly originated from one of the Balkan country could register their address in that area, so they were eligible to apply for the job … we were also happy … some were very experienced in working with machinery (CEQ, operational manager of CEA, personal interview, February 2016).*

Consequently, the disappointment and anger were spread across local groups within the diverse demography of East London, while the worst levels of disappointment were among traditional white residents who they believed they were at the end of the queue for accessing the new opportunities of London 2012 (Lindsay, 2014).

8.6 Conclusions

The segregation between 'Olympic' and 'non-Olympic' in East London in terms of job opportunities cannot be understood without taking into account the inclusion/exclusion, identity and career ideology differences between official Olympic bodies and local East Londoners. According to the narratives of the people of the four Olympic boroughs about how they envision their occupational trajectories, it can be concluded that what London 2012 employment legacy rhetoric promised had little plausibility in relation to these communities' abilities and aspirations.

In effect, this injection of opportunities into 'growth borough' communities required local people to participate in intense job hunting, being willing to gamble their 'habitus' for capital. This gambling was predicated upon the belief that local people would consider the probability that investing in this gamble, such as learning a new skill or changing career trajectory, would be likely to improve their standing in the fast-changing field of Olympic delivery in East London. However, it has been evidenced that many local East Londoners, due to the UK recession and long experience of poverty and exclusion in East London, had set their career aspirations on 'survival mode'. They did not even consider applying, either to avoid the possibility/likelihood of failure, or because they simply could not afford to lose benefits.

Therefore, in reality, many locals lacked the 'habitus' to understand the 'doxa' required to benefit from Olympic opportunities during the short time they were available. Because of this, it seems unrealistic to expect them to be ambitious and act as the labour supply for Olympic jobs. For many of those interviewed for this research the management jobs at the Olympic project were interpreted as 'too ambitious to be for us' and hence applying would have been 'delusional'. Hence, the beneficiary image of Olympic employment seems to have been built upon premises that held little or no resonance for local East Londoners.

For instance, in the lower-skilled sector, if people are going to gamble and risk their social benefits in learning the skills needed and hunting for jobs, it is better to have a permanent job in mind. In addition, in the professional sector, although many showed awareness and endorsement of organisational power and hierarchies, still the Olympic organisations seemed too prestigious, and overcoming the barriers of subtle discrimination seemed unfeasible.

Moreover, during the UK recession and in the volatile labour market of London, working in high-profile Olympic positions for people who had been in 'survival mode' for a long time was not attractive, and indeed felt rather intimidating. As a result, there was a pervasive sense of separation from the Games, which may have been cultivated not only in the exclusiveness of Olympic labour market, but also in its position as a 'golden and intangible' thing.

So, to conclude, residents in host boroughs faced many sorts of capital barriers to working in Olympic-related jobs in terms of locality, financial ability to accept risk, attitude, social networks, ethnicity and symbolic culture. This great lack of capital made the Olympic project at the centre of Stratford what Bourdieu would recognise as an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The London Olympic Games 2012 was a major sporting event that brought together a variety of resources and integrated them according to the concurrent dual dedications of achieving efficiency (delivery) and sustainability (legacy). The delivery aspect established a technocratic mechanism with high levels of expertise which was intended to reduce risk and prevent 'meddling' by those who were considered to lack of knowledge about the reality of the project. At the same time, and within the super-diverse reality of London, which was accompanied by high levels of socio-economic inequality, the legacy of London 2012 was presented to East Londoners as providing momentum for their pursuit of opportunities and realisation of aspirations. The rhetorical of the legacy agenda delivered the conviction that hosting the London Olympic Games 2012 could be the chance to initiate a new episode in local East Londoners' career trajectories and to provide a platform enabling them to integrate into London's mainstream economic flow.

The purpose of the current study has been to examine this undertaking by investigating the reality and causality of the employment legacy that the London Olympic Games 2012 brought to East London. In this thesis, the broad concept of employment has been structured into two categories: lower-level jobs including catering, security and machine operation, and high-skilled 'career' roles such as project managers, IT experts, planners, etc. The findings are collected in a way that shows how each of these employment categories sourced their workforce at the platform of London 2012 and what was the status of East Londoners in this staffing process.

Literature was reviewed to elucidate a) the nature of employment at mega-events (Chapter 2), b) the socio-economic character of East London and its potential as the employment supply for London 2012 (Chapter 3) and c) the policies and programmes of London 2012 for inclusive employment legacy (Chapter 4). Three hypotheses were drawn from these areas of literature analysis and these formed the basis for the design of the research methodology (Chapter 5). The results of the research are revealed as the findings presented in Chapters (6), (7) and (8).

9.2 Findings

Hypothesis One: The first hypothesis drawn referenced the dynamic between delivery and legacy aspects of the London Olympic Games 2012. It assumed that after winning the bid for hosting the 2012 Games, the significant necessary for the meeting of a strict deadline would have deviated the entire Olympic agenda towards the delivery aspect in expense of Legacy commitment.

The findings of Chapter 6 support this premise. Under the shadow of project complexity and strict deadlines, there was a strong risk-cautious climate within the delivery process of London 2012. Consequently, the private sector was able to rationalise their highly selective recruitment approaches as 'bringing the right person on board'. Moreover, working at an Olympic Games was considered as a showcase for professional competence, so the worldwide competition for these jobs was extreme. On the other hand, the nature of the jobs offered was recognised as being composed of 'non-routine' tasks, the contracts were temporary and short term, while they featured a large proportion of intra-organisational secondments. Taken together, it can be concluded that London 2012 formed an exclusive network of 'you know how' workers who had already proved their capabilities in major projects and had protean career drives which allowed them to flow easily between projects and firms.

The implication of this result affirm the rational model of Ibert(2015) about enhancement of action rationality over decision rationality, due to the increased complexity and uncertainty and the high potential for losses. Especially when it is about the intangible and soft legacies, few alternatives would remain within this ambivalence. In the context of employment legacy of London 2012, this would have meant prioritising transnational skilled workers over locals as the source of the Games' workforce.

Hypothesis two: Local East Londoners lacked different types of capital to be integrated into the employment benefits of London 2012. In considering the polarised labour market of East London versus rest of the London, and the lack of trust about the professional qualifications of locals in this area, this assumption referenced the ultimate legacy of employment, based on the contextual reality of East London.

The findings in Chapter 8 could not reveal a single case of a local East Londoner working in a high-skilled position at London 2012. Instead it could determine different sorts of capital insufficiency among Local East Londoners, in comparison with rest of the London. According to the analysis of the narratives of people from the four Olympic boroughs about their

occupational trajectories, it can be concluded that what employment legacy rhetoric promised had little plausibility for these communities. Both for abilities such as work experience, qualification and references; and aspirations such as career drive, work value and channel of information and learning.

The gambling of job hunting at London 2012 is predicated upon the belief that local people would embrace the probability that investing in this venture, for example, learning new skills or changing career trajectory, would be likely to improve their standing in the fast-changing field of Olympic delivery in East London. In opposition to this belief, it has been shown that, because of the UK recession and long experience of poverty and exclusion in East London, many local East Londoners had set their career aspirations in 'survival mode'. As a result, many of them did not even consider applying, perhaps to avoid the possibility of failure or because they simply could not afford to lose their social benefits. Thus, it seems unrealistic to expect them to be ambitious and to act as the 'labour supply' for the jobs at London 2012.

Moreover, for many of interviewees the management jobs at Olympic project were seen as being 'too ambitious to be for us' and the idea of applying for them was seen as delusional.As a result, there was a pervasive perceptual sense of separation from the Games among locals, which was cultivated not only by the exclusiveness of the Olympic labour market, but its appearance as a 'golden intangible manifestation': a stage for perfection or a symbol of urban injustice which alienated the locals from their locale. Therefore, in reality, many of locals lacked the 'habitus' to understand the 'doxa' required to benefit from Olympic opportunities in the short term.

Hypothesis three: The commitment to designate some of the jobs for locals (East Londoners) was limited to low-level jobs, while for jobs requiring higher levels of skills, there was no encouragement or inclusiveness policy put in place by the employment legacy agenda. This assumption related to the effectiveness of the programmes designated to facilitate the employment legacy of London 2012 for local East Londoners. In terms of the initial anticipation report, it was confirmed that there was no any specific policy or agenda for reserving some high-skilled jobs for locals to enable their inclusion in the distribution of career opportunities

In Chapter 7, the details of each of the employment programmes were elaborated, both in terms of target groups and of implementation processes. One of the main pitfalls of those programmes was the time taken to initiate their activities. As a result, at the implementation phase, the employment programmes did not have projects or initiatives in

place encouraging employers and contractors to hire skilled workers from local communities in East London. There was therefore a considerable retreat from various levels of employment being offered to wide target groups, with the consequence that just manual and machinery jobs went to locals.

In addition, the mis definition of 'local East Londoner' within the terminology of the various employment programmes challenged the recognition of the core of the traditional population of East London.

It has been further illustrated that in terms of the power relations within the employment legacy it has been seen that, as delivery time approached, the power shifted from legislative groups such as the Labour Party and towards delivery companies and the IOC. The consequence of this was a downsizing of the employment commitments from 'all the jobs for local East Londoners' towards applications for low-level jobs.

9.3 Discussion

9.3.1 Delivery over legacy

This greatest sporting show on earth was also a festival for the professionals who were invited to the 'parade' at it. In the discourses around Olympic delivery based on pragmatism and realpolitik, it seems that when it came to employment, the staffing process of London 2012 followed a strictly selective logic. This logic created an enclosed network, carrying its own specific dynamic that required pre-determined qualifications and values. These values can be considered as symbolic work cultures, and the qualifications can be seen as a combination of previous jobs and educational background. Thus, the steps needed for engagement at the Olympic professional level had to have been taken a very long time before the Olympic project began.

Hence, within the exclusive climate of Olympic deliverers, anyone from outside the professional circle was presented as a disruptive force that threatened delivery. And since the machinery being created was intended to push through developments of all kinds as quickly as possible (Raco 2014), such disruptions needed to be managed by skilled private-sector consultants. Therefore, at the professional level, because of their own confessed focus on risk reduction, the employment programmes displayed a distinct lack of inclusive approaches. In consequence, the legacy targets were converted into another delivery mission for the private sector, and their commitments were translated into achievable project goals strictly constrained by time and budgets. This framing of legacy as part of

delivery implies confirmation of Raco's (2016) assertion that mega-events such as London 2012 are not just managed by private-sector experts, they are governed by them.

9.3.2 Primacy of Urban 'others'

The greatest sporting show on earth was also a festival for the professionals who were invited to the 'parade' at it. However, as long as being involved in the Olympic festival was a career privilege used to access opportunities for learning and networking, being outside brought a sense of inequality and exclusion, especially when such 'outsideness' or otherness affected the very neighbourhood of East Londoners. For many, it was even interpreted as a form of symbolic violence against their neighbourhoods.

The extreme urban structures within London provide no other choice to some communities in East London but to choose specific types of jobs. Although, it has been shown that bringing the Olympics to the host boroughs caused a shift of economic activities within the area which was not just limited to the displacing of local businesses (Raco 2016). Thus, in the absence of skill uplift and targeted training, such a shift will cause an increase in unaffordable jobs and in unemployment for many of East London.

Therefore, the significant conclusion can be drawn from the present study that the Olympic employment provided a great momentum for many 'career privileged people' to jump in to the projects and boom their work trajectory. But this boom did not narrow the employment gap for East London individuals, or for the host boroughs as a whole; the evidence suggests that, on the contrary, the gap could have been widened.

9.3.3 Void Reconfiguration effect

Thiel and Grabher (2015) argue that the Olympics had the capacity to achieve field configuration, as, in principle, the Games could have been a platform for the local workforce to capitalise their qualifications and skills within the employment parade offered by London 2012.

However, in terms of this considerable potential, the reality of the Games implies its effect was in fact an impediment to the process of equal distribution of working practices and the sharing of employment. Although London 2012 was presented as a job broker, bringing resources from affluent parts of London to improve the future of East London, in the absence of a genuine strategy to address the mismatch of skills and the redistributive requirements of the legacy agenda, it ended up reproducing a segregationally 'network of "you know how"'.

9.4 The Final Conclusion

The London Olympics were initially conceived for local East Londoners as a regeneration project with many aspects, including employment. But during the run-up to the event, there was a great shift away from the promises made and towards rhetoric in the language of employment strategy. In contrast to the rhetoric of 'design for the legacy, adapt for the Games' (Grabher 2014), from the end of the setting-up phase to the opening day of the Games, delivery commitment was prioritised over legacy. In the context of employment, this meant the employment legacy plans for inclusivity and integration were jeopardised.

The beneficial legacy narrative of the 2012 Olympic Games caused an overall perception among local East Londoners that their lives, particularly in terms of career, would be dramatically improved. However, the purely rhetorical nature of employment legacy, for economic and political reasons, and in the particular context of East London, brought only disappointment. Local East Londoners seemed to bear the costs of the success of the Olympic Games while their symbolic profit was largely exploited at a national and global scale.

As there was no specific policy or programme to employ local people for higher—skilled positions, it was not unexpected that an exclusive pattern of professional employment would develop at a prestigious project such as the Olympic Games.

The results of this research have significant implications for understanding the reasons for the Olympic labour market's focus on benefiting only a particular transnational class of workforce. They also provide insights into the process of alienation of local East Londoners from the Games and the changes in their neighbourhoods which resulted from them.

However, it is important to mention that the Summer Olympic Games 2012 in London was the first Olympic Games to include employment improvement as a principal aspect of their legacy plans. This indeed has shifted legacy discourses and the critical debate to a new horizon. One benefit at least of the employment legacy of London 2012 was the directing of global attention to the unequal occupational dynamic in the global city of London.

9.5 Methodological Concerns

Studies in the same research of community narratives on the one hand, and institutional behaviours on the other, necessitated utilising various methods and methodologies to present detailed accounts of groups of people and the ecology of the London 2012 project.

9.5.1 Ethnography

At the community level, this thesis argues that employing an ethnographic methodology has allowed for an in-depth account of the locals' narratives about their encounters with the London 2012 project. Nevertheless, the undertaking of an ethnographic study in four East London boroughs (Hackney, Waltham Forest, Newham and Tower Hamlet) with their diverse populations was not an easy job. Initially, this part of the research was envisaged as a traditional community study, endeavouring to provide a holistic account of the whole population of local East Londoners. This objective was not fully pursued due to the challenges of reaching the core parts of some communities, such as the 'white creatives' and the traditional white working class.

However, because of the social proximity I had with ethnic communities in East London, I was fortunate enough to be integrated into to their populations, and this provided an empathetic understanding of their career drives, aspirations and values. Also, I was able to access many new migrants from east Europe through their community centres, and this allowed me to identify their identities and career challenges in East London. The results of these ethnographic inquiries are provided in Chapter 8 through the presentation of their voices and meanings in a strongly contextual manner. Thus, the ethnographic approach of the research was mainly drawn from Bourdieu's (1999) belief that social researchers ought to investigate areas to which they are culturally predisposed, so that they present informed sociological evidence.

However, this aspect of the project has also proven to be methodologically challenging, in ensuring that my voice does not obscure people's opinions about the Olympics and its employment opportunities. Through use of extended direct quotations, field notes and community history, I have endeavoured to provide the reader with a vivid account of each community and their career drives in relation to London 2012. I believe that my social closeness during the data-gathering phase, and distance during the analysis and writing up stage, have been positive aspects of the project. The blurring of subjectivity and objectivity as needlessly prescribed paradigms is in keeping with Bourdieu's (1989) template for social inquiry.

9.5.2 Participatory observation

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the main consideration of participatory observation is that different researchers can gain different understandings of what they observe, based on the key informant(s) used in the study. Therefore, as much of the data was collected through my semi-structured observations in different boroughs, locations, scenes and times of day, what has been observed has the potential to be representative of my individual interests in a setting or behaviour, rather than being representative of what actually happens in a culture. Also, as participant observation is conducted by a biased individual who serves as the instrument for data collection (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002), it is important that the audience of this thesis consider gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, and my theoretical approach, all of which may affect observation and observatory interpretation.

9.5.3 Expert interviews

The first consideration of the methodology was the definition and recognition of who constituted the 'experts' in the London 2012 project, in terms of their tasks and the general recruitment measures used. The second consideration was detecting those who would be appropriate for this study in terms of having process-related knowledge. Many of these people had busy schedules, and their contact details were not publicly disclosed. Therefore, in setting up the interviews I needed to pass through many administrative barriers and gatekeepers. Those I could access were mainly technical experts such as senior managers and project leaders, and it became clear that accessing the political elite group of London 2012 was impossible for this thesis, so I abandoned the idea of interviewing them.

The third consideration in carrying out this part of the research was structuring the accounts the interviewees presented in a way that did not influence the process. As generally, elites are often in a position to impose strong restrictions on what the researcher can and cannot do. Also, they may not always be willing to reveal the kinds of information researchers need, especially when it comes to the less visible aspects of power.

9.5.4 LinkedIn examinations

The main methodological concern of collecting data through LinkedIn examination is about the credibility of the information that profile holders put in their accounts. As the whole concept of LinkedIn is to enable account holders to show a desirable and professional image of their careers, there can be a certain level of 'success exacerbation' in the information presented. In this regard, I assumed that the university from which people had graduated,

their mother language and the general ties they had with companies could be taken as being valid information.

9.6 Limitations of the Study

9.6.1 Target group

In order to develop this thesis, I believe that more attention could have been given to the wider communities involved, particularly the white working class, in order to contextualise some of its findings. It would have been interesting to access the core population of this community and apply the ethnographic measures used, to obtain a higher level of understanding. This would have helped to further contextualise the findings of this project.

Another limitation is the lack of women's voices throughout this thesis. To add validity, it would have helped to have the role of gender as a criterion in the study, particularly in the context of careers, and so it would have been very useful to interview more women. I could then have achieved a more complete picture of how career trajectory could have been addressed by London 2012. This is an obvious limitation of the study which could be revisited by other researchers interested in gender roles in working-class communities.

9.6.2 Methodology

By using semi-structured interviews, there is an obvious limitation that often some themes were explored in more depth than others and, to a degree, the research questions were not always referred to as often in some interviews as others. This could have been better managed by myself by employing a more structured approach to the interviews, or by using surveys to identify attitudes to certain phenomena (Bryman 2008). Yet, I made the judgement that moving away from a more conversational style of social enquiry would perhaps alienate the interviewees and would lead to me putting their lives, identities and communities into 'boxes' (Emond 2000) rather than focusing on their individual views. I am comfortable that the richness of the data and the empathetic nature in which it was produced provides a reliable account of the attitudes of institutions and locals towards Olympic employment.

A further methodological limitation of this study was the process by which participant observation data was recorded, coded and checked against the hypotheses. The analysis of this data was done through successive readings of transcripts, contents of which were then coded both manually and using MAXQDA. While there was some data, such as tone, or facial impression which were not possible to be coded.

Finally, it is possible to argue that the use of Homans' (1974) typology (white working class, BAME, east Europeans, white creatives) could be classed as a limitation of the study. I placed a great deal of value on his work which was largely formulated in social experiments or in reference to organisational structures (Homans, 1974). Yet I believe that the community typology does have significant benefits, as it provides the reader with insights into the power dynamics existing between different communities in an area. It is compatible with Bourdieu's (1990) and Wacquant's (2014) arguments that within fields there is a great deal of conflict, synergy and sameness which is needed to bind groups together organically. It would be interesting for future researchers to analyse this typology in other traditional working-class communities.

9.6.3 Collecting employment reports

Finding, interpreting, and comparing the official reports on employment impact studies and their spinoff products (for example, press releases, bid committee promises and follow-up evaluations) is a challenging task. The numbers that are used in the various documents are often unsourced, and their methodologies are described in only the loosest terms (Kennelly, 2013). According to Kennelly, while claims of academic integrity are frequent, the checks and balances of academic publications, such as blind peer review and transparent citation of sources (1985) are notably missing from such sources.

9.7 The Last Words

I hope more research is conducted to determine how the residents around an Olympic area would be able to participate in the generation of Olympic outcomes. Particularly about the employment aspects, still proving the negative impacts of the Olympics on the social development of local communities is a research challenge. So, I borrow my last words from Flyvbjerg (2001) that "the proof is hard, whereas learning is certainly possible" (p.73).

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Appendix A: List of Expert Interviewees

Name	Date of Interview	Organisation	Position
Anup Patel	23.11.2015	Mace Group Ltd	Project Manager at London 2012
Davendra Dabasia	25.11.2015	Mace Group Ltd	Senior Project Manager at London 2012
Shaun Dawson	20.11.2015	Lee Valley Regional Park Authority	Chief Executive
Klaus Grewe	12.10.2015 09.09.2016 11.01.2018	CLM Laing O'Rourke	Senior Program Manager and Senior Integration Manager
G. Sh(Abbreviated in public copy)	15.01.2016	ARUP Group	Stakeholder Manager

Appendix B: Standard questions for Expert Interviews

Main question intended to be addressed through the interview:

To what extent the London Olympic Games provided its professional labour resources from ethnic communities in East London?

Possible questions (based on semi-structured Interview)

-How did you provide the human resources you needed?

-If you recruited new resources, what was your own main criteria? What qualifications did you think would be essential for setting out the project objects? Creative, loyal?

-What kind of commitment or agreement you were accounted for? (for example, EU agreement)

-Which employment policies you followed during your recruitment process?

-Regarding the all project milestones and deadlines, what kind of limitations or difficulties did these employment policies provide or could provide for you?

-What was the employment policy about ethnic minority which you have been committed? And how you were committed to them in professional level?

-What risk or limitation they could have bring for your commitment to meet the project goal? like quality of the project

Appendix D: Local Interview

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Post Impacts of London Olympic Games 2012 on Local Communities in East London

The research brief: The London 2012, as the first inclusive Olympic in terms of employment, promised to provide jobs in East London. This research is questioning the career effects of the planning, building and staging of the Olympic and Paralympic Games for local communities. In this questionnaire we are wondering how the job provision that London 2012 promised have approached by residents.

Notice:

To respect your privacy, your name, and all personal information, or individual responses will not be disclosed to anyone outside the research project under the HafenCity University' research regulation.
The interview is to be audio recorded just to ease the assessment and analysis.

Please could you take your time to develop your answers to these following questions

1-How long have you lived in this Borough?

2-The UK hosted the 2012 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games in London, please tell me how you feel about this, with explanation.

3-How important was the job provision of the London 2012 Olympic for you?

4-Did you get any job at Olympic? If yes, how did you get it?

5-Do you know you anybody who got the jobs? If yes, do you know how he or she got it?

6-How do you find working at Olympic Games project? how would it possible for you?
7-Have your heard about any of the host borough employment programmes? Such as: -The CEA (the construction Employer Accord) -6HB's programme -The JSF (Jobs Skills and Future) -JobCentre-Plus
8-Has your career been affected by London Olympic Games 2012? How? (Have you taken any volunteer, internship, training, job offer, business opportunity)
9-In general, do you agree or disagree that the hosting of the 2012 Olympic Games in East London has increased the number of jobs available to local residents?
10-Have you got member of any community centre set out by the Olympic?
11-Have you, or someone you know, moved into (or moved out from) this borough because of the Olympic job? Would you describe it?
12-Have you got in touch with anyone outside of your community because of the Olympic-related jobs?
13-Would you say that London hosting the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games has made you more or less satisfied with your local area as a place to live, or has it made no difference?
14-To what extent do you agree or disagree that preparations for hosting the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games in East London had a positive impact on employment at the area? Benefits business in your local area Making new jobs for youth in general Making new jobs for young educated

Caused disruption to your employment or your business
Profile Information
Name …… Age ……. Borough Name ……
Nationalities …… Religion…….
Native Language ……
Job ……..……
Education
High school Diploma ☐ College graduate ☐ BSC degree ☐ Post Graduate ☐
In which country did you get your last degree?
……
Income (annually)
Less that 12K ☐ 12-23K ☐ 24-36K 37-47 K ☐ more that 48 K ☐
Immigration
☐ Born in UK holding British Passport ☐ Living in the UK more than 10 years, holding UK passport ☐ Living in UK between 3 to 10 years, without UK passport ☐ Just immigrated (legal), less than 3 years ☐ Just immigrated (illegal)