



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 proposed by the Department of Communities and Local Government, United Kingdom



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
PROPOSED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT,
UNITED KINGDOM



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is a peer review carried out by the OECD Local Employment and Economic Development Programme (LEED). It is not an exhaustive analysis of all legacy arrangements proposed by Government and its stakeholders but an opportunity to enhance existing capacity and arrangements in London and internationally. The Review took place between December 2009 and May 2010.

London 2012 is set to be one the most ambitious Olympic Games ever to have taken place. Already a successful global city London has set itself a unique challenge – not simply to deliver a successful Olympic Games but to regenerate its most socio-economically challenged area of the city. The boroughs which will host 2012 are amongst the most deprived areas in the United Kingdom. The aim from the preparation of the bid was to address this long term challenge. Everyone involved in the delivery of 2012 and the economic development of London is under no illusion that simply by hosting the Olympics a century of deprivation will be eradicated. But accelerating 30-50 years of regeneration and infrastructure investment can create new economic opportunity.

London's continued economic competitiveness is directly linked to delivering the socio-economic legacy for East London. East London is both London's available and spare economic capacity and asset base, and also the place with the most severe socio-economic challenges. London wants to retain global strengths and celebrate its economic diversity more substantially, at the same time as becoming a greener and more inclusive city. East London can help London with economic diversification, with the growth of new clean tech industries and the emergence of other strengths in creative industries, media, logistics, aerospace, and tourism. At the same time, East London is critical to London becoming a greener and more inclusive city; it has the biggest concentrations of polluted land and disadvantaged populations.

Substantial and significant progress has been made in London both to prepare for hosting the 2012 Olympic Games and to secure from them a lasting legacy and wider local benefits. However, it is important to recognise at the outset the complexity of the task facing London and UK authorities in crafting a multi-party legacy and benefits programme. London and UK government have put in place some special arrangements to capture the benefits of hosting the Olympic Games well in advance of the Games themselves. This is a notable and important dimension of the UK arrangements. Although many cities have achieved a significant legacy, and several have planned actively in advance to achieve it, few cities will have prepared for it as directly and consciously as London has. The London Games are being substantially staged and organised in order to derive such benefits and arrangements to optimise outcomes have been in place for some time, and are in continuous evolution.

Thus, London has already set in place an impressive legacy of urban regeneration, infrastructure and environmental enhancements, most specifically:

- The orientation of the Games towards regeneration, growth management, and sustainability and tackling the problems of the poorest part of London, which is also one of the poorest places in Europe.

- The early creation of the Olympic Park Legacy Company to take forwards the legacy of the Olympic Park after the Games.
- The work of the ODA in creating a lasting environmental legacy, world class standards in sustainable construction, and high calibre amenity.
- The role of public transport investment in creating a socially and environmentally sustainable Olympics, and a long term connectivity legacy.
- The creation of Legacy Masterplans and a Strategic Regeneration Framework for the whole area.
- The CompeteFor programme which is improving the competitiveness of SMEs and supply chains in response to Olympic related opportunities.

These good practices will be of interest to other OECD countries, and countries that are hosting their own major events, and should be widely disseminated.

Timing is now critical for London 2012. Overall, London is taking the legacy objective very seriously and is marshalling resources and initiative around its achievement. The legacy planning activities are highly developed and specified, aided by a confident approach to staging the Games **but** it is time to broaden the focus of the regeneration of East London from the physical, environmental, place making, and infrastructure improvements to which the Games have catalysed to include wider and longer term economic development, enterprise, and employment, and corporate investment, as well as overall positioning of East London for market led investment.

Increased strategic leadership and aggregation of efforts around the key longer term legacy priorities is now required. At the same time, where there is ambitious thinking (*e.g.* the Convergence agenda) there is a need for a programme of shorter term actions to make steady progress and learn lessons from the outcomes achieved. With just under two years to go until the Games begin there are opportunities to attract external investment and stimulate job creation in East London if a clear vision is presented and practical arrangements to facilitate investment and expansion are undertaken. This demands a dedicated economic strategy which at present does not exist.

Finally, to realise the legacy of London 2012 it will also be important to "**Tell the Story of East London**" very much better. The area has a rich history as a centre for trade, logistics, and production, for hardworking people of exceptional character, for immigration and asylum, for surviving wars, and setting great voyages to sea, and for making lives worth living in ways they would not have been lived otherwise. London 2012 has the potential to set a new international standard in local development benefits achieved through staging global events.

PART ONE

**THE OECD LEED PROGRAMME'S CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: HOW CITIES AND
NATIONS CAN CAPTURE LOCAL BENEFITS FROM GLOBAL EVENTS**

OECD and investigation of international events

The OECD LEED Programme has advised governments and communities since 1982 on how to adapt to global trends and tackle complex problems in a fast-changing world. It combines global expertise into pragmatic task forces that provide rapid responses and targeted advice on specific issues of interest to governments. Drawing on comparative analysis of experience from some 50 countries in fostering economic growth, employment and inclusion LEED has played a major part in establishing and gaining acceptance that local action, local policy flexibility and new forms of governance for local economic development are both desirable and essential.

As local economies have adapted to changing global dynamics, the hosting of international events has become more commonplace, and can play a significant role in local development, acting as catalysts for job creation, business growth, infrastructure improvement and community development. However, capturing local benefits from such events does not happen automatically or by accident. The most successful host countries and cities have a long term development plan that the event helps them to implement, and a dedicated management effort aimed at securing the benefits and the legacy for some time before the event is staged, and for several years afterwards. Put simply, when international events are hosted well, they become a catalyst for local development and global reach.

What are the local benefits of hosting global events?

The OECD LEED programme has been assessing the local benefits of hosting international events for several years. *Local Development Benefits from Staging Global Events (2008)* set out the OECD Conceptual Framework through analysis based on experience from over 30 cities and nations. In broad terms, the following are benefits that might reasonably be expected but, of course, are not guaranteed, to result from the hosting of global events. Benefits may be characterised as "primary" and "secondary" to indicate the time frame within which they occur, rather than overall significance. Primary benefits may well overlap temporally with secondary benefits if they are longer-term in nature.

Primary benefits

- i) Alignment of the event with sector and business growth strategies in the city or nation.

The requirements of the event can be used to catalyse existing development and growth strategies, either at sector, business or city level. Effective management of the event in this manner yields significant benefits for cities looking to prioritise and accelerate their development goals.

- ii) Private-public investment partnerships.

Increased co-operation, in the form of partnerships, between the private and public sector are increasingly seen as a key means by which to achieve development goals. The costs and benefits often associated with global events present ideal opportunities for public-private investment partnerships that can serve wider urban development goals.

- iii) Image and identity impacts attracting increased population, investment, or trade.

The media exposure associated with a global event provides an ideal opportunity for the promotion of a city brand or identity. In an increasingly urban world, the need to differentiate is ever-greater and opportunities to embed a city's unique assets in the "international imagination" are valuable.

- iv) Structural expansion of visitor economy and supply chain development and expansion.
Visitors coming to the city for the event will contribute to a more buoyant visitor economy; with money they spend causing a multiplier effect on incomes throughout related supply chains. Well managed events can attempt to focus this multiplier effect to local businesses and supply chains can therefore develop and expand to take advantage of increased business.
- v) Environmental impacts, both in built and natural environments.
Both the built and the natural environment can greatly benefit from the investment and strategic planning involved in hosting a global event. With global attention turning on a city with the arrival of the event, city authorities can justify using funds to carry out much-needed, but perhaps not previously top priority; work on the built environment to give it a good facelift. Increasingly, ensuring the event is managed in an environmentally conscious manner is becoming a higher priority in terms of city branding as well. Not only can this reduce the environmental impact of the event itself, but it can have wider benefits in changing business and social practices throughout the city and its region which last far beyond the event itself.

Secondary benefits

- i) Post event usages of improved land and buildings.
Events may require land and buildings for specific purposes, but their use after the event is only restricted by practicalities and the imagination of the designers and planners. Cityscapes can be transformed by new buildings or land reclamations that subsequently serve local communities and contribute to urban development strategies.
- ii) Connectivity and infrastructure legacies.
Transport links and other infrastructures constructed for the event are one of the most visible lasting legacies for a host city and can have real impacts on social inclusion if targeted at previously excluded groups.
- iii) Labour market impacts and social/economic inclusion.
Hosting a global event stimulates significant temporary employment to prepare for such a large undertaking but can also generate long term employment if the event is used to expand business sectors and implement structural change to the local economy. Specific efforts can be made to use the temporary employment created to provide qualifications for low-skilled workers who can then go on to find better employment, thus contributing to social and economic inclusion through processes of cyclical uplift.
- iv) Secondary impacts in the property market.
Property prices are very likely to be affected in parts of a city where construction is focussed for a particular event. While this can lead to the gentrification of a district, attracting further investment and leading to the development of an area, it can also force existing, lower-income communities out. A strategic balance must be sought to optimise the local benefits.
- v) Global positioning, events strategy going forwards, and project management capability.
Hosting, or even bidding for, an event dramatically increases the capabilities of the city authorities to manage similar projects in the future and makes vital steps towards furthering an events strategy and achieving development goals. Improvements in collaborative

governance and co-ordination are fundamental elements of this process. A city with experience of hosting events is naturally held in higher esteem if there are any doubts about a competing candidate city. In an increasingly competitive urban world, having such experience can make all the difference.

How cities and nations can capture local benefits from global events

There are many different dimensions in how a locality can benefit from hosting a global event, so the host faces a multiplicity of dimensions when considering how best to capture such benefits. The concepts involved are, however, all mutually reinforcing and interrelated.

The nature of the benefits of the event itself

- i) **Whilst many benefits and impacts can be felt in the physical and economic realms, there will also be substantial scope for environmental, social and cultural benefits if plans are developed well.** The FIFA Soccer World Cup in Germany 2006 produced substantial environmental improvements through a Green Games Programme, the Athens Olympics 2004 brought an enormous cultural heritage legacy in the restoration of ancient sites and buildings and Manchester's Commonwealth Games 2002 have revitalised several poor neighbourhoods and expanded entry level employment for marginalised people.
- ii) **Major events must have a national as well as local or regional impact. There must be good links between the key hubs and nodes that host and the wider diffusion of visitors and trade links.** This is especially true in a small (population) country like New Zealand. If the Rugby World Cup 2011 is to be a catalyst for New Zealand it will need to command investment resources and ingenious efforts not usually mobilised. There will be a national cost and there needs to be a national benefit. This is a good discipline, because events are an excellent means to demonstrate that regions within the same nation are rarely in any real competition for external investment. More explicit inter-regional flows and benefits can occur through hosting an event. This was clear from the linkages between Lille's Capital of Culture Programme and Manchester's Commonwealth Games in 2004.
- iii) **Major events offer exceptional opportunities to define the identity, values, unique assets, and long term contribution of a nation to the global realm (in economy, society, and environment).** It is important to have a clear and compelling story about the nation and its future to communicate. Because such events bring a "global audience" to a nation or city for a period of time, there is a unique opportunity to brand and communicate. However, the presence (both real and virtual) of such an audience, and of the world's media, will also uncover and highlight weaknesses or contradictions in the identity of the hosting national/locality. Therefore, getting the message clear and distilling the values and identity is an essential task. It could be argued that both Athens and Rio de Janeiro suffered because some of their weaknesses were exposed by the hosting of a global event, whereas both Montreal and Brisbane clearly gained from doing so. You have to be ready for the global spotlight and use it well.
- iv) **Major events do not all attract mass participation: media coverage, and other virtual methods, is a critical channel for accruing benefits. Shaping and influencing media coverage is key.** An important part of any legacy programme is the communication, branding, and marketing activities which reach beyond the visiting audience and the event participants to the (many millions of) long-distance viewers of

the event. Shaping and influencing these channels is critical for success. This was a major success of Sydney 2000 and of Turin 2006 for example.

- v) **The disciplines and opportunities associated with hosting a major event provide a unique and compelling reason to achieve other goals simultaneously. Hosting an event does not prevent other things from getting done, but rather proffers the possibility to leverage the staging of an event to take a bigger step forwards on other agendas.** The best legacies result from good planning and design of legacy activities so that they work with the grain of the event, but are also rooted in the goals and aspirations of the place. The two things must come together. This is why Barcelona 1992 and Montreal in 1967 were so successful. The two cities wanted a new global identity and a new economic reach. The Olympics and the EXPO provided a key catalyst for both aspirations.
- vi) **In Europe and in Asia the hosting of major sporting and other events is now seen as part of the process of long term development of the city or region that hosts it.** Famous examples such as the Barcelona Olympics have led to recognition that hosting events is a means to secure wider benefits. The term "Legacy", "Impact", and "Benefit Capture" are all used to describe this process.

The importance of the event in legacy formation

Whilst the hosting of major international events can be seen as an end in itself, it also provides an unrivalled opportunity for a nation or a city to achieve other goals. It is not a reason for putting them off. Events bring:

- Fixed Deadlines which foster pace and discipline and provide confidence to investors.
- A global audience that can see a place in a fresh light.
- Additional leveraged investment from public and private sectors.
- Increased visitors.
- Intensified local engagement from citizens and stakeholders.
- A chance to celebrate human skills and endeavour.

The costs of hosting a major event are also considerable and cannot often be justified in terms of the event alone; it is the success of the event plus the value of the legacy that justify the costs. It is well understood that investment is a driver of growth, but available investment capital is often short in supply. An event with limited legacy is too costly to justify. A well planned event with a well planned legacy will attract higher levels of internal and external investment. Hosting events provides a short term boost from visitors and participants, that offers an opportunity to make improvements which would not otherwise be easily justifiable

Events as catalysts for legacy and accelerators of change

Put together, this provides the means to take a bigger step forwards in other areas of public life. This does not mean that the event is subservient to the legacy, it is a catalyst for it. A well run event is likely to produce a better legacy than a poorly run one, although a poorly run event can still produce a good legacy, if the legacy programme is well run.

The legacy potential provides an additional spur to make the event a major success, to provide sufficient investment for the event to be exceptional, and to ensure that the legacy programme is well defined and executed. The legacy is a key justification for the event itself, for the investment and the effort made. There is no tension between a great event and a great legacy, each will support the other, but both must be led and managed well and be organised to integrate and interface well.

Hosting major events is an important means of accelerating existing plans and policies and delivering enhanced investment. Event legacies can well be framed in these terms and contexts. Major events are a tool or catalyst to implement existing priorities, not an alternative to doing so. Major events can contribute substantially to growth and innovation, environmental sustainability, and family wellbeing or other public policy priorities, but they must be deliberately designed and executed in ways which do so.

It is for these reasons that awarding bodies of international events have laid ever increasing stress on the importance of a durable legacy from the events. It is bad business to encourage cities, regions, nations to host such events but to leave them impoverished by the process of doing so. That is why the ICC (International Cricket Council), FIFA (International Federation of Association Football), IOC (International Olympic Committee), BIE (Bureau International des Expositions), and many others now insist upon active legacy plans for all candidates and why the scope of the legacy and the sustainability of the event is seen as key to the attractiveness of any bid or candidature.

The importance of vision and leadership

Legacy planning has to be vision led and should span a series of events and opportunities, of benchmark moments and catalysts, rather than a single major event. Cities, regions, and nations that used international events to successfully promote themselves (*e.g.* Vancouver, Barcelona, Montreal, Brisbane, Turin and Seoul) have in fact delivered several events. Hosting international events should not be seen as a "one off" but as a "programme" of activity that increases investment and innovation.

The term "legacy" may, however, be misleading because many benefits can be accrued before the event is staged, during its staging, or simply by bidding well, but not securing the right to host/stage. The focus here is in making engagement with such events work locally. As subsequent analysis will show, different groups of benefits fall at different times and also at different spatial scales.

A legacy programme should include both short term projects as well as longer term initiatives; it should focus upon both the direct and indirect impacts of the events, and also address wider institutional and co-ordination benefits. For example, short term projects might include improved sports infrastructure or better transport and hospitality facilities. But longer term benefits could include an expansion of trade with certain nations, the growth of specialist related tradable economic niches (in areas such as sport science, media, nutrition, stadia management, and many others). The longer term benefits can also include wider leadership roles on global issues (as Barcelona has achieved on urban issues, or Turin on international labour issues, or Vancouver on native communities, or Milan plans to achieve on global hunger and nutrition).

A legacy programme should be driven by robust leadership and implemented with dedicated resources and skills which are distinct from the efforts required to host the event, but co-ordinated effectively with them. Much evidence suggests that:

- The effort required to stage an event is all consuming and the resources allocated to it cannot be expected to deliver on all of the legacy activities and wider benefits as well.

- The skills needed to secure lasting benefits are different from those required to stage an event.
- The best legacy and leverage impacts come from defined and specific programmes that are well managed.
- The hosting of the event is a major project management task; the legacy programme involves a longer term development strategy and specific non-event projects.

The Barbados Cricket World Cup 2007 is a good example of a legacy programme which has been more successful than the event itself. Vancouver 2010 has been highlighted as an approach which put "legacy first" and has led the way.

A key focus of the legacy and leverage impact should be the **local population, local business base**, and other **local stakeholders**. Firstly, it is right that local benefits and local people must be engaged with what is happening. Commentators have given warnings about elite events and gentrification processes that do not touch local people, and do not command their confidence. Elite events miss the opportunity to engage locally and accrue local benefits, a process which will often not be costly and is a means of avoiding unhelpful tensions or opposition as the staging of the event draws near. The Lille City of Culture Programme and the Sydney Olympics both achieved high levels of local participation that enabled people to own and be proud of the event, rather than be disaffected bystanders.

Similarly, improvements to local and regional environments and infrastructure should be implemented in ways which support local quality of life as well as long term goals. It is important, for example, that infrastructure improvements do not just help tourists and international business people, or that new amenities are not restricted to prestigious universities or elite sport teams (important though these all are). A major feature of the German FIFA 2006 World Cup was the improvements it made to city centres for all users through enhanced public realms, signage, and amenities. Cardiff's development of the Millennium Stadium for the Rugby World Cup 1999 was part of a much larger process of regeneration that improved local shopping and other amenities.

The role of the event in the host's own "vision"

A successful event is one that is a success as an event, in itself, (a good sports competition, an excellent trade show) and one that is successful in terms of what it does for the place which hosts it. A successful event leaves its host location better off than it was before. These are complementary but different tasks and one does not follow automatically from the other. Both need to be planned and managed if they are to occur. Too many events have left places worse off, with expensive facilities that have no use, and a big bill to pay into the future (*e.g.* the Sheffield World Student Games or Montreal Olympics).

Cities and regions that host events usually have a long term strategic development plan which they are seeking to implement. The event provides an opportunity to accelerate the implementation and delivery of the plans, increasing the momentum behind existing projects and providing deadlines and additional funding to make more progress faster. Cities and regions that do not have a robust long term development plan find it harder to plan for a legacy, and find that one of the legacies is often such a plan in itself. Legacy design and planning is about aligning the scope and dimensions of the event with the longer term development plans so as to identify key long term goals that the event can help to accelerate progress towards (as happened with the Turin 2006 Winter Olympics).

London 2012 Olympic Games: peer review assessment of legacy progress in East London.

The UK Government, through its department for Communities and Local Government (CLG), invited the OECD LEED Programme to carry out a peer review of the legacy arrangements put in place by the Department and local/London stakeholders. The review process was intended to provide insights from international experience and expertise to contribute to the delivery of a strong socio-economic legacy for the Host Boroughs (the OECD was asked to consider the five boroughs of Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets, Greenwich and Waltham Forest as the Host Boroughs). The review has taken place within a context of fast moving political change and thus is part of an ongoing dialogue between the UK government and the OECD. Indeed, as the review has progressed CLG, the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC), the Host Boroughs Unit, the boroughs, Greater London Authority (GLA) and London Development Agency (LDA) have made significant progress in advancing legacy planning.

The OECD was not invited to carry out an exhaustive review of all legacy arrangements proposed across government but simply to bring international learning to local benefits in the East London areas where London 2012 is being hosted; to highlight the strengths and weakness evident through current arrangements and to communicate to OECD member and non-member countries the best practice emerging from the UK approach.

A background report, "London's Olympic Legacy" was commissioned by CLG and prepared by Dr Iain MacRury and Professor Gavin Poynter of the London East Research Institute at the University of East London for use by the OECD.

The review study missions took place between December 2009 and April 2010, involving international experts engaging with a wide ranging group of stakeholders involved in "legacy" delivery in London. In May 2010 a General Election led to a new coalition government. The new government arrived with a clear agenda on localism and decentralisation. This agenda is still evolving and proposals for a Mayoral Development Corporation, a strengthened role for the Greater London Authority (GLA), Local Economic Partnerships (LEPs) may all impact upon the arrangements for legacy in the years to come. The recommendations of this Review explore how the imperatives of legacy delivery can be addressed within this evolving framework.

The review is underpinned by the following factors:

- The wider benefits of hosting an Olympics Games begin before the Games have taken place and can last for many years afterwards in different phases.
- Some of the benefits and wider legacy will only occur if the Games themselves are perceived to have been a success, thus building the confidence and momentum requires securing wider legacy and attracting external investment.
- Investing in the future legacy and both before, and after, the Games is essential to secure the legacy, it will not simply happen as a matter of course.
- Achieving an optimum legacy will require dedicated arrangements that are not distracted by the needs of hosting the Games themselves.
- The legacy will occur in different ways in different places with distinctive processes producing benefits. Some of those process will be associated with land and property markets and be concentrated in inner East London, others will be part of processes for labour market

development and strengthening of supply chains and be more diffused, others will, involve city positioning activities for London and its wider surrounding areas.

It is important to recognise that London 2012 will be delivered during an era of economic austerity and public sector restructuring – the implications of which will make legacy more challenging to deliver but more important in the longer term. London has set itself up as a global leader in terms of hosting major events by making legacy such an explicit outcome of 2012 and setting in place a delivery infrastructure to "make legacy happen".

Peer review by national governments at OECD LEED Directing Committee

The OECD's Local Economic and Employment Development Programme Directing Committee, which includes representatives of 30 national governments and several inter-governmental organisations, met with senior officials from the Greater London Authority and the UK government Department for Communities and Local Government on May 21st 2010 to review the work of the London 2012 Olympic Games and their intended impact on local development in London. The Directing Committee produced ten key conclusions that were inspired by the London 2012 experience and the lessons from other Members States.

i. The relevance of global events to local economic development

There was a clear confirmation of the role that global events can play in fostering local economic development, both short term and long term. This was identified through considerations on the impact of events on:

- Tourism
- Employment & skills (especially deepening labour markets)
- SMEs and enterprise (especially through supply chain and procurement activities)
- FDI
- Trade
- Fiscal growth
- Cultural development and link to creative industries
- Capacity building

ii. The role of national government

Whilst regional and local governments will often take the lead role in delivering events it is essential to have engagement by national governments to shape legacy. National governments may have to invest differently and apply new forms of co-ordination and flexibility if legacy is to work. The role of national governments was seen to include ensuring long term benefits.

iii. *Different phases – different benefits*

The different phases of an event were considered, bidding, preparing, hosting, leveraging opportunities after the event. Different kinds of benefits are expected at different points. Attention was paid to ensuring early benefits from bidding and preparing to host and to longer term leverage of benefits well after the event.

iv. *Different geographies - different benefits*

The different geographies of benefit were noted and discussed. The importance of achieving strong concentrated benefits in the central event zone was confirmed and the importance of using labour market and supply chain geographies to spread benefits more widely noted. Many governments commented that they had paid insufficient attention to securing the legacy in the core hosting zone.

v. *Employment and skills*

Most areas that host event have unemployment and low skills problems. The Directing Committee recognised the importance of addressing this issue directly both with flexible programmes and with greater connectivity of poor neighbourhoods to regional labour markets. It was emphasised that it is essential to deepen labour markets and increase employer commitment to employing the low skilled.

It was also stressed that it is essential to have a "future vision" for the economy of the hosting zone and to align labour market interventions with future economy. It is essential to understand the future sources of job creation and to organise around them.

vi. *Unique catalysts*

Global events were recognised to have some unique features that mark them out as different from any other catalysts that might support economic development. They offer a unique combination of inputs that include:

- Deadlines which are unmovable and create tension, discipline, and commitment.
- Bringing the world to a place creates a powerful driver for optimising performance.
- Engaging citizens in activities which celebrate human endeavour is a rare opportunity to change behaviour.
- Media attention is intensive and provides extraordinary opportunities for positioning.
- National attention and pride means that a single place becomes a national priority for a window of time.
- Brand alignment between the host place and the event provides opportunities to achieve "brand spill over" between the two emphasising excellence, winning, globalism, innovation, courage, endeavour, fair play, and other key values.
- Events offer an unparalleled opportunity to simultaneously change perceptions of a place in a big way for multiple audiences through a (near) comprehensive channel of communication.

These unique features combined provide an opportunity to stimulate and trigger market development and to shape and investment market and economic development for many years ahead.

vii. *Businesses and investors like events*

Events provide some key drivers that businesses and investors want from a location.

- Improvement and new amenity.
- Deadlines – certainty in decision making.
- Scale of development and growth provides large opportunities.
- Pace of development means returns can come quickly.
- Value added of the brand alignment and low value starts means that companies can experience exceptional growth and value creation from a low base and lower cost start.

For these reasons events can really help build the private sector composition within a low performing economy

viii. *Capacity matters*

Legacies and impacts are optimised by the organisers that learn how to do it well, they do not come automatically. Skills and knowledge on how to get benefits really count. The key variable is capacity and know how. It is essential to learn how to optimise outcomes and benefits.

ix. *Measurement challenge*

There is a major challenge to measure the relationships between events and legacies or benefits better. There is a need to get better at defining and counting the different ways in which an event supports certain outcomes and to define attribution with greater subtlety. The problem of attribution is significant. How to count impacts that are direct, indirect, assisted, or facilitated by the event effectively remains a challenge.

An important additional measurement challenge is where and who benefits? Some people and places benefit more than others. How these can more thoroughly understood?

x. *Governance: Collaboration and reform*

Most places that host events begin with the same co-ordination failures and governance challenges. Many learn that the event requires that they overcome these rigidities with intensive inter-institutional collaboration. Most realise, through this, that the original pattern of responsibilities was not fit for purpose. Whether such collaboration then leads to long term reforms determines the excellence of the governance dividend of hosting events.

PART TWO:
**LONDON 2012 OLYMPICS LEGACY PLANNING IN EAST LONDON - KEY FINDINGS
AND OBSERVATIONS**

Substantial and significant progress has been made in London both to prepare for hosting the 2012 Olympic Games and to secure from them a lasting legacy and wider local benefits. However, it is important to recognise at the outset the complexity of the task facing London and UK authorities in crafting a multi-party legacy and benefits programme. It is within this context that this review has taken place. The task of the London Olympic benefits programme is not a straight forward exercise. As was stated above, this review is not an exhaustive analysis of all legacy arrangements proposed by Government and its stakeholders. It serves as a "peer" review seeking to enhance existing capacity and arrangements in London and internationally. London and the UK are in a position to set a new global standard for hosting events and capturing legacy. Meeting that goal will require sustained efforts beyond 2012.

Arrangements

There is observable and substantial progress on many of the key drivers of local benefit and legacy preparation in London in advance of the London 2012 Olympic Games. The Review looked mainly at issues of physical regeneration, place making, and economic and social development in the East London context.

The first and obvious point to make is that London and UK government have put in place some special arrangements to capture the benefits of hosting the Olympic Games well in advance of the Games themselves. This is a notable and important dimension of the UK arrangements. Although many cities have achieved a significant legacy, and several have planned actively in advance to achieve it, few cities will have prepared for it as directly and consciously as London has. The London Games are being substantially staged and organised in order to derive such benefits and arrangements to optimise outcomes have been in place for some time, and are in continuous evolution. These arrangements include, but are not limited to:

- i) The **East London Legacy Board** which is one of four legacy boards established by the UK Government to oversee and co-ordinate legacy planning and management. The other Legacy Boards cover Economic, Sport, and legacies which come together through the **Olympic and Paralympic Legacy Board**.
- ii) The **Olympic Delivery Authority** (ODA) which is a special body created to prepare the Olympic Park and all of the facilities that go within it.
- iii) The **Olympic Park Legacy Company** (OPLC), established in 2009, to take ownership of the Park prior to the Games and manage it for the long term to achieve the intended legacy outcomes.
- iv) The **Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group**, established to give political oversight to the regeneration of the park and surrounding areas.
- v) The **Host Borough Unit** which is a co-ordination group of the main boroughs in East London with Olympic activities happening in their areas.
- vi) The **City Operations Group, led by the GLA** is a joint group of local, regional and national authorities that are working together to plan and manage the "Games time" experience of London by athletes, spectators, media, and others.

The London Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) also has as substantial interest in legacy arrangements, especially in the sporting legacy, but their primary task is to organise the Games themselves.

These Olympic specific legacy arrangements are matched by extensive co-ordination arrangements within Central Government and at an inter-regional level involving other parts of the country. The focus of this review is on the legacy within East London. In East London there are also many other bodies that have developed special programmes of work to secure Olympic legacy outcomes. These include, but are not limited to:

- The various Thames Gateway arrangements, that include:
 - London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTGDC)
 - Gateway to London
 - Thames Gateway London Partnership
 - Invest Thames Gateway
- A number of key London organisations including:
 - The Mayor’s Office and Mayor’s Agencies such as the London Development Agency, Transport for London, and the London Skills and Employment Board, and agencies funded by the Mayor such as Think London, Visit London, Study London, and Film London.
- The Lee Valley Regional Park Authority.
- Local organisations including the London boroughs (with their local programmes of work) and other institutions such as Universities, Colleges, and others.
- Other local and sub-regional organisations led by business and civic groups such as The East London Business Alliance (ELBA).

Legacy planning

Between them, these organisations have been actively involved in a wide range of legacy planning activities. These legacy plans include:

The Legacy Masterplan Framework. This plan was developed by the LDA and handed over to the OPLC for review. It sets out how the London Olympic Park should develop in the future. OPLC are also developing a wide range of other plans that focus on socio-economic development issues related to the Olympic Park.

The Fringe Masterplans and the Strategic Regeneration Framework. These documents set out the wider development of the area around the Olympic Park to fulfil the growth and regeneration ambitions in East London (lower Lee Valley) more broadly. The Strategic Regeneration Framework, produced by the five Olympic boroughs, includes their shared ambition to achieve social and economic convergence between East London and Greater London averages on a wide range of measures of health, quality of life, equality, and economic measures including employment.

Observations

The OECD undertook to review through interviews and discussion how the preparation of the Olympic legacy in East London is progressing. The main observations are as follows:

Infrastructure: The infrastructure required to deliver the Games is emerging and appears on track. Several important infrastructure projects have been, or are being, completed. The infrastructure required for longer term legacy is also emerging rapidly. For example, London Overground has already been launched, the DLR service to Stratford International will open in late 2010 and the Jubilee Line Extension has been upgraded to increase capacity. In addition, the Crossrail scheme is the largest of these, a major fast speed cross city train that will link Stratford to London Docklands, Central London and Heathrow Airport (significantly increasing its connectivity to London's main economic hubs), is now being built and will be ready by 2017.

Some local infrastructure issues remain, including local connectivity to the post games Olympic Park and, more precisely, the issue of the A12 trunk road, which is a barrier to integrating significant parts of inner East London with the Park. LTGDC are planning to bridge the A12 which will make an important contribution to improving access to the Olympic Park.

Physical development: The physical build out for the Games is ahead of schedule and is impressive in many dimensions. There is substantial progress of all of the main facilities, the Olympic Village, the Broadcast and Media Centres, and stadia.

The physical re-engineering required on the Olympic Park after the Games for legacy is now being planned and requires both further work and a confirmed investment envelope. At the time of the review it was uncertain what the costed plan for re-configuration of the Park would include, and whether sources of investment could be identified. There are perceived tensions between optimising capital receipts in the short term through sales of land and facilities against taking a long term approach that might produce a better outcome overall. These tensions remain to be resolved in the context of very tight public finances.

Environmental and sustainable development: The land remediation and clean up of the River Lee have been significant achievements in east London and addressed over a century of industrial blight and pollution. The build out for the Games has been undertaken in a manner which is impressive environmentally, and has achieved the highest standards of sustainable construction. Furthermore, the Games have been also the trigger for the removal of environmental blight, including many pylon power lines from East London, which were perceived to be major detractor on quality of life and development potential of the area. These factors alone will be an enduring legacy of the Games and ones which could set new standards nationally and globally.

Place making: The place making agenda on the Olympic Park and in the Stratford area is in train, though the OECD team met with some considerable concern about the level of investment available to achieve this. Equally, there appear to be only limited considerations so far of how the new "Olympic district/new Stratford" will be identified and promoted and where it will sit within other place brands such as "Lower Lee Valley", "East London", "Thames Gateway". Some clarification of intended usage of different designations may be useful (see below)

Economic development: There are a range of economic development measures being undertaken to leverage employment and business development opportunities from the activities associated with preparing for the Olympic Games and hosting the Games. These are impressive and diverse. For example, the Olympic procurement and supply chain initiative CompeteFor is widely seen

to have been successful in enabling local and regional firms to access opportunities associated with the Olympics and the Games preparation.

However, there is less planning underway for the future economic development of The Lower Lee Valley or for the wider economic development of East London as a whole. There appears to be an opportunity and a need to develop longer term economic development thinking beyond intentions to develop and implement an Olympic-related inward investment programme and support procurement and supply chain.

Whilst the individual boroughs have made significant advances in planning their economic futures and there is a great deal of activity on urban development there is no clear framework for the future economy of East London or future oriented vision of the new sources of jobs and businesses. This is needed to guide other work programmes and investment and could logically be brought forward by the Mayor of the London and the boroughs concerned now that the Mayor has published the London-wide Economic Development Strategy.

Employment

Due the very high levels of worklessness, and low skills, in the five boroughs, significant attention is being paid to these issues. There is a wide range of employment and skills related initiatives, many of them focussed on the immediate opportunities of the employment induced by staging and hosting the Games themselves and the numerous associated developments taking place in the boroughs. The boroughs, the Host Boroughs Unit and other stakeholders on the ELLB have prioritised addressing these challenges and are working closely with JobCentre Plus and the Department for Work and Pensions. Work will need to continue on the future demand for skills in East London and Greater London as part of a broader economic development agenda.

The Olympics will provide only a temporary employment boost in employment and stakeholders are rightly focussing on how to develop a longer-term set of interventions which increase employment participation rates overall beyond what is already being done.

Social development

The Olympic boroughs have produced a far-reaching Strategic Regeneration Framework focussed on the concept of "convergence" between the boroughs and Greater London areas in a range of social development measures. The document is well argued and impressive. The level of ambition is appropriate and long term. The Host Boroughs Unit is also ensuring that the third sector plays a relevant role in taking the strategy forward.

There will be a need for a "whole of government" (across and between national and local governments) approach to underpin the "convergence" agenda given that its objectives are dependent upon the radical transformation of housing patterns across London, exceptional improvements in school performance in the poorest boroughs, and a significant increase in labour market participation rates by residents of the area. Each of these requires a sophisticated understanding of the processes at play and interventions which may also need to address other policies and goals which may have some tensions with these aims.

It is important to note that the boroughs are making considerable progress on improving educational attainment levels but ensuring the longevity of the advances remains a "whole of government" challenge. One example is labour market participation rates. There are low levels of

employment in many of the East London boroughs involved. The low employment levels are a function of many different factors:

- The skills-sets of the local labour force relative to demand-side requirements.
- The challenges associated with making low paid work pay enough to create an incentive for employment participation.
- The competition for low-paid jobs from students, "double jobbers", and other people is a "reserve labour force" in London. Younger people from elsewhere in Europe are keen to take low-paid work to have a period of living and working there, learning English and enjoying life in the metropolis.
- The social and health conditions of some of the local population making it more difficult to sustain regular employment.

These are just some of the factors, a complex mix of which will explain distinctive situations. London has a very open labour market and is place where people want to be. That means that there is increased competition for low paid jobs and it is very difficult for low skilled people to get into work

Defining legacy appropriately

There are also some dangers in defining such long term goals primarily as Olympic "legacy". It is important to articulate clearly whether or how hosting the Olympics would induce such radical changes in policy impact and performance, housing patterns, in school performance, or labour market participation. It is not clear that the Olympics can be accurately seen as a key driver of such changes, but rather that such changes would be the impact of improved and better implemented policies resulting from a desire to optimise the benefits of the Olympic Games. The Games are the opportunity, but not the driver.

It may be important to stress that such goals are inspired by the Olympics but are not the direct consequences of hosting the Olympics. The Olympics provides a potential accelerator for achieving social development goals by galvanising communities, improving the quality of place in East London, and strengthening the labour market. Whether this can be translated into important social development achievements depends upon the ability of the public, private and community sectors to leverage the Olympic opportunity to make improvements in service performance. At the same time, recognition of the extensive needs and disadvantages of some parts of the East London population is going to be needed to ensure that the right flexibilities are available to local authorities to address such challenges,

Governance

All major cities have complex governance arrangements. A national and international project within a major city is bound to be subject to complex arrangements itself. The governance arrangements in London are extremely complex and difficult to navigate, with multiple and overlapping authorities and agencies, mitigating against clarity of purpose and confidence in mandate and priorities. Overall, the staff and working arrangements within each entity are skilful and robust but the overall pattern of organisations tends to lack clarity and effective leadership.

The Olympic Games are not only a very large-scale project, they also have added additional complexity. At the same time they have been catalytic in forging new working relationships that are essential for Olympic and legacy success. The work of the Host Boroughs Unit, the collaboration

between national, regional and local government to create the OPLC, and the working relationships between LTGDC and the boroughs are all good examples of enhanced collaboration to make the most of the Olympics.

However, there were opportunities for Governance reform to make the arrangements more simple, to create a smaller number of large and more competent and integrated organisations. One example is the current proposal to establish a single Mayoral Development Corporation centred on the Olympic Park. This proposal was not on the table at the time of the OECD Review visit. However, it appears to fulfil part of the need to streamline organisations. There are other important areas such as the attraction of foreign investment and the support to local small firms where stronger arrangements are needed.

Additional future drivers

An important additional driver for the legacy in East London and the Thames Gateway will be the impact of major projects and developments such as Crossrail, Ebbsfleet, the expansion of Canary Wharf, Excel and ICC, and London Gateway (amongst others) which will also be catalysts for development and investment. It would be worthwhile building these into legacy thinking and planning much more directly.

External investment

Many of the legacy plans include assumptions about external investment into East London from corporate, institutional, and other sources. Work is being done by the LDA, LTGDC, the OPLC and the boroughs, but there does not seem to be a fully developed programme of work to facilitate such investment proactively. On the FDI side there are a multiplicity of players and activities, but a lack of a shared and detailed action plan. On the institutional investment side there are numerous activities to market and showcase opportunities and to package investment projects, but no overall plan of action. On the issue of attracting wider forms of institutional investment (*e.g.* major education, cultural, or inter-governmental bodies) there is a lack of clarity about what might be useful and who should lead.

In summary

Overall, the observation is that London is taking the legacy objective very seriously and is marshalling resources and initiative around its achievement. The legacy planning activities are highly developed and specified, aided by a confident approach to staging and the Games.

Many good initiatives are underway and it is time to broaden the focus of East London's regeneration from the physical, environmental, place making, and infrastructure that the Games are catalysing to include wider and longer term economic development, enterprise, and employment, and corporate investment, as well as overall positioning of East London for market led investment.

Increased strategic leadership and aggregation of efforts around the key longer term legacy priorities is now required. At the same time, where there is ambitious thinking (*e.g.* the Convergence agenda) there is a need for a programme of shorter term actions to make steady progress and learn lessons from the outcomes achieved.

Timing is now critical for London 2012. With just under two years to go until the Games begin there are opportunities to attract external investment and stimulate job creation in East London if a clear vision is presented and practical arrangements to facilitate investment and expansion are undertaken. Two divergent strands appear in the planning documents as they exist at present. One set

focussed on defining the socio economic challenges facing East London and its disadvantaged populations, and seeks policy change and investment to redress low achievement. The other articulates opportunity for investment and job creation based on the nascent advantages and assets of the East London area. Both strands are important and are relevant. From the review of these documents there is limited integration of these agendas into a combined vision.

Geographical perspectives

There are different geographies in which legacy and benefits are being pursued.

Olympic Park

On the Olympic Park, the key issues are the development of the optimum overall vision for the Park in the future and its contribution to London and East London's success. Addressing the investment package required for the re-configuration of the Park after the Games is a critical issue. Defining the post Olympic usages of facilities and marketing them effectively is of course critical, and much progress was reported during the OECD visits.

The investment required to transform the Olympic park from Games venue to a new urban district will be substantial. The most important impact of the London Olympics will be the post games developmental and usage of the Olympic Park. Investment provision will be required to help finance the transformation and should be planned on an ongoing basis.

Other Olympic venues

There are also important Olympic venues in other parts of East London that are not on the Park. These include the Excel Centre, O2 Arena, and the wider Royal Docks and Greenwich waterfronts. The contribution of these activities to legacy has been less visible than the work on the Olympic Park and it would be important to develop the legacy planning here, especially as many of these venues offer scope for business and employment development in ways that the Park may not in the short term.

Inner East London

The presence of the ODA and the establishment of the OPLC are important drivers of Olympic legacy and benefits in inner East London and on the Olympic Park. These appear to be substantially in train.

The wider Olympic Zone, outside the Park but within inner East London is the major area for concentrated social and economic development, where the poorest communities in London could benefit from the Games. Greater priority needs to be given to establishing a common agenda amongst all stakeholders and mechanisms for delivery that have adequate authority, decision making and implementation capacity to co-ordinate and achieve a clear programme of benefits.

The relationship between the Park and wider East London regeneration is a critical issue for development now that the first level of planning is complete. At the time of this review there are separate organisations involved in the future development on the Park and in the areas around the Park. The observation is that it is clearly desirable for there to be equivalent treatment of both sets of development challenges, and substantial interplay between the two programmes of work. The more recent proposal for a Mayoral Development Corporation covering both areas would appear to meet this very effectively.

Thames Gateway

The Thames Gateway is a major growth development programme dating from 1980 to the present day, covering East London and the wider Thames Estuary in the Counties of Essex and Kent. This development has evolved from its origins in the London Docklands Redevelopment to be the major "growth corridor/triangle" in which London and the Greater South East of England can expand both in terms of housing and human amenity and in terms of business capacity. Indeed, London and the South East of England usually suffer from acute congestion and over-heating problems during economic upswings, with profound implications in the housing market and stress upon the infrastructure. The Thames Gateway is the major potential source of additional physical capacity and the UK Government's approach is to unlock that capacity for growth management purposes through infrastructure provision in response to locally determined development plans. Within that framework, the 2012 Olympic Games is an important additional driver of growth and development that can help to accelerate the Thames Gateway programme.

London

The OECD was not tasked with evaluating London wide thinking or plans to use the Olympic Games to achieve the effective promotion or positioning of London as a whole, or to attract status, investment, and wider benefits through the Games. Thus, no comment is made on this, but it is important that there is a detailed programme of work on these issues at a London-wide level.

The GLA and Mayor's office provided detailed assessment of how the Games are being used to take forwards the key redevelopment and growth priorities in East London as part of the overall strategy for accommodating growth and achieving sustainability across London. The Mayor's London Plan fully articulates both this strategy and the extent of the Mayor's ambition and priorities.

Detailed planning is also underway for the hosting period through the City Operations Group that is co-ordinated by the Mayor's Office. This brings together the key public bodies involved in the hosting of the Games.

To conclude, **CLG and the numerous stakeholders participating in the ELLB are in a position to set a new international standard for delivering local development benefits from hosting major events and large-scale regeneration activities.** The scale of the challenges cannot be underestimated at any point and will require coherent but nimble governance and a clear delivery framework. The future role of the Board, its ability to accelerate decision making process and outputs need to be reflected upon. There may be a role that goes beyond 2012 given the scale of social, economic and physical regeneration required.

Recommendations

The London 2012 Olympics has a strong programme of legacy and benefits planned and an extraordinary range of activities in train. There are notable strengths in this programme of work that could be useful for other cities and nations to be aware of. These elements of London good practice include:

- i) The orientation of the Games towards regeneration, growth management, and sustainability and tackling the problems of the poorest part of London, which is also one of the poorest places in Europe.
- ii) The role of the East London Legacy Board to oversee and co-ordinate activity.

- iii) The early creation of the Olympic Park Legacy Company to take forwards the legacy of the Olympic Park after the Games.
- iv) The work of the ODA in creating a lasting environmental legacy, world class standards in sustainable construction, and high calibre amenity.
- v) The role of public transport investment in creating a socially and environmentally sustainable Olympics, and a long term connectivity legacy.
- vi) The Host Borough Unit and its work to secure a joint approach between the five local governments in the Olympic area.
- vii) The creation of both Legacy Masterplans and a Strategic Regeneration Framework for the whole area.
- viii) The CompeteFor programme which is improving the competitiveness of SMEs and supply chains in response to Olympic related opportunities.

These good practices will be of interest to other OECD countries, and countries that are hosting their own major events, and should be widely disseminated.

At the same time, there are several areas where the London Olympic legacy preparations should be strengthened if they are to promote greater clarity and confidence, optimise impact, and achieve a better value for money set of outcomes. These are set out below.

Clarity in Olympic legacy planning

Greater clarity is needed about Olympic impacts, Olympic influences, and the Olympics as a catalyst for wider developments and impacts. At this point all the possible consequences of the Olympics are described as "legacy" even though many of them bear little resemblance to each other in terms of Olympic linkage, certainty of outcome, or conditionality of processes involved.

There were many examples of confusion about what an Olympic games can achieve directly versus what it can influence. This has some dangers because it can lead to over-estimating direct benefits and assuming they will come as a matter of course, and under-estimating indirect benefits and not working hard enough to secure and shape them.

For example, tasking the OPLC to achieve traditional socio-economic and regeneration programme outcomes, may not be the best way to achieve "legacy" when its' clear task should be to focus on building the Olympic Park that will have the best indirect benefit for the future of East London.

Equally the ambitious "Convergence" agenda set out by the five boroughs is clearly an important guiding framework for the evolution of East London over the next 25 years, but the role of the Olympics in this regard should be seen as catalytic rather than direct. Attaining convergence would be an achievement of the East London boroughs and their partners in raising the impact of their policies and services for the populations of East London, inspired by the Olympics to do more and better, not a direct consequence of the Games themselves.

Aggregation of otherwise fragmented efforts

In the arena of business and economic development a much greater aggregation of effort and activity is needed. There are too many small organisations and programmes operating with limited budgets and subtle differences in mandates which would be likely to achieve both better outcomes and leadership from integration. In the fields of foreign direct investment, trade and tourism promotion, enterprise and small business development there are a number of organisations and programmes that appear to be duplicative and fragmented. More focussed programming for business and economic development is required if important Olympic legacy opportunities are not to be squandered.

A business plan for East London

Greater clarity is needed on the future economic framework or plan for East London, setting out the anticipated future range of infrastructure, amenities, business clusters, sources of jobs and business development opportunities. It appears to be the case that no "body" has responsibility for producing such an East London Business Plan, despite the fact that many are trying to implement a project or programme that would logically fit within it. Such a plan would usefully articulate:

- Future role of East London in the growth and success of the London, SE and UK Economies.
- The business climate and infrastructure advantages offered in East London.
- The key sectors, business clusters, and assets for the future.
- The business growth and enterprise development activities anticipated.
- The sources of long term job creation.
- The critical opportunities and projects for the next phase after the Olympic Games.
- The role of the Olympics in helping to build the local economies of East London for the next two years.

Elements of such a plan appear to exist in many of the documents and yet no organisation felt it had the mandate or the authority to bring together such a document that could guide programming and investment decisions across and between organisations. Overall, there appears to be no leadership role around the economic development of East London that is able to create and own such a plan, it is not in the job description of any organisation. This might best be a role for the Mayor of London, working with the East London boroughs.

Investing in legacy

There appears to be only a partial awareness and acceptance of the need to continue investment in Olympic amenities and facilities after the Games in order to reconfigure them for post-Games usage. This will be especially true of infrastructure and public spaces as well as amenities such as stadia, media centres, the Athletes' Village etc. This Review did not undertake a detailed assessment of the requirements for continual investment in order to secure optimum outcomes. However, a detailed consideration of this is clearly required. Within the constraints of the current public finance envelope in the UK, this will be challenging to achieve. However, the scale of the re-configuration investment available will substantially shape the scale, pace, and character of the legacy that is achieved. This may need to involve a wider consideration of potential sources of further long term investment such as

the role of the European Investment Bank and the use of other financial tools such as Tax Increment Financing, Business Improvement Districts, Infrastructure Levies, and joint venture investment funds. The use of tax incentives may also appeal in conjunction with other such tools. This Review cannot offer a detailed proposal here but would suggest that a stock take be undertaken on the different arrangements that would yield greatest leverage of external investment.

Post Games usage of Olympic sites and facilities

Exceptional efforts are already underway to secure long term usages of Olympic venues and amenities after the Games and there is a "no white elephants" policy in place. This is an important imperative, but it also needs to proceed within a framework for achieving an optimum outcome for the Olympic Park and East London overall.

It is essential to both optimise agreements for post games usage, and also to be clear about the longer term framework for development of the Park and to seek "legacy" usage that fits within a longer term and larger framework of planning.

For example, the discussion about the future use of the Olympic stadium is an important issue that will be the subject of global media reporting during the Games themselves. The Stadium is the subject of competing pressures between a sports legacy (its retention as an Athletics facility) and an investment legacy (its adoption by a Premier League English Football Club). Processes are underway to resolve these issues as it is widely understood that any uncertainty about the future use of the stadium can also have a detrimental effect on the future use of other sites and amenities and therefore needs to be considered in this respect also.

The danger of failing to clarify such longer term usages of amenities ranges from poor public attitudes to more difficult investor promotion and project packaging and needs to be viewed in this light.

Outside the Park: The longer term development of the Lower Lee Valley

There is pressing need to have coherent arrangements for the area outside the Olympic Park in the wider East London area in addition to the Park itself. The development opportunities and the scale of job creation potential are greater outside the Park. Although the work of the LTGDC in some of the areas around the Park and the wider LLV are impressive it is important to provide greater scope and time frame to such arrangement.

Most importantly, the whole of the Inner East London and Lower Lee Valley area needs to be the subject of combined efforts in:

- Social development
- Economic development
- Development planning
- Investment facilitation

As stressed in the forgoing section the danger of asymmetric arrangements is an unbalanced development programme that leads to internal competition or significant skewing of opportunities and resources towards one place rather than another. Capacity for development planning and investment

facilitation, as well as for skilful economic development planning, are in short supply and it is essential to retain capacity over the long term in order to compete the current cycle of development. The new proposal for a Mayoral Development Corporation to combine the areas inside and outside the Park will help to address this imperative.

Clarity about brands and marketing

Another area where the current arrangements could be strengthened is around the name used for different geographies and the purpose of such naming and identification building. A substantial focus for the future will be the attraction of private investment into East London and this will need to be supported by a clear process of market building and the branding of investment opportunities. In the context the myriad of different names used to describe the same areas seemed to be overly complex and unhelpful in developing a clear investment proposition. The names used include:

- The East End
- East London
- Inner East London
- Lower Lee Valley
- Thames Gateway
- Thames Gateway London

And these are also complemented by the names of the boroughs involved and by areas within boroughs (*e.g.* Hackney and Hackney Wick, Greenwich and Greenwich Peninsular, Newham and East Ham and West Ham, Tower Hamlets and Bow, Waltham Forest and Leytonstone, etc.). At the same time there are names that have evolved as a result of previous development processes such London Docklands.

It is clearly necessary to both preserve historical names, and names of local government units for administrative purposes. However for investment purposes it will be necessary to have some clear agreement about the outward facing names to be used and the brand platform to build around them.

Positioning London

The Olympic Games is an opportunity to position London as a whole, not just East London. Coming after the recent banking and economic crisis, the Games are an opportunity for London's wider economic positioning. Yet, there was no clear picture of how this is being developed or considered and what is planned before and after the games to position London as a whole

This is important for East London and also for other parts of the city. If East London is to be the place where central London grows next (literally in the cases of Stratford, Royal Docks, and Canary Wharf and Greenwich Expansions) then it is important for there to be a clear picture of London's future growth, so that the role of East London can be fully articulated within that wider framework, The Mayor's London Plan and Economic Development Strategies set out the Mayor's intentions to do this.

Box 2.1. The Mayor's economic development strategy for London

The Mayor will take full advantage of the opportunity of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games to promote London to the world, working with LOCOG and other key partners.

The 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games provide a once in a generation promotional opportunity, with potential global audiences of half the planet's population. Before, during and after the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, London's fantastic array of artistic, cultural and sporting assets and events must be showcased. Meanwhile, a huge effort is required so that during the 2012 Games the visitor experience is world class, welcoming, accessible and affordable, with great hospitality, entertainment and attractions, and improved visitor information, as well as excellent logistics, especially in moving visitors and Londoners around.

What the Mayor will do: The Mayor will use the 2012 opportunity to promote London as the business capital of the world, a thriving centre for firms to locate, with a rich pool of talent. Achieving all this requires a strong, strategic, co-ordinated approach, which the PLC will help provide. LOCOG and the city's promotional agencies will work with businesses and boroughs to support this. The Mayor is leading the co-ordination of city operations at the 2012 Games, working with government, LOCOG, the boroughs and London's private sector to ensure the best possible experience for visitors and spectators, and to maximise long-term legacy benefits.

The recommendation here is to pursue this goal as rapidly as possible so as not to miss important opportunities in the run up to the Games.

At the same time, East London's working relationship with central London will become more critical both during the games and in the years that follow, utilising greater connectivity and integration. A clear articulation of the intended Olympic legacy in central London may be essential to help build this working relationship.

Future accelerators

Many other major projects in East London and the Thames Gateway will be critical to taking forwards and indeed augmenting the Olympic legacy. These include the continued growth of the Canary Wharf estate and its corporate facilities, the Crossrail Project, Ebbsfleet, the London Gateway deep water port development, the London International Convention Centre, expansions in the airport capacity at London City Airport and the growth of the major creative and entertainment initiatives on the Greenwich Peninsular. The Olympics is major project, but combined with these other developments the package of development projects is extraordinary. Given the scale and size of these projects some detailed work on the phasing and sequencing of the various projects is desirable. At the same time some packaging of the projects for external investment purposes is clearly desirable.

Governance dividend and governance reform

This Review was not seeking to analyse governance arrangements in London but one conclusion was inescapable: there appear to be far too many organisations working with narrow mandates and limited resource bases creating a fragmented picture of East London governance that leads to a lack of leadership and highly visible co-ordination failures. This can lead to significant unnecessary costs in terms of duplication, lack of critical mass, and opportunity costs as more difficult agendas are not adequately pursued.

These ten points are offered a means to strengthen the existing efforts, not as an alternative to them. It will also be important to "**Tell the Story of East London**" very much better. Too many of the organisations involved in the Olympic legacy have partial geographical or sectoral responsibilities

which limit their ability to communicate fully, and with confidence, "the big picture" and "the whole story" of the opportunities and promise of East London. The area has a rich history as a centre for trade, logistics, and production, for hardworking people of exceptional character, for immigration and asylum, for surviving wars, and setting great voyages to sea, and for making lives worth living in ways they would not have been lived otherwise.

It is an extraordinary place by any standards in any city in the world. Intense and rich diversity and energy come together with under-utilised assets and the great catalyst of the Olympic Games. Yet, there are very few examples of the big story of East London's past, present, and future being told in ways which makes sense of the Olympics and place the current moment in a full historical cycle. The absence of this vision leaves a vacuum in which fragmented institutional arrangements lack coherence, and in which leaders with only limited formal competences cannot grasp the full opportunity that is at hand.

It is worth returning at this point to the OECD conclusions from the publication *Local Development Benefits from Staging Global Events*:

...international events can play a significant role local development and act as a catalyst for local jobs, business growth, infrastructure improvement and community development. Equally, such events do offer exceptional means to connect globally. However, the overriding conclusion is that local benefits only accrue if the event is both well run in its own terms, and if it has a clear local benefit plan which is followed with skill and conviction. This is not easy to do, especially as the preparation for, and hosting of, the event is always a considerable task that distracts from the effort to win local benefits.

It should also be observed that hosting international events is only one means to achieve local benefits, and not the primary one. ... Events are expensive and there may be better ways to use the resources. Because events tend to leverage investment from national governments and from private sponsors they can be especially attractive to cities that lack their own investment tools. Events provide a pretext for external investment that might not otherwise exist. But this does not mean that the investment comes free or without opportunity costs.

PART THREE:

**THE ROLE OF EVENTS IN STIMULATING JOB CREATION AND ENTERPRISE
GROWTH – WHAT LESSONS FOR LONDON?**

Introduction

Hosting international events is already acknowledged to be one way in which cities and nations can attract investment into their infrastructure and land development/urban regeneration programmes. It is also widely acknowledged that events can promote participation in sport and active citizens through volunteering and other civic engagement. Thus, whilst international events such as Olympics, World Cups, and EXPOs are now well known for their urban regeneration and redevelopment effects, can they also be a stimulus for long term enterprise development and job creation? Can they contribute to economic development as well as physical development?

The London challenge

The London Olympic Games in 2012 will have had a profound effect on the regeneration of East London by the time that Games begin in July 2012 (two years from now) but it is not clear whether there is a clear economic purpose in terms of long term job creation and enterprise development. Are there lessons that can be learned from other cities that have hosted the Games on this subject?

In the preceding section of this report, the need for a clearer economic development vision for the London 2012 Olympic Games to provide better co-ordination and shared purpose amongst the organisations involved was a key recommendation. Few of the other Olympic cities have attempted a similar exercise, but many of them have had a more fundamental economic purpose, primary diversification or early stage internationalisation. London's challenges are more complex. London is established as one of the world's leading cities for business but faces greater competitive threats and is recovering from a crisis that it played part in creating (at least by association). East London is both London's available and spare economic capacity and asset base, and also the place with the most severe socio-economic challenges. London wants to retain global strengths and celebrate its economic diversity more substantially, at the same time as becoming a greener and more inclusive city. East London can help London with economic diversification, with the growth of new clean tech industries and the emergence of other strengths in creative industries, media, logistics, aerospace, and tourism. At the same time, East London is critical to London becoming a greener and more inclusive city; it has the biggest concentrations of polluted land and disadvantaged populations. How could learning from other cities help London with that challenge?

Olympic Games, world cities, and economic development

How far do these events actually contribute to local economic development and job creation? To explore this, the experiences of several events that have been hosted in cities are reviewed, and have looked at the experience with regard to:

- Enterprise and job creation in small businesses.
- Knowledge economy.
- Tourism, entertainment, and hospitality.
- Foreign direct investment and corporate locations.
- Trade development and internationalisation of business base.
- International positioning and branding that supports the growth of markets for the host region and its business base.

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- Infrastructure development that supports economic development and job creation.
 - Construction jobs and supply chains.

Events and economic development - what are the links?

The approach is designed to assess the links between the event hosting and job creation. Overall the observation is that the critical contribution to local economic development comes because events grow the capacity of local economies, expand their base of customers, investors, and range of markets, and trigger new sectors to grow or emerge. This happens because international events:

- induce infrastructure and construction investment which boosts jobs and supply chains for the short to medium term;
- boost visitor economies which cause short and longer term expansions in logistics, retail, entertainment, hospitality and food/drinks sectors;
- modernise land uses and infrastructures which can enable new sectors and firms to locate and grow, changing the sector mix in local economies;
- create new amenities which attract companies in key sectors (*e.g.* media and broadcast facilities, or science and medicine facilities, or digital capabilities, or event hosting facilities and amenities) and they create amenities which attract new populations to areas that would otherwise not support residential mixed income communities;
- change the image of a location and increase information and understanding of its assets which can contribute to attracting external corporate investment and job creation;
- can also raise aspirations and confidence amongst local citizens and contribute to increased skills amongst local labour forces and their competitiveness in labour markets;
- involve extensive procurement of supplies and services which can boost local entrepreneurship and small business growth if they are successful in accessing contracts;
- attract private sector co-investment (institutional and corporate investment) because they provide rapid value creation opportunities combined with pace and certainty of outcome in an environment of faster decision making.

The following table summarises how such processes have played out in a group of cities that have hosted international events. They are:

Barcelona Olympics, 1992

Atlanta Olympics, 1996

Sydney Olympics, 2000

Turin Olympics, 2006

Beijing Olympics, 2008

Vancouver Winter Olympics, 2010

FIFA World Cup, Cape Town, 2010

Table 3.1. Cities that have hosted international events

Event	FDI	Enterprise & Knowledge Based Industries	Trade	Construction	Infrastructure	Branding	Tourism
Barcelona Olympics, 1992	11 th (1990) in ranking of FDI in European centres, rising to 6 th (2001) (OECD, 2008) 4 th most attractive EU city for corporate investment in 2010.	New Olympic legacy beach front enabled growth of digital district: 22@Barcelona. This has enabled establishment of 1 441 new firms and institutions, including university campuses and hi-tech firms. ¹ Major expansion of higher education sector including growth in international students.	Opening up Port and improving El Prat Airport – increased international trade, Barcelona became gateway to Spanish market (OECD, 2008). In 2009, capital of Mediterranean Union conferred.	Major beach front redevelopment. Cultural rejuvenation projects, improvement of town squares. Poblenou residential area. Regeneration of seafront in 1987 (OECD, 2008).	1989 to 1992 - number of roads increased by 15%. Port Opened up city to the sea. El Prat Airport expanded. Railway network reorganised (OECD, 2008). Continuous cycles of improvement since then with further Port, Airport, and fast Train expansion.	Olympics provided Barcelona Brand with global appeal and reach. Became known as an innovative and creative city. City became synonymous with high tech industry.	Olympics expanded visitor economy rapidly. By 2000, number of foreign visitors to city doubled from 1992, 3.5 million per year (OECD, 2008). Tourism plays key role in bring talent to Barcelona.
Atlanta Olympics, 1996	New role for Atlanta as southern business hub began Pre-Olympics, metro Atlanta - less than 1 000 internationally based companies, now (2010) it has 2 400. Operation Legacy, sponsored by private investment, exposed 400 executives to Atlanta, resulting in USD 400 million in investment.	Georgia Universities rapidly expanded their scientific and business related fields of research and study. International student recruitment increased.	Pre- Olympics, metro Atlanta had only 10 international. Now Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International Airport is the second most internationally connected airport in the U.S.	USD 75 million invested in rejuvenation of downtown Atlanta. Centennial Olympic Park development transformed derelict brownfield land into a vibrant new community.	Olympics catalysed the redevelopment of Hartsfield Atlanta International Airport. It gained a USD 300 million international air terminal, a USD 24 million atrium and overall improvements exceeding USD 250 million.	Worldwide Lou Harris Poll - positive perceptions of Atlanta among corporate decision makers nearly doubled after the Olympic Games.	Games put Atlanta on the international map, attracting more visitors than any other Olympic Games. Visitors spent a record USD 14.7 billion in Georgia in 1996, mostly outside the Olympic time period.
Sydney Olympics, 2000	PWC Report (2001) - AUD 288 million new business generated by Australian Technology Showcase & AUD 203 million new business events committed since end of Games	2002 Masterplan - development of Olympic Park – 110 000 m ² of floor space for commercial development. Increased in 2030 Masterplan. ² Corporate relocations to the Park underway.	Games resulted in AUD 6.1 billion of international exposure for the business profile of Sydney, NSW and Australia (OECD, 2008).	Extensive land reclamation and decontamination took place to enable the construction of the Olympic Park.	AUD 6 billion of investment was made into infrastructure for the Games and a further AUD 2 billion was invested in upgrading Sydney airport (OECD, 2008).	Sydney Olympics was a very well orchestrated marketing exercise which positioned the city as modern, diverse, open and vibrant.	Much of the AUD 6.1 billion added to the Australian economy came through tourism (OECD, 2008).

<p>Turin Olympics, 2006</p>	<p>ITP agency established in early 1990s are first FDI agency in Italy. Recruits technology and design companies to fit with diversification of automobile supply chain.</p>	<p>Universities and politecnico seek to promote enterprise and innovation more explicitly and develop multiple initiatives.</p> <p>2003 – Foundation of Torino Wireless District – targeted development of an internationally renowned ICT cluster.³</p>	<p>Torino expands trade in design based products and switches modes to include household appliances and wider industrial design based trade.</p>	<p>New focus on Turin as city of film. Museum of Film and Cinema created.</p> <p>City centre renovation and expansion of cultural and entertainment facilities.(OECD, 2008)</p> <p>Gastronomy, wine, chocolate, all developed.</p>	<p>USD 1.023 billion spent on infrastructure improvements, including undergrounding railway lines and high speed train links to European cities (OECD, 2008).</p>	<p>Olympics a chance to rebrand the city from Italy's automotive city to design knowledge based city.</p> <p>A city of Know How.</p>	<p>Build niche urban tourist market based on culture and gastronomy.</p> <p>Change in profile of tourists to "city breakers."(OECD, 2008)</p> <p>100 000 – 150 000 tourists in city in year after Games.⁴</p>
<p>Beijing Olympics, 2008</p>	<p>Olympics ensure that Beijing also benefits from China's massive FDI expansion.</p> <p>June 2008 Ernst & Young survey: China now world's most attractive destination for FDI, 47% of votes.</p>	<p>Expansion of Universities and digital infrastructure as part of Olympic preparations.</p> <p>USD 3.6 billion budgeted to transform Beijing into a "digital" city: including broadband and smart cards.</p>	<p>China's trade surplus at record levels.</p> <p>No substantive Olympic impact.</p>	<p>Spending on Olympics added 2.5% annually to Beijing's overall economic growth since 2002.</p> <p>New green spaces three times the size of New York City's Central Park. 37 venues, 22 of which were new with 15 refurbished. More than USD 200 million spent demolishing dilapidated housing and urban buildings, refurbishing 25 historic areas, including Forbidden City.</p>	<p>USD 14 billion of improvements: 5 additional metro lines, contributing over 50 new stations, subway system, light rail system, and constructing and refurbishing more than 318 km of city streets.</p> <p>New airport terminal at Beijing Capital International Airport and extended the toll road to the airport.</p>	<p>Combination of Olympics in 2008 and EXPO in 2010 were designed to position China to the World.</p> <p>Olympics were China's "coming out" party – showcasing China's maturation into an economic and political power.</p>	<p>Major development of tourism to Capital city by Chinese citizens.</p> <p>2008: 4.4 million overseas and 150 million domestic tourists.</p>

Vancouver Winter Olympics, 2010	<p>January 2010: Foreign investors poured CAD 11.8 billion into Canadian securities, bringing 12 month total to CAD 111 billion, 7% of GDP.</p>	<p>Commerce Centre hosted 46 business to business programs. 3 197 business people attended and BC firms made 2 072 new business connections. Disney Pixar, Warner Brothers, Sony and Paramount all invited to Metro Vancouver's 2010 Business Program, paired with 160 host companies to give a real perspective of operating in Vancouver.</p>	<p>Estimated additional CAD 10 billion of economic activity as a result of the Games. Just 60 days after the Games, CAD 60 million of business investment realised, 16 months ahead of schedule.</p>	<p>Three 15 000+ stadia upgraded and five new venues constructed. 600 000 square foot Olympic Village to become permanent mixed-use neighbourhood.</p>	<p>Construction of new "Canada Line" connecting Vancouver, airport and Olympic Village. CAD 600 million upgrade of Sea-Sky highway.</p>	<p>Brand positioning: "A vibrant city with a stunning natural environment, and a country shaped by both ancient spirits and the exciting call of tomorrow's possibilities." 1 162 079 followed Games on Facebook. 1.8 million visits to HelloBC.com in February.</p>	<p>Over 1.5 million visitors to Robson Square since opening day.</p>
FIFA World Cup Cape Town, 2010	<p>South Africa identified as a key emerging market for global investors. 4th in survey conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit for UK Trade & Investment.</p>	<p>Over 1 000 creative industries are already based in the central city of Cape Town with efforts to attract further investment.</p>	<p>The World Cup expected to add 0.5% to South Africa's GDP.</p>	<p>Five of South Africa's football stadiums will undergo major renovations, 5 new stadiums.</p>	<p>R 5 billion building and renovating 10 stadiums, R 5.2 billion on upgrades to country's airports, R 3.5 billion on improvements to country's road and rail network. High-speed rail link between Johannesburg, Pretoria and Johannesburg International Airport.</p>	<p>Exponential growth of the tourist industry is expected as a result of the exposure of the World Cup.</p>	<p>300 000 to 500 000 people expected to visit Cape Town during the World Cup.</p>

Critical ingredients: How can London build longer term job creation for the 2012 Olympics?

Ensuring that the hosting of an event is a contributor to longer term job creation and enterprise development will require some ingredients that are different from those required to achieve job and employment outcomes in the short term.

Short term initiatives that boost job creation in construction and event preparation, visitor economy and hospitality, merchandising and supplies for the events itself, can have longer term ongoing benefits if there are sustained additional catalytic projects such as the hosting of other events in a longer sequence, or other major development projects. In the case of London 2012 there are a multiplicity of other initiatives that should contribute:

- London 2012 begins a "decade of sport" for the UK which it is intended will involve the Olympic and Commonwealth Games, several world cups, and a wide range of other international competitions.
- East London will also be the focus of other major developments such as: Crossrail, London Gateway, the International Convention Centre, expansion of Canary Wharf, Greenwich Peninsular, City Airport, and the evolution of the Sustainable Industries Park and Green Enterprise District. There is also the proposal from the Mayor to consider locating a new International Airport to the East of London in Thames Gateway.
- The re-engineering of the Olympic Park for post games usages and the continued redevelopment of inner East London will provide extensive new facilities and amenities to support business development and job creation as well as providing the platform for population growth and income diversification.

These opportunities suggest that there are some important actions that can be taken now to ensure that East London achieves some sustainable job creation from the 2012 Olympics. A clear 10-20 year economic vision of East London is needed in order to make some assessment of the:

- Sector potential of East London and the links with the catalysts (including 2012) that are already planned.
- Potential locations for job growth and enterprise development. A vision of the future spatial economy of East London will help to make critical judgements about the relationships between different business districts and zones. These are rapidly emerging at the moment and there is opportunity to start to provide a detailed distinctive character to the different clusters and agglomerations as they develop and mature.
- A clearer picture of the skills and employability requirements for long term improvement in the rate of employment of East London Residents from local job sources, which will complement local and regional employment opportunities.
- Longer term economic development planning and programming which focus on East London's future in the context of London and the UK, defining East London's contribution to London's success.

As was discussed in the previous chapter, there are many organisations in East London which undertake important elements of the economic development activities, there is no organisation that is

taking a lead on the strategy for economic development and future employment in the area. The Mayor's Economic Development Strategy for London, which has recently been published, provides a good framework for this. It would be important for the Mayor of London, in conjunction with the boroughs and business, to develop a more detailed proposition here. This might logically be done by the GLA in the immediate future and eventually by the proposed Mayoral Development Corporation.

Case studies

The case studies present below demonstrate that longer term job creation and enterprise development can be achieved by international events if there are certain ingredients in place:

- i) A medium to long term economic vision for the area concerned.
- ii) A clear alignment between the various dimensions of event hosting and the sector potential of the area itself, with decisions about "legacy uses" of amenities being influenced by sector opportunities.
- iii) Continued investment in economic development activities and interventions before during and after the Games.
- iv) Continued work to strengthen supply chains and improve competitiveness of the local labour force.
- v) A clear programme of pro-active investment facilitation to attract external investment.
- vi) Continued work after the event itself to animate and "brand" new locations and amenities.

The case studies illustrate several of these ingredients in varying ways.

Barcelona and the 1992 Summer Olympic Games

Overview

"Not only did Barcelona react well to the Games, it succeeded in maintaining the growth generated, on a scale never seen before."(Brunet, 2005)

The case of Barcelona represents an example of how a city can redefine itself within a generation. According to a range of established city indexes such as the European Cities Monitor, the Anholt-GfK Roper City Brands IndexSM and the Mercer Global Quality of Life Index, the city is one of the most improved in Europe over the past 30 years. Most commentators point to the award of 1992 Olympic Games to the City of Barcelona in 1986 as the turning point in the history of the city. A decision was taken by city leaders to use the Games to make a series of cosmetic and more profound changes to the city and establish an economic legacy that transformed the Barcelona from a declining industrial metropolis to a modern and thriving knowledge hub.

The Barcelona story

The Barcelona story represents perhaps the most remarkable example of how a city can redefine itself within the space of a generation. Commentators and practitioners worldwide now look to the city for inspiration, best-practice and leadership.

In the 1980s, though, Barcelona was not on the map. It was seen as a declining city that was suffering from the impacts of acute de-industrialisation. By 1986, unemployment stood at 22% and the city's budget was tending towards the red. The end of the Franco regime in 1975 and the first direct election of a Barcelona Mayor in 1979, however, raised the expectations of the city for a brighter, more positive future. In planning and strategy terms, the platform provided by the 1976 General Metropolitan Plan, was critical. It laid out Barcelona's international ambition for hosting events and functions that could generate the type of infrastructural investment required for enhanced competitiveness (Cundy *et al.*, 2004).

In 1986, many of these ambitions were realised when the city was successful in its bid to host the 1992 Olympic Games. The Olympic Games were used to make a series of both cosmetic and more profound changes to the city that would transform Barcelona into the vibrant place it is today. The city's infrastructure and image were modernised, its landscape beautified and its global connectivity enhanced. More recent years have seen the city pursue an ambitious phase of development with confidence, leveraging its high quality of life offer to support a process of positioning as a key European knowledge hub.

Building an economic legacy: Key phases and events

The delivery of the economic legacy of the Barcelona Olympics occurred in three broad phases which are detailed in the following table. The table illustrates that building a robust post-Games economic legacy in Barcelona was closely associated with the delivery of a robust physical or urban development legacy.

Table 3.2. Three phases of building Barcelona's economic legacy

Phase	Timing	Overview	Detail
Physical or Urban (re)-development	Pre-Games (c. 1986-1992)	The planning and delivery of a new urban platform and expansion of the physical capacity of the city to deliver the Olympic Games successfully and build a strong, knowledge-based post-Games socio-economic legacy.	A total of 61.5% of total Olympic spending was allocated for building work ⁵ 30% of the city's telecommunications system digitised (Brunet, 1995) 40 000 kilometre fibre optic network completed ⁶ Sewerage system was extended by 17% Transport network saw a 15% increase in total number of roads. Avinguda de la Diagonal extended to the seafront El Prat Airport enhanced to increased international trade. Beaches and green spaces grew in area by 78% Numbers of ponds and fountains increased by 268%. (Brunet, 1995)
Games delivery and brand building	Games (July, 1992)	The delivery of a successful Olympic Games to a global audience to enhance the city's image and brand and build a post-Games tourism and knowledge-based economy	Games considered a "total success in organisational and sporting terms". ⁷ The organising committee closed its account in 1993 with a surplus of USD 3 million (COOB, 1992) Main Press Centre 248% largest than Los Angeles 1984 and 64% larger than Seoul 1988 Estimate television audience of 3.5 billion compared to 2.5 billion during Los Angeles 1984 Games (Brunet, 1995). ⁸
Socio-economic or social and corporate development	Post-Games (1992 onwards)	The leveraging of the new capacities and capabilities to develop a skills and knowledge-based economy. Innovation and entrepreneurship through targeted initiatives. Upgrade of infrastructures in designated areas.	Designation and development of 22@ Innovation District "Special Infrastructure Plan" delivery in the 22@ Innovation District. Continued support for Barcelona Activa programmes and projects such as Porta22.

Economic development legacy impacts: The evidence

The city's transformation is mirrored by impressive performances across a range of indicators.

Employment

Since 1986, when unemployment rates stood at 22%, the economy of the City of Barcelona has become robust and is characterised by a dynamic and diversified economic structure. Once an economy built around industries the Barcelona of today is strongly specialised in the service sector, which employs around 84% of the city's workers. Today, industry only employs 10% the workers in the city.

In the short-term, the Olympic Games significantly reduced unemployment. According to Brunet (1995), "the numbers unemployed fell from an all-time high of 127 774, in November 1986, to as low as 60 885, by July 1992, during the Games themselves". Brunet adds that "between October 1986 and August 1992, Barcelona's general unemployment rate fell from 18.4% to 9.6%, while the Spanish figures were 20.9% and 15.5%, respectively".

Over the longer-term, employment rates in Barcelona are strong. Despite a small rise in unemployment during the global recession, in total, there are approximately more than 1 000 000 jobs registered in Barcelona today. The employment rate is close to 75% (the Lisbon goal is 70%); the female employment rate is close to 70% (the Lisbon goal is 60%); and the employment rate for people over 55 is above 55% (the Lisbon goal is 50%). These rates are better than the averages for Cataluña and for the rest of Spain as a whole.⁹

Business attractiveness

Barcelona has performed exceptionally well to rise up the ranks of the European Cities Monitor, which assesses business location attractiveness. Its record high performance of 4th in 2009 represents a remarkable rise from 1990 – the first year of Cushman & Wakefield's Monitor – when it was ranked 11th. The city first entered the top 10 in 1993, where it has remained ever since, entering the top 5 in 2005 and the top 4 in 2009 after overtaking Brussels.¹⁰ The city's business location ranking rise in the last two decades is the second highest in Europe, after only Madrid (up 11 places to 6th).¹¹ The 2009 study found that the European business community considers Barcelona the city that is doing the most to improve itself and to develop, while the city has also been rated the highest quality living environment for the last two years. (Cushman & Wakefield, 2009)¹² Perhaps related to Barcelona's burgeoning business reputation, the IESE Business School is now rated in the top 12 in the world by the Financial Times, having been ranked 25th in 2000.¹³

City branding

Branding is an area where Barcelona has widely-accepted world-class strength. The city's Gaudi architecture, sense of place, fun and culture are all factors in the city performing so well in brand assessments. In the 2009 Anholt-GfK Roper City Brands IndexSM Ranking, Barcelona was ranked 6th in the world, up from 9th in its ranking in 2006 (Anholt, 2009). The Saffron European Branding Barometer also identifies Barcelona's strong brand, placing it joint 3rd in Europe with Munich out of 72 cities, behind just Paris and London. Saffron also praises Barcelona's brand utilisation rate of 112%, indicating that the city's brand exceeds its real assets. As Saffron states, "Barcelona is the leading example of a city that has got its leaders together and focused on what it wants to be known for by improving its assets and exploiting what it already had" (Saffron, 2009).

City wealth

In a 2007 PwC study of urban GDP, Barcelona is ranked the 31st wealthiest city in the world with a GDP of USD 140 billion. The city is projected to fall slightly in relative GDP terms to 42nd globally by 2020, but is still expected to exceed the USD 200 billion GDP barrier by then.¹⁴

Tourism

Barcelona has witnessed an exceptional rise in visitors over the past three decades as it has become a destination of worldwide calibre. In 1981, six years after the end of the Franco regime, tourism numbers remained low at almost 700 000. In 1991, numbers grew steadily to 1.7 million. By 1993, a year after the Barcelona Olympic Games, 2.5 million tourists visited the city. Between 1991 and 2003, the average number of tourists visiting the city doubled. These figures were matched, between 1996 and 2003, by a 4.3% growth in hotel accommodation. From 1998 to 2002 alone, there was an increase of more than 40% in the number of cruise ship visits to the Port of Barcelona.¹⁵

Growth in air passengers has also been impressive. In 1977, the city's main airport handled 5 million passengers, with that figure reaching almost 33 million in 2007, amounting to an exponential

650% increase.¹⁶ This compares to a 330% increase over the same time period at London Heathrow.¹⁷ In 1990, Barcelona recorded 1.7 million visitors, placing the city only 13th in Europe. By 2005, that figure had more than tripled to 5.5 million, placing the city fourth in Europe.¹⁸

FDI attraction

Barcelona came 38th globally for attracting greenfield FDI projects between 2003 and 2006, a strong performance, ahead of the likes of Amsterdam, Toronto and Frankfurt (Loco Monitor, 2007).

Affordability

Despite its high rankings across a range of indicators, Barcelona is not one of the most costly cities to live in. Mercer's Cost of Living studies have placed the city 31st in both 2007 and 2008, alongside Rio de Janeiro and Stockholm, but well behind comparable cities such as Milan (10th), Paris (12th), Sydney (15th), Rome (16th), Vienna (19th) and Madrid (28th) (Mercer, 2008). Similarly, in UBS' 2009 Prices and Earnings Survey, Barcelona is only the 25th most costly city when rent is factored in.¹⁹

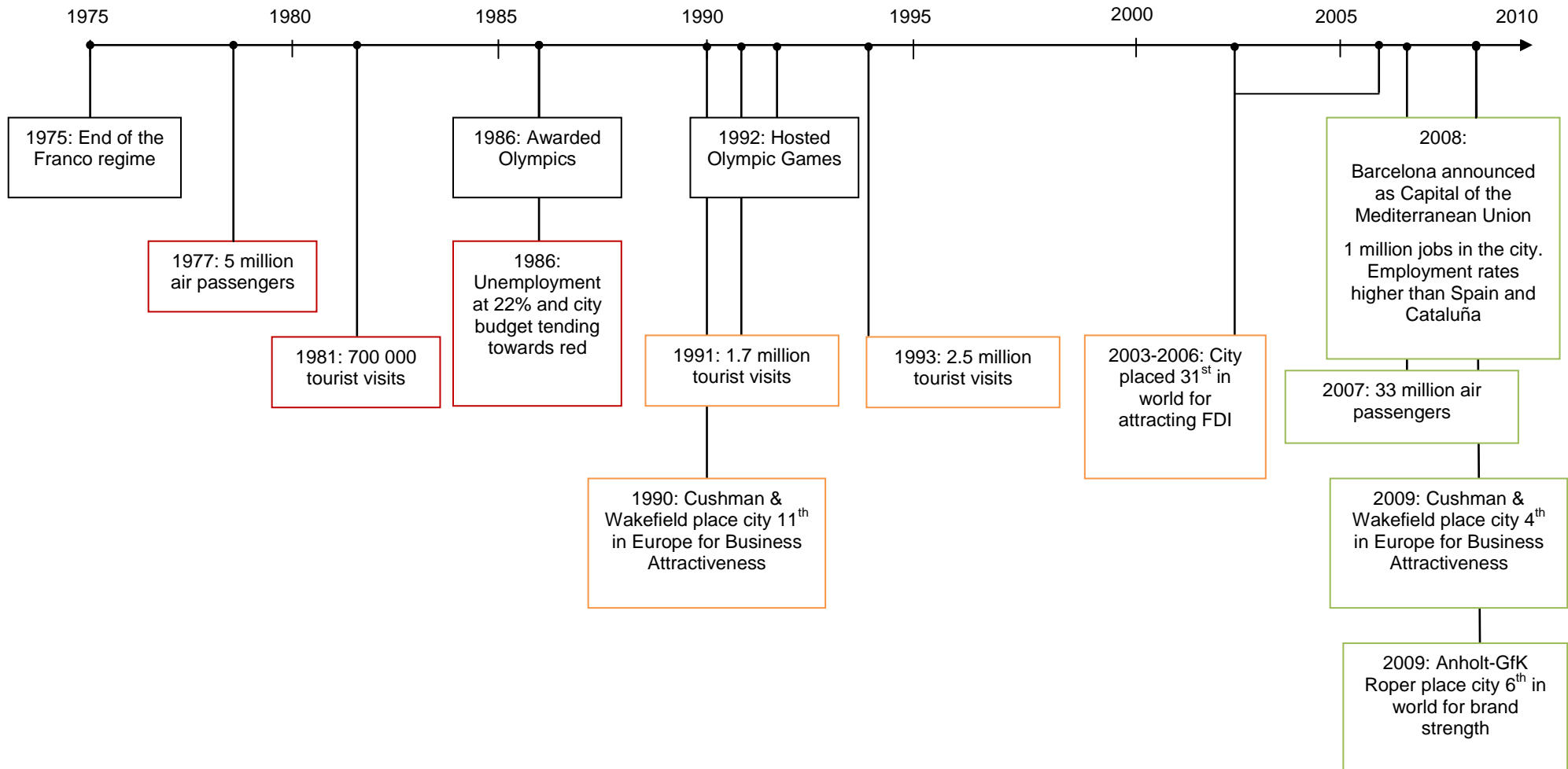
Quality of life

In the Mercer Global Quality of Life Index 2008 and 2009 Barcelona was placed 42nd in position. It is one of only two Spanish cities in the top 50, and is considered to have a higher quality of life than Madrid, New York and Seattle.²⁰

Conclusions

Very intentionally, Barcelona's leaders were able position the Olympics Games as a city project, but also a *citizen's* project. Since then, this philosophy of a city by the people and for the people has underpinned Barcelona's development efforts. It is a key component of the city's post-Games economic legacy success. Indeed, as the local development agency 22@ Barcelona suggests, the Olympic Games catalysed urban innovation in the city, which gave way to corporate innovation which is giving way to social innovation. This mirrors quite neatly the three phased approach to Barcelona's economic development legacy as outlined earlier in this section. The city's current Mayor, Jordi Hereu, is also clear on how Olympic Games can induce a deep and beneficial form of local economic development if it is approached in a smart and people-centred fashion. "I believe", he suggests, "that every Olympic city should look beyond the sports event itself and use it as a springboard to design forward-looking development strategies. It is therefore vital to engage with the public and with all the sectors involved in the city's economy in order to ensure that the project is successful".²¹

Figure 3.1. The Barcelona economic development timeline



Turin and the 2006 Winter Olympic Games

Overview

"Today, investing resources and human capital in Torino, in its metropolitan area, in Piemonte, means betting on a territory that has always known how to take advantage of difficult moments and periods of crisis, and that each time has improved its position on the world's map and redefined its role." (Urban Centre Metropolitan, 2010).

The transformation of Turin from the declining industrial powerhouse of Italy to a thriving European metropolis represents one of the continent's most impressive examples of urban regeneration and rebranding at the city scale. The 2006 Winter Olympic Games undoubtedly marked a turning point for the city. By accelerating the physical development of Turin, the Olympics created a platform for the city to promote itself as a cultural hub and a city of design and technology, creative businesses, engineering and science. As well as supporting a change in the city's image, new transport infrastructures made Turin much closer to the centre of Europe and much more attractive to new firms and talented workers. The result was profound and it was felt by the people of Turin as well as the Turin economy. Steadily the economy diversified and deepened, aligning it much more closely to a knowledge hub than the manufacturing city it had always been perceived as.

The Turin story

Though the 2006 Games undoubtedly marked the turning point, the Turin story began much earlier.

Traditionally the industrial jewel of Italy, the city suffered acutely when its factories began to close in the late 1970s. As unemployment rose and the urban landscape degraded, the region's self perception also began to change. The people of Piedmont convinced themselves that they had lost their identity. Far from challenging this perception, the evidence supported it. Research showed that the city was seen as "grey", "automotive-focussed" and "dry" by outsiders - all visions which were at odds with attracting investment and bolstering civic pride, which are cornerstones of urban competitiveness.

From the early 1990s, when unemployment stood at 12-13%, Turin's leaders were forced into action. As a result, the city began "a process of deliberation about its identity, new directions of growth, and a vision for the future. It was hoped to reposition the city both nationally and internationally, and to present it as a European regional capital."²² The inauguration of Turin's first directly elected Mayor in 1993 gave the city the necessary political stability to plan for the longer-term, balance its books and begin to deliver a comprehensive transformation from "one company town" status to knowledge city. As Paolo Verri, Director of Torino Internazionale puts it; however, "the most important transformation for the people of Turin was about their identity" (OECD, 2008).

Spurred on by the award of the Winter Olympics in 1999, and guided by the city's Strategic Plan of 2000, the first of its kind in Italy, the city began to make a series of symbolic and practical adjustments. As well as taking steps to internationalise and reposition itself as a regional hub and focus for investment; the city also spent USD 1.02 billion enhancing its infrastructure compared to USD 523 million constructing sporting facilities for the Olympic Games itself (Bondonio *et al.*, 2006).

This consolidation and enhancement of the physical platform of the city, together with the work undertaken to strengthen and promote the city's brand supported Turin's next phase of development in a very effective way. Though the Winter Olympics was essential to building and launching Turin's new brand, the city authorities saw the event as the starting point of a much wider and more long-term economic strategy to bring about positive change. Beyond 2006, the city worked strategically to maximise the socio-economic legacy benefits of the Olympics. For instance, it continued to reinforce

its new international brand, emerging business sectors and growing visitor economy with a) the hosting of a number of international events (such as Euroscience Open Forum and the XXIII World Congress of Architecture; b) the enhancement of its international connectivity (opening of the new Porta Susa Rail Station and high speed connection to Milan in 2009);²³ and c) the consolidation of its cultural infrastructures and amenities (the new museum and exhibition area of the ReggiadiVenariaReale is opened in 2007, the Automobile Museum re-opened in 2008 and the Spina 2 area for cultural amenities is set to open in 2011).

Even given the global financial crisis, by the early part of 2010, Turin's development trajectory is positive. The city is emerging as a genuine European metropolis with strengths in a number of sectors but is perhaps now best seen as a centre for culture, design, creativity and visitors.

Building an economic legacy: Key phases and events

Similar to Barcelona, the Olympics played a key role in the economic transformation of Turin. Much like Barcelona, though perhaps less distinct, development can be seen to have been phased. Three phases can be identified, which are illustrated and evidenced below. Whereas the award and hosting of the Games in Barcelona initiated and accelerated urban change in the city, the Olympics catalysed many a transformation that was already underway. This is not to downplay the role the Winter Games in 2006 played in the economic development in Turin. Indeed, it is recognised by commentators within and outside Turin to have been fundamental, particularly for the international projection of the city's new brand. It is more accurate to see the Olympics as the pinnacle of a wider and more long-term process of economic development guided by the 2000 Strategic Plan for Turin. Once again, it is important to note the absolute requirement that is the delivery of the necessary infrastructures to support the post-Games economy. For Turin, perhaps more than Barcelona, this hard urban development phase is ongoing, with major projects such as the delivery of high speed rail connectivity to Milan and Lyon.

Table 3.3. Three phases of building Turin's economic legacy

Phase	Timing	Overview	Detail
Physical or Urban (re)-development	Pre-Games (1999-2006)	The planning and delivery of a new urban platform and expansion of the physical capacity of the city to deliver the Olympic Games successfully. Cultural infrastructures also developed to support the evolution of a strong, culture, technology and tourism-based post-Games socio-economic legacy.	Turin Strategic Plan launched in 2000 USD 1.02 billion enhancing its infrastructure compared to USD 523 million constructing sporting facilities (Bondonio <i>et al.</i> , 2006). Attraction of European School of Business to the city in 2004 Line 1 of the Subway opens connecting two main stations in the city
Games delivery and brand building	Games (February 2006)	The delivery of a successful Olympic Games to a global audience to enhance the city's image and brand and build a post-Games tourism and knowledge-based economy	3 billion TV audiences during the Olympics (compared to 3.5 billion Barcelona 1992 Summer Olympic Games). A record 2 508 athletes from 80 National Olympic Committees (NOCs). ²⁴
Socio-economic or social and corporate development	Post-Games (2006 onwards)	The leveraging of the new capacities and capabilities to develop a culture, visitor and knowledge-based economy. Degree of continued upgrading of major infrastructures at the city-wide scale.	Torino Olympic Park incorporated to manage the post-Olympic patrimony and valorise the venues and structures 3 million visitors to museums (2006; +170% 2000-2006) 4.75 million tourists in Torino and mountain valleys (2006; +65% 1997-2007) Torino is the first World Design Capital in 2008 Urban Centre Metropolitan (2010)

Economic development legacy impacts: The evidence

Economic productivity

A report published shortly after the Games ended suggested that the "Olympic Games effect" would boost regional GDP. It foresees the Games stimulating an "average annual increase in GDP of just under 3% for the Piedmont and 0.2% for Italy" which are "particularly significant given the low rate of growth in Italy's economy over the past few years" (Bondonio *et al.*, 2006).

Jobs and employment

In broad terms, employment in Turin has vastly improved since the mid 1980s. In 1991, the unemployment rate stood at 12.4%. In 2008, the unemployment rate was measured at 12.4%.

Despite the strength of the city's development trajectory before 2006, it is undeniable that the Olympic Games contributed towards these encouraging statistics. In 2009, PricewaterhouseCoopers reported the preparation for Games created a significant number of jobs. Between 2001 and 2004, between 4 000 and 5 000 jobs were created year which approximates to 18 000 new jobs during this period alone (PWC, 2009). At its peak, the Turin Olympic Games Organising Committee (TOROC) reported 1 828 employees. A post Games analysis of the economic impact of the Olympics by Bondonio and Campaniello reported that: "For every million Euros spent, approximately 21 full time jobs should be created in the Piedmont each year, projecting an approximate average total of 54 000 new jobs per year and an increase in employment of 2.8%." The sectors to experience the greatest number of new jobs (in descending order) include the construction, commerce, and hotel and restaurant sectors (Bondonio and Campaniello, 2006). These statistics highlight the emergence of Turin as a visitor centre in its post-Olympic Games development phase.

Skills agenda

The skills agenda in Turin centres on the city's growing higher education (HE) offer. To a large extent this growth reflects the broader shift of the city's economy from manufacturing towards knowledge which is accompanied by a decline in the demand for "manual skills" and a rise in the demand for "softer skills". In line with its strategy to enhance its HE offer, the city succeeded in encouraging the European School of Business to Turin in 2004. After months of lobbying, the Business School selected Turin as its new fourth campus, joining existing campuses in Madrid, London and Paris. As well as reinforcing the Turin's brand as a high quality education provider galvanise public and private sector relationships in Turin, this coup has ensured the steady production of skilled labour to the city and support its burgeoning tertiary sector.

According to Roberto Quaglia, the Managing Director of the Turin Campus, it has focussed aim of "delivering knowledge" to Turin its businesses by attracting and retaining high quality students, and by producing knowledge workers. Indeed, through the complete portfolio of its management programmes, the School has already trained around 2 000 managers of which 50% return to Italy after three years should they in fact choose to leave. In addition, the European School of Management has a very effective means of ensuring a good balance between the supply of talent and the demand of employers. The School's Corporate Committee, for instance, continually redesigns the curricula in a demand driven way to reflect the skills firms require. The School's Placement Office works with HR departments to place students effectively – 95% of the School's students sign a contract for employment before leaving.

There are also other ways in which the HE sector has grown in the post-Olympic era in Turin. Indeed, the Olympic infrastructure itself has been recalibrated to support the skills agenda in Turin. For instance, villages built to accommodate the 10 000 reporters resident in the Piedmont area during the Games have "almost all been converted into university campuses for students living outside Turin".²⁵ Perhaps the other most significant factor in the growth of the HE sector is the broader

increase in attractiveness of the city as a result of the Games. According to Quaglia, the "Olympics had a very positive effect on the city and therefore on the attractiveness of the Turin Campus to current and prospective students" (Quaglia, 2010). The Olympic investment in infrastructures; housing, offices and commercial sites; sports facilities; and environmental infrastructures came to a total of USD 2.208 billion (Bondonio and Campaniello, 2006). This investment constructed a physical platform on which a constructive socio-economic legacy and skills agenda could be built.

Innovation and entrepreneurship

There are a number of factors which combine to promote innovation and a growing spirit of entrepreneurialism in Turin. Taking into account the city's renewed sense of identity and pride (an intangible often seen as necessary catalyst for enterprise), the Olympic Games also delivered the necessary physical platform for the growth of SME businesses. As already highlighted, Turin spent USD 1.02 billion enhancing its infrastructure compared in preparation for the Games outside the capital spent on its sporting infrastructures. So, in essence, over USD 1 billion was spent to enhance Turin's post-Games prospects (Bondonio and Campaniello, 2006).

Given the footloose nature of entrepreneurship, quality of life is essential to attract and retain the talent which drive the ideas, innovation and energy required to develop a strong entrepreneurial spirit in a city. In this way, Turin's focus on cultural infrastructure, combined with the environmental improvements which were made to the city as part of the Olympic investment programme, has been essential. Building on this, Turin also addressed the specific infrastructure requirements for innovation and entrepreneurship. For instance, in 2003, the Torino Wireless District was formed as the city sought to develop an internationally renowned ICT cluster.²⁶ Indeed, Universities in the Torino Wireless district work with over 1 500 companies to facilitate SME growth.²⁷ The preparation of the Games also galvanised the delivery of a high-speed rail link with Milan and an optical-fibre network linking all of Turin's urban and provincial areas, both of which help to foster a healthy environment in the city for business and entrepreneurship.

Visitor economy

Amongst others, Turin's visitor economy has been a significant beneficiary of the 2006 Winter Olympic Games. According to Deputy Vice President of the Turin Olympic Organising Committee (TOROC) Evelina Christillin, since the Games, "conference tourism is continually increasing and tourism linked to sport, culture and free time activities has witnessed a steady and positive trend in growth".²⁸ Specifically, this growth is driven by an increase in particular of "city-breakers". In the lead up to the Games the "realistic scenario" for hotel bed night increase in the city by Tourism Torino was 1.6 million in 2001 to 2.2 million in 2006 to 3.0 in 2011.²⁹ According to Piemonte Tourism in June 2009: "From the year 2000 to the present day Piemonte has seen an increase of 43% of stable tourists and over 37% of arrivals, showing a trend well above the national average... 2008 has again confirmed this trend, bringing us – with 11.5 million overnight stays – to exceed the Olympic year record and become a case history at the international level."³⁰

To support this growth various investments were made throughout the city and beyond from enhancements to ski resorts, public transport improvements and marketing. As well as supporting the marketing effort, the Games catalysed the construction of hotel space. Between 2000 and 2005, the region's accommodation capacity increased by approximately 15%. These 162 000 beds comprised of increases of 16% in one- or two-star establishments; 36% in four-star hotels; 217% in five-star hotels, and as many as 820% in bed and breakfast accommodation (B&B). In the same time period, the number of five-star hotels increased from four to seven and the number of B&Bs from 239 to 3 126 (Bondonio and Campaniello, 2006).

Cultural infrastructures

The cultural sector is perhaps where the legacy of the Games has been exploited to nearest its maximum potential. Since the mid-1990s and accelerated by the award and hosting of the Olympic

Games the city's already impressive cultural endowment has been deepened and made more diverse. An ambitious programme of renovation, rebuilding and construction has seen Turin's cultural sector strengthen considerably over the past 15 years. The renovation and re-opening of five theatres and eight museums kick started the city's cultural resurgence.³¹ In 2006, a total of 3 million visited the city's museums, a figure up 170% compared to the 2000-2006 average. Momentum behind the cultural resurgence of the city, which supports its growing visitor economy and reinforces its brand continued to build years post-Games. The next landmark cultural project, the Spina 2 area for cultural amenities, is set to open in 2011.

Branding

In an interview with the International Olympic Committee in the month following the Winter Olympics, Elda Tessore, the City Council representative responsible for the Games, said "before, no one in the world knew where Turin was. We had to say: think of Europe... northern Italy... close to Milan... But now we can just say: Torino!"³² In another post-Torino 2006 study, 93% of respondents from within Turin described the event as "very positive" for the city's international profile. This compared to a figure of 80% recorded before the Games, showing that the perceived boost to the Turin brand was even bigger than expected (Bondonio and Campaniello, 2006).³³ The International Olympic Committee publication summed up the situation well stating that its President Jacques Rogge praised the Games as "truly magnificent" and "perhaps the most remarkable in Winter Games history".³⁴ Of the closing ceremony, it commented that "the athletes were cheering and dancing and thousands of spectators in the Stadium, as well as over a billion TV spectators around the world, enjoyed a truly spectacular show".³⁵

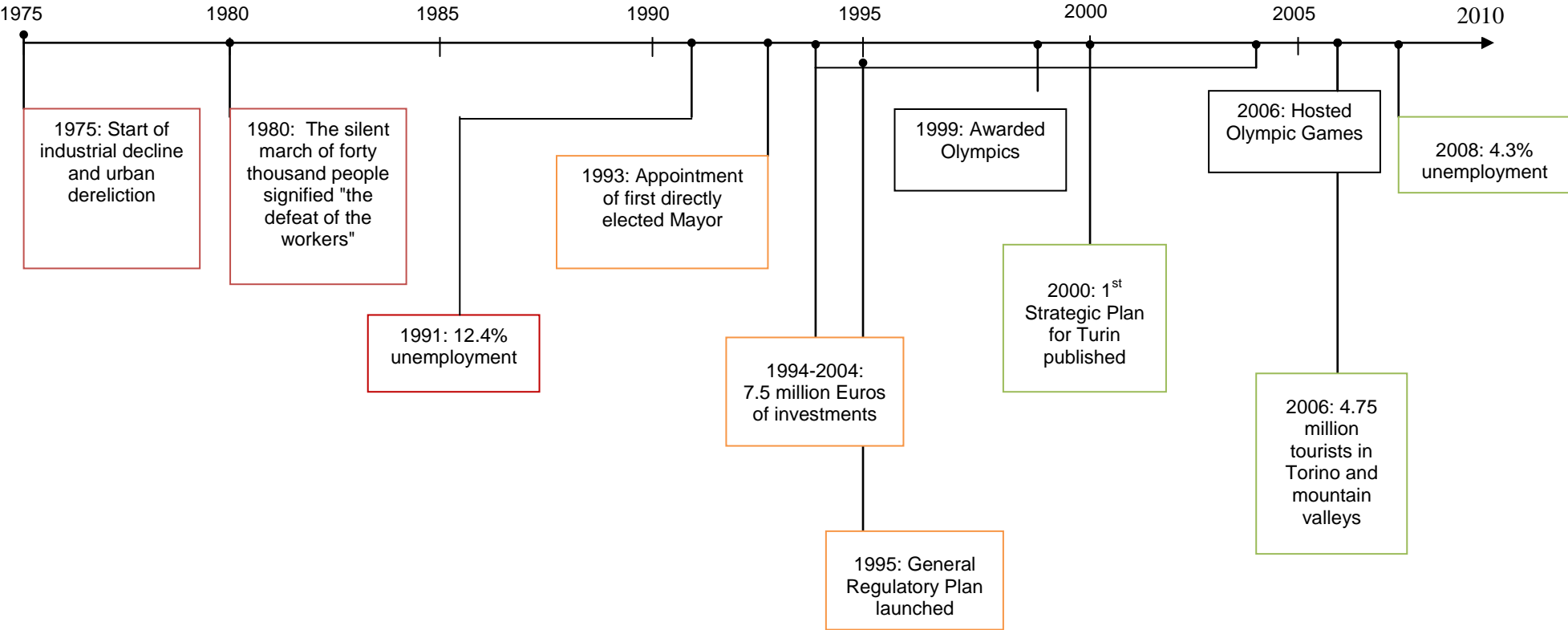
Conclusions

Without doubt, the Olympics facilitated the transformation of Turin from one company town to a knowledge city where "the ideas, skills, and creativity inherited from its industrial past form the new locomotives of sustainable economic growth".³⁶ Many commentators of the Games see the Turin Winter Olympics as beginning "its renaissance" allowing the city to reclaim its position "among the marvels of Italy" (UCM, 2010). In fact, this transformation, as has been discussed, began much earlier than the award of the Games in 1999. Never the less, the Games did provide city planners, policy makers and practitioners with the necessary focus to craft and deliver comprehensive change in Turin. In short, the Games acted as a catalyst for transformation, the pinnacle of it and the opportunity to announce to the world Turin's resurgence.

Specifically, and in line with the keynote 2000 Strategic Plan, the Olympics accelerated the implementation of the physical platform required to build a successful socio-economic legacy. Its physical and virtual connectivity with the rest of Europe and beyond was enhanced with fibre-optic cabling and new high speed rail links. Its cultural offer has been improved with new museums, open spaces and investment in the tourism industry. Finally, the city has been rebranded as an emerging knowledge hub, an image which is supported by the growth of the HE sector. As Turin's Urban Centre Metropolitan concludes "the Olympic Games were the chance to change its perception from an industrial city to a vibrant centre of contemporary art, music, cinema, fashion and design".³⁷

So successful has the global event strategy been in Turin that it has reinforced the success associated with the Olympics with other events such as the XXIII World Congress of Architecture in 2008 and the EuroscienceOpen Forum in 2010. In 2011 the city will celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Reunification of Italy.³⁸ As Paolo Verri, Director of Torino Internazionale puts it "hosting these attractive large events will confirm and reinforce Torino's capacity to organise and to look ahead, a capacity that unites and renews the city's industrial tradition without denying its past". (OECD, 2008)

Figure 3.2. The Turin economic development timeline



Sydney and the 2000 Summer Olympic Games

Overview

"The direct impact of investment and visitation is clear if short-term, but the broader benefits would be proven in the longer term, providing a platform for the nation's corporations to excel and provide a showcase for a city region to attract inward investors." (Tibbot, 2001)

The Sydney Olympic Games of 2000 were described by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as an "exceptionally well-organised" and a "true celebration of Olympic values and sporting excellence".³⁹ It is around precisely these conclusions that the economic legacy of the Games for the City of Sydney has been built. The combination of the world class standard to which the Games and associated projects were delivered together with the global audience in front of which the event took place has expanded economic capacity of the city considerably. Specifically, according to Tibbot, "the Olympics help[ed] to create a more competitive economic attitude in Australia, and it is the benefits that are being generated by this that will outweigh and outlast other factors" (Tibbot, 2001).

The Sydney story

Situated in one of the world's most impressive natural harbours, the City of Sydney is "Australia's iconic face to the world – its international flag bearer."⁴⁰ After years of successful development planning and delivery, together with the positive impact of the 2000 Olympics, the city is now classified as an Alpha+ city and sits in the same peer groups as Tokyo, Beijing and Shanghai.⁴¹

Unlike many global event hosting cities, Sydney had little requirement to use its Olympics Games to fundamentally transform its future. It was already reasonably globally successful, home to a growing Financial Services hub, a strong Higher Education cluster, as well as a high quality of life offering with its beaches, annual average of seven hours of sunshine a day and dynamic, outdoor-orientated culture. None-the-less, the Games was still designed to deliver an effective economic legacy which would catapult the city towards international competitiveness and success.

Though there are others, the central theme of the legacy left by the Sydney Olympics was the way in which the private sector was engaged to support its delivery. In the short-term, the delivery of the Games generated outstanding practical know-how around efficiency, project planning and implementation. The 20 to 30 companies such as Lend Lease and Westfield which collaborated with the public sector in the run up to the Games helped to establish Sydney as world famous for the near-perfect staging of Olympic Games. Over the longer-term, Sydney and its companies were able to leverage this new reputation to enhance the city's international trade performance, generate new job opportunities and strengthen Sydney's position in the global economy.

Even before the Olympics were awarded to Sydney in September 1993, legacy opportunities were being considered. The bid for the 2000 Games was orchestrated by the Sydney Olympic Bid Committee (SOBC), a "powerful consortium of some of Sydney's most influential private and public sector actors". (Owen, 2001) This established the private sector as central to the delivery of the Games and its legacy. This entrepreneurialism continued after the award of the Games. The Olympic organising authorities, namely SOCOG, OCA, SPOC and ORTA, were "all statutory corporations with representatives from both the private and public sectors" (Owen, 2001). As Owen concludes, "the influence of the private sector and their entrepreneurial, capitalist principles was thus very strong in the organisation of the Sydney Games".

The innovative, entrepreneurial and professionalism ethos that private sector involvement brought to the Games pervaded the entire Sydney approach to its delivery, and explains to a large extent why the Olympics was described as "exceptionally well-organised" following the closing

ceremony by the IOC.⁴² The public private collaboration in the delivery and operation of Olympic infrastructure in Sydney provides an excellent example of the effectiveness of this arrangement. For instance, the Mirvac Lend Lease Consortium built and operated the Athletes' Village, with the State Government providing AUD 63.8 million as a construction contribution (Owen, 2001). With the successful delivery of this project on the Lend Lease corporate CV, the company has won many more contracts, including that of building the London 2012 Athletes' Village in Stratford.

The successful delivery of the Games to a global audience through this highly effective public-private approach is a story which has resonated globally. When combined with established advantages of the city such as its connectivity, quality of life and relative lack of continental competition, the Sydney offer has been an attractive prospect for multi-national companies, tourists and talented individuals alike. According to the City of Sydney, as well as being home to "almost half of the regional headquarters of multi-national corporations in Australia", Sydney has become a positive model of openness with half of all international visitors and two-thirds of international business visitors to Australia spending time in the city.⁴³ In addition, Sydney is a net receiver of migrants from other cities across Australia and more than 40% of the city's workforce was born overseas.^{44, 45, 46, 47}

In conclusion, the hosting of the Sydney Olympic Games reinforced the city's strong development progress by generating and exporting expertise around the excellent delivery of mega events whilst projecting the other advantages of the city to a global audience. The Sydney of today is the economic heartbeat of its metropolitan area and nation as a whole, estimated to have generated USD 80 million in 2007-2008, which represented over 30% of the GDP of the metropolitan area and 8% of national GDP.⁴⁸ Though particularly well-known for its world renowned tourist attractions which support a healthy visitor economy, Sydney's economy as a whole is diverse, productive and successful at a global level. Its near 20 000 businesses which provide jobs to 1 in 12 Australians make up 20% of Australia's finance sector, 13% of its Information, Media and technology firms and 11% of its Creative and Performing Arts capacity.⁴⁹

Economic development legacy impacts: The evidence

Economic productivity and employment

In a report published by the New South Wales Treasury prior to the Games, a number of scenarios were presented for the impact of the Olympics on the New South Wales economy. During the Games construction period of 1994 to 2000, gross state product (GSP) is projected to rise by over 0.5% per year in an average year during this period.⁵⁰ In the Games year an AUD 1.7 billion boost to the GSP was expected.⁵¹ Over the longer-term, as the table below confirms, the annual impact of the Games to the State economy was predicted to measure AUD 400 million each year between 2001 and 2006.⁵² The table also shows how the impact of the Olympics was predicted to resonate beyond the State to the National level.

Table 3.4. Economy wide impact of the Sydney Olympics - central scenario, annual average by period

		Gross Domestic Product (AUD 95/96 million)	Real Household Consumption (AUD 95/96 million)	Employment (annual jobs)
Pre-Games (1994/95-1999/00)	NSW	750	350	10 100
	Australia	775	275	11 100
Games year (2000/01)	NSW	1 700	350	24 000
	Australia	1 550	525	29 400
Post Games (2001/02-2005/06)	NSW	400	375	3 000
	Australia	425	750	400

The table also gives an insight to the State Government's predictions of the impact of the Games on the labour market. With most jobs created in the construction sector in the pre-Games period of

1994 to 2000, it was expected that 11 100 jobs would be created per year. This increased to 24 000 during the year of the Games and fell to 3 000 during the post-Games period of 2001 to 2006.⁵³

Foreign direct investment and trade

As has been explained, one of the strongest impacts of the Olympic Games has been reputational enhancement of the businesses involved in its delivery. The quality with which they operated put Australian business and Sydney as a city of business on the map. The New South Wales Government predicted that pre-Games, Games and post-Games investment into the State would increase by 1.35%, 0.09% and 0.1% per annum respectively.⁵⁴ At the same times, exports would increase by 0.71%, 5.76% and 0.22% respectively.⁵⁵ In reality, the State received a Games-related injection of over AUD 1.2 billion worth of convention business between 1993 and 2007 with AUD 203 million of new business events committed since the Games. A 2001 PricewaterhouseCoopers report measured the total business investment related to the Games at AUD 600 million in new business investment (OECD, 2008). As has already been stated, the city's private sector environment is becoming increasingly internationalised. According to the City of Sydney, as well as being home to "almost half of the regional headquarters of multi-national corporations in Australia", Sydney has become a positive model of openness with half of all international visitors and two-thirds of international business visitors to Australia spending time in the city.⁵⁶

Table 3.5. Impact of the Sydney Olympics - central scenario, annual average by period

(Percentage change above base)		Investment	Exports	Consumer Price Index
Pre-Games (1994/95-1999/00)	NSW	1.35	0.71	0.04
	Australia	0.51	0.14	0.04
Games year (2000/01)	NSW	0.09	5.76	0.53
	Australia	0.02	1.43	0.33
Post Games (2001/02-2005/06)	NSW	0.10	0.22	0.29
	Australia	0.25	-0.27	0.30

Branding and exposure

Given the city's exceptional assets, Games related or not, the role of the Olympics to clarify and project the Sydney brand to a global audience had a major impact on the city post-2000. In fact, Sydney 2000 set a number of records in relation to international exposure. The Olympics was broadcasted to 3.7 billion viewers in 200 countries (600 million more than Atlanta 1996) by more than "12 000 television network personnel from around the world were headquartered in the 70 000 square-metre International Broadcast Centre".⁵⁷ In addition, the Games were attended by "more than 24 000 members of the media, double that of Barcelona 1992".⁵⁸ At the same time, "the official site handled unprecedented Internet traffic of more than 11.3 billion hits", peaking at 1.2 million per minute.⁵⁹ The excerpt from *El Pais* shown below is illustrative of the positive nature of the coverage.

In 2001 PricewaterhouseCoopers claimed the Games resulted in AUD 6.1 billion of international exposure for the business profile of Sydney, New South Wales and Australia (OECD, 2008). Influenced by the success of the Games, by 2009, the Sydney brand was described as one of the strongest internationally. According to the 2009 Anholt-GfK Roper City Brands IndexSM Sydney's brand is ranked the 2nd most powerful in the world.⁶⁰

Visitor economy

On the back of the success of the Games and the projection of the Sydney brand worldwide, the visitor economy in the city experienced a post-Games boost. PricewaterhouseCoopers measured the over AUD 6 billion in inbound tourism spending during 2001.(PWC, 2001) On the Olympic Park itself, which has been rebranded and recalibrated into a business hub and green space, tourist visits have grown steadily from 4.7 million in 2000 to over 8 million in 2006. This has been supported by

the use of the Telstra Stadium to host large-scale events. In 2006, nearly 1.2 million attended events at the stadium (SOPA, 2007).

Quality of life and environmental quality

To support the growth of the post-Games economy by making the city more attractive to domestic and foreign knowledge workers, AUD 320 million was spent improving Sydney's CBD through the widening of footpaths, improving lighting and enhancing cultural infrastructure. For the same reason, a number of other improvements were made to raise the environmental quality of the city. At Newington for instance, a new estate built to house athletes during the Games, was converted into homes for 5 000 residents, comprising of 930 apartments and 1 100 houses.⁶¹ Sydney's standing for quality of life across a range of indexes is now impressive. The city is rated in the top ten in the world by the 2008 PNYC/PwC Cities of Opportunity - Lifestyle Assets index, the 2009 Mercer Human Resource Consulting "Quality of Living Survey" and the 2009, Forbes - Top 10 Happiest Cities in the World index^{62, 63, 64}

Business infrastructure and environment

To deliver the Games, AUD 8 billion of investment was made into a broad set of Olympic infrastructures. For instance, AUD 2 billion was invested in upgrading Sydney airport to expand its capacity.(OECD, 2008) One of the most poignant illustrations of how Sydney used the Olympics to create an environment with the necessary infrastructure and hygiene advantages to attract and retain businesses is that of the Olympic Park itself.

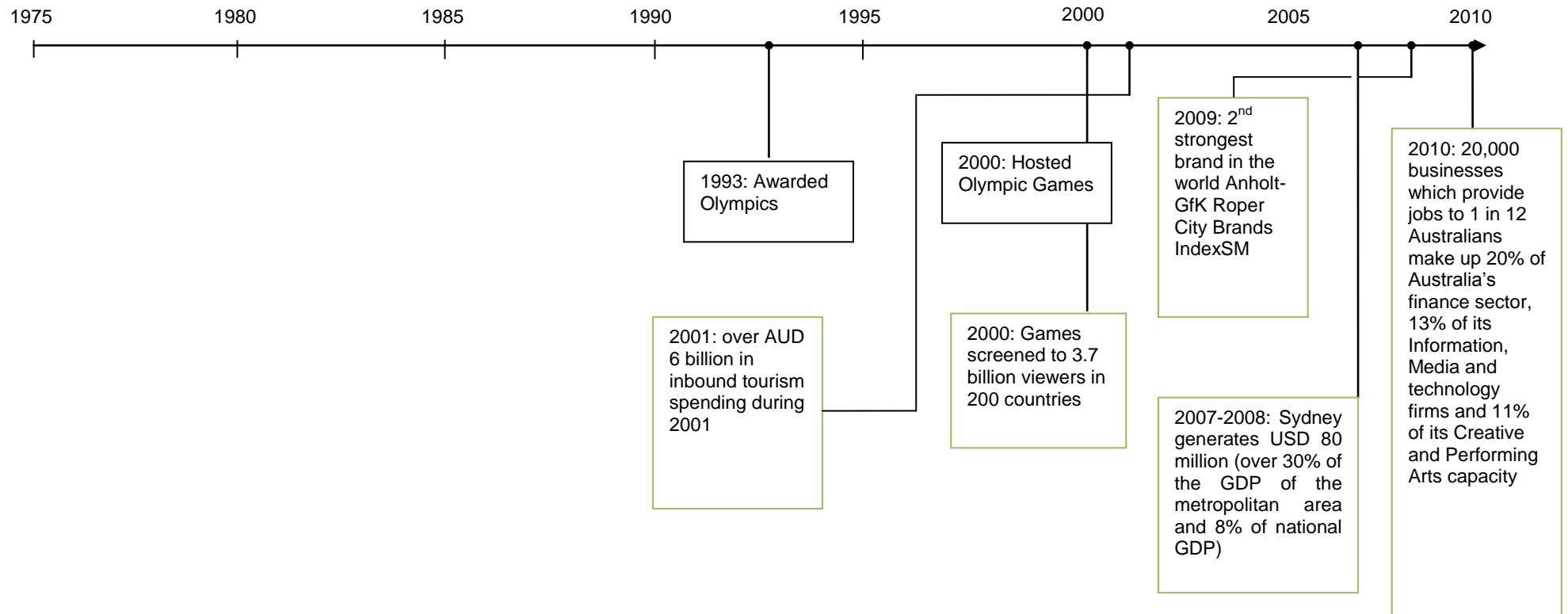
In the ten years since the 2000 Olympic Games, Sydney Olympic Park has been developed into a "wonderful asset to the people of New South Wales and Australia, offering more than 425 hectares of picturesque parklands, state-of-the-art infrastructure and world-class sporting facilities". According to the Sydney Olympic Park Authority, since 2002, the Park has as a result witnessed "strong and consistent growth in private investment, visitation and events" (SOPA, 2007).

Because of its attractiveness to firms, particularly those employing knowledge workers who enjoy its campus-like atmosphere and high quality environment and amenities, the Olympic Park has proven a popular new commercial hub in the city. By 2007, some 80 organisations and 6 000 employees had relocated to the site.(SOPA, 2007) Amongst its new tenants are a number of international brands including Samsung, Acer Computer, Brown-Forman and BP Solar as well as leading Australian companies such as Ben-Q, Energiser, Dairy Farmers, QBE Insurance and NSW Lotteries.⁶⁵ The area is now known as a "Special Economic Centre" by the New South Wales Government to recognise the role it plays. Using sustainable construction methods to complement its high quality environment, the "green campus" brand which is emerging is set to underpin the success of the Park into the future.⁶⁶

Conclusions

The economic development legacy benefits of the 2000 Olympic Games to Sydney are undeniable. Though the event was not required or indeed used to transform the city's economy and international image, the magnitude of the Games was leveraged to showcase the excellence of Australia's businesses and of the business environment of Sydney itself. Specifically, the near-perfect delivery of the event by companies such as Lend Lease and Westfield, operating in an innovative and intensive way with public bodies, was a significant benefit to these companies which gained future contracts as a result as well as Sydney which attracted high levels of talent, business and tourist in the years which followed. In other words, the Games accelerated the internationalisation and increased the global competitiveness of Sydney. Tibbott provides a succinct but comprehensive summary of the Games suggesting that "the enormous success of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games can be measured not only in terms of the quality of the festival of spirit, culture and celebration of the Games itself, but also in the sense that the process of bidding, preparing and staging the Games represents a significant catalyst for economic, cultural and social change"(Tibbot, 2001).

Figure 3.3. The Sydney economic development timeline^{67 68 69}



APPENDIX – OBSERVATIONS FROM THE PEER REVIEW CITIES

Three peer review senior economic development experts/practitioners from cities engaged in event legacy provide the following insights. Taken together they examine the current progress made towards the delivery of a successful London 2012 Olympic Games. At the same time, discussion focuses on the legacy that the Games will leave for East London and the constraints and opportunities that lie ahead. The three cities include:

- London's lasting legacy: The 2012 Olympic Games, East London and lessons from Glasgow;
- reflections on the economic development impact of the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup on Johannesburg, and the regeneration potential of the London Olympics; and
- The Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games, a long-term legacy.

London's lasting legacy: The 2012 Olympic Games, East London and lessons from Glasgow

Despite the fact that much of the work for the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games is yet to be delivered, the Glasgow experience of major events and economic development over the past 20 years may contain useful insights to support the planning and delivery of the London 2012 Games and its legacy. This is for two main reasons. First, Glasgow shares one striking common feature with London. Both East London and Glasgow East share a history of lost industry and of poor or dislocated communities. And so the roles that the Commonwealth Games will play for Glasgow and the role that the Olympic Games will play for East London will be similar. Second, since the late 1980s Glasgow has used major events as a pacing device to tackle the challenge of a former heavy engineering centre forging for itself a new economic role.

In reflecting on the progress for East London this review piece will keep some key principles in mind. Is there a coherent medium to long-term economic development strategy in place for East London? Do the legacy proposals draw upon and invest in the core assets that East London will depend upon in the developing its economic performance? And are the proposals fully exploiting the immovable deadline?

The impact of the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games and major events in Glasgow

Major events as pacing devices in Glasgow

The use of major events as pacing devices is a familiar part of the Glasgow economic development strategy. This approach began with the hosting of the Glasgow Garden Festival in a disused dock area in 1988. This was taken a step further with the European Capital of Culture title in 1990 and was deployed again in 1999 under the banner of City of Architecture & Design 1999. In each case, whilst the focal issue – horticulture/tourism, arts and design – was important to the process, it was rather less important than the impact of the event or celebration as a deadline date for completing a whole range of investments that developed the city's economic development product. The key point for London is that, from an economic development perspective, the success of these

events depended on the relationship they had with a genuine asset base of the city and the degree to which the asset base had been exploited previously. The legacy of the Garden Festival, for instance, is regarded as perhaps less effective than that of the Capital of Culture year because Glasgow could claim a depth in its cultural asset base that it could not in its horticulture offer. And because Glasgow's cultural assets such as the headquarters of the National Opera Company, the National Orchestra and the National School of Ballet as well the presence of national press, television and radio companies had not been fully recognised, the Capital of Culture Year could promote them, accelerate the delivery of the new economic development strategy and add to the existing stock in a way which the Garden Festival could not.

The 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games

For Glasgow, the Commonwealth Games is an opportunity to build on some core assets in sports whilst forming an immovable deadline for the development of new assets that will expand the stock Glasgow can draw on for its future economic development. Because of the scale of the Games compared to previous pacing devices a much wider range of investments is being delivered than previously:

- a new concert arena at the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre;
- a new national sports arena; and
- new transport assets, notably including the final completion of the M74 motorway that will relieve chronic traffic congestion on the primary bridge across the River Clyde in the heart of the city.

The Games will also give the city the opportunity to deliver a full range of initiatives relevant to business development, skills and training. Glasgow City Council, for example, launched a Commonwealth Games Apprenticeship initiative to help deliver on the commitment that every child leaving school over the two years from 2009/2011 who qualified would be guaranteed a Modern Apprenticeship place.

The impact of the London 2012 Olympic Games on the East End of London

There are five very positive points which underline the impressive progress London has made so far. In particular, it appears that many of the vehicles and the tools for the task are in place and that there is no shortage of vision for the impact that the Games should have on East London.

Progress on the Olympic Park and the Olympic Delivery Authority

The sheer scale of the challenge of building the Olympic Park is genuinely breath-taking. The clarity of the focus which the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) appears to be showing in its role as the deliverer of the Park is quite evident in the physical progress on the site and in the style and character of the organisation. It appeared that London could be confident that the facilities would be ready in time and that indeed they may well be ready one year in advance. This surely proves right the decision to place the development of the site in the hands of the ODA and the insistence that it had all the powers and funds required to deliver effectively. And it would appear that the ODA has also been free to experiment with innovation around sustainable energy planning, land decontamination and with built-in legacy components in the design of the Park.

The Strategic Regeneration Framework

The development of the Olympic Host Borough Unit (HBU) and the progress being made with the Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) is also to be lauded. There was a real sense that the difficulties in harnessing the energies of the five host boroughs were being tackled even if there may be some doubts about the long-term solidity of the progress made. The very existence of the SRF at this stage of the Games delivery schedule and the impression that all levels of government were giving - at the very least – in principle support to the concepts embedded in the document is notable.

The aim of convergence

Another impressive feature was the height of the ambition expressed in convergence. Making an explicit statement that the five host boroughs would match the average London performance in 20 years is no small statement of intent. Glasgow does not at this point have anything like this level of targeted geographic ambition for its Games. A new urban regeneration company has been established which does concentrate on Glasgow East (Clyde Gateway) but the proposition that Glasgow East might achieve convergence using the catalytic effect of the Commonwealth Games is not currently being considered.

The Olympic Park Legacy Company

The reinforcement of the focus on legacy with the formation of the Olympic Park Legacy Company as a clear delivery body is also impressive, particularly as it is in place three years before the end of the event. This means that there should be enough time and capacity to reconcile the conflicting objectives that there may be in securing the legacy for the Park and for wider East London.

Legacy engagement

The breadth and sophistication of the institutional infrastructure tackling legacy was extraordinary. The first natural instinct may be to worry about the confusions there must be around the roles, responsibilities, powers, capabilities and marshalling of such a wide array of organisations. The very fact, however, that London is so complex must surely be reflected in the range of interests that must have a say in how the Olympic Games benefits both East London and the rest of the city. It could therefore be regarded as healthy that there is not just one, two or even a handful of organisations engaged in legacy development. Instead, there are dozens. And it was clear that there was a solid effort at co-ordination through the East London Legacy Board, again already clearly in place and with legacy as its primary focus.

Glasgow has recognised and nurtured the concept of "Team Glasgow" behind the long-term transformation of the city's socio-economic fortunes. There is, however, no formal board or committee that is called "Team Glasgow". It is instead essentially an understanding amongst the business, political and civic leaders of the city that it is to everyone's mutual benefit to work together for the improvement of the city and to be flexible in the working arrangements that make that happen.

The challenges and opportunities of the London 2012 Olympic Games that lie ahead

Needless to say there are also a number of issues that ask important questions that may need to be addressed to maximise the impact of the Games on East London and beyond. A total of six points are raised below for further discussion.

Legacy leadership

It was difficult to be absolutely clear where exactly the true leadership for securing legacy lies. Although the SRF looks like the beginnings of the strategy for genuine legacy for the five host boroughs it was not clear where the championing of that document really sits. Of course, the underlying assumption is that the SRF is indeed the key document. If indeed it is, it would seem important that the relationship between the key document and the leadership vehicles be crystal clear so that conflict between different vehicles and differing agendas does not develop over time.

From a Glasgow perspective, the core vehicle for long-term development of the city's economic vision and its achievement has been difficult to develop. The most relevant at present is the Glasgow Economic Partnership which brings all public agencies and representatives of the various key sectors and private business bodies together to champion the city's long-term economic strategy and the action plans behind it. The associated accountability "State of the City Economy" event each year, which is led by the City Council Leader, has been successful for 12 years and regularly assembles nearly 500 players.

Leveraging the business community

It was quite striking that the main vehicles for tackling legacy were predominantly public sector populated. There is absolutely no doubt that most of the critical planning and delivery tasks are in the hands of the public sector but there is a leadership contribution to be made by the business community that didn't appear to be that prominent. There was no business representation on the East London Legacy Board for example and there were signs of tension between the aims and actions of the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC) and the wider business community. Indeed, discussions with London First and with the East London Business Alliance gave the impression that there was an opportunity to bring in expertise more regularly to solve some of the problems of legacy.

In Glasgow too, the effort that goes into engaging all the public agencies in co-ordinating public investment and delivery does not often extend into similar effort in mobilising the skills, expertise and resources of the business community. Glasgow has, however, had two strong business-led vehicles in its history that were much more central to the economic development of the city than has so far been clear in East London. In the 1980s, Glasgow Action was established with funding support from public agencies to support the city's efforts to refocus on exportable services, the core asset of the city centre as Glasgow's commercial heart, on tourism and on inward investment. With the re-organisation of Scotland's national economic development agency, though, that local component was abolished. Glasgow Council Leader responded with the establishment of the Glasgow Economic Partnership and a much stronger agenda of business friendly policies developed in association with the city's Chamber of Commerce. It is evident that throughout Glasgow's transformation the city's business leaders have consistently played a strong and active role and East London would benefit from the same level of engagement.

Convergence and the local economy

Greater clarity is required around the precise role that the East London economy is expected to play in the future of London. Should for instance the SRF prescribe that East London's growth be driven by its own employment base or should East Londoners have better access to jobs across the city? Should there be greater attention placed on attracting development that would house employment that most suited the community? Or is East London building on its creative industry base and what is the role of Stratford given the development of Westfield and Stratford International? It is highly likely that the business community has a strong contribution to make to this debate.

For Glasgow, the early McKinsey study provided an initial steer in the debate about Glasgow's future economic role and the need to diversify the economy away from its excessively heavy reliance on the traditional heavy engineering businesses. This then focused the attention of the city behind the development of a number of key sectors such as tourism and exportable services such as Engineering. Consequent growth and maturing of the city's economy has seen the development of further sectors in financial and business services, creative industries, life sciences and more recently in education and renewable energy. In each case, the growth of the sector has been accompanied with sensible spatial positioning and carefully taken strategic development decisions. The creative industries, for instance, are positioned on the former site of the Glasgow Garden Festival, opposite the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre and includes BBC Scotland's headquarters, Scottish Television's headquarters and as well as the Glasgow School of Art's highly advanced Digital Design Studio. Is there scope for similar relevant developments in East London?

Convergence and housing

Housing has a fundamental impact on the scope for community transformation. If East London continues to accommodate disproportionate volumes social housing, it is difficult to see how the five host boroughs can be expected to see sufficient change in their wealth and wellbeing indicators, even over a 20 year time span.

The Crown Street Regeneration project in the Gorbals district of Glasgow only made a difference to its socio-economic performance when a much higher proportion of owner occupied property was planned than had been the previous pattern.

Policy and project innovation

There is no doubt that the SRF very usefully captured the broad aims, the indicators, the targets and the existing policy challenges involved in securing legacy for East London. Despite elements such as volunteering, it does not appear that the opportunity to use the Games as a catalyst to solve challenges that do not obviously link to the Games is being fully leveraged. There were perhaps rather fewer obvious examples of completely new experiments with policy and practice in labour markets, economic development or housing and community development than might have been anticipated.

Glasgow City Council is using the Commonwealth Games as further impetus to tackle emerging issues in the labour market through its Commonwealth Games Apprenticeship Initiative. But this builds on a long history of work in intermediate labour markets and more recently in the co-ordination of both local and national labour market interventions at a local level through a partnership board called Glasgow Works.

Conclusions

Whilst there are clearly parallels to be drawn between the Glasgow Commonwealth Games and the impact of the Olympic Games on East London, of much more significance is Glasgow's wider track record in tackling the impact that the wholesale collapse of heavy engineering has had on its economy. Much of that track record has been based on some key principles that appear important to the legacy of the Olympics on East London:

- The understanding and shaping over time of Glasgow's new economic role as Scotland's largest city dependent on a wider range of increasingly exportable services (in tourism, in creative industries, in education and in financial services) and on the creation of new economic activity on the back of its universities (in life sciences and in renewables).

- The forging of relationships within the public sector and between business and the public sector under the "Team Glasgow" umbrella that exploit tacit understandings of the overall challenge to grow the city's economy and a willingness to perform roles flexibly and creatively.
- The ability to experiment with central aspects of economic development in pursuit of the shared economic strategy whether in combining place assets with sectoral development, in innovating around labour markets to reduce welfare dependency or in using major events as pacing devices to accelerate the timeframe for the longer term economic strategy.

Box A.1. Key learning points from the Glasgow experience of major events

- Major events should accelerate and bring a sense of scale to an existing economic development strategy for the city or area in which they are situated. Major events should not re-invent the wheel.
- From an economic development perspective, the legacy success of a major event depends on the relationship the legacy plan has with the genuine asset base of the city or area which it aims to enhance.
- Engaging with private sector firms and integrating talented individuals from the business community into major event managements structures can bring fresh insight and inject a culture of innovation and efficiency to legacy planning and delivery.
- Governance of the leadership agenda should find a careful balance between broad stakeholder engagement, simplicity and clarity.
- As well as bringing scale and pace to the development agenda, major events should provide impetus to policy and project innovation. Major events create the space for completely new experiments.

Reflections on the economic development impact of the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup on Johannesburg, and the regeneration potential of the London Olympics

The impact of the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup in Johannesburg

The economic development impact of the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup on South Africa will only become clear after the event has been held. However, it is possible to reflect on some elements of the economic impact of the event, which can be divided into four elements:

- urban regeneration and infrastructure;
- transport systems;
- sporting infrastructure; and
- city image and branding.

Urban regeneration and infrastructure

One of the main benefits of hosting a large international event is that it mobilises the will, funding and urgency required to drive major infrastructure development projects. This has certainly happened in Johannesburg. Not only has funding been mobilised for the stadia and sporting infrastructures themselves, but a significant amount of money has become available for improvements to the precincts in which the main events will be held.

The Ellis Park precinct

Ellis Park is an old mixed-use area. Despite being a key sports precinct for many years and an important node for low and medium cost housing, there has been little investment in the greater Ellis Park area over the last two decades. As a result, large parts of the Ellis Park precinct became blighted. The regeneration of this area has been an express objective of the Johannesburg's participation in the World Cup. Amongst others, and directly as a result of the World Cup, the Ellis Park precinct has enjoyed investment in:

- A new public square, the renewal of four existing parks and the creation of one new park.
- The revamp of the commuter railway station and a new minibus taxi and coach facility.
- Several new large scale outdoor art works.
- The creation of a new Cricket oval and club and the construction of two five-a-side Soccer fields specifically for children.

The release of public land for housing investment has meant that Ellis Park area has also enjoyed increased attention from private sector investors, particularly those involved in provision of low cost rental accommodation. Research conducted in 2009 found that investments by the City, through the Johannesburg Development Agency, in the public realm very effectively created a platform for sustainable investment in buildings, and especially in the renovation of old or dysfunctional buildings. This public investment creates a catalyst to turn the property cycle. Over the period 2001-2008, for instance, the City invested ZAR 106 million in the Greater Ellis Park area, while private investment in the renovation of buildings alone reached ZAR 382 million, illustrating the large leveraging effect of the public investment

The Nasrec precinct

The Nasrec precinct hosts nationally significant facilities including the country's largest expo centre as well as South Africa's largest stadium, Soccer City, which will host the opening and final of the World Cup. As well as having a good deal of vacant land, the area is located at the traditional boundary between Soweto and Johannesburg, and was undoubtedly used as a buffer in apartheid planning. The City's aim in relation to Nasrec has been to use the World Cup to overcome this buffer effect and help unlock new investment in the area. Amongst other things, Nasrec has enjoyed investment in the following as a direct result of the World Cup:

- a large new minibus and coach station and a revamp of the railway station;
- a large new pedestrian bridge linking across a railway line that has been a dividing factor in the area;

- the extensive replacement of sidewalks and streetlights; and
- a new road linkage, which creates the basis for new housing development.

There is also extensive public land holding which will be released for housing investment after the World Cup.

Transport systems

In Johannesburg the World Cup has served as a catalyst for the development of two ambitious public transport projects: Bus Rapid Transit system and Gautrain. These public transport facilities will not only provide a direct service to communities, but will also provide a strong signal to property markets and stimulate private property investment.

Bus Rapid Transit system

Johannesburg's Bus Rapid Transit system, which runs from Soweto into the inner city, directly past the Soccer City stadium and on to Ellis Park, is unlikely to have been achieved without the pressure of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Certainly the speed with which it has been funded and developed is directly related to the hosting of the event. Had it not been for the World Cup, both the Nasrec (Soccer City) area as well as Ellis Park may have been omitted. The inclusion of these areas is a huge boost for residential and business investment in these areas, both of which are home to low-income communities.

Gautrain

The World Cup also provided a catalyst for the early completion of the Gautrain – South Africa's first fast commuter train which will run between Johannesburg, Pretoria and the OR Tambo Airport. Gautrain opened a week before the World Cup.

Sporting infrastructure

In Johannesburg, though no new stadia have been built, several Soccer stadia have been redeveloped. The largest stadium, Soccer City, will host the FIFA World Cup Final as well as several other matches and events. The stadium has been entirely redeveloped, both from a functional and aesthetic point of view. The capital costs have been high but are seen as absolutely necessary to the hosting of a successful World Cup. In addition to the large capital cost, there is the ongoing cost of maintaining and programming the stadium. Beyond the event, the City and its agents will bear the ongoing costs of running the stadium and its associated facilities. Although this stadium will continue to be used for major soccer games, the size of the stadium will exceed requirements on all but rare occasions. It is easy to reach the conclusion that the economic development impact of stadia and similar structures are less beneficial in the long term than the other infrastructure. However, the renovation of Soccer City has been a matter of immense pride in South Africa, and especially to the people of Soweto. The design of the stadium, with its expressly African feel, is a clear statement of Johannesburg's aspiration to be a world class African City.

City image and branding

Johannesburg has a real challenge in relation to the international perception of the City as crime-ridden and unsafe. The World Cup is a major opportunity to change perceptions for the better, and the City Council is certainly aware of this. City authorities addressed the issue by hosting an exciting and

safe event and by encouraging people to experience the city first-hand. The quality of infrastructure is part of this, but so too is the culture of the city and in particular its ability to offer a warm, safe and exciting set of experiences.

The impact of the London 2012 Olympic Games on the East End of London

The purpose of this section is to comment on the prospects of the London Olympic Games as a regeneration project in the East End of London. Discussion is set against experiences from the current preparations for the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup and recent socio-economic development experience in Johannesburg, which have been translated into the London landscape.

The regeneration context of the East End and the London 2012 Olympic Games

The East End in general, and the five host boroughs in particular, are poor and under-developed when compared with the rest of London. They serve as a disquieting reminder of spatial, class and racial inequalities in one of the world's richest cities. But this is not a static picture. Major efforts have been made in recent years by the local authorities, the city leadership and the national government to address these conditions.

There have been several major regeneration projects such as the London Docklands regeneration, the subsequent development of Canary Wharf, The O₂ and a number of initiatives related to the Thames Gateway project. These projects have had national significance as well as offering many benefits to the East End from new transport infrastructure, the creation of thousands of low and middle-skilled jobs and the improvement of schools.

Despite these initiatives, conditions continue to be challenging in the area. It is against this backdrop that the United Kingdom government bid for the Olympic Games. The bid was explicitly framed as an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to help regenerate the East End.

The achievements of the London 2012 Olympic Games so far

In many respects the regeneration story of the London Olympics is already a success. So far, London has realised a number of important achievements and some of which do not appear to be widely appreciated. It is important to highlight these –inter alia in the media- so that they are properly understood.

The design and construction of the Olympic facilities

The design, innovation and speed associated with the construction of the Olympic Park deserve to be highlighted. The focus and speed which the Olympic Development Agency has brought to the project is inspiring. The land assembly and subsequent relocation of people has been successfully completed and the building of the facilities themselves is well ahead of schedule. On top of this, the design of several of the buildings is iconic and there are a number of important innovations in the approach to developing the facilities. These are tremendous achievements that suggest an Olympic infrastructure of the highest order for the London 2012 Games.

The decontamination and environmental clean-up of the Olympic Park

The Olympic Park is being built on a large land parcel that was off-limits prior to the Olympic effort. The land was not only heavily contaminated by nineteenth and early twentieth century heavy industry, it was also subject to action during World War Two. This created a land mass that was near

impossible to develop and which acted as a major barrier within the built environment between the communities of the East End and between the East End and the rest of London. The assembly of the land, its decontamination and the subsequent improvement in water quality are historic achievements. Given global interest in environmental matters, the story of the clean-up and the effective recycling of the land should be told from the rooftops. It is clear that this could not have been achieved without the Olympic Games.

The challenges and opportunities of the London 2012 Olympic Games that lie ahead

The "Olympic family" has accepted an ambitious objective to achieve convergence between the East End and the remainder of London with regard to social and economic indicators. It is clear that the Olympic events themselves will not shift the fundamental facts of the East End. This part of the London will require long-term, sustained intervention, which goes beyond the built environment. The question that now faces London is the extent to which the Olympic Games can be used to create a sustained impact on the lives of people in the East End, and to create a new property cycle. There are a number of issues which need to be raised in this regard, in light of the Johannesburg experience.

The challenge of convergence in the light of a dominant land-use of low cost housing

The built environment of the East End is dominated by low-cost housing, including social housing. By some reports, social housing accounts for the majority of the built environment in the five host boroughs. This gives the area a very particular character and implies that a large number of poor people, recent migrants and asylum seekers live in these boroughs. It also implies that to some extent the East End plays a dormitory role in the city of London as a whole. If the East End is to become a more typical part of London, it will be important to diversify the built environment of some of five boroughs. This may include both higher-end housing as well as encouraging non-housing uses.

The post-apartheid experience of townships in Johannesburg suggests that areas that have traditionally served as low-income dormitory housing are not likely to change their character without direct intervention. This intervention is required to both diversify land use away from housing and to encourage non-housing investments. Much of the same logic is likely to apply to parts of the East End.

The ongoing cost and maintenance of Olympic infrastructure

The Olympic project faces a key risk with regard to the post-Games maintenance of the infrastructure and facilities in the Olympic Park. It is understood that the costs of maintaining the infrastructure is to be borne by income from post-Games property developments to take place within the Park. In principle this is sound. In addition, if the Olympic Park Company is under pressure to raise revenues quickly in order to cover the maintenance and operating costs, then it will have to pursue projects that maximise return over the short-term. This may, in time, work against the regeneration agenda. Without urgent attention over the next 12 months, it could affect the credibility of the Olympic project as a whole.

Accessibility and integration of the Olympic Park with the rest of East London

The Olympic Park site is somewhat cut-off from the surrounding communities in a physical sense. The A12 trunk road represents a formidable barrier as do a number of other physical features. This creates the possibility that the Olympic Park will be difficult for the surrounding communities to access and that it may be perceived as an island of privilege. Where possible, mechanisms should be created to maximise access to the site. This is particularly important with regard to the movement of

pedestrians, as many of the members of the local communities will need to access the area on foot. If the area is only accessible by vehicle, a further sense of exclusion may occur.

Conclusions

Urban regeneration has both economic and spatial elements. The FIFA 2010 World Cup in Johannesburg and the Olympic Games in London represent interventions in the built environment as well as direct economic intervention. The infrastructure elements are spatial interventions and represent the best opportunity for long-term impact on urban regeneration. In addition, the events themselves are very significant and represent direct economic activity, albeit for a limited period.

The major challenge for both London and Johannesburg is to use both the spatial or physical intervention, as well as the event itself, to catalyse economic development, and to impact on the lives of the people in low income areas. In both cases, the impact is not automatic, and the cities' authorities need to continue to give a great deal of thought into how to optimise the impact of these large events.

Box A.2. Key learning points from the Johannesburg experience of major events

- Investment in public realm and the renovation of dilapidated buildings are highly effective at leveraging sustainable private sector investment.
- Major events can be used to lay transport infrastructure in such a way that it unlocks land parcels for private sector investment and development.
- The socio-economic impact of sporting infrastructure is traditionally less powerful than the impact of other interventions. Budgets should reflect this and the renovation of existing venues, rather than the construction of new venues should be considered.
- The "pride effect" of a successful major event is intangible but also powerful, enduring and can be leveraged in a number of ways. Efforts should be made to maximise the sense of confidence that successful hosting can bring.
- To regenerate poor areas, the diversification of the built environment away from (social) housing is critical. Non-housing investments should be sustainable and calibrated to build a coherent place.

The Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games, a long-term legacy

The 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games is seen as one of the most successful examples of how a city can leverage a major event to completely transform itself and stimulate a new era of growth and success. Despite this time lapse, and though the sizes, international roles and global ambitions of the two cities are so different, it is possible to look back and extract from the Barcelona Olympic experience a number of relevant insights that may be useful for the London 2012 Olympic Games and its legacy. Indeed, because the Barcelona Olympics were so long ago, it provides London with one of the clearest illustrations of what successful major event legacy planning and delivery looks like in practice and over the long-term. Throughout the piece, there is evidence of not only how to plan for legacy, but how to maintain momentum for more than a decade.

What follows is a summary of the long-term impact of the 1992 Olympic Games on Barcelona. Though there are others, it will identify and illustrate five major legacy outcomes for the city, which include:

- the branding impact;
- the tourism impact;
- the infrastructure, land use and economic development platform impact;
- the civic pride impact; and
- the public-private partnership impact.

Before exploring the legacy outcomes above and how they might support the design of London's legacy agenda, this paper will briefly describe the socio-economic conditions in Barcelona before the Olympics was awarded in 1986.

The impact of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games

The Olympics were the foundation for Barcelona's transformation. They gave the city the opportunity to execute a plan for its modernisation. The scale of the Olympic project and the immovable nature of its associated deadlines allowed Barcelona to deliver what ordinarily would have taken several phases of development to achieve. The Olympic project also delivered five major outcomes which have supported the internationalisation and increased quality of life and competitiveness of the city for nearly 20 years. They were:

The branding impact

For many years before the Games of 1992, positive images of Barcelona on the world stage were predominantly absent. And because the city was not a national capital the task of building a globally recognisable brand had been difficult. The Olympics offered to the city the opportunity to show Barcelona as a place with a great past as well as a future full of potential. During the event itself a number of "soft" tools were used to show that Barcelona was a special place. Each of these devices, which are detailed below, were designed to project the city's Mediterranean spirit, optimism, quality of life, lifestyle, and world class architecture to a global audience. They include:

- The opening and closing ceremonies: Each ceremony was carefully designed and executed by local teams of creative designers and actors to catch the attention of the world.
- The opening ceremony presented a huge and optimistic "HOLA" together with an introduction to the Mediterranean story.
- The Barcelona mascot: The design of the mascot for the Games mixed cubist Picasso with modern cartoons and differed completely to past Olympic mascots.
- Venues: The venue for the trampoline competition was situated in such a way that it symbolised that Barcelona warmly welcomed the athletes. In essence, it said that "for the 15 days of the competition, Barcelona would be their city".
- The music of the Games: Music was performed by a Catalan soprano Mònica Cabellé and the rock star Freddy Mercury.

- Souvenirs and merchandise: Official souvenirs and merchandise were created by local designers to express the flavour of the city.
- Apolitical messages: The Barcelona Olympic Games were the first in many years from which strong political messages were absent.

Following the Olympic Games, there was a realisation that the Olympic branding effect would eventually fade. One of the ways in which the city reinforced the positive messages created by the Olympic Games was to pursue a strategy of major event hosting. Having very successfully hosted the Formula One Grand Prix, Football, Tennis Championships, the Tour de France, the Swimming World Championship and Athletics competitions since the Olympic Games, Barcelona has remained firmly in the minds of the global sporting community.

Barcelona has also invented new events to create momentum and attract investment and attention to the city. Though "Forum 2004" did not have the same impact as the Olympic Games, it began the transformation of East Barcelona, an area which shared many characteristics with East London such as under-utilised land and some of the worst socio-economic conditions in the city. "Forum 2004" also catalysed the development of one of the largest conference venues in Europe, a number of hotels, a leisure port, a new university campus focussed on energy, new housing units and the completion of the one of Barcelona's main streets, la Diagonal. The way in which this event accelerated the development and integration of a city neighbourhood with the rest of the city shares many similarities with the ambitions of the London 2012 Olympics.

At the same time, the city has also maintained its Olympic association. It remains an active member of the Olympic community, supports one of the only Olympic Museums and continues to attract more global sporting events. In support of this strategy, Barcelona has announced its intention to bid for another Olympic Games – the 2022 Winter Olympics.

The tourism impact

Behind Paris, London and Rome, Barcelona is now one of the most popular urban visitor destinations in Europe. With 18 million visitors and 11 million overnight stays per year, it is hard to imagine that the city ever had anything other than a thriving visitor economy. But before the 1992 Games, the City of Barcelona had tourism infrastructure which was uncompetitive, small and ageing cultural facilities, had not modernised its trade fair and had no coherent strategy for the promotion or development of its visitor offer. In 1991, the contribution of tourism to the city economy stood at 4% of GDP. Today it stands at 14% of GDP. By sheer numbers, it is ranked one of the top five cities in the world for hosting congresses, its trade fair hosts some of the largest and most successful fairs in the world and its port is now one of the foremost cruise liner destinations in Europe. Though some can be attributed to growth of the low cost airline industry, much of this success is linked to the use of the Games to promote Barcelona as one of the most attractive destinations in Europe to visit.

Many of the key lessons of this transformation are not found with the modification of the tourism infrastructure, the importance of destination marketing or the beautification of the city. Instead, it is with the challenges and controversies that surrounded the Olympic preparations that provide some of the key insights lie. Many in the city argued that rather than modernise the city's visitor infrastructure, the wider region and cruise liners moored in the city's port should provide the majority of the additional bed space required to cope with the influx of visitors to the Games. Despite this pressure, the City Council and Mayor fought strongly for land use change to allow investors to build new hotels. Because of this decision, Barcelona now has one of the most modern and competitive hotel facility

offers in Europe. Another challenge was the implementation of an ambitious strategy to modernise Barcelona's cultural infrastructure. Plans were made to build a new Contemporary Art Museum in the heart of the city, a new National Theatre, a National Auditorium and a Contemporary Centre for Arts as well as renovate the National Museum. Although the Olympic budget did not allow for these plans to be realised at the time, during the decade after the Games each project was diligently completed. Barcelona now offers outstanding cultural facilities which are visited by locals as well as international visitors.

To maintain momentum after the Games, Barcelona continually promotes itself through a public-private consortium created after the Olympics called Barcelona Tourism. Care is also taken to calibrate messages using powerful local stories, attractive concepts such as gastronomy and shopping as well as internationally renowned local figures such as Gaudi, Picasso, Dali and Miro.

The infrastructure, land use and economic development platform impact

The infrastructure legacy of the Olympic Games has perhaps been of greater importance to Barcelona than to any other recent Olympic city. Barcelona used the Olympics to accelerate the fulfilment of an urgent and perpetual need for significant infrastructure investment. Almost the entire infrastructure required for the delivery of the Games also delivered a long-term dividend for the city. Though there are others, the four principal interventions are detailed below.

The Olympics catalysed the construction of two new telecommunication towers in Barcelona, one designed by Norman Foster and the other by Santiago Calatrava. Though both were used intensively during the event itself to broadcast the Olympics worldwide, and were indeed a requirement for the successful hosting of the Games, they were essentially designed to support the growth of the city's post-Games economy. Today, the telecommunications installed during the Olympics is a fundamental support to the city's knowledge-based businesses.

To ensure the rapid movement of athletes and Olympic officials between venues and facilities during the Games, Barcelona needed to build new ring roads. In this way, the Olympics accelerated the construction of infrastructure which would ease traffic congestion in the city over the long-term. Today, the ring roads re-route traffic away from the city centre. As a result, traffic congestion has eased and the retail sector has benefitted from an increase in footfall and a decrease in air and noise pollution.

The Olympics also required that Barcelona's small, congested airport was renovated to cope with the increase in Games-related traffic. The new Olympic terminals were a significant support to the delivery of the event but have also been critical to the growth of Barcelona's post-Games economy. Until 2009, when they were replaced, they formed an important link to new markets and talent. The new terminal will see capacity jump from 30 million to the potential of 70 million passengers per year.

The decision to locate the Athletes' Village near to the city centre rather than a cheaper location in Metropolitan Barcelona has proven decisive. By constructing this piece of essential Olympic infrastructure in an area of old rail infrastructure and factory buildings, the city was able to reconnect itself to its seafront and begin the development of a new neighbourhood adjacent to the city centre. The displacement of the railway lines did two things. First, it kick-started the development of the city's seafront. The delivery of a new Leisure Port (which was the Olympic Port during the Games) and the creation of five kilometres of urban beaches produced the right environment to support the post-Games growth of the local neighbourhood which is now emerging as high quality, middle class residential location. Second, the displacement of the railway lines opened 1 000 000 square kilometres of under-utilised and dilapidated land near the city centre known as Poblenou. Following the Games,

city planners and economists decided the best use for this land was for it to remain designated as industrial but to add to it the necessary infrastructure to support the growth of knowledge-based firms. In 2000, the area was designated as the 22@ Innovation District and by 2009 1 502 knowledge-based firms had relocated to the area which now supports 44 600 new jobs. Though now considered a significant success, the process can be traced back to the Olympics Games.

The creation of infrastructure with the dual purpose of both delivering a successful Olympics and supporting the growth of the city after the Games kick-started the most profound transformation that Barcelona has experienced for many years. Each of the infrastructural improvements and the decisions taken to leverage the impact of the positioning of them, built a platform for a successful phase of economic growth and development in Barcelona that has only recently ended. As a result, from a de-industrialised, declining city in the early 1980s, the Barcelona of today has a diversified and dynamic knowledge-based economy which delivers a high quality of life for its residents.

The civic pride impact

From the beginning of the Olympic project, Barcelona counted on the enthusiasm of its citizens to deliver a successful Olympic campaign. Before the Olympics were awarded in 1986, the volunteer movement committed to the delivery of a successful Barcelona Games was already significant. The enrolment of thousands of local people of all ages and backgrounds to the volunteer movement was one of the factors behind the city's eventual successful bid, the hosting of a very successful Olympic Games, and even post-Games events which required popular support.

Civic support also had other benefits. Given the sheer volume of construction work in the city between 1987 and 1992 and the inconveniences and disruptions caused, civic pride towards the Olympic project was a tremendous asset. At every stage, organisers ensured that they communicated effectively with the public. The key message to the people of Barcelona was that the Olympics was a city project but also a citizens' project. A number of the interventions were small public space upgrades but they had a strong impact on the daily lives of local people and generated trust and good will. As a result of this process, most of the development and investment in the city post-Games has proceeded smoothly.

The overall success of the Games in sporting, logistical, branding and organisational terms, provides to Barcelonans a great sense of pride about what Barcelona was able to do and to show to the world. Today there is a strong sense of Barcelonans being proud of their city and though intangible this remains one of the most important legacies of the Olympic Games.

The public-private partnership impact

The 1992 Olympic Games represented Barcelona's first significant experience of public-private partnerships. Given the need to draw on the full range of talent available to deliver a world class Games and the recognition that the Olympic project was not a government project but a citizens' project, as soon as the Olympic Games were awarded to Barcelona, the Mayor called for the adoption of an intensive public-private co-operation model. As a result, the management of the Games involved co-operation between senior representatives of civil society and the business community. For instance, the Barcelona Olympic organising committee was created as a private company led by an independent team with its own structure and with the mandate to act independently from political will. Public bodies did lose some power, but the assurance of operational independence for the organising team was critical to the project's success.

There are many other examples of how strong leadership by the public sector was enhanced by the involvement talented individuals and successful firms from the private sector. On the back of this

success, public-private partnership has now become a central element of the planning and implementation of strategic policies and projects in Barcelona. Generally speaking, these arrangements are able to raise more funds, introduce innovation in public policy-making, build consensus and create clear management structures for medium and long-term projects. One illustration of this continued commitment to the public-private model is the creation of Barcelona Tourism, the agency to promote tourism in Barcelona, which is now privately run and partly funded by the City and the business community.

Conclusions

Barcelona used the legacy of the Games to transform the city, create jobs, build social cohesion and become an attractive and aspirational European city. It also concentrated on "soft" legacies such as civic pride alongside "hard" legacies such as infrastructure. Both are necessary to maintain momentum in the post-Games phase.

Barcelona used the 1992 Olympic Games to accelerate much needed investment in its physical and digital platforms to create a foundation for future growth and investment. But the legacy goes beyond infrastructural improvements. Barcelona also used the Games as a means to show the world its potential. The results are clear. Today, Barcelona's brand is one of the strongest in the world, the city has transformed from a secondary touristic destination to become one of the leading visitor centres in Europe; and has seen its economy modernise and mature.

On first impression, it may be difficult to compare London Olympics and Barcelona Olympics, particularly because by the time the London 2012 Games arrive, 20 years will separate the two events. But in many ways, this is precisely why the Barcelona experience is so useful to London. Like almost no other, it provides an insight to a very successful Olympic legacy in its entirety.

Box A.3. Key learning points from the Barcelona experience of major events

- The smart positioning of venues and event-related facilities can unlock "hidden" land parcels within the city, which may be developed to maintain the impact of the event legacy over time.
- A major event offers the opportunity to deliver infrastructure that has the dual function of both delivering a world class event and supporting the growth of the expected post-event economy.
- A major event may not leverage the finance to deliver all of the plans made. The major event impetus can be maintained beyond the event, however, if authorities commit to realising unfulfilled plans within a reasonable timescale.
- The impact that a renewed sense of civic pride and confidence can bring should not be underestimated. Every effort should be made to communicate to the people of the city or area in which the event is hosted that it is for them.
- The intensification of activities creates a critical mass for success by providing high levels of accessibility, clustering benefits and proximity to markets. The spatial sharing of the benefits of major events is obviously desirable, but it is more effectively delivered through the rippling outward of positive effects from a central hub or a number of hubs of activity.

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