THE EFFECT OF MEGAEVENTS ON THE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT:

PERCEPTIONS OF LONDON 2012

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NEIL HERRINGTON

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Abstract

The thesis explores the way in which a megaevent, such as the Olympics, interacts with the educational environment –those aspects of culture, politics and economics that define the field within which educational institutions exist. The study critically reflects upon the processes that operate within the field of education, drawing on the conceptual work of Bourdieu to do so. The Olympics are used as a lens to make explicit aspects of practice within the field through the 'disruption' that the opportunities of the Games bring. These disruptions are characterised within the thesis as 'event structures' which change location factors for a number of activities (Preuss, 2006) including education. Consideration is given to the ways in which education has engaged with the social change that is inherent within regeneration efforts and considers ways in which a more active engagement might be promulgated. In doing so an appreciation is offered of: the difficulties that are inherent in this active engagement; the importance of context in the sustainability of changes in practice; and the need to develop an understanding of 'place' within educational discourse.

This understanding of practice is built around a timeline of empirical investigations which began in 2009 when a Q methodological study focused on the perceptions of likely legacy held by a group of educational stakeholders drawn from East London. It concluded in 2013 when key informant interviews elicited perceptions on legacy momentum in the post-event phase as well as reflecting, in a deliberative manner, on the perceptions of the educational stakeholders.

The thesis engaged with the methodological elicitation of habitus through the use of Q methodology and empirically considered the implications of the perceptions of legacy which were held by six distinct factors that emerged from the exploration that was undertaken. The conclusion indicates that Q methodology complements and enhances community engagement with, and involvement in, shaping the legacies achieved by harnessing megaevents to the process of regeneration.

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Introduction

For a few weeks in 2012 an unprecedented focus fell on East London. The world watched as athletes performed 'superhuman' feats at the Games of the 30th Olympiad. There is little doubt that the Games were a spectacle and for the majority of the watching world this was all that they required, but 'spectacle' was not the only aspiration contained within the bid.

This thesis explores these aspirations, in particular the way in which the London 2012 Games impinged on the educational environment – that complex adaptive system of policy, practice and social context within which particular institutions and organisations operate. As a teacher-educator working with secondary schools within East London this is of particular professional interest as it is likely to affect those with whom I work. The exploration of these effects is mindful that developments associated with the Games are a sub-set of more general regeneration activity, the Olympics becoming a lens through which the issues associated with regeneration and the challenges and opportunities of urban living, can be brought into our field of vision.

Linking regeneration initiatives to a major event is now a common strategy (Gold and Gold, 2005a; Gold and Gold, 2008; Smith, 2012) drawing on an historical tradition of international festivals which offer the opportunity to become a major expression of that place's identity. These events have been given a range of titles: International festivals (Gold and Gold, 2005b); meta-spectacles (Bergman, 1999); hallmark events (Hall, 1989); landmark events (Hiller, 1990); and world festivals (Proudfoot, Maguire and Freestone, 2000). According to Benedict (1983) the

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Olympics and other international sporting events are extensions of the once popular World Fairs (Horne and Whannel, 2012). The World Fairs were never just trade fairs, instead they were about:

> selling ideas: ideas about the relations between nations, the spread of education, the advancement of science, the form of cities, the nature of domestic life, the place of art in society (Benedict, 1983, p2).

In this study the term megaevent (Roche, 1992; Spezia, 1992) is used to indicate a large-scale cultural event of international significance and with popular appeal.

For the purposes of this thesis consideration will be given, primarily, to the Summer Olympic Games, for the simple reason that I live and work in East London and that was where the 2012 Summer Games were held (at points, though, the narratives around other events will be drawn upon).

The Development of the Olympic Games

Although the wider historiography (Miller, 2003; Girginov and Parry, 2005; Guttmann, 2002; Senn, 1999; Toohey, 2003; Payne, 2005; Shaw, 2008) of the Games is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is useful to have some understanding of how the current iteration of the Olympics and its governance structures has emerged. The Games of the Modern era, under the direction of Coubertin, have a relatively short history. Indeed, Coubertin's interest began as a response to the debate surrounding France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Some of that debate centred on the ideas of English and American educators around the interdependence of sport, education and the emergence of a national character (Gold and Gold, 2005b; Hunter, 2012; Girginov and Parry, 2005). Coubertin's exposition of this view marked him out as an educational reformer and gave him a platform to explore the potential role of sport in international affairs. He called for the restoration of the Olympic Games and set up a subsequent Sports Congress in 1894

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– a meeting that both supported this restoration and set out key organising principles (Hunter, 2012; Barney, 2004; Gold and Gold, 2005b) which is codified in the philosophy of Olympism, defined initially in the Olympic Charter of 1908 and appearing in subsequent iteration of the Charter as:

> a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles (International Olympic Committee, 2011, p10).

This is of particular interest in terms of the current study in that this gives an appreciation of the importance that education has occupied in the evolution of the concept.

The first Games of the modern era were held in 1896 (Wallechinsky, 1996; Hunter, 2012), but before that there were a number of precursor events (Girginov and Parry, 2005). One of these, the Much Wenlock Olympian Games, was organised by William Penny Brooks, who set out to promote the moral, physical and intellectual improvement of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Much Wenlock (Anthony, 1999; Horne and Whannel, 2012) and held the first Olympian Class Games in October 1850; it was a mixture of athletics and traditional sports such as quoits, football and cricket. During subsequent years Penny Brookes developed links with similar groups both nationally and internationally (Anthony, 2000). For example, in 1865, Penny Brookes, in collaboration with Hulley of Liverpool and Ravenstein of the German Gymnastic Club in London, established the National Olympian Association (NOA) (Horne and Whannel, 2012). The aim was to provide a sport's association for amateur athletes. Their first Festival held the following year at the Crystal Palace, London, was a great success and attracted a crowd in excess of 10,000 spectators (Girginov and Parry, 2005).

It is worth noting that Penny Brooks and Coubertin were in contact in 1889 following Coubertin's request for advice and information to support his work as the founding secretary of the 'Committee for the Propagation of Physical Exercise in Education', which he had set up in July 1888. Coubertin visited Much Wenlock in 1890 (Girginov and Parry, 2005), when the two men discussed their similar ambitions and Penny Brookes, then aged eighty one, further shared with the young twenty-seven year old Coubertin his dream of an Olympic revival, an international Games to be staged in Athens. On his return to France, Coubertin gave a glowing account of his stay in Much Wenlock and later referred to his host's efforts to revive the Olympics:

> ...and of the Olympic Games which modern Greece has not yet revived, it is not a Greek to whom one is indebted but rather to Dr W.P. Brookes...still active, organising and animating them...athletics does not count many partisans as convinced as W.P. Brookes (Coubertin, 1894, p15).

Within the history of the Olympic Games can be seen responses to the grand historical narratives of nation, war and globalisation. This is why this event is a good thing to think with (Cohen, 2006), a lens through which to examine the current narratives of regeneration, sustainability, community and education. This is the aim of this thesis.

Characterising the Games

There is a case for viewing the development of the Games in terms of defined periods (Preuss, 2004; Poynter, 2009b). Preuss (2004, p7-8) offers such a characterisation of the Olympic Games dividing them into four periods. Period 1 (1896-1968) was characterised by the financing problems experienced by many organising committees. Period 2 (1969-1980) reflected a time of increasing significance of the Games to the host city, but also one which posed risks because of the gigantism of the event (Poynter, 2009b). Period 3 (1981-2003) saw an

increase in the commercialisation of the Games and in sponsorship rights. Within this time period the then President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Juan Samaranch, went about putting the IOC on a sound financial footing for the first time (Pound, 2004). The fourth period (2003-) has seen a reassertion of the Olympic values as a way to protect the movement from over-commercialisation. Pound (2004) writes that "[h]ow well, and even whether, the modern Olympic movement will survive depends on its integrity [which] creates a desirable set of values that youth and society in general can accept" (p272). The next chapter gives consideration to the way in which legacy has assumed an important part in this reassertion of values; how this legacy is conceptualised, used and measured; and how this fits into the broader context of the development and emergence of global cities.

A Typology for the Games

The way in which the Games have evolved in response to the challenge of increasing urbanisation is part of a wider movement where:

> increasingly, sports events are part of a broader strategy aimed at raising the profile of a city ... Often the attraction of events is linked to a re-imaging process and, in the case of many cities, is invariably linked to strategies of urban regeneration and tourism development (Gratton et al, 2006, p44).

To some extent this evolution cuts across the timeline defined by Preuss (2004), with the characteristics of some Games making them somewhat anomalous within their timeframe. For example, for the Atlanta Games of 1996, whilst "[t]he commercially-oriented perspective prevailed with the Games providing a legacy that favoured the redevelopment of commercial downtown districts rather than neighbour renewal" (Poynter and Roberts, 2009, p125), there was more of a commitment to broader regeneration activity than had been seen through the Los Angeles Games (Poynter, 2009c). The Games held in Barcelona in 1992 had

altogether different characteristics to its predecessors. The disjuncture between the nature of the activities associated with the Games and their chronological positioning has led to another classification of the Games (Poynter, 2009c) seeing them as being one of the following: The 'Commercial Games'; the Games as 'Catalysts of Regeneration'; and the 'Dynamic Games'.

The 'Commercial Games,' which include Los Angeles and Atlanta, are seen by Poynter as being marked out by their marketing of place and city branding; the 'Dynamic Games' are characterised by Seoul and Beijing where "staging the Olympics signifies entry as a major player in the world economy" (Poynter, 2009c, p37). Chapter 3 will consider the third category – those Games that were used as a catalyst for regeneration: Barcelona, Sydney and Athens. This exploration will sit alongside some consideration of the aspiration for the London Games which have a clear regeneration theme (MacRury and Poynter, 2008; MacRury, 2011).

The Benefits of Hosting the Games

An exploration of the benefits of hosting the Games will be given greater consideration in the next two chapters. However, as we move towards defining the scope of this thesis it is important to give some indication of the context within which the project resides.

The Olympic Charter (2011) states the IOC's mission to "to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries." (IOC, 2011, p15). The next chapter will give some consideration to evaluations of legacy for the Games with the caveat that the evaluation of impact is somewhat partial in that it only considers the two years after the Games. There is also the problematic nature of the term 'legacy'. This is rarely defined, but exists in Olympic discourse as being a worthwhile and self-evident given (Cashman, 2006). However, it is clear

that legacy does not flow automatically nor is it necessarily self-evident. There is

also a potential for negative legacy, for example securing Olympic funding by

delaying capital funding on non-Olympic budgets. Hall (2004) feels that:

> investment in accessible and affordable education, health and communications
> technology, along with a diversified job creation strategy is far more likely to
> have long term benefits for urban economic and social well being than
> investment in elite mega sports events and infrastructure (Hall, 2004, p68).

While acknowledging this position, it is also the case that the hosting of megaevents

is something that is actively sought. The reasons for this are explored more fully

below and in subsequent chapters.

Governing the Games

The increasing complexity of the Games has led, over time, to an increase in the

numbers of stakeholders within the Olympic system (Girginov and Parry, 2005,

p137) The complexity of the existing system is shown in fig 1 below.

	WADA		CAS	
Governments and inter- governmental organisations		**IOC, IOC ethics Commission**		**International Sponsors**
NOCs		**OCOGs**		**IFs**
National sponsors and media		**NFs (clubs, athletes)**		**Leagues of pro- athletes or teams**
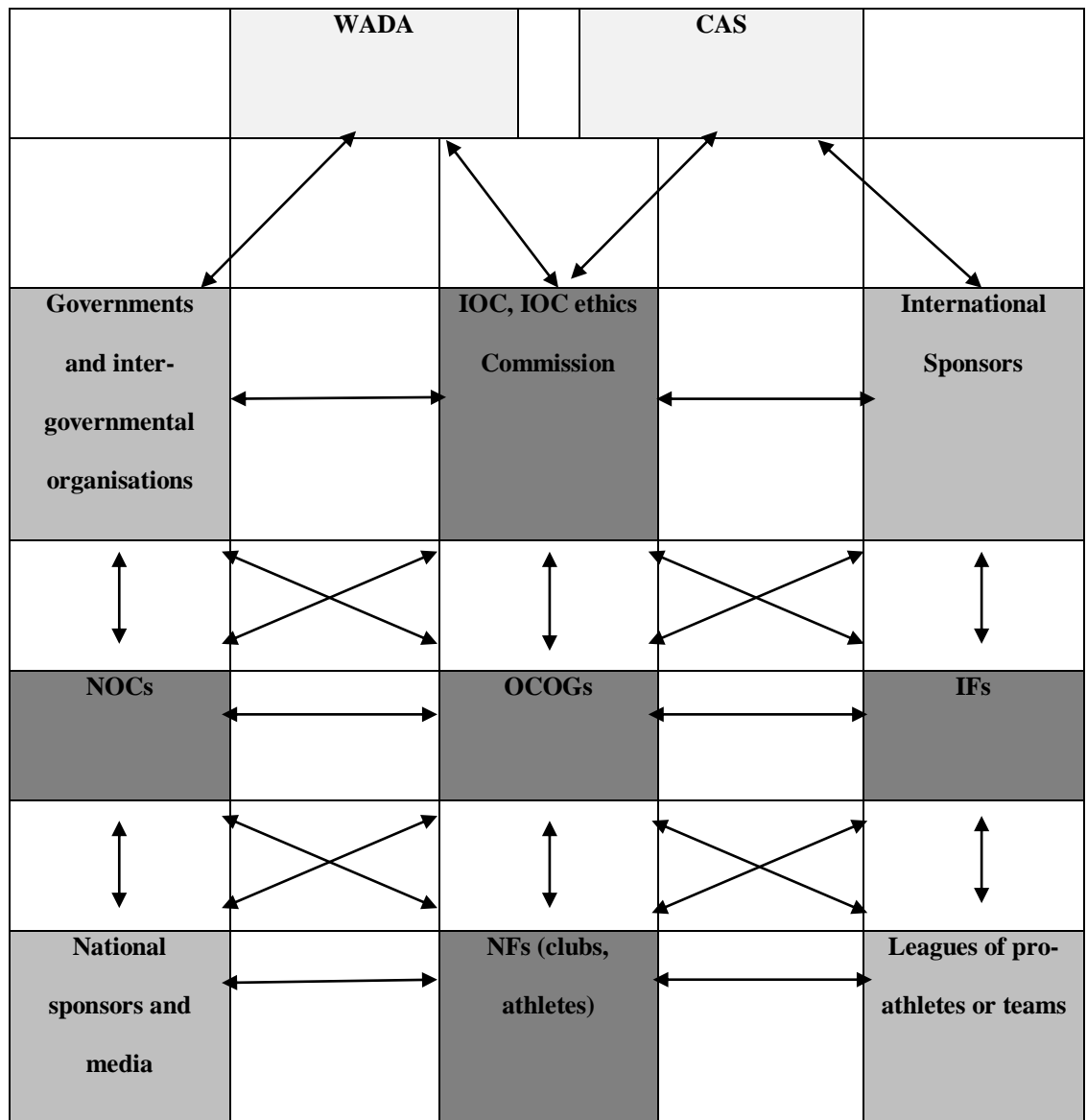
Fig 1: The regulated Olympic system. Adapted from Chappelet and Kübler-Mabbott (2008)

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The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is the supreme authority within the Olympic movement, holding full legal rights to the Olympic Games thanks to the worldwide registration of the numerous Olympic related trademarks. It aims to promote the Olympic movement and to reinforce the unity amongst the various entities who accept the guidance of the Olympic Charter (Girginov and Parry, 2005; Chappelet and Kubler-Mabbott, 2008). The Olympic Games are awarded to the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of the country in which they will be held. They are legally independent of the IOC, but in effect the IOC's territorial representative; the NOCs are the only bodies able to qualify athletes from their territory to take part in the Games (Chappelet and Kubler-Mabbott, 2008). International Sports Federations (IFs) govern their respective sports, whilst National Sports Federations (NFs) unite the clubs for a specific sport in a given country. Olympic IFs receive part of the broadcasting and marketing rights generated by the Games; the National Sports Federations may be recognised by the NOC and/or by the IF for their sport. Individual sports federations, whether they are national or international, are concerned with their own sport and are largely technical organisations, with the potential to think and act only within their silo (Pound, 2004). All of these are non-profit making organisations and constitute the classical Olympic system (Chappelet and Kubler-Mabbott, 2008) which has been joined by a number of actors whose legal status is different from the original five. Governments and inter-governmental organisations increasingly play a role in the legal oversight of sport, for example in the areas of doping and corruption. Multinationals that are active in international sponsoring and that maintain commercial relations with the IOC and IFs are another group of actors, as are national sponsors who work with their NOCs, NFs and the Organising Committe of the Games (OCOG) for a particular host (if applicable) by means of sponsorship

contracts restricted to a national territory. Another emergent actor is constituted of leagues of professional teams and athletes.

To this mix are added the regulators: the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) founded by the IOC in 1983 and set up to resolve, through arbitration, disputes concerning sports; and the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) whose objective is to promote, coordinate and supervise, on an international basis, the fight against all forms of doping in sport (Chappelet and Kubler-Mabbott, 2008).

The NOC in partnership with municipal authorities, government agencies and commercial businesses form the Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (OCOG) (Girginov and Parry, 2005). In the case of London, the situation was such that the Games were overseen by the Government, the Mayor of London and the British Olympic Association, who were all represented on the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (LOCOG). The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) consisted of representatives from the public and private sectors and worked with the London Development Agency (the land designated for use as the Olympic Park was obtained through compulsory purchase order by the LDA, a body funded by central government though the responsibility for its strategic management rests with the Mayor of London), Transport for London (TfL), Thames Gateway and six designated Olympic Local Authorities - Newham, Tower Hamlets, Greenwich, Waltham Forest, Barking and Dagenham and Hackney. The complexity was added to by the Nations and Regions Group (NRG) which had the responsibility for ensuring that the whole of the UK benefited from the 2012 Games. It was made up of twelve senior representatives from UK business and sport, nine from the English regions and one each from Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (Poynter, 2009a). This complexity raised some concerns as "no one individual has overall

responsibility for delivering the Games ... and a large number of bodies involved presents significant risks, for example to timely decision making" (House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2007, p1). The reason for the concern was understandable, but was framed from a perspective which focused on the managerial needs of the project while not necessarily addressing the necessity for wider social engagement with the legacy-related process of urban renewal and regeneration. This accords with the experience of previous hosts where the legislative processes put in place and the powers given to the Games organisers have tended to diminish local forms of accountability (LERI, 2007; Poynter, 2009a).

Events and Regeneration

A city will often seek to embed a high-profile event into development plans as it tries to attract economic activity to itself, (Ritchie, 2000; Sassen, 1996; Preuss, 2006, 2007). These events are expensive to stage, carry financial risks (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Preuss, 2007) and not all legacies are positive – even if that is the broad assumption (Ritchie, 1984). Nevertheless, a wide range of commentators have intimated that the Olympics provides an opportunity for urban regeneration (Hiller, 1998; Tribe, 2005; Hall, 1992) even though cities bid "with only a vague idea about the complexity of event legacy and its uncertain nature" (Preuss, 2007, p207).

The catalytic action of hosting the event on the acceleration of development plans can be seen in a positive light, but brings with it the dangers of ignoring planning constraints, lower quality and higher cost of developments, disregard for existing communities and justifications for projects which would not normally be countenanced (Preuss, 2007; Mean, Vigor and Tims, 2005; Burbank, 2001). This

may lead to inauthentic development (Zukin, 2010), a topic that is returned to in Chapter 5.

This event-led regeneration is characterised by an instrumentalisation of large-scale cultural and sports events to support image building and to catalyse urban development and has been termed 'festivalisation' (Steinbrink,Haferburg and Ley, 2011; Häußerman and Simons, 2000). This instrumentalisation could be seen as an inevitable result of a commodification of the Games through dominant, market-led ways of thinking (MacRury and Poynter, 2008), and as such would repay a "greater interrogation, by citizens, politicians and academics than is currently the case" (Preuss, 2007, p207). One area for interrogation that is beyond the scope of this thesis is the extent to which the urban development effects are comparable between the global North and South, given the increasing number of events that are being hosted in emerging economies (Steinbrink, Haferburg and Ley, 2011). One area that will be examined and that is central to this thesis is the way in which legacy is defined. This will be explored in the next chapter.

The Educational Environment

Coubertin's vision for the Olympic Games had at its centre a belief about the interdependence of sport, education and the emergence of a national character (Gold and Gold, 2005b; Hunter, 2012; Girginov and Parry, 2005). For the purposes of this thesis the focus falls on the educational environment that forms part of this vision. As mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter this environment corresponds to those aspects of culture, politics and economics that define the field within which educational institutions exist. Education is a complex adaptive system which is explored through a number of different metaphors.   Whilst these

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metaphors act as embellishments to discourse, Morgan (1986) makes the important point that their significance:

> is much greater than this. For the use of metaphor implies a way of thinking and a way of seeing that pervade how we understand our world generally (p12).

Thus the metaphors used to describe and explain reality also become ways in which we construct our actions and our views of that reality. These actions are also structured by our beliefs about the purposes and desirable outcomes of the education system that we are trying to describe. These beliefs are often expressed as dichotomous positions, for example, traditional versus progressive education (Meighan and Harber, 2007), with the purposes of education resolving themselves into four broad categories (Sterling, 2001):

- To replicate society and culture and promote citizenship – the socialization function
- To train people for employment – the vocational function
- To develop the individual and his/her potential – the liberal function
- To encourage change towards a fairer society and better world – the transformative function (p25).

The interaction between the structure and agency is clear in this characterisation of the system. This is also true of the way in which the constraints of the field, including the purposes ascribed to that system, serve to define the actions of those within the field. These actions, under certain circumstances, serve to change the constraints of the field. The ways in which this might occur are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

The educational environment is an ecological metaphor where, for the purposes of this metaphor, environment is taken to correspond to those aspects of culture,

politics and economics that define the field within which educational institutions exist. The power of using such a metaphor is that 'ecology' allows a multi-level exploration of embedded systems. Each of these levels, for example ecosystem, community, population and individual, is constrained and defined by certain characteristics but these exist in a dynamic relationship with the systems within which they are embedded.

The neo-liberal rhetoric of globalisation is the dominant political, cultural and economic ecosystem framing much of the educational environment. As Bottery (2003) points out, this discourse is not merely descriptive, but also normative and often seen as an inevitability. Any changes that might flow from globalisation are often presented as neutral and rational rather than as an ideological position with strong social and psychological components. This resonates with Bourdieu's concept of doxa which is explored in Chapter 4. Educational adaptation to this ecosystem has led to increased marketisation and the increasing standardisation of the outcomes of education (Hartley 2002). This standardisation is often linked to a culture of performativity (Jeffrey, 2002) within individual institutions with, for example, an emergence of pronounced technical approaches to management in the schools in England (Wright and Bottery 1997: Bottery 2002). Jeffrey (2002) sees the effects of performativity in changes in the relationships between teacher and pupil, including in pedagogic relations, these being explored more fully in Chapter 5.

Bottery (2002) makes the point that although globalisation can be looked upon as a resource to draw upon in terms of diversity and "expanding context" (p132) there are dangers in thinking about education and business in the same way as each other. Educational establishments need:

to provide their students with the critical constructive voice of citizens in a democracy…[to ensure] that students have the educational time and facility to reflect upon what is fundamental to the human condition, and the search for meaning and purpose in their lives (p133).

Thus, there is a need to engage dynamically with curriculum policy and what informs it, seeking meaning in negotiation with other actors within that community, rather than settle for the straightforward delivery of a commodified curriculum (Ball, 2007). The Games, as a major event, may create opportunities to disrupt this dominant discourse. The potential for this disruption is something that is explored further in Chapter 5, and empirically through interviews and Q methodology.

One of the key messages of an ecological metaphor is that of adaptation and the mechanisms by which this occurs, the complex way in which interactions between the levels occur and impinge on each other. Although there might be a tendency to see this as a process of imposition, Hall (2003) discusses the concept of metapower within an interactionist perspective as a framework by which it is possible to show how "future and distant social conditions" (p36) could be created by social actors. Thus people, both as individuals and as groups of individuals, are capable of causing their own acts and can cause others to act in particular ways. Hence, "while structures are consequential, acting humans cause social structures" (Maines 2003, p11). The interaction of structure and agency are further discussed in subsequent chapters, particularly through the conceptual frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu.

There is an imperative for those who operate systems to understand the processes of the system as well as its outcomes and to acknowledge that:

- people possess consciousness and can think
- communication is intrinsic
- the activity is situated
- human collectivities are forms of action. (Maines 2003, p6)

Hence, the focus of this thesis is not just on the outcomes of the Games, nor on the way in which educational outcomes might be impinged upon by changes brought about by the Games. Rather it is about making explicit some of the processes that are inherent in the action within the operation of the education system through the lens of the Olympic Games. In this it will also be possible to assess the extent to which the Games can progressively disrupt the educational environment to change the nature of the activity within it. Whilst there is consideration, through key informant interviews, of the wider educational community, within this thesis the majority of the exploration of the effects will be done through schools as, to continue the ecological metaphor, a single indicator species of how adaptation to change provoked by the Olympics occurs.

Research Aims and Questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine the way in which the educational environment interacts with the hosting of a megaevent, such as the Olympic Games, and to explore the ways in which these interactions are viewed by a range of stakeholders involved in education within East London.

This study investigates the perceptions of stakeholders with regards to the potential legacy of the 2012 Games, claims for which have been made in a number of areas: economic, socio-cultural and environmental. These claims alongside the ways in which these claims can be critically examined are explored in the next two chapters. This thesis aims to develop a mechanism by which a holistic picture of the perception of legacy can be drawn and utilised in the planning and evaluation of similar events and their associated legacy. In order to do this the answers to the following questions will be sought:

1. How do megaevent structures interact with the educational environment?

2. What perceptions do stakeholders have of the interactions between megaevent structures and the educational environment?

3. What are the implications of these perceptions in terms of the legacy of the 2012 Olympic Games in London?

In answering these questions this study will explore the dynamic between formal education, informal education and place-making – the development of the urban environment and the communities within that environment. It is also hoped that the outputs of the study, this thesis and its dissemination, will lead to real outcomes in terms of enhanced engagement of communities with the opportunities offered by the 2012 Games.

The Structure of the Thesis

This chapter acts as an introduction to this thesis and as such offers an overview of a number of areas. Subsequent chapters develop these in the following manner:

- Chapter 2 explores the complexities of legacy and introduces a framework of 'event structures' that will be used to frame aspects of legacy.

- Chapter 3 discusses the way in which legacy is being configured for London 2012. It gives some contextual detail and explores, using the framework of 'event structures', legacy promises in light of narratives from previous Games.

- Chapter 4 draws upon the conceptual framework developed by Pierre Bourdieu, who acknowledged that the success of any practice will be constrained by the agency of the individual and by the social structures within which that individual operates. This chapter gives particular

consideration to the exploration of social phenomena which effect the educational environment.

- Chapter 5 acknowledges legacy as part of wider regeneration activity and tests some of the assumptions around this activity. In doing so, it highlights some of the tensions that are evident in the discourse, especially the way in which education interacts with the regeneration effort.

- Chapter 6 describes the methodology used in this study. It considers the interaction of structure and agency and how one can explore these. Beginning with a general consideration of the research strategy, locating this in debates around epistemology and ontology, it continues with a description of the development and deployment of the research instruments used, the participants involved in the study and the analysis of the data derived.

- Chapter 7 draws on the analysis of the Q Sort carried out as part of this study. The six factors that emerged from the statistical analysis are characterised through a penportrait of each factor written from the table of normalised scores for each statement and through a consideration of the distinguishing statements for each factor.

- Chapter 8 reports on the interviews carried out with key informants about their perspectives on the Games and their legacy structured through a thematic analysis based upon the 'event structure' framework.

- Chapter 9 draws together the strands of the thesis, the literature that was explored in the first five chapters and the findings that emerged from the study's empirical work. Discussion is held around the points of articulation between the structural issues of legacy and the perceptions of actors.

- Chapter 10 restates the research questions set out above and rehearses the answers to these questions that have emerged from the literature and the study's empirical work, addressing particularly the implications of these answers both to the legacy and to future research work. The chapter describes the contribution that this thesis has made to the field in empirical, methodological and conceptual terms. The chapter considers the limitations of the study and reflects on the research process in more general terms.

Conclusion

This chapter has made explicit the aims of the study and the research questions that will be addressed within this thesis. These aims were discussed alongside a number of other key issues: aspects of the development of the Olympic Games were discussed, these being located within the wider literature of megaevents; there was a consideration of the governance of the Olympic Games and of the London Games in particular; and a rehearsal of some of the benefits that might accrue to host cities. The chapter also characterised the educational environment and made the case for considering the dynamic interactions within such an environment. In order to examine these interactions it is necessary to have ways of thinking about the various factors operating within that environment. Subsequent chapters explore such ways of thinking. They do this by a critical appreciation of how structure and agency interact within the specific context explored by this thesis.

Chapter 2 – Legacy

Introduction

The last chapter introduced the key strands that this thesis will weave together: it defined the concept of the educational environment, the scope and the level of the interactions that take place within such an environment; it gave a brief overview of the evolution of the Olympic Movement, describing how this movement is organised; and offered some typologies of the Olympic Games (Preuss, 2004; Poynter, 2009c). Pound (2004) makes the point that the survival of the Olympic Movement will depend on its ability to "create a desirable set of values" (p272). Legacy has assumed an important part in the reassertion of this value position and is the topic of this chapter. Consideration will be given to the various conceptualisation and complexities associated with legacy, an area of policy which is characterised by scientific uncertainties and high stakes. As such it qualifies as one of Rittel and Webber's (1973) 'wicked problems'.

Defining Legacy

Cashman (2006) feels that the term 'legacy' is used by Games Organising Committees as if it were unproblematic. As such a precise definition of legacy is not sought and it is often assumed to be self-evident. However, given the importance of legacy in modern Olympic discourse this lack of clarity is not a satisfactory position (Preuss, 2007), especially when 'delivering legacy' as "a one-note chord on what the International Olympic Committee (IOC) cares most about today" (MacAloon, 2008, p2064).

The ambiguity of the term is confounded by the bilingual nature of Olympic discussion which offers "the convenience of using other expressions and concepts that can mean different things in different languages and cultures" (Moragas,

Kennett and Puig, 2003). MacAloon (2008) draws our attention to the importance of cultural capital, further discussed in Chapter 4, when he points out that the seeming linguistic correspondence between 'legacy' and the French word 'héritage' hides a subtle but important difference in that 'héritage' has a "semantic emphasis on the accumulated historical, cultural and moral capital that comes to the present from the past" (MacAloon, 2008, p 2067). Thus, whilst only being a relative recent addition to Olympic discourse (MacRury, 2011), the term 'legacy' emerges from the literature as a multi-dimensional concept. This sets up a tension in discussions about legacy, even when, ostensibly, people are giving consideration to the same phenomenon.

Rule two, article 14 of the Olympic Charter (International Olympic Committee, 2011) makes it clear that a 'positive' legacy for a Games is a key concern for the IOC. There are a number of reasons for this, amongst them as a means to justify expense and as a way of encouraging other cities and nations to bid for future events (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Poynter, 2009b). The IOC uses the term to encompass the sports facilities and public works turned over to communities and/or sports organisations after the Games (Preuss, 2007). However, the wider literature gives consideration to aspects of legacy including: sport infrastructure, regeneration and additional employment, these sitting alongside socially unjust displacements and increases in property prices (Ritchie and Aitkin, 1984; Lenskyj, 2002, 2000; Moragas, Kennett and Puig, 2003; Preuss, 2004; Cashman, 2006; O'Brien, 2006). This list, it will be noted, contains both positive and negative legacies. The diagrammatic representation of the range of legacy outcomes from the Sydney Games, adapted from Preuss (2004), presented below, indicates that some outcomes are more tangible than others. It also brings in a time axis for the

emergence of the effects – even if some of the short term effects are within areas that are long term issues.

Visible			

Olympic Jobs Transport — Success in sports — Housing — Sports facilities Structure for traffic

Security

Fun — Economic impact — Tourism and structure / Recognition of and structure for the handicapped

Short term ← → **Long term**

Human rights — Olympic related jobs — Living conditions

Volunteer movement

Olympic atmosphere — Knowledge, learning skills / Olympic image — National pride / Host nation image

Invisible

Fig 2: Impact matrix of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. Adapted from Preuss (2004)

A number of commentators (Cashman 2006; Chappelet, 2006; Preuss, 2007) have attempted categorisations of legacies, with Preuss (2007) providing the broadest of these considering five dimensions of legacy:

- The degree of planned/unplanned structure

- The degree of positive/negative structure

- The degree of tangible/intangible structure

- The duration and time of a changed structure

- The space affected by changed structure.

Considering these dimensions as a whole Preuss proposes the following definition

of legacy:

> Irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and
> unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for
> and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself (Preuss, 2007,
> p211).

This definition means that there is a need to think in five dimensions. The

difficulties around such an endeavour led to the adoption of a cube as a heuristic

device (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Preuss, 2007). Using the dimensions

'planned/unplanned', 'negative/positive' and 'tangible/intangible', the legacy cube

offers eight sub-cubes within which to map legacy effect (Gratton and Preuss,
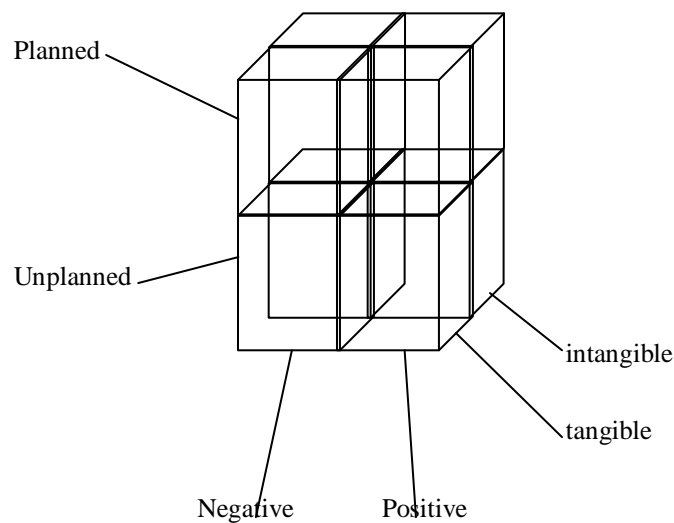
2008).

Fig 3: The Legacy Cube (Gratton and Preuss 2008)

The multidimensional evaluation of legacy afforded through such a heuristic device

offers a counterweight to those:

who are preoccupied with a 'legacy planning' that consists of lists of possible future pay-offs and projects, and who are dismissive of or at best indifferent to the ... need to acquire real knowledge of the Olympic heritage (MacAloon, 2008, p2067)

or, indeed, those resistant to engaging with the heritage of the place where the Games is taking place. Multi-dimensional exploration of perceptions of legacy is possible through Q methodology which forms the basis of part of this thesis.

Forecasting, Planning and Evaluating Legacy

Despite the potential to explore legacy in this multidimensional way, there is a tendency in the literature to concentrate on one 'sub-cube', the 'planned, positive and tangible' (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Preuss, 2007; Cashman, 2006). This, allied to the interest in the economic dividend from hosting the Games, has led to a large number of studies exploring these aspects of legacy (Kirkup and Major, 2006). There are a number of issues with such studies: they are difficult to carry out, often reflect only the objectives of the commissioning agent and can easily be misinterpreted and misrepresented (Kirkup and Major, 2006; Baum and Mudambi, 1999; Tribe, 2005; Kasimati, 2003; Crompton, 1995, 2006; Delpy and Li, 1997), with a tendency to exaggerate the economic impact on local communities (Lee, 2001). A deeper issue inherent in such models is that they tend to operate on a cost/benefit basis and are derived from marginalist economics "consistent with the currently fashionable public/private "model of working between state and private enterprise" (MacRury and Poynter, 2008, p2073).

Whilst economic indicators are often to the fore in the literature on legacy it would be wrong to characterise these studies as being narrow in scope as they cover a wide range of areas, urban development, employment and tourism, for example (Carvalhedo, 2003; Dwyer, Forsyth and Spurr, 2004; Hotchkiss, Moore and Zobay, 2001; Hughes, 1993). This range, added to the spatial and temporal differences

between events which are "by definition unique to the location in which they are held, and strictly temporary" (Rose, 2002), makes it very difficult to predict event legacy.

Many of the pre-event feasibility and economic impact studies that consider legacy are potentially biased, because the ambition of those commissioning the studies is to favour the hosting of the event (Kasimati, 2003; Crompton, 2006). Economic impacts are often inflated because the studies tend not to take into account supply-side constraints (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Kasimati, 2003). This is an important omission as:

> Long-term economic growth requires a constant influx of autonomous money. In terms of economic growth related to events, this can better be reached if the event has changed the host city's structure – in other words, its supply side. It should be the aim of politicians to initiate structural changes that improve the 'location factors', which are the basis of new post-event impacts (Gratton and Preuss, 2008, p1925)

One such location factor is the educational level of the workforce within a particular area. The interaction between education and regeneration is explored in Chapter 5.

There are clearly a number of difficulties in measuring the extent of event legacy, particularly because of issues around opportunity costs (Preuss, 2007), the timescales involved in the development of legacies, which, by their nature, are spread over many years, and the tendency for the indicators used to measure legacy to be too general to allow their effect to be obvious (Szymanski, 2002; Preuss, 2007). The generality of the indicators is confounded by problems inherent in the unravelling of what is genuine event-driven legacy from developments which were already part of long term urban planning. The difficulty of distinguishing the drivers of development leads to debate about whether it is legitimate to count, for example, infrastructure development as part of the event legacy (Preuss, 2004).

This presupposes an alignment between non-event and event infrastructure planning. Such an alignment is not a given as a redistribution of resources, for example, could slow some developments and be considered a negative externality (Preuss, 2007; Baade and Matheson, 2002).

It would seem that a number of the 'problematics' with an assessment of legacy are only "rarely publically and explicitly recognised or debated" (Kirkup and Major, 2006, p292). This is compounded by the fact that the 'event structures'(described below) that are under consideration can be viewed from multiple, sometimes conflicting perspectives (Preuss, 2007; Searle, 2002). Making the range of perspectives explicit is part of the purpose of this thesis, and a methodology which allows a researcher to do this is explored in Chapter 6.

Whilst making a judgment about whether or not to ascribe a negative or positive value to a legacy does not affect the measurement of legacy, it does raise questions about how that judgment is reached (Preuss, 2007) and the perspective from which it is made. This perspective will be, at least partially, governed by the nature of the accountabilities involved – "whether these are accountabilities to, and engagements of, community and political visions and imperatives, [or] accountabilities of standard corporate style accounting" (MacRury and Poynter, 2008, p2083) – these accountabilities will flow from the view that is taken of legacy.

Legacy as Commodity – Legacy as Gift

The multi-dimensional nature of legacy alluded to above, and the variety of perspectives that can develop on the issue, mean that there are tensions in the discourses around legacy. The 'single cube thinking' implicit in many forecasts and evaluations (Cashman, 2006; Preuss, 2007; Gratton and Preuss, 2008) contrasts with the evocation by the IOC of a "socially responsible approach to hosting the

Olympic Games, adopting the language of the gift economy" (MacRury and

Poynter, 2008, p2081).

The importance of the 'gift' in human relations is well documented (Gregory, 1983;

Mauss, 2002; Hyde, 2006; Sahlins, 1972) and sits in contrast to relationships based

on commodity exchange:

> Commodity exchange is an exchange of alienable objects between people who
> are in a state of reciprocal independence that establishes a quantitative
> relationship between the objects transacted, whereas gift exchange is an
> exchange of inalienable objects between people who are in a state of reciprocal
> dependence that establishes a qualitative relationship between the subjects
> transacting (Gregory, 1983).

The concept of the gift economy is embedded in socio-cultural life and relations.

As such it replaces alienation through exchange with obligation arising "from social

interactions that confer authenticity and social regard or respect – non-market

related attributes of positive human relations" (MacRury and Poynter, 2008,

p2081). These obligations are implicit in the term legacy "which owes its semantic

potency to socially embedded (familial) economies" (MacRury and Poynter, 2008,

p2073), something that underpins Bourdieu's conceptualisations described in

Chapter 4.

The centrality of relationships in the gift economy is compromised by the fact that

the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG) disappears after the

event, thus bringing to a close the reciprocal dependence between actors involved in

the Games. However, there are opportunities to continue the relationship beyond

the life of the OCOG through, for example, the operation of the Olympic Games

Impact Study discussed below, and through the formation of relationships outside of

the formal structures, which is explored in subsequent chapters.

Olympic Games Impact Study

The IOC saw a need to operate an analysis that offered some transparency and standardisation within evaluations (Kirkup and Major, 2006), and has attempted to address the lack of a rigorous basis for evaluating how the hosting of a megaevent is linked to long term urban development (Jones, 2001; Kirkup and Major, 2006) through a greater focus on Olympic Knowledge (Cashman, 2006).

The Olympic Games Impact (OGI) Study was developed by the IOC, in collaboration with a number of partners, to objectively measure and assign attribution to the potential effects of the Olympic and Paralympic Games on the host city, region and country, their environment and their citizens (VanWynsberghe, 2012; IOC, 2006; Kirkup and Major, 2006). The principal objectives of the OGI are: to measure the overall impact of the Games; to assist bidding cities and future Olympic Games organisers; through the transfer of strategic direction obtained from past and present Olympic Games; to identify potential legacies and thereby maximise the benefits of their Olympic Games; and to create a comparable benchmark across all future Olympic Games (International Olympic Committee, 2006). This has been done through the development of an analytical tool that aims to offer a consistent approach between host cities (Preuss, 2007). This tool is used over an 11 year period, from the bidding stage to two years after the hosting of the Olympics. During this time four reports are produced by a host city.

The tool consists of some 150 so-called research indicators which have been established and grouped into three spheres or categories to measure the economic, socio-cultural and environmental effects of hosting the Games: (International Olympic Committee, 2006; Furrer, 2002). These indicators are designed to allow "the observation of trends and outcomes of hosting the Games" (UEL and Thames

Gateway Institute for Sustainability, 2010, p6). They can also be categorised as being either context or event indicators. The former relate to those measures that are not directly related to the Games, but rather describe the environment in which the Games will take place. The latter are those that are directly related to the Games.

Some examples of the indicators are given below:

- Economic indicators
    - o Accommodation infrastructure
    - o Tourist nights
    - o Real estate market
    - o Public debt
    - o Jobs created in Olympic and context activities

- Environmental indicators
    - o Land use changes
    - o Transport networks
    - o Air quality
    - o Public open air leisure centres
    - o Protected areas

- Socio-cultural indicators
    - o Educational level
    - o Sport and physical activities
    - o School sports
    - o Available sports facilities
    - o Consultation with specific groups
    - o Olympic educational activities
    - o Volunteers

(Adapted from UEL and Thames Gateway Institute for Sustainability, 2010)

It is the intention that the OGI will provide an analysis of the impact of an Olympic Games and thus enable the IOC to integrate changes to maintain the long-term viability of the Olympic Games in keeping with the ideals of the Olympic Movement (International Olympic Committee, 2006). This is a signal that the hosting of the Games is not simply about maximising benefit for the host, but also about strengthening the Olympic Movement and ensuring that the 'benefits' are available to future hosts through knowledge exchange, the reciprocal dependences

needed for the gift economy being developed through this knowledge exchange between host cities.

The value of the gift might be somewhat compromised by the fact that the model ends two years after the Games and this means that not all legacy dimensions will have developed within this timescale (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Mangan, 2008; Preuss, 2007; Kirkup and Major, 2006; Cashman, 2006). Whilst there are difficulties in defining the 'right time' for an evaluation, the ongoing scrutiny, which is built into this model, is seen as being useful with the potential of raising constructive concerns (Mangan, 2008; Toohey, 2009):

> by analysing the environment, global trends and the particular event infrastructure, the opportunities and risks for the long-term development of the city become visible. This is a positive legacy. Grievances, shortcoming and gaps in the infrastructure of the city are revealed, and as a result these can be embedded in the development strategy (Preuss, 2007, p220).

Time will tell, as the OGI is still in its infancy, with the 2010 Winter Games held in Vancouver the first to have OGI built into the formal planning requirements. London 2012 is the first host of the Summer Games to have to carry out the study.

'Event Structures' of the 'Catalyst for Regeneration' Games

Gratton and Preuss (2008) and Preuss (2006) have developed the notion of 'event structures'. This starts from the assertion that each megaevent requires specific structures; broadly there are six of these structures and each host city will be more or less able to provide that structure. Those 'event structures' that exist "after the event change the quality of the host city in a positive or negative way" (Gratton and Preuss, 2008, p1925). How these structures are linked to legacy outcomes is shown in the diagram below:
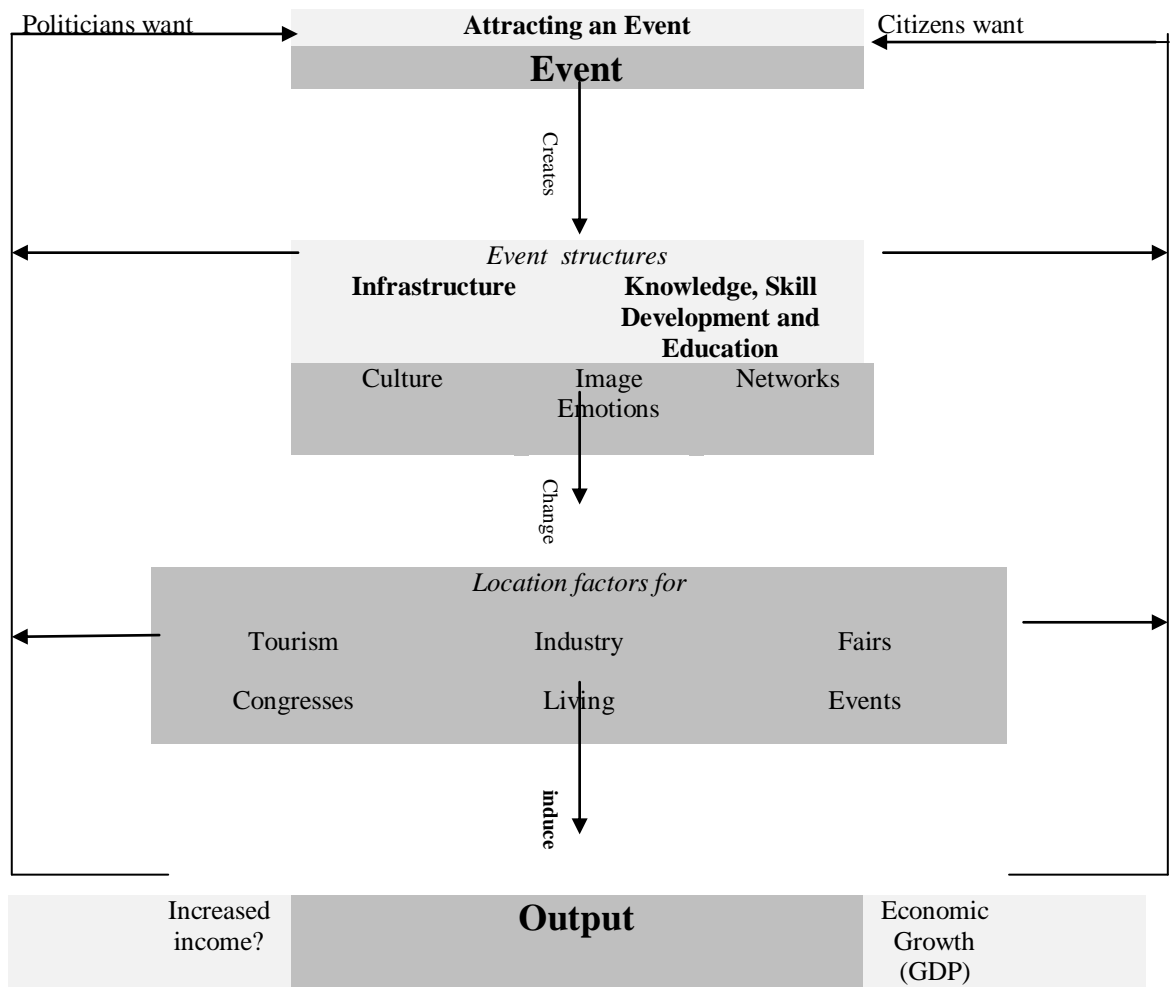
Fig 4: Economic Output of Megaevents and 'Event Structures'.   Adapted from Preuss (2006) and Gratton and Preuss (2008)

The six 'event structures' are further described by Gratton and Preuss (2008) as

follows:

- **Infrastructure:** includes the sports and general infrastructure: roads, rail, housing, telecommunication

- **Knowledge, skill development and education:** the host population gains knowledge and skills in a wide range of activities and areas such as event organisation, human resource management, security and hospitality. These instrumental developments can be seen alongside gaining knowledge of wider cultural and historical issues

- **Networks:** International sport federations, media, and politicians need to cooperate in order to stage an event successfully. Their interactions create networks

- **Culture:** Mega-sport events produce cultural ideas, cultural identity and cultural products. The cultural presentation educates the host population and can enable them to address their history

- **Image:** the symbolic significance of the event and its ability to form, reposition or solidify the image of a city, region and country

- **Emotions:** the effect that both positive and negative emotions associated with hosting the event has on the behaviour of individuals, organisations and markets

(Gratton and Preuss, 2008)

These 'event structures' are used in the subsequent chapter to examine some of the putative outcomes in relation to London 2012 and real outcomes in terms of what have characterised in the typology above as the 'Catalyst for Regeneration Games' (Poynter , 2009c) namely Barcelona, Sydney and Athens. This 'event structure' framework will also be utilised in the discussion of this study's empirical work.

Conclusion

A megaevent such as the Olympics brings together many different interests. There is a need to be able to represent these interests in any exploration of legacy and to respond sensitively:

> to the mixed economies of commodity and gift. The fate of, and prospects for, a 2012 legacy are imperilled in proportion to the extent to which the commodity modality dominates the gift and where their socio-economic dynamics are unthought and ungoverned (MacRury and Poynter, 2008, p2073).

Chapter 2 - Legacy

The thinking around these issues is compromised by a narrow compliance mentality (MacAloon, 2008; MacRury and Poynter, 2008).

There is scope for recognising the process of carrying out the OGI as being part of a gift economy, something that is passed on along with the torch and the flag, building the movement and gifting expertise to the hosts of the future. There is certainly a clear attempt, through the OGI, to spot patterns and trends in the effects and legacy of each Games, "in turn this will allow the IOC to fulfil two of its principal objectives as enshrined in the Olympic Charter, to:

- Encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport, and require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly

- Promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games for the Host Cities and Host Countries"

> (UEL and Thames Gateway Institute for Sustainability, 2010, p6).

However, the use of these quantitative indicators tends to marginalise the role of the actors within the development of legacy. This might go some way to explain the observation that whilst:

> a major sporting event may serve to catalyse a form of post-industrial urban renewal, the contemporary popularity afforded sport culture is an inadequate and passive substitute for the loss of personal and human agency that underlies the often fatalistic response of local people to such patterns of social change (Poynter 2009, pp147-148).

The next chapter considers the local by exploring the context of London 2012, developing a commentary on the plans for the Games and for legacy using the 'event structure' framework, and subsequent chapters explore issues around personal agency and the way in which this can be explored.

Chapter 3 – London and Legacy

Introduction

The previous chapters have discussed the importance of legacy in the reassertion of the Olympic values that Pound (2004) states are essential for the continuance of the Olympic movement. A number of commentators (Colomb, 2007; MacCrury and Poynter, 2008; Poynter, 2009b) state that the legacy of the London Games is linked to challenging the underlying social and economic problems of East London. These views echo the statement made by Jack Straw and recorded in Hansard (2005) that:

> London's bid was built on a special Olympic vision. That vision of an Olympic Games that would not only be a celebration of sport but a force for regeneration. The Games will transform one of the poorest and most deprived areas of London. They will create thousands of jobs and homes. They will offer new opportunities for business in the immediate areas and throughout London…One of the things that made the bid successful is the way in which it reaches out to all young people in two important respects: It will encourage many more to get fit and to be involved in sport and, whatever, their physical prowess, to offer their services as volunteers for the Olympic cause (Hansard, 2005).

This statement conveys a sense in which policy makers sought to use the Games to change the environment of the area and within which the aspirations and activity of young people (not just those living locally to the Games) operate.

This chapter looks in a little more detail at the nature of these changes and uses the 'event structure' framework (Gratton and Preuss, 2008) introduced in the previous chapter as a way of considering aspects of legacy This examination draws upon narratives and critical appreciations of the previous 'Catalyst for Regeneration' Games (Poynter, 2009c) – Barcelona, Sydney and Athens – to provide focused examples of how these Games have impinged on that particular 'event structure'. Each 'event structure' section is also anchored within its London context through reference to documents such as the 'Olympic Games Impact Study: pre-Games

report' (UEL and Thames Gateway Institute for Sustainability, 2010) and the

'Strategic Regeneration Framework' (Host Borough Unit, 2009) published by the

host boroughs. The chapter begins with an appreciation of the East London context.

The East London Context

The introduction of 'Pevsner's Guide to the Built Environment of East London'

(Cherry et al 2005) paints a picture of East London, often at odds with the popular

conception formed through media presentation and popular fiction, pointing out:

> The scale of both the natural and man-made landscape of East London ...
> offering broad vistas and exhilarating horizons unmatched in other parts of
> London. ...In the old 18th Century suburbs, Hawksmoor's proud churches have
> the grandest Baroque towers in London. Further out at Wanstead, the great 18th
> Century park rivalled Hampton Court, eating into the fringes of Epping Forest...
> From here there is a clear view across some fifteen miles of suburban growth to
> the City of London and Canary Wharf towers on the site of the West India docks
> (Cherry et al, p1).

This heritage forms part of a cultural richness that is added to by the diversity of the

area's inhabitants. This cultural richness is in contrast to the fact that most East

London households have lower incomes and higher rates of poverty and deprivation

than the national average (Lupton and Sullivan, 2007). The Strategic Regeneration

Framework (2009) describes aspects of the host borough sub-region:

- 64.2% of the population are employed in the sub region compared with
  70.4% in London, which equates to 77,000 fewer people in employment in
  the host boroughs;

- overcrowding varies from 18% to 38% of households in the five boroughs
  against a London average of under 7%;

- there are low levels of adult skills compared to the London average, with
  17.6% of adults in the host boroughs having no qualifications, compared to
  11.6% in London 36% of adults in the host boroughs have National

Vocational Qualification Level Four (NVQ4) qualifications (equivalent to degree level and above) compared to 40.6% in London

- there is almost an 8% gap in GCSE attainment from the London average;

- an extra 15 people per 100,000 population die prematurely in the host boroughs than in London overall;

- one in four children are classified as obese by Year Six, this is above the London average (Host Borough Unit, 2009, p11)

This picture of deprivation forms part of the negative perception of the area which is compounded by a "deficit view of the cultural forms associated with specific areas of the city, particularly the inner city, or of cultural forms associated with racial or ethnic groups in the city" (Grace, 1984, p 19). This deficit view, almost a pathologising of the inner city, is part of the dynamic framing of the educational environment and flows from what Grace (1984) characterised as the limitations of urban education as a field of study. This framing is deficient because of these limitations: an inadequate theorisation of the urban; an overemphasis upon the cultural as an explanatory category at the expense of the structural; an inadequate sense of the historical in the understanding of urban phenomena; and concepts of power and resources expressed in a limited sense of the political. These limitations will be explored in later chapters as will the way in which they might be reduced.

The Promise of Legacy

The host boroughs are part of a London characterised by a number of tensions:

great wealth with social inclusion; diversity with tolerance; openness to migration with security and public support; mobility with community; and population and economic growth with quality of place and quality of life (PMSU, 2004, p7).

The Strategic Regeneration Framework (2009) seeks to resolve some of these tensions through the principle of convergence. Stated simply this is the principle that over a 20-year period the conditions of those people living within the host boroughs will converge with the social and economic conditions of people in London as a whole. The Framework was accepted by the Mayor of London, the Minister for the Olympics and the Secretary of State for Communities, as the basis for the legacy regeneration of the host boroughs. As such the principle is extended into the relevant planning and policy development of local and regional government.

The presence of the Games throws the spotlight on the issues that the Strategic Regeneration Framework hopes to address in terms of social trends in labour markets, housing, transport and public life. The 2012 Games are seen as being one of the key regeneration catalysts for the rehabilitation of an urban landscape which is fragmented and constrained by transport infrastructure – busy roads and trainlines- which separate communities from each other and from the large amounts of space and water in the Lower Lea Valley (Prior, 2007). How this regeneration of physical infrastructure can influence the educational environment is the focus of this thesis.

The Department of Culture, Media and Sport outlined a series of promises for the Games which included to:

- Make the UK a world leading sporting nation

- Transform the heart of East London

- Inspire a generation of young people to take part in local volunteering, cultural and physical activity

- Make the Olympic Park a blueprint for sustainable living

- Demonstrate the UK is a creative, inclusive and welcoming place to live in, visit and for business (DCMS, 2007)

These sat alongside commitments made by the Mayor of London and LOCOG (Livingstone, 2008; LOCOG, 2007) and are complemented by a range of publications detailing how the UK regions might benefit from the Games and in-depth studies of specific issues (Poynter, 2009a). To a certain extent these 'promises' will be tested against specific indicators within the Olympic Games Impact Study, however, the feeling around the promise is at least as important as the officially reported measure. This is what builds the emotional 'event structure' and will be a determinant in engagement with legacy projects. These perceptions are explored in this thesis through the empirical work described in later chapters. The sections below focus on how the 'promise' of previous Games has manifested itself alongside some more contextual information relevant to London 2012.

Focusing on the Knowledge, Skills Development and Education 'Event Structure'

The hosting of an Olympic Games gives the host population an opportunity to gain knowledge of, and skills in, a wide range of activities that are linked to the Games (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). These include areas such as event organisation, security and hospitality. These instrumental developments can be seen alongside gaining knowledge of wider cultural and historical issues, both about the area where the Games are being held and about the event itself. This section explores how the 'Catalyst for Regeneration Games' have engaged with this 'event structure'.

The bid for the Sydney Games included a section on Olympic education, with a range of proposals for engagement strategies with schools. For example, each school in New South Wales was invited to build the Olympic education programme

into their curricula. Toohey, Crawford and Halbwirth, (2000) contend that the resourcing of the programme showed an understanding of the significance that a promotion of the Olympic ideals could have on a nation's youth with an increased "understanding of the Olympic movement and its values" (Cashman, 2006, p238). An evaluation conducted after the Games showed that all of the Olympic education programmes were rated positively, but it is difficult to go much further with the claim as no impact evaluation of any aspect of the education programme was undertaken. This was similar to the situation for the Athens Games of 2004 (Grammatikopoulos *et al.*, 2004) where the programmes were well received but not evaluated. Although indicators relating to education are included in the OGI study set, it is still the case that currently the evidence about whether the educational programmes linked to the Olympics work is lacking (Smith, 2012). This clearly limits the use that can be made of any resource or description of best practice by future OCOGs (Cashman, 2006).

The Olympic education resource for London 2012 was called 'Get Set' and was run by LOCOG in partnership with the Department of Education, the Olympic sponsors and other national education providers (Chen, 2012). The resource was an online presence with a library of materials and a range of options for interaction. The resource set out to provide a framework to facilitate the linking of learning to the Games and their associated values. Allied to this was the 'Get Set+' programmes which supported learning through a number of strands: Enterprise; Communication, collaboration & citizenship; Culture & creativity Sustainability & regeneration; Practical learning; Healthy & active lifestyles; Internationalism and school linking; and PE & sport. The materials were wide ranging and targeted an age range of 3-19.

In terms of the host boroughs, the OGI pre-Games Report (2009) showed that at the end of primary schooling, pupils lagged behind the whole London baseline figure for performance in English and Mathematics by 3.8% (68.2% cf 72% level 4 at Key Stage 2). In secondary schools, pupils within maintained secondary schools were 7.8% behind the London baseline in A*-C grades (including English and Mathematics) (42.8% cf 50.6%). This should be seen in a context of the deficit in adult qualifications that is detailed above. The 8.4% deficit between the host boroughs and the London average for 19 year olds reaching the level 3 threshold (42.5% cf 50.9%) is of concern for the post-compulsory educational sector.

The effect of the Sydney Games on tertiary education was explored by Cashman and Toohey (2002) who found that outcomes were lower than expectations in all of the areas considered, which included community service, staff/student opportunities, financial gain and promotion of the institution. Despite this, there are examples of institutions that secured ongoing benefits after the Games. For example, Monash University drew upon its positioning as an international university with a network of overseas campuses to secure a commercial contract from the IOC. This was to operate as an exclusive knowledge management company facilitating the transfer of knowledge about running the Games to the next Organising Committee. In another example, The University of Technology, Sydney (UTS) worked with Democritos University in Thrace and accepted 120 Greek students in both 1999 and 2000 to their Sports Management Masters degree (Cashman, 2006):

> both the IOC and the Organising Committee for the Athens Games (ATHOC) benefited as the programme advanced the IOC's Olympic education agenda in an innovative way and ensured that tacit Olympic knowledge would be transferred to ATHOC through the students who would be employed there (Cashman, 2006, p136).

In the example given above there is a straightforward link between the opportunity that the Games presents and the skill area, sports management, that is being developed. This is not always so evident. The opportunities that are offered by the Games do not necessarily impact on the skill base of the city's population (Panagiotopoulou, 2009). The focus on the event and the short-time scales mean that the skill-base has little time to grow, often being supplemented by skills from outside of the area. This is illustrated by the limited positive impact of the Barcelona Games on the skills or knowledge base of the Barcelona workforce:

> First, in the construction sector the system of sub-contracting made labour market interventions designed to improve the local skills base very difficult to implement. Second, in service industries, most of the temporary and permanent jobs created were unskilled and, finally, Barcelona had a long term historic deficit in higher skilled and professional occupations arising from its industrial past (LERI, 2007, p31).

A way in which the Games can operate to change the existing conditions is by skill development through volunteering. There is a clear recognition of the importance of the considerable number of volunteers involved in the operation of a megaevent (Cashman, 2006; Pegg, 2002; Nichols and Ralston, 2011). London 2012 recruited 70,000 volunteers, the so-called 'Games Makers' to a variety of roles across the Olympic venues. Recruitment began in September 2010 and some 240,000 applications were received (IOC, 2012).

A study of the volunteering programme associated with the 2002 Commonwealth Games revealed the enriching effect of voluntary activity on the lives of volunteers as well as an increase in the skills base within the community, allowing an economic contribution to the development of further events in the region (Nichols and Ralston, 2012). Although the benefits of volunteering are often couched in instrumental terms with links being made to the employability of those taking part

in voluntary activity (Bourner and Millican, 2011; Townsend, 2009) the evidence for this is at best partial, with no overwhelming evidence linking volunteering to entry into employment (Hirst, 2001). However, the enrichment noted in the study mentioned above moves beyond this narrow instrumental view and recognises the other effects that volunteering can make at an individual and community level. Given this wider view of legacy, volunteering can be seen as being of benefit in supporting on-going self-development, in impacting on social inclusion and in the development of community infrastructure (Hirst, 2001; Nichols and Ralston, 2011; Nichols and Ralston, 2012). These in turn will effect the educational environment of aspiration and community-orientation. Perceptions of volunteering are empirically explored and discussedin the latter parts of this thesis.

This section has given consideration to how the formal educational sector, schools, colleges and universities have engaged with the Olympic Games through curricular interventions and through initiatives around knowledge exchange. It also explored how the opportunities for volunteering that emerge from hosting an Olympic Games could be used to develop the skills of those engaging in volunteering. Other informal educational opportunities are afforded through the cultural 'event structure' which is explored in one of the sections below.

Focusing on the Infrastructure 'Event Structure'

The infrastructure 'event structure' framework of Gratton and Preuss (2008) includes both the general infrastructure – roads, rail, housing, telecommunication – and the sports infrastructure, for example stadia, associated with any given Games. This section explores how hosting the Games has affected the structure of the city, how the Games have been incorporated into the long term plans for urban development and how cities have addressed issues of sustainability in the

developments required by the Games. It does this by considering the cases of the

Barcelona, Sydney and Athens Games.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this thesis is mindful that developments are a sub-set of

more general regeneration activity. This is true of London and other host cities,

each with a different mix of their geographic and political positioning affecting their

ability to host events and to benefit from doing so (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). For

example, the geographical position of Barcelona meant that it was well placed to

connect the markets of Spain and Portugal with northern Europe. The political

positioning saw the Barcelona Games develop alongside a number of interventions

in public areas that had been in place since the 1980s, including the 'culture of the

urban project' (Monclus, 2007). Thus some of the Barcelona renewal projects were

specific to the Games, others were long planned and formulated outside of Olympic

thinking, but used the Games to gain leverage for urban regeneration (Marshall,

1996; Ward, 2002). Muñoz (2006) states that: "it is clear that the main feature of

the 1992 Olympic village project, the location of centrality space in a non-central

and deprived area, is still inspiring…on-going initiatives in Barcelona" (p182).

Barcelona is often seen as a useful counterpoint (Brunet, 2009) to the oft-cited

'white elephant' syndrome (Mangan, 2008) of infrastructure developments failing

in the medium to long term to find suitable usage. This perceived success flows

from the balance struck at the planning stage where the intention was to avoid

packing all of the facilities into one area which would have minimised their use

after the Games (Monclus, 2007). Subsequent to its Games, Barcelona embarked

on a series of phased developments. These addressed perceived omissions from

previous developments or sought to redistribute cultural and leisure activity across

the city, trying to tackle the overcrowding caused by the successful regeneration of

the central area. Taken together, these have maintained the legacy momentum

beyond the immediate effect of the Games (Brunet, 2009; LERI, 2007).

For Muñoz (2006), this approach clearly indicates how:

> Olympic urbanism can represent new opportunities for the hosting city in
> dealing with both the reinforcement of urban centrality and higher social
> integration. These are goals that can be achieved simultaneously if Olympic
> Urbanism is conceived from the outset as a catalyst for future urban growth and
> development and as a generator of urban strategies rather than of specific
> Olympic projects alone (Munoz, 2006, p186).

Others are less fulsome in their praise: "the poor had to be content with the open

space and access to the sea" (Gold and Gold, 2005, p208), raising the issue of

gentrification which is returned to in Chapter 5.

For the host boroughs, the forecasts - contained within the Strategic Regeneration

Framework (2009) document - that the population of the host boroughs will

increase by some 260,000 people over the next twenty years makes the

development of infrastructure of key importance. The interaction between the

mixed housing development, educational establishments and the community are

discussed in the following chapters.

The environmental impacts of hosting the Olympic Games and the development of

the associated infrastructure have been, and continue to be, a source of concern to a

range of commentators (Chappelet, 2008; Toyne, 2009). In the 1990s, this concern

led to the adoption by the IOC of a formal environmental position, largely based on

the outcomes of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and

Development. This in turn led to an Olympic Games Agenda 21 published in 1999,

in time for the Sydney Games (Toyne, 2009). This document states that:

> The starting point of sustainable development is the idea that the long-term
> preservation of our environment, our habitat as well as its biodiversity and
> natural resources...will only be possible if combined simultaneously with

economic, social and political development particularly geared to the benefit of the poorest members of society...in view of its universal nature, the Olympic movement accepts that it has a special responsibility to share in the implementation of this concept of sustainable development (IOC, 1999, p17).

The Sydney Olympic Park is located in Homebush, to the west of the city and a place of population growth that had been a site of regeneration activity since the 1980s. The use of a 'Green Games' to continue the remediation of this heavily polluted site was an attractive part of the Sydney bid (Cashman, 2009). A number of commentators have written about the way in which the area has been transformed, both physically and symbolically (Dunn and McGuirk, 1999; Winchester, Kong and Dunn, 2003; Gordon, 2003). However, the planning for the use of the Park subsequent to the Games was not adequately thought through (Toohey, 2008; Cashman, 2009). Cashman (2009) questions whether the ongoing development of the Sydney Olympic Park, with commercial and residential concerns coming to the fore, is a "pragmatic retreat from the original Olympic vision" (p139) and if this change to a multi-purpose Park dilutes the legacy.

The original master plan for the Athens Games aimed to concentrate the Games at a small number of locations and to make extensive use of existing sports infrastructure. Access to the sites in Athens in the original masterplan would be facilitated by a transport infrastructure dubbed the Olympic Ring.(Gold, 2007). However, the replacement of the bid team (Payne, 2006), the review of the plan (ATHOC, 2005) and further community consultation led to a different and delayed plan (Gold, 2007). The revised plan took a much more scattered approach, which according to Beriatos and Gospodini, (2004) was suggestive of a strategy for promoting multi-nucleus urban regeneration and development. However, the potential for delivery of wider community engagement was diminished by planning that did not take adequate account of use post-2004. This has led to a situation

where plans have gradually emerged through a "lengthy, difficult and in some cases acrimonious process" (Mangan, 2008, p1872).

Focusing on the Networks 'Event Structure'

The staging of a Games requires effective relationships between a large number of organisations and individuals, these forming the basis of Gratton and Preuss' (2008) network 'event structure'. These interactions depend on existing networks, but there is also the potential to form other networks which have a lifespan beyond the Games time.

The links that were formed between UTS, the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games and the Athens Organising Committee described above, had a positive effect on the status of UTS as an international institution and subsequently led to teaching contracts with two Beijing tertiary institutions (Cashman, 2006). Involvement of other educational bodies in the Sydney Games and its subsequent influence on business opportunities can also be seen in the way that Technical and Further Education New South Wales (TAFE NSW) secured a prominent training role in the Athens 2004 Games through their successful involvement in the Sydney 2000 Games. The Sydney Games also used the event to build a business network called Business Club Australia which, according to O'Brien (2006), was the genesis of a similar idea that was associated successfully with the Manchester Commonwealth Games of 2002 (Smith and Fox, 2007).

The opportunities that arise from such networking were recognised by the establishment in 2007 of 'Podium' as a co-ordinating unit to facilitate and communicate opportunities arising from London 2012 for colleges and universities. 'Podium' is funded by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and the Skills Funding Agency (SFA). It has a national remit and aims to

encourage an engagement with future sporting and cultural mega-events both at home and overseas. 'Podium' worked with a number of stakeholders; in addition to universities and colleges, it worked with LOCOG and the ODA, with Regional Development Agencies, Sector Skills Councils, and other interest groups. In legacy mode they continue to work with a range of partners, disseminating best practice to the organising committees of, for example Glasgow 2014 and Rio 2016.

The instrumental approach which is implied in the development of new business through the networks formed, is complemented by the opportunities that events such as the Olympics offer for interactions that would not have taken place normally and for celebration (Smith, 2012). Smith also warns that the effect of the event on community development may be limited by the amount of social capital that is already present within a particular community. The way in which networks can be used to form different types of social capital is explored in the next chapter.

Focusing on the Culture 'Event Structure'

The 'event structure' framework (Gratton and Preuss, 2008) acknowledges that mega-sport events produce cultural ideas, cultural identity and cultural products. A positive cultural image, allied with other factors, has the potential to increase tourism in the long term (Solberg and Preuss, 2006), but the cultural offering associated with the Games also has the potential to educate the host population and to provide a framework through which to address issues of identity and history (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). In such a case the cultural presentation within an Olympiad can be viewed as an informal educational opportunity. This section explores how the Games of Barcelona, Sydney and Athens engaged with this area, and considers the scope of London's Cultural Olympiad

Chapter 3 - London and Legacy

The bid for the London 2012 Games carried a promise that it would champion culture and education alongside sport through a Cultural Olympiad. The programme, launched in 2008, included a number of strands that considered the diversity of the UK's cultural industry, heritage and natural environment. The Cultural Olympiad became the largest cultural programme of any Games, operating on an unprecedented geographical scale and led to a number of new partnerships (Garcia et al 2013). The Strategic Regeneration Framework (2009) points out that the largest cultural quarter in Europe is to be found within the host boroughs with over 12,000 artists being based there. The area has a growing number of creative companies and cultural institutions, with iconic and internationally important arts venues all of which draw on the diversity of its constituent communities. This resonates with the points made in the early sections of this chapter. The host boroughs recognised the cultural richness and worked together to deliver the CREATE arts festival, which in 2009 attracted audiences of over 822, 000, bringing £15 million into the East London economy. The ways in which some other hosts have engaged with the culture 'event structure' are explored below.

Sydney's Cultural Olympiad set out to tell a story of the city and the nation. It was hoped that the multicultural message would be conveyed through the ceremonies around the Games and through the Cultural Olympiad that preceded it. Part of this, the 'Street Festival', was indicative of the way in which devising the policy "independently of established ethnic and multicultural arts groups [and] without the direct input of local artists or grassroots cultural organisations" (Garcia, 2007, p258) diminished the establishment of clear legacies. This was exacerbated by the decision to retain control of its cultural and educational programme within its organising committee (SOCOG, 1999). Garcia (2007) feels that this led to a

marginalisation of the management team which led, in turn, to them being "isolated from other programmes with a clear focus on cultural matters and [with] an emphasis beyond sport, such as the ... education programme [and]community" (p242).

Barcelona's bid contained a commitment to a four year Cultural Olympiad, which was seen as a way to showcase the city's heritage alongside its current cultural life. A touring exhibition with the theme of 'Barcelona: the City and 92' visited other Spanish cities telling the story of the urban projects and associated buildings which were designed to stage the Games. In addition to the exhibitions and festivals, four museums and a botanical garden were renovated in preparation for the Games. There was also an innovative use of the surrounding "streetscape as an outdoor museum" (Gold and Gold, 2005, p209). This approach resonates with the place-based education approach explored in Chapter 5.

Focusing on the Image and Emotion 'Event Structures'

The cultural presentation of a city, explored above, impinges on the final event structures that are discussed in this section. These equate to the symbolic significance of the event and the way this effects both positive and negative emotions within the host population and the way these change the behaviour of individuals, organisations and markets (Gratton and Preuss, 2008).

While a sporting megaevent often creates a positive image within which its organisers can bask (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Snyder, Lassegard and Ford, 1986), the intense scrutiny of such events does run the risk of any negative images reaching a very wide audience, an example being the criticisms levelled at the environmental credentials of the Athens Games by the World Wildlife Fund, (2004). Whilst some of the incidents leading to such exposure are sometimes out of

the control of the organisers (Gratton and Preuss, 2008), the images that are presented and foregrounded through the formal parts of the event are within their control.

The Barcelona Games are often used to illustrate the role of the Olympics in planning and implementing place promotion (Baim, 2009; Monclus, 2007; Brunet, 2009; Coaffee, 2007). The messages that were being conveyed were somewhat complicated by the sensibilities of the city, its region and the national picture. Having emerged from a Fascist dictatorship fairly recently, Spain wanted to show itself to be a mature democracy supportive of business and tourism, whilst Catalonia wished to stress its political autonomy, along with its cultural identity, something that had been suppressed under Franco (Gold and Gold, 2005; Monclus, 2007). Although potentially in conflict, these messages were written large in the opening and closing ceremonies where:

> skilful blending and overlapping of national and regional symbols and folklore created an opening ceremony that averted major nationalist opposition and was seen by foreign journalists as a product of Spanish maturity, cooperation and universal Olympic values…Dancers performing the 'Sardana', a traditional circle dance, banned under Franco, traced the Olympic rings (Gold and Gold, 2005, p210).

In Australia, the opportunity was taken to use the power of the Olympics to mark Sydney as a city of significance – one that could support tourism and business – with an aim of attracting service-based industries from within the Asia/Pacific region.

To these ends the Australian Tourism Commission (ATC) developed a rebranding strategy for Sydney using the Games as its key vehicle (Cashman, 2008). The support of local, state and national governments for the Sydney Games of 2000 brought with it a variety of agendas. The fact that this was seen as a national

project, showcasing the landscape and culture of the country as well as the host city, sent a signal to the rest of the world that Australia was a place to do business. This was alongside an opportunity to demonstrate itself as being a multicultural society, one that was addressing issues of Aboriginal reconciliation (Hanna, 1999; Garcia, 2007). A good deal of this messaging was done through the Cultural Olympiad, which is discussed above.

Emotion, as an 'event structure', is somewhat intangible, but in many ways underpins the other, more instrumental, structures that are described above. These intangibles include:

> concerns for self-perpetuation ...and the desire for self projection have the serendipitous consequence of bringing pleasure, excitement and joy to billions of people around the world. This remains a legacy of immense significance (Mangan, 2008, p1876)

Whilst emotion might be seen as being instrumental in providing the confidence for anticipatory investment (Thurow, 2004), it should not only be considered in these terms if the inroads of commodification (MacRury and Poynter, 2008; MacAloon, 2008) are to be resisted. Whilst the positive emotions of hosting such an event creates local identification, vision and motivation, it is important to acknowledge that negative emotions may also arise due to, for example, displacement and/or marginalisation of citizens of the host city (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). There is a need to be open about the range of perspectives that will be developed around the hosting of a Games.

Conclusion

A number of the 'event structures' above are clearly related to education, whilst others effect it in a less obvious way. For example, using the classification of educational purposes (Sterling, 2001) discussed in Chapter 1: the socialisation

function can be seen in the impact of volunteering on social inclusion and the development of community infrastructure (Hirst, 2001; Nichols and Ralston, 2012). The vocational function is influenced by the effect of the Games on employability; the liberal function through the engagement with the festival and its associated cultural offerings; and the transformative function through the consideration of issues such as sustainability and equity within the principle of convergence.

The 'event structures' that are discussed above are postulated to change location factors for a number of activities (Preuss, 2006), for example tourism, industry and events. It is the contention of this thesis that the 'event structures' will also change the location factors for education, interacting with existing structures and practices to change the educational environment.

The next chapter considers the work of Pierre Bourdieu and explores his concepts of field, habitus and capitals and how these interact. It does this in an attempt to develop a framework that might be used to explain observed phenomena in the fields of regeneration, education and place-making, all key aspects of legacy.

Chapter 4 – Explaining Practice: Field, Habitus and Capital

Introduction

This chapter offers an analytical framework, drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, with which to begin to understand the complexities of the effects of megaevents on the educational environment. Bourdieu's theories are grounded in the ideas associated with social reproduction and symbolic power, using the operation of capital within the existing social structure to explain the ways in which these structures and the place of the individuals within those structures is maintained over time (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986, 1990, 2000; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Sayer, 1999; Jenkins, 2002). In developing this analysis Bourdieu points out that the success of any practice will be constrained by the operation of individual agency and the social structures within which the individual operates. This chapter gives consideration to the individual components of Bourdieu's concepts, how these interact and the ways in which social phenomena can be explored through their use.

Field and Habitus

In order to further explore the interaction between structure and agency, Bourdieu developed a number of inter-related key concepts: field, habitus, doxa, and various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Atkinson, 1999; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1990, 1986). A field is "a network or a configuration of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), the mediation within the field operating through a dynamic nexus of capitals (Marsh, 2006; Brosnan, 2010). Habitus is a term given to an individual's dispositions shaped by structural elements of society (Marsh, 2006; Brosnan, 2010; Ecclestone, 2004; Greenfell et al,

1998; Bourdieu, 1977). Having emerged from a person's experience of these structures, a habitus in turn offers a structured influence on subsequent attitudes and behaviours, perceptions and aspirations (Marsh, 2006; Brosnan, 2010; Crossan et al, 2003). To some extent the habitus can be thought of as an internalised discourse derived from the field within which an individual is operating. The way in which habitus can be explored is considered further below and in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

A field has boundaries set by rules of engagement which are neither explicit nor codified: "each is lubricated by forms of knowledge that are only partially consciously known, have their own self-referential legitimacy and…operate in a tacit manner" (Greenfell et al, 1998, p25). The interactions which occur within the field can be seen as being dialectic both within and between agents. For these reasons the forms of social and cultural capital which are valued are dynamic and arbitrary. This idea of arbitrariness is considered by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) in their development of the concept of 'pedagogic action'. For them the curriculum does not simply, as Durkheim (1956) suggests, mirror society's values. Rather, it transmits them, embedding the values of the dominant class into the curriculum at the expense of domains of other groups. Key to the success of this transmission is the internalisation by the actors within the field of this arbitrariness. In effect "we absorb the ideologies and practices that are part of our everyday lives and these become habitual, shaping our future choices" (Marsh, 2006, p164). Uncovering these 'habits' is a methodological challenge. Mahar, Harker and Wilkes (1990) suggest that this is not just a failure to recognise the dominant discourse, but a reconstruction of habitus to accommodate the discourse. The proposition that individuals who do not recognise the power relations within the dominant discourse

and leave them unchallenged are responsible, to some extent, for the *status quo*, makes the reproduction of structural inequalities rather more dependent on individual agency than some who have critiqued Bourdieu's work suggest (Sharp, 1980).

> Habitus, then, and the concept of the 'internalised arbitrary' are important to the development of an understanding of how practices are perpetuated across time and can account for the process by which individuals develop learned behaviours and attitudes that uphold dominant discourses (Marsh, 2006, p164).

Thus it is important to be able to examine the habitus if one is to offer up ways to disrupt it.

In understanding this dynamic the idea of doxa (Bourdieu, 1990) - the "preverbal taking for granted of the world that flows from practical sense" (p68) - has some merit. This taking for granted occurs when the habitus of an individual is in accord with the values held within a particular field. If this is the situation then doxic attitudes are said to prevail. However, as Bourdieu (2000) states:

> Habitus is not necessarily adapted to its situation nor necessarily coherent. It has degrees of integration – which correspond in particular to degrees of 'crystallisation' of the status occupied (Bourdieu, 2000, p160).

This doxic dissonance, discrepancies causing cognitive discomfort, might also arise through the fact that the habitus of individuals can be in contact with a number of fields and a range of other sociocultural contexts (Bourdieu, 2000; Marsh, 2006).

Forms of Capital

Bourdieu (1986) wrote about the interaction between three sources of capital: economic, cultural and social. The use of these different capitals is an attempt to expand the category of capital to something more than just the economic (Reay, 2004; Moore, 2004). The differences between these forms of capital are broadly defined by their ease of transmission, and by how they might be institutionalised.

In drawing a distinction between the three forms of capital, Bourdieu (1986) describes how these forms may be converted one to another:

- Economic capital, which may be easily converted into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights

- Cultural capital, which may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications and which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital

- Social capital, which, again, might be convertible into economic capital under the right conditions and may be institutionalised in the form of titles.

This issue of conversion is an important one, as the means and ease of the conversions dictate the strategies that are likely to be deployed by individuals in ensuring the reproduction of capital. In this there is an underlying assumption that the strategy chosen will be the one that is "least costly in terms of conversion work and of the losses inherent in the conversion itself (in a given state of the social power relations)" (Bourdieu, 1986, p114). In these strategies, Bourdieu points out that there is a transparency about the exchange of economic capital, whilst the transmission of both cultural and social capital exists in an ambiguous position, made opaque by "a much more subtle economy of time" (Bourdieu, 1986, p113).

If we are to attempt to define the full legacy benefit of engagement with megaevents, such as the Olympic Games, we need to develop an understanding of the way in which the different forms of capital operate behind the ambiguities. In order to begin this process, a consideration of cultural and social capital is given below.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is often considered through an exploration of participation in high status cultural activity (Dumais, 2002; Sullivan, 2001; Aschaffenburg and Mass, 1997). Others, for example Lareau and Weininger (2003), have argued that this tends to overlook the full potential of cultural capital as a theoretical tool for understanding how inequalities are generated through, for example, schooling. In this sense, cultural capital needs to be conceptualised around "subtle modalities in the relationship to culture and language" (Bourdieu 1977, p 82) and the preferences and orientations that these modalities reveal. Cultural capital can exist in three forms: the embodied state which corresponds to individual or group dispositions; the objectified state in the form of cultural objects; and the institutionalised state where disposition is supposedly objectified, often through educational qualification or similar validation (Bourdieu, 1986; Reay, 2004).

Embodied cultural capital, which could be seen as a conversion of external wealth into a person's habitus, takes time to develop and, whilst it might form a personal disposition, it is generated through the interactions between that individual and the environment within which (s)he operates, mediated by: "the investment of time by parents, other family members or hired professionals to sensitise the child to cultural distinctions" (Reay, 2004, p75).

In some ways a case could be made for seeing the transmission of objectified cultural capital – in the form of artefacts – as being analogous to the transmission of economic capital. Whilst it is undoubtedly true that the object can be handed over easily, the ability to use and/or appreciate the object is not as easily passed on. It is not, therefore, a simple case of appropriating the resource if one is considering a redistribution of cultural capital. Instead thought needs to be given to how the

resource will be used, how to develop the disposition that gives the artefact meaning.

The operation of educational qualifications can be seen as introducing ambiguity to the exploration of the behaviour of capital. Firstly, by the way in which it has a tendency to confer "entirely original properties on the cultural capital it is presumed to guarantee" (Bourdieu,1986, p106); secondly, through the way in which, by seemingly only rewarding natural ability, it camouflages the domestic transmission of cultural capital; and, finally, through the way that the qualification system privileges certain aspects of knowledge with the attendant risk that this will disenfranchise certain groups from the transmission of their cultural capital, this resonating with the idea, explored more fully in the next chapter, of schools operating to undermine a community's confidence in their own knowledge and experience (Cummings, Todd and Dyson, 2007; Freire, 2000; Illich, 1996) This marginalisation might be exacerbated as "the economic and social yield of the educational qualification depends on the social capital, again inherited, which can be used to back it up" (Bourdieu, 1986, p107).

Social Capital

Portes (1998, 2000) states that the concept of social capital has become one of the most popular exports from sociological theory into everyday language. The concept is used to explain phenomena including the success of housing programmes, the achievement gap between children, economic development and government efficiency (Hao, 1994; Lang, 1998; Briggs, 1998; Putnam, 1993; Schiff, 1992). The success of this export may, however, have obscured some of the ambiguities associated with the term. Thus, whilst all of these authors view social networks as being relational and lending themselves to being explored through the metaphor of

capital, they differ in the level at which they deploy their analysis. Thus, social capital has become conceptualised as, *inter alia*, either a source of social control, or as a source of family-mediated benefits or as a source of non familial networks (Portes, 1998; Johnston and Percy-Smith, 2003).The concept has been somewhat morphed within the discourse to a stage where social capital has come to be seen as an attribute of the community itself, with benefits developing for the collective – lower crime rates for example (Portes 2000). This morphing, initiated by Putnam (1993, 1995), has enabled the focus around social capital to concentrate on its effects on the stock held by communities and on structural changes to those communities, but:

> social capital as a property of cities or nations is qualitatively distinct from its individual version…[t]he heuristic value of the concept suffers accordingly as it risks becoming synonymous with each and all things that are positive in social life (Portes 2000, p3).

The discourse around community development then becomes damning, if things are not working then the fault lies with the stock of social capital that the extant community holds – areas are disadvantaged because of failures within the community, not because that community has been failed (Winkley, 1987). This is problematic in terms of regeneration efforts, potentially offering a rationale for displacement through the mechanisms discussed in Chapter 5.

Event-led regeneration is often predicated on the effect the development will have on the neighbourhood, this is certainly implied through the promises made about the London Games (Hansard, 2005; Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2007; Livingstone, 2008). The development of social capital, however, does not just happen, nor is it simply a product of proximity in physical, economic or social space. Instead, it results from investment strategies that may very well operate at an

unconscious level, or may flow from conscious action. "Social capital of any significance can seldom be acquired, for example, without the investment of some material resources and the possession of some cultural knowledge, enabling the individual to establish relations with others" (Portes, 2000, p2).

The existence of these relational groupings, the provision of these banks of social capital, is not the only prerequisite of engagement in the activities which will enable the capital to flow. In addition to the nexus of relationships, issues of trust, reciprocity and awareness need to be taken into account, something which is enshrined in the habitus of individuals. Woolcock (2001), in attempting to distinguish the types of networks that might be generated by the development of these relationships, talks of three forms of social capital, namely:

- Bonding social capital - which denotes ties between like people in similar situations- immediate family, close friends and neighbours

- Bridging social capital - which encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates

- Linking social capital - which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those entirely outside of the community, thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community.

Schools have many and varied ways in which they generate and mediate access to social capital: this might be done formally through links to local employers and further education; informally through sports facilities and the formation of extra-curricular clubs; it might also operate as a site for the formation of what McGonigal et al (2007) term "[a]lternative or 'black economy' capital of subcultures, evidenced in gangs, sets of pals or in-groups, style norms and petty crime" (p90). It is

important to realise that social capital can also promote inequality in that it can limit access to different types of networks (Field, 2003; Reuf, 2002). This needs to be given due consideration alongside the work of a number of commentators who have indicated that social capital could confer benefits to disadvantaged communities, including within the realm of educational attainment (Field, 2003; Coleman and Hoffer, 1987; Yongmin, 1999).

Portes (2000) notes that there are modest but significant correlations between educational attainment and social capital measures but, by controlling for a range of other factors, "after all the noise about parental social networks and parental school involvement, what really counts, at the end, is the social and economic status of the family" (Portes, 2000, p9). As Portes has observed, this is not a social capital argument, but one that is grounded in an understanding of the "broad structural forces in the society and the polity" (Portes, 2000, p10).

The Interaction between Habitus, Field and Capitals

According to Bourdieu (1984) an individual's practice is an interaction between field and habitus mediated through various capitals, which he illustrated through a quasi-scientific 'equation' which attempts to explain the dynamic of practice:

$$(\text{habitus x capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practice (Bourdieu, 1984, p101)}$$

This equation groups the habitus of the individual with the capital which that individual can utilise. As this value is a product, the implication is that no capital equates to no agency. If this is the case then practice is wholly defined by the field; whereas the greater the capital available, the larger the impact of the habitus on the practice. Bourdieu describes the dynamic as "the relationship between the feel for the game and the game itself" (Bourdieu 2000, p151), with individual actors investing in the game, believing that it is worth playing. The players take part in the

'illusio' (Bourdieu 2000, p11). According to this view, when the habitus integrates seamlessly into a field, then certain practices become naturalised and unthinking (Marsh, 2006; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). However, the interrelated nature of habitus, field and capital, the potential for doxic dissonance and the way in which an individual can operate across fields all inform an understanding of how they can interrelate to disrupt the *status quo* (Marsh 2006). It is in the dynamic between an individual's habitus and capital -what you think you can do, what you can do, what is within your control and what is structurally imposed - that the opportunities lie for disruption of the continuity between habitus and field and subsequent challenge to the 'illusio' is possible. Bourdieu (2000) argued that "the principle of the transformation of habitus lies in the gap, experienced as a positive or negative surprise, between expectations and experience" (p149), what has been termed above as doxic dissonance.

Conclusion

Taken together, the related notions of cultural and social capital, and Bourdieu's ideas about habitus and field, enable an exploration of the interplay between structural conditions and human agency (Ecclestone 2004). The framework provided by such interplay will be used in subsequent chapters to explore the perceptions of stakeholders and the implications of these perceptions in terms of legacy.

This chapter has discussed Bourdieu's concepts relating to the interaction between social structure and individual agency, which can be seen as an attempt to bridge the objectivist/subjectivist divide (Jenkins 2002). Thompson (1990) has said that "Bourdieu's view is that both subjectivism and objectivism are inadequate intellectual orientations, but that the latter is less inadequate than the former."

Jenkins (2002) takes this one stage further and suggests that despite claims to the contrary, Bourdieu is "committed to an objectivist view" (p91), and lacks a "philosophy or theory of mind" (ibid, p93). There is a case for putting forward the habitus as Bourdieu's manifestation of such a theory of mind. This is seen by some as being rooted in behaviourist psychology (Connell, 1983; Jenkins, 2002), which "is a purely objective experimental branch of natural science" (Watson, 1913, p158) dealing with operants, things which are "defined, and made meaningful, by the nature of [their] relationship with and impact upon, the immediate environment" (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p25). The way in which this operant can be investigated will be explored further in Chapter 6.

The concepts described above are deployed and developed in the subsequent chapters to explore the dynamics of the interactions that take place within the educational environment. The next chapter considers the interplay between urban regeneration, community and education.

Chapter 5 – Regeneration, Community and Education

Introduction

Previous chapters have detailed a number of ways in which the various 'event structures' described by Gratton and Preuss (2008) have affected the location factors (Preuss, 2006; Gratton and Preuss, 2008) for cities hosting 'catalyst for regeneration' Games (Poynter, 2009c). Whilst it is clear that the Games have the potential to affect a city's short-, medium- and long-term development activities, it is also the case that they can force a disruption of existing plans to ensure Olympic success (Liao and Pitts, 2006). The opportunities presented by the 2012 Games are part of a wider regeneration effort within London from which a number of lessons have already been learned (Brown and Lees, 2009; Bernstock, 2009; Raco and Henderson, 2009; Manzi and Jacobs, 2009). The narratives around regeneration and legacy, some of which were rehearsed in Chapter 3, others of which are detailed below, offer the opportunity to test some of the assumptions around regeneration and highlight some of the tensions that are evident in the discourse (Facer, 2009; Bernstock, 2009). This chapter explores some of these lessons, especially the way in which education interacts with the regeneration effort. In doing so, it draws upon concepts explored in the previous chapters and engages with this study's first research question 'How do megaevent structures interact with the educational environment?' This chapter gives consideration: to the structures that are set up; to the way in which these structures are used; and the ways in which various actors engage with them.

Community and Education

The imperative for schools to "engage with their wider community ... [which] is inherent in the direction of public sector reform and localism" (Thomas, 2012, p10) exists within a complex relationship between schools, communities and curricula. The complexity is compounded by the problematic nature of the components within the relationships. Chapter 1 discussed the multiple ways in which the purposes of education can be conceptualised and Chapter 2 drew attention to the multi-faceted nature of legacy. To add to the nature of this 'wicked problem' (Rittel and Webber, 1973), a similar complexity exists in the consideration of community. For example, Bertotti, Jamal and Harden (2011) have produced a meta-narrative review of the conceptualisations and meanings of 'community' as used within the disciplines of sociology, anthropology and political theory. They found "ongoing tensions between individual and collective political positions in framing the importance of communities" (Bertotti, Jamal and Harden, 2011). The complexity of the conceptualisation is exacerbated by the dynamic nature of communities as sites of engagement (Lavia and Moore, 2009; Coomber, 2009). Hence, the wider community with which schools are encouraged to engage is not easily defined.

For a school, as well as the students, their teachers, their parents and carers, one needs to consider other school staff and the school's wider stakeholders (however these are defined). The community of interest is also extended to those who might not have a direct link to the school, but who are geographically close to the building. The community is, therefore, not homogeneous, nor defined by geography and one cannot assume that the perceptions and experiences of a community are necessarily shared across the community's population (Pink, 2008; Orellana, 1999; Christiansen and O'Brien, 2003), thus the "wider community may

be differentially experienced by different groups ...and [this] could have a significant impact on priorities and expectations" (Forrest and Kearns, 1999, p2). This differential experience is important if, as some commentators (Habermas, 1991; Lefebvre, 1991) believe, public and community space are socially defined rather than externally determined.   These perceptions also help to define the importance and power of particular places, the perceived value of a place being a potential determinant of the social capital that that place can generate (Giddens, 1994; Selman, 2001; Hanna, Dale and Ling, 2009). This determinant resonates with the 'image' and 'emotion' 'event structure' (Gratton and Preuss, 2008) discussed above. The way in which place, community and the nature of public space interact with, and indeed shape, the educational environment is discussed below.

Urban Regeneration

The regeneration of an area, often using mixed housing development as a tool, originates in a neoliberal analysis of the problems of low-income neighbourhoods, (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008; Bridge, 2006) categorising them in terms of economic capital, placing the problem within the neighbourhood and individualising a structural problem (Winkley, 1987) in ways discussed in the previous chapter. These neighbourhoods are then "discursively repositioned as irredeemably problematic" (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008, p114). There are echoes here of the statement made to the House of Commons by Jack Straw (2005) referred to above. If a different framework were adopted to examine regeneration it would be possible to reposition ourselves to see what institutions, policies and practices do from the standpoint of those who have the least power: the perceptions of those within the spaces that are to be regenerated (Apple, 2006; Ogbu and Simons, 1998; Gordon, 2008). This will act as a counterpoint to the viewpoints of those on the outside -

"seldom do the politicians who advocate sweeping educational and housing reforms visit the schools they condemn; seldom do they walk the streets of the surrounding community from which the children arrive" (Gordon 2008, p190). One of the aims of this thesis is to make manifest these perceptions around the legacy of the London Games in an attempt to bring the complexity of the situation to the fore.

The ability of, what Bridge (2006) terms, the 'gentrifiers' to occupy certain parts of a city and to surround these areas with shops and services reflecting 'good taste' (Atkinson, 2003; Bridge and Dowling, 2001) and the cultural capital that this is seen to embody is in contrast to the degrees of displacement of working-class residents and other more vulnerable groups (Atkinson, 2000). There are a number of ways in which this displacement has been achieved (Smith, 1996; Wyley and Hammel, 2005; Ley, 1996; Rose, 1996; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005) ranging from forcible eviction to more subtle forms of easing out. This involves the deployment of economic capital, but is often operationalised through cultural capital (Bridge, 2006), objectified cultural capital operating through the gentrification aesthetic, supported by an embodied cultural capital that is reproduced through leisure and retail environments that reflect middle-class norms of sociability and taste (Bridge and Dowling, 2001). When people no longer recognise their home, they leave. This means that the perceived increase in the quality of urban life of one group is often at the expense of a diminution in the quality of life for other urban residents - "this certainly should be part of the audit of quality of life in the creative city" (Bridge 2006, p722). The sections below explore how those affected by regeneration and urban change might be engaged more fully by those implementing the change.

Engaging Communities

A number of commentators have advocated, as a precursor to effective engagement, capacity-building within the community, based around encouragement, support and training in formal engagement (Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Cattell and Evans, 1999). The empowering of local people with the skills and knowledge necessary to make decisions, both at a strategic level and at a level influencing local service delivery and its operational success, will also require "a 'shift' in organisational culture for service providers from one in which they protect themselves by asserting their professional status to one which involves sharing knowledge and skills with service users" (Sampson, 2008). There is a danger that this structural issue, the required 'shift', will not be recognised and any failure on the part of certain communities will be laid at their door, this is potentially exacerbated by the fact that the problems of disadvantaged neighbourhoods cannot be reduced to the deficit of social capital that is implied by this idea of capacity building. Social capital is not sufficient to change the pattern of relative deprivation of the neighbourhoods (Green, Grimsley and Stafford, 2005; Groves et al, 2003; Humphreys, 2007). The use of social capital as a policy tool needs a rounded appreciation of how the characteristics of people and of place influence the nature of the social capital that is available and the efficacy of its deployment (Humphreys, 2007). Whilst specific interventions are likely to be part of wider policies of social, economic and political development, requiring a multi-agency approach, any strategy must ensure that

> the residents [are] involved to ensure that they genuinely benefit from the regeneration activity, and are able to play a role in reviving their neighbourhood by identifying the priorities or to lay the foundations for long-term sustainable neighbourhood management (Carley et al, 2000, p.34).

A number of commentators (Humphreys, 2007; Sampson, 2008; Forrest and Kearns, 1999) have advocated investment in, and community development of, local amenities as a strategy to deploy social capital:

> Projects which are about positive experiences, for example designing public neighbourhood play spaces and services, have reported tangible results both for individual participants in terms of increased social and personal skills and by providing a valuable community meeting place (Sampson, 2008, p277).

However, in pointing out central government's intention to use community participation to improve strategic planning, service delivery and social cohesion within the Thames Gateway, Sampson (2008) draws our attention to the fact that community participation has:

> always been difficult to achieve and successive policies have been unable to involve the local communities particularly in disadvantaged areas, in any meaningful sense and with tangible benefits (Sampson, 2008, p261).

This supports the assertion made by Carley et al (2000) that often communication about regeneration initiatives is poor, leading to low awareness of particular activities. This would seem to be particularly marked for those residents who were not already active within the community. Flowing from this seems to be a view of often inadequate consultation arrangements and a suspicion that devolved power is a myth, with residents' questions not being answered, their issues not followed up, and a feeling that:

> decisions were made in other forums, and their own priorities for everyday issues of service provision and social facilities were ignored in favour of large development activities (Carley et al, 2000, p9).

This raises the issue of trust which will be further explored below in relation to student engagement in both formal and informal education settings.

Local communities are complex and dynamic, acting to varying degrees as sites of social networks, services and economic opportunities.

Historical and cultural assets of place, common situational circumstances of residents and external perceptions of the place are amongst the factors shaping attachment to territorial communities at small area level (Humphreys, 2007, p72).

Schools have a role in shaping this attachment.

School Approaches to Community Engagement

The role of the school in community development is implicit in the London 2012 Promises (DCMS, 2007) around encouraging young people to take part in local volunteering, cultural and physical activity. As was made clear above, the relationship between school and community is complex (Lavia and Moore, 2009; Coomber, 2009; Thomas, 2012). Taking these complexities as a given, there are, broadly speaking, two competing understandings of the relationship between school and community (Cummings,Todd and Dyson, 2007). The first is a school-orientated understanding which

> sees the role of schools in relation to the communities that they serve largely in terms of how that role can contribute to the school's own core task of teaching children, in particular of driving up levels of educational achievement (Cummings, Todd and Dyson, 2007).

Seeing this as a task of enabling young people to gain qualifications to leave the community, "the role of the school was not to support, nor even transform local communities, but to be an instrument in their destruction" (ibid). From this perspective schools are often seen as a source of problems and this has some resonance with ideas which see formal curricula and professional education as undermining a community's confidence in their own knowledge and experience (Illich, 1996; Freire, 2000). The contrasting approach to such a school-orientated understanding is a community-oriented understanding, seeing schools as a resource for the community where students are educated into the community rather than as a means to leave it.

The community-orientated understanding (Cummings, Todd and Dyson, 2007) is manifest in a number of educational practices which are rooted in the generation of concrete knowledge about the local environment for community use – an engagement which seeks to diversify the types and sources of knowledge considered to form the basis for valid exploration in the classroom (Facer, 2009). This can be seen in the precepts of place-based education (Elder, 1998; Hutchinson, 2004; Sobel, 2005; Gruenewald and Smith, 2008) where a collaborative process of inquiry is used to develop curricula in response to the needs and concerns of the local community. The archaeological model of learning (Jaros and Deakin-Crick, 2007) also flows from a community-oriented perspective, beginning with an inquiry into a context, utilising a process of researching and implementing projects related to that context in order to both make a difference in the environment and to develop values, attitudes and dispositions that interact with the living place under examination.

Developing School/Community Engagement through Curriculum Design

Both place-based education (Elder, 1998; Hutchinson, 2004; Sobel, 2005; Gruenewald and Smith, 2008) and the archaeological model of learning (Jaros and Deakin-Crick, 2007) offer ways of building authentic relationships between the school and the community. The adoption of such approaches into the formal curriculum might be facilitated by the increasing devolution of responsibility for curriculum design to the school level (Hargreaves, 2008). The efficacy of such devolved approaches is rehearsed by a number of authors (Barber, 2001; Elliot, 1998; Thompson and Hall, 2008). There is a recognition that part of the critical context for both the creation and the enactment of the curriculum is defined by the values, assumptions and understandings of the teacher (Facer, 2009), the teacher

becoming part of the "powerfully mediating context for the message of curriculum and political economy" (Goodson, 2008, p134). There are, however, issues to be considered here about the extent to which the nexus of teacher perceptions are rooted in the community within which the school sits and of the ability of the school to engage with that community. Francis (2011) points out that schools, particularly secondary schools, find it difficult to engage meaningfully with large numbers of parents, and Crozier and Reay (2005) have indicated that distances in class and educational level between teachers and the communities that they serve might be a factor in constraining engagement. This might be exacerbated by spatial factors, for example, teachers not being resident in the immediate locality of the school (RSA, 2011).

The difficulties described above have been compounded by a policy direction which has tended to undermine teacher autonomy (Sachs, 2003; Hargreaves, 2003; Ball, 2004) leading to a situation where a teacher's job "is to maintain order, teach to the test and follow standardized curriculum scripts" (Hargreaves, 2003). It is, therefore, not surprising that, as a number of commentators (Gonzales, Moll and Amanti, 2005; Sachs, 2003; Levine, 2007) have pointed out, teachers experience difficulties in the process of engaging with the curriculum. For Thomas (2012), true localism depends on the ability of teachers to engage with community development, not just to be given autonomy over teaching method and curricula, especially when there are also strong indications that the devolving of curriculum powers will be little more than a timetabling of commercial solutions (Ball, 2007; Thomas, 2012). Given these difficulties, this thesis explores the perceptions of stakeholders about how the opportunities presented by the Games may be used to inform curricula, and to assist in educational engagement through themed activities

(Smith, 2012) some of these initiatives, for example 'Get Set', were discussed in Chapter 3.

There are clearly difficulties for schools in engaging with their communities and their locale. Higham and Yeomans (2009) indicate that partnership working in local settings is "highly ... contingent...as much a product of happenstance and improvisation as it is of strategy and tactics" (Highman and Yeomans, 2009, p20). Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that communities are full of untapped resources (Riley, 2008), and Beames and Atenico (2008) make the point that to ignore the resources of the community, be that through families, businesses, public and private enterprise and other groups, may mean that opportunities for building bridging social capital (Woolcock 2001) are being lost. Other commentators (for example Brookes, 2002; Maeda, 2005) make similar points about ensuring links with the local community and the concomitant potential for increasing bridging social capital.

There are difficulties in adopting such an approach. Morgan and Williamson (2008) talk of how some subject-centred teachers struggle with inquiry-based approaches that are rooted in their students' experience whilst their students are sometimes reticent, expressing some concern as to the purpose of such enquiry. Ruddock and Flutter (2000) question whether such an approach is intended to empower the students or to use their interests to serve the "narrow ends of a grade obsessed society" (p82). These difficulties point out the fundamentally political nature of this approach:

> A curriculum that tells tales of its local communities, then, is not a neutral representation of that environment ... [one] cannot assume the rights of one group to name and represent the area for all other groups (Facer, 2009, p5).

The stories that have been told of communities have been used to blame communities themselves for the educational problems experienced by that community (Winkley, 1987). For Goodson (2008) the alternative is to engage with the purposes that people articulate in their lives. This is difficult, but Riley (2008) offers some suggestions as to how this might be addressed through tools, such as structured induction for teaching staff, which enables dialogue between communities and schools and makes visible community resources. As Riley (2008) argues, this is a complex process that requires a rethinking of the assumptions that educators have about their communities, in essence an exploration of the habitus of these individuals This approach requires an expenditure of "time, resources, energies and compassion beyond the classroom walls to not only alleviate some of the impediments that might block the success of their charges but also and perhaps more importantly to understand the sources of frustration, attitudes and actions" (Gordon, 2008, p191).

There are a range of alternative educational initiatives emerging from the realisation that communities can come together to learn and the idea that the structure of the institution is less important than the individual behaviour, social relationships, physical environments and economic status of neighbourhoods (McKnight, 2003). Such an approach has led to an approach described as 'Asset Based Community Development'. This perspective presents local communities as agents of change who are:

- Able to create their own future visions
- Enabled to act to create those visions
- Able to create connections and build links between their assets
- Able to care for their communities and individuals within them.

(Facer, 2009)

Such educational organising (Anyon, 2009) aims to create social capital in communities and to give parents a base for advocacy outside of the school to ensure that they are not dependent on school personnel for approval or legitimation, so as not to undermine the community (Cummings, Todd and Dyson, 2007). Working meaningfully at a local level in this perspective also involves locating the area and the community within the complex context of global, economic and information spaces (Facer, 2009), part of what is characterised as the educational environment

Schools and Area Development

A number of reports (Forrest and Kearns 1999; Cattell and Evans 1999) describe the characteristic lack of facilities in inner city areas. Allied to this is the way in which young people are not consulted about the deployment of the resources that are available – "[t]he amenities which are provided are often seen as inappropriate, top down impositions by adults and those in authority and primarily designed to get younger people off the street (Forrest and Kearns, 1999, p20) – and the perception that becoming actively involved marks you out as a 'mug' is of importance when considering the role of volunteering discussed in Chapter 3. These perceptions, of the quality of local facilities, and of one's agency within the locale can be a determinant of the social capital that that place can generate (Giddens, 1994; Selman, 2001; Hanna, Dale and Ling, 2009). The aim of a number of the community-orientated educational initiatives described above is to address these issues through working within the nexus of school, community and curriculum. The school is often seen as being the key partner in this but, as has been shown, the way in which this is viewed is problematic (Cummings, Colleen and Dyson, 2007; Cummins,Todd and Dyson, 2007).

A number of studies carried out on behalf of the Joseph Rowntree Trust (Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Cattell and Evans, 1999; Carley et al, 2000) reported that low standards and a poor state of repair were issues in many of the schools within the inner city areas that they investigated. The obvious direct effect on children is exacerbated by the fact that the poor state of the schools also affected residents' perceptions of the area. For example, residents in Hackney expressed a desire to move based on the nature of schools in the area (Cattell and Evans, 1999). However, it would appear that the amelioration of this situation through plans to reconstruct or remodel schools is less about serving existing communities, instead being often based on the "idea that new buildings will attract a clientele that includes middle- and upper-income families within a broader vision of mixed housing" (Gordon 2008, p190).

This then becomes part of the displacement of communities that often accompanies the mixed housing solutions (Rose, 1996; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005) described above and which follows a class conflict model which is implicit in Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the utilisation of capitals, which was explored in the previous chapter. The lack of this class conflict narrative in the audits associated with regeneration may flow from the work of various commentators (Florida, 2001, 2004; Landry, Gren and Matarasso, 1996; Landry, 1997, 2003) who treat cultural capital as a resource to be built up in an area, but neglect issues around cultural capital being a source of class distinction and the contextual nature of capitals within field and habitus (Bridge, 2006).

Whilst schools might be used to attract new residents into areas, they are, at the moment, required by law to be present "even in the most difficult areas" (Gordon, 2008, p190). However, Bridge (2006) points out that in London there are a large

number of strategic options available to those with adequate economic, cultural and social capital:

> including buying into the private sector, strategies to gain entry to state selective schools, local school capture, moving house…The size of London enables middle-class residents to keep all social fields (in a Bourdian sense) in play at the same time (Bridge, 2006, p720).

This strategic approach to securing school places is not a phenomenon that is peculiar to London, just something which is a little more obvious there because of the availability of housing, the cost of living and social polarisation. Bridge (2006) discusses a similar situation in Bristol, with some tensions being obvious between the institutionalised cultural capital of the school and the objective cultural capital of the aesthetic of the area that the school 'forces' the family to occupy:

> What many of them described was that they were moving to a less desirable house or neighbourhood (in terms of aesthetic values) to gain on what they saw to be good schooling. Long term investments in institutionalised cultural capital were winning out over more immediate investments in objective cultural capital (Bridge, 2006, p727).

The impact on the area is seen in a shift in the balance of economic and cultural capital with a commodification of cultural capital (Zukin, 1982, 1995; Bridge, 2006) and leads to an inauthenticity in place (Zukin, 2010). Thus, there is a need for caution in welcoming regeneration efforts that are predicated on the use of cultural capital as an asset with an associated need to ensure that the perspectives of all stakeholders are taken into account. Mercer (2002) makes a case for the use of cultural mapping which links local knowledge into the tactical and strategic considerations of cultural policy and service delivery. This approach sits well with the community-orientated understanding approach to curriculum development explored above and is, therefore, one way in which a school can act as a resource for the community.

The current policy direction for delivering services in communities, with the concomitant deployment and/or development of linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001)

> will not necessarily have a positive impact on building social capital from the grass roots. This situation particularly is reflected in the weak relationships of trust between residents and mainstream public institutions in the most disadvantaged estates (Humphreys, 2007, p73).

If there is an intention that there should be a positive impact on local communities from such policies, then a number of issues need to be addressed, capacities within the community explored above is one, the issues of trust is another.

Trust and Values

The issue of trust was raised above in terms of consultation on urban development (Carley et al, 2000) and in terms of the utilisation of enquiry-based curricula (Ruddock and Flutter, 2000). In the latter case the lack of trust was seen as something that might inhibit authentic engagement within formal education. Stoddart's (2004) study of socially excluded youth in Cumbria illustrates how participants may have developed a form of bridging social capital through informal education. Of importance here is what Stoddart (2004) terms "thin trust", something that emerges when individuals are 'forced' to trust strangers in novel situations. Whilst Stoddart's study was carried out in an informal, but structured setting, designed to facilitate the development of such trust, there is a case for seeing specific interventions as opportunities to develop this thin trust. However, given the points above (Sampson, 2008; Carley et al, 2000) it is not immediately clear on what this trust would be based.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the way in which education is situated within the field of regeneration and the roles that schools, in particular, might take in this endeavour. There is a need to create a type of permeability between home, school and community (Thomson and Hall, 2008; Facer, 2009). Megaevents may offer a point of contact between this trinity, potentially being a device around which the various actors can meet, although as was seen in Chapter 3 "event-themed educational initiatives usually involve the production of educational resources" (Smith, 2012, p. 157) and the engagement might be limited by the strong norms that are imposed by the field of the Olympic brand, and by those fields that exist within schools and communities. This resonates somewhat with the literature explored elsewhere in the chapter which details the ways in which regeneration efforts have imposed solutions without due consideration of the perspectives of the actors involved. There are clearly issues with the unproblematic way that terms such as community, partnership, empowerment and legacy are used in the discourses around event-led regeneration:

> their meaning is constructed in a context of power and domination which privileges official discourse(s) over others. This process of privileging has the effect of setting limits (or creating boundaries) and steering action in certain directions. Moreover, the mere existence of an official discourse advocating empowerment and partnership is no guarantee that it will actually be translated into practice in an unmediated fashion or that the intention of such a discourse is genuinely to empower communities through participation in urban regeneration partnerships (Atkinson, 1999, pp59-60).

By not adequately understanding the view points of those affected by change there is a risk of imposing structures which alienate those who occupy the space that is being transformed. A lack of understanding of how place is used already might "keep people in separate social worlds despite sharing the same neighbourhood space" (Bridge, 2006, p729). There is a need to develop a tool that allows the

perceptions of stakeholders to be given due consideration, and which does not

ignore "reasoned judgment by actors and their first person accounts of their own

actions" (Sayer, 1999, p61). The next chapter explores the development of such a

tool.

Chapter 6 - Methodology

Introduction

This thesis aims to explore the perceptions held by a range of educational stakeholders about the legacies of the 2012 Games. This chapter explores how these perceptions can be elicited in a meaningful way and continues the consideration of the interaction between social structure and individual agency, which can be seen as Bourdieu's attempt to bridge the objectivist/subjectivist divide (Jenkins 2002) that was discussed in Chapter 4. Beginning with a general consideration of research strategy, locating this in debates around epistemology and ontology, it goes on to develop a rationale for the approach used in this thesis, describing the methods used and giving details of the participants within the empirical studies undertaken

Research Strategy

A research strategy is built upon certain epistemological and ontological assumptions, these assumptions being made evident through the approaches that any given strategy utilises. Whilst there are practical considerations in decisions about research methods, the values of the researcher will also impinge on these decisions.

Kvale's (1996) metaphorical distinction between the researcher as 'miner' and the researcher as 'traveller' reminds us of the impact that the researcher has on that which is researched. In the former, whilst the nugget may be recovered, the surrounding substrate will never be the same again, in the latter the 'nugget' is made at the point of interaction between two actors, but this calls into question its objective reality. In setting up two metaphors Kvale exposes the dichotomy that is present within social research. This dichotomy is seen as emerging from different

ontological and epistemological positions which may lead to different methodological orientations or preferences (Pring, 2000; Kvale, 1996).

To a large extent these 'dual' positions lead to two potential research strategies: those which employ a positivist approach and those which adopt an interpretivist one (Bryman, 2004; Cohen et al, 2011; Opie 2004). However, this disjunction is simplistic, obscuring subtleties of approach.

Positivism, flowing from the work of Comte, Locke, Hume and Bacon, distrusts knowledge claims which give a non-empirical account of the world (Pring, 2000). This approach is seen in the natural sciences, and was developed, during the Enlightenment, as an approach to studying society in order to challenge the structures that were in place at that time, and which often secured their position through a rhetoric that was not open to scrutiny (Pring, 2000). Ayer (1946) described the logical foundations of positivism, with its central tenet being that the truth of a proposition lies in its mode of verification.

There are a number of consequences to this position statement: firstly, there is an implication that the verification of any given proposition is dependent on a knowledge base – giving power to those who know how to carry out the propositions; secondly, that there are only certain types of statements that can be verified, those that can be verified through empirical investigation and those that are logical/mathematical statements that are true tautologically (Pring, 2000).

Defining 'meaningful' statements in this way reduces how we talk about people to statements about physical and social facts. Thus, according to positivists, such as O'Connor (1956), people can be grouped, and these groups can be characterised through empirically derived statements. It is clear that such groups do manifest in various formal and informal social structures. Layder (1993), amongst others,

acknowledges this, but also recognises the significance of human agency in the formation of those structures. As such, he supports and praises interpretive approaches to sociological research.

Interpretivism sits within much of the literature (Pring, 2000; Bryman, 2004; Layder, 1993), as a contrasting epistemology to positivism. It is something of an umbrella term for those approaches which have been critical of positivism in the social sphere (Bryman, 2004). As such this strategy has been influenced by a range of intellectual traditions, for example the phenomenology of Schutz and Weber's 'Verstehen', and is characterised by the need for the researcher to work with the subjective meaning of social action. Broadly, interpretivism calls upon the researcher to explore and describe the behaviour of social actors, taking into account their values and perspectives (Bryman, 2004; Layder, 1993).

Structure and Agency – A False Dichotomy?

The ostensibly conflicting positions evident in the positivist/interpretivist debate can be distilled to a contestation between structure and individual agency, structure being seen as the recurrent patterned arrangements that constrain action, and individual agency being the capacity of individuals to act independently as causal factors in social phenomena. These tensions are considered by a number of commentators, amongst them Derek Layder, Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu. The work of the latter has already been considered in Chapter 4.

Giddens, in books such as 'The Constitution of Society' (Giddens, 1984), developed structuration theory, an attempt to move beyond the dualism of the debate towards a point where social structure is seen as being both the medium for, and an outcome of, social action. This is in accord with the more recent work within critical psychology by workers such as Dreier (2008) who state that it is not possible to

look at individuals or social practices in isolation since practice and structure are co-created by participants and the participants can only be called so, if they *participate* in a social practice. Thus people can be best thought about as participants in social practices (that constitute social structures) who can either reproduce or change these social practices. The purpose of any sociological investigation becomes

> …to capture that active interplay between the individual and the social…you have to see that the social world is made and remade through what we do in our everyday activities (Giddens, 1984, p122).

This resonates with the dynamic interactions within the ecological metaphor of the educational environment. The exploration of this is complex, and requires methodological tools that enable specific foci to be developed without closing down one's field of vision.

Layder (1993) argues that the way in which structure and agency have been separated in the past needs to be thought through, with social scientists needing to think very clearly about what is meant by 'structure' and by 'agency'. In order to facilitate this he developed a layered approach to the analysis of social phenomena. Layder (1993) developed a research map with the express intention of helping in the planning of research. This map recognises that, whilst macro- and micro-aspects of the social world intermingle with each other, being mediated through social activity, there is a need to offer up some level of categorisation that allows one to engage in a manageable way. The map defines four research elements: macro social organisation; intermediate social organisation; social activity; self-identity and individual social experience. In developing such a framework, Layder stressed the importance of the individual actors' meanings. Recognizing that these layers may operate on different time scales, Layder worked on the basis of a social world that is

complex, multi-faceted and densely compacted (Layder, 1998). This study will focus on what Layder (1998) terms 'situated activity'.

Research Design: An Overview of Approach

A focus at the level of situated activity (Layder, 1998) is necessary in order to engage with the perceptions of stakeholders explicit within the research questions that this thesis is setting out to answer:

1. How do megaevent structures interact with the educational environment?

2. What perceptions do stakeholders have of the interactions between megaevent structures and the educational environment?

3. What are the implications of these perceptions in terms of the legacy of the 2012 Olympic Games in London?

'Situated activity' is seen as those "emergent meanings, understandings and definitions of the situation as these affect and are affected by contexts and settings and subjective dispositions of individuals" (Layder, 1993, p72). The reason why an individual might manifest such a disposition, a focus at the level of self, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead what is being explored here is the way in which an individual's disposition interacts with the structures within which that individual exists. In this, the analytical framework of Bourdieu discussed in Chapter 4 will be useful if the methodology chosen is able to reveal something about the habitus of stakeholders.

Whilst ostensibly aiming to bridge the objectivist/subjectivist divide through the development of concepts relating to the interaction between social structure and individual agency, Bourdieu's framework discussed in Chapter 4, is limited in that

it does not detail how to elicit individual social experience. The concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), which comes closest to describing this subjectivity, is elusive:

> We still do not know what the habitus is or how it works to generate practices, an ignorance which is only compounded by the fact that its existence can only be inferred from its putative practical effects (Jenkins, 2002, p93).

This elusiveness has led a number of commentators (Jenkins, 2002; Thompson, 1990) to state that Bourdieu privileges the objective over the subjective. For Jenkins (2002) this is most evident in Bourdieu's lack of a "philosophy or theory of mind" (p93). However, the fact that the existence of the habitus can be inferred, as Jenkins points out, through its action in the world can be taken as a manifestation of such a theory of mind. This is seen by some as being rooted in behaviourist psychology (Connell, 1983; Jenkins, 2002) which deals with operants, which are "defined, and made meaningful, by the nature of its relationship with and impact upon, the immediate environment" (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p25). This means that the habitus can be described using a methodology that deals with subjectivities through a description of this operant behaviour. Q methodology is such a methodology, it is described below and was used within this thesis to elicit the perceptions of stakeholders during the summer of 2009. To develop the concourse on which the Q study draws (explored below) and to complete the time line of this thesis other approaches were also used. Focus groups and interviews were used in the concourse development during 2008; interviews with key informants were carried out in 2013. These methods are explored below.

Focus Groups

Essentially a group interview (Mertens, 2005; Cohen et al 2011), the focus group puts an emphasis on questioning around a specific topic. Within this format there resides the potential to gain insight into the interaction within the group and also for

the group to take part in joint construction of meaning. In some senses this method emerges from theoretical positions such as symbolic interactionism (Bryman, 2004), which holds that the process of coming to terms with social phenomena is not undertaken by individuals in isolation from each other, rather occurring within the interactions and discussions with others. In some ways then a focus group could be regarded as being more naturalistic than individual interviews (Wilkinson 1998), providing an opportunity to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meaning around it. In terms of this research, focus groups were used to help to generate the concourse for the Q sort (described below).

Interviews

One-to-one interviews can offer up an opportunity to uncover an individual's disposition. For Sarantakos (1998) the qualitative interview allows participants "to speak in their own words and not in the words of the researcher" (Sarantakos, 1998, p265). However, Bowler (1997) offers a different view by arguing that elements of hierarchy are implicit in any interview situation. The very act of collecting data on another can be seen as hierarchical, although Oakley (1981) has argued that with the interviewer investing her/his personal identity within the interviewer/respondent relationship what arises is a non-hierarchical relationship between the two.

Seidman (2006) asserts that the purpose of interviewing arises from "an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p9). Kvale (1996) states that the philosophical underpinnings of the qualitative interview have been marginalised in the literature in favour of discussion of technique. In order to redress this he offers a number of lines of thought with which to explore the phenomenon, including the interview as dialectic,

built on a belief that people *"act upon the world, change it, and are again changed by the consequences of their actions"* (p55). Thus, the interview constitutes an action which "is an uncovering of reality and at the same time a changing of this reality" (Kvale 1996, p56). This offers the possibility of the interview being part of a deliberative process as advocated by Niemeyer et al (2013).

Interviews vary in both formality and structure. A structured interview offers a closed situation with little freedom to make changes in content and procedures. By contrast, an unstructured interview "may be just a single question that the interviewer asks and the interviewee is then allowed to respond freely, with the interviewer simply responding to points that seem worthy of being followed up" (Bryman, 2004, p320). Within this project, at both stages when interviews were used, a semi-structured approach was taken, these exhibiting characteristics described by Dreever (1995):

- they are a formal encounter concerned with an agreed subject

- the overall structure of the interview is set by the questions defined by the interviewer, with prompts and probes filling in the framework

- within the interview there are likely to be a mixture of open and closed questions

- whilst the interviewee has a degree of freedom the interviewer can assert control when necessary.

The Study Interviews

Interviews were used at two stages of this doctoral research: the first, undertaken in 2008 as part of the preparation of the Q set described below, were with informants who had worked on the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games; the second set of interviews was undertaken during the Summer of 2013 with key informants who

had occupied national, regional and local positions during the London Olympiad. In this section there is a description of how, at both stages, participants were selected, the protocols that were followed during the interviews and the way in which the interviews carried out in 2013 were analysed.

Bryman (2004) recommends the use of an interview guide, which contains the main questions and possible prompts and probes. This helps to keep the interviewer on track and ensure that key issues are not missed. It also serves as a guarantee of consistency of treatment across interviews. During the development of such a guide, thought needs to be given to how each question will "contribute thematically to knowledge production and dynamically to promoting a good interview interaction" (Kvale, 2007, p57). The guides for the interviews undertaken both in 2008 and in 2013 are attached as appendix 3. Details of the interviews are given below.

The Manchester 2002 interviews

While the clear focus for this study was the Olympic Games, it was felt that the Manchester Commonwealth Games of 2002 would be an appropriate case to inform the main study as it took place in a broadly similar policy environment, within the same national framework and was a multi-sport event won by a host city through international competition. The Commonwealth Games were used by Manchester in 2002 as an opportunity "to boost the city's employment prospects and improve its potential for gaining inward investment. More specifically it provided a chance to initiate the regeneration of east Manchester" (Gold and Gold, 2005, p2).

Participants for the interviews leading to the generation of the Q set were sought from appropriate individuals from the following categories:

- those who had input to the educational resources produced for the

  Manchester Games

- those who developed regeneration policy allied to the Manchester Games.

The individuals that were approached were identified through publicly available

documents, for example, the published educational resources, the Manchester

Commonwealth Games Bid Document and the impact study of the Games. All of

these potential participants were approached through a letter following Odendahl and

Shaw's (2002) advice to:

> extend such invitations through formal written communication, printed on
> institutional or personal letterhead, that includes background on the researcher's
> credentials and an accompanying description of the project (p308).

Interviews were secured with two participants which was a sufficient number in

terms of concourse generation. The first respondent, Andrew (a pseudonym), had

worked in community sports engagement before being appointed as the Sports

Action Zone project manager within the City Council. The second respondent,

Sarah (a pseudonym), had a background in local government, particularly equal

opportunities work. Sarah operated as the Director of the Social and Economic

Legacy Programme for the North West Region.

In laying the foundation for the interviews, the previous study of existing documents

relating to the Manchester Games, for example the bid and evaluation documents,

was very useful in terms of gaining "background information to demonstrate

familiarity with the person or institution, to stimulate discussion or to spark

reactions." (Odendahl and Shaw, 2002, p309).

In both cases the interview, which was of one hour duration, was split into three

stages with an introductory and a concluding statement that was the same for both

participants. The first section elicited background information on the participants; the second section was the substantive part of the interview; and the third section offered the participant the opportunity to raise any issues that had not been dealt with elsewhere. At each transition point within the interview there was participant checking in operation and therefore the opportunity to withdraw from further engagement. The introductory statement to the interview reiterated the purposes of the research and the treatment of the data that was generated in the research. It gave an undertaking that the information would be kept anonymous, the steps that would be taken to do this and a check that it was alright to proceed. The concluding section restated the measures that would be taken to safeguard the data and the undertaking to provide a transcript for checking within 28 days. In each case the participant was also informed that, should they so wish, they could choose not to allow the interview to proceed to the analysis stage of the project.

These interviews were a rich source of potential statements for the Q set. They also informed input to the two workshops which also generated the statements that were used subsequently in the Q sort. The workshops are described below in the section on Q methodology.

Key informant interviews

During the summer of 2013 ten interviews were undertaken with key informants. Purposive sampling (Opie, 2004; Bryman, 2004; Cohen et al 2011) was employed with the possible informants being selected through saturation of a matrix which required coverage of national, regional and local positions and of roles with overarching responsibilities for Games-related developments (including education) and of those with responsibilities for educational projects, both within formal and informal educational organisations. Once likely informants were selected, they were approached. The participants are presented in the table below, with short pen portraits of each appearing in appendix 11:

Pseudonym	Position	Matrix position
Jon	Principal and Chief Executive of a further education college in one of the host boroughs London December 2006-present	Local education
Peter	Executive Director for Regeneration and Community Partnership London Legacy Development Corporation 2011-present Chief Executive Leaside Regeneration Limited 2002-2011	Regional overarching
Jane	Olympic Developments Manager East London Borough	Local overarching
Simon	Chief Executive at Lee Valley Regional Park Authority	Regional Overarching
Nigel	Executive Director Fundamental Architectural Inclusion	Local education
Michael	Head of Podium since 2012; Communications and Media Manager Podium 2009-2012	National education
Geoff	Director, Policy and Partnerships at Legacy Trust UK	National overarching
James	Director 2012 Office University of East London	Local education
Jess	CEO - British Olympic Foundation	National overarching
Gerry	Head of Podium 2008-2012	National education

Table 1: Key informants

Locating and contacting participants is an "incorporation of strategies that include a mixture of ingenuity, social skills, contacts, careful negotiation and circumstance" (Odendahl and Shaw, 2002, p305). The informants were identified, either through their publicly acknowledged involvement in aspects of regeneration or educational legacy. Initial contact with participants was made personally, via email, "building the interviewing relationship … the moment the potential participant hears of the study" (Seidman 2006, p46) through a recognition of their role, an explanation of the project and the hoped-for outcomes.

Chapter 6 - Methodology

Each interview, which was of one hour duration, was split into three stages with an introductory and a concluding statement that was the same for all participants, detailing the purpose of the research and the treatment of the data that was generated in the research, and a check that it was alright to proceed. The participants were informed that due to need for their role to be identified, anonymity would not be possible, but that a pseudonym would be used in the thesis. The concluding section restated the measures that would be taken to safeguard the data and the undertaking to provide a transcript for checking within 28 days. The participant was also informed that, should they so wish, they could choose not to allow the interview to proceed to the analysis stage of the project (the interview schedule is attached as appendix 3). The first section elicited some background information, the second was the substantive part of the interview and the third offered an opportunity for the informants to engage with, and comment upon, the perspectives that had been revealed by the participants in the Q study. At each transition point within the interview there was participant checking in operation and therefore the opportunity to withdraw from further engagement. In all cases, a face to face interview was sought in the first instance, with the location of the interview being chosen for the subject's convenience. If scheduling difficulties arose then a telephone interview was offered. Eight face to face and two telephone interviews were undertaken.

Each of the interviews was recorded with informant permission. This facilitates the development of rapport as the interviewer can concentrate on body posture and eye contact which can largely allay fears felt by respondents in interview situations (Blaxter et al, 1996). Seale (1998) comments that "the trust that this generates may then be a way of getting respondents to speak about more intimate matters than they

would otherwise" (Seale, 1998, p206. Whilst recording interviews can allow empathy to grow between the two parties and provide an accurate verbatim record, transcription can be a time consuming process (Coffey and Delamont, 2000). Fortunately the interviewer was in a position to have the interviews transcribed by a third party. While this might mean that particular nuances are missed, the use of the interviewer's field notes alongside the transcriptions largely negated this limitation.

Analysing the interviews

Braun and Clarke (2006) acknowledge that "thematic analysis is a poorly demarcated, rarely acknowledged, yet widely used qualitative analytic method" (p77), and that this might indicate that it is an approach carried out by "someone without the knowledge or skills to perform ...[a] more kudos-bearing branded form of analysis like grounded theory" (p 91). Nonetheless, thematic analysis offers a useful research tool which, through its flexibility, provides a detailed account of the data. This thematic approach was used in the analysis of the interviews undertaken. Reissman (2004) describes thematic analysis as one model within narrative analysis, one with an emphasis on what is said rather than how it is said. Narrative analysis:

> at the very least entails a sensitivity to: the connections in people's accounts of past, present and future events and states of affairs; people's sense of their place within those events and states of affairs; the stories they generate about them; and the significance of context for the unfolding of events and people's sense of their role within them (Bryman, 2004, p 412).

The staged approach of Braun and Clarke (2006) to thematic analysis was followed in the analysis of the data obtained from the interviews: Firstly, the transcripts were checked against the audio file for accuracy with initial notes being taken and an initial feel for the narratives developed. At this stage a decision was taken to do an

initial coding using the 'event structure' themes (Gratton and Preuss 2008) as an organising principle. Coding was managed through NVivo using the method described by Bryman (2004) and Cohen et al (2011) with each data item being given equal attention in the coding process setting nodes for each coded extract (Opie, 2004). This enabled a collation of the extracts for each theme. Once this collation had been achieved, again following Braun and Clarke (2006), the themes were checked against each other and against the original data set to check that the themes were internally coherent, consistent and distinctive. Following this iterative process it became clear that the 'event structure' themes would not capture all of the strands emerging and that it would be necessary to develop the categories in order to nuance adequately the narratives from the key informants. For example, the knowledge, skills and education 'event structure' had extra nodes added in the areas of curriculum development, employability and volunteering.

The sections above have described and critically reflected upon two research methods used within this study. In this reflection there is an acknowledgement that although an individual interview can enable a dialectical engagement, interviews tend to close down the expression of the 'self' before the full perspective of the individual has been achieved. While it has been possible to achieve rigour in the analysis of the interviews through a systematic and thorough iterative process, there is a need to recognise that the framework of the interview is always going to be a structured imposition by the researcher.

The need to expose these subjectivities is the reason why Q methodology was chosen as a complementary strategy to interviews within this study. Q methodology is explored in the next section.

The Development and Scope of Q Methodology

Q methodology was devised and developed by William Stephenson during the 1930s (Stephenson, 1935, 1936a, 1936b). Stephenson, by training a physicist, was concerned to bring a scientific framework to bear on the elusiveness of subjectivity. Q's purpose is to allow the person to represent his or her vantage point for purposes of holding it constant for inspection and comparison. With an aim to develop an holistic methodological approach, Stephenson noted that a simple adaptation of traditional factor analysis (Watts and Stenner, 2012) may achieve this goal This could be achieved by a correlation and factorisation of the rows (as opposed to the columns) of any given data matrix, in effect a transposed matrix model (Brown, 1980; Kline, 1994). This approach, however, is problematic for a by-person analysis as the transposition is only valid if a single measuring unit is used throughout the matrix (Brown, 1980; Watts and Stenner, 2012). With this realisation Stephenson developed an approach where:

> Any list of heterogeneous measurements or estimates can be arranged in an order of some kind, or in a scale...[in terms of]their...significance for the individual, they may be held to be made homogenous with respect to that individual (Stephenson, 1936b, p346).

In effect, study participants actively rank order a set of stimulus items, the so called 'Q set'. This is carried out from a first person perspective using as the unit of quantification 'psychological significance' (Watts and Stenner, 2012; Burt and Stephenson, 1939). Participants are asked to decide what is meaningful and significant from their perspective. The key to this approach is to consider data in terms of the individual's whole pattern of responses, what Stephenson called 'self-reference' (Stephenson, 1982) rather than looking for patterns amongst people. In doing this the methodology neither tests its participants nor imposes 'a priori' meanings.

This approach has been utilised in a wide variety of fields. Examples include studies looking at the perceptions of place-meanings in natural environments (Hutson, Montgomery and Caneday, 2010), ones considering child/father attachment (John and Halliburton, 2010), and studies about the energy options from biomass in the Netherlands (Cuppen et al, 2010). These share coherence in their conceptual underpinning, which is manifest in their use of Q methodology (Herrington and Coogan, 2011).

The Q sort process yields an essentially relative set of evaluations. The data from several people is then factorially analysed which reveals groups of individuals who have ranked characteristics in the same order. Q sorts can be performed by groups of individuals or by single participants. While large numbers of participants are not required, thought needs to be given to participant group constitution. It is also possible for the same participant to perform the same Q sort but with several different conditions of instruction. But whatever ways the Q sort is performed, it is then subjected to intercorrelation and factor analysis, "to determine the implicit structure of the individual's or group's subjectivity" (McKeown, 1980, p422).

> Q methodology is essentially a gestalt procedure – it can never break up its subject matter. What it can do is show us the primary ways in which these themes are being interconnected or otherwise related by a group of participants. In other words, it can show us the particular combinations or configurations of themes which are preferred by the participant group (Watts and Stenner, 2005, p70).

Q sorting calls for a person to rank order a set of stimuli according to an explicit rule (condition of instruction) usually from agree (+5) to disagree (-5) with scale scores provided to assist the participant in thinking about the task.

The Stages of Q Methodology

The deployment of Q methodology requires a number of different stages: beginning with the generation of the concourse around a specific topic, which might involve a range of methods (documentary analysis, literature review, interviews and focus groups, etc); the construction of the Q set which will form the basis of the Q sort that is carried out by the participants or P-set; the Q sort itself; the analysis of that Q sort; and the interpretation of the outcomes of the statistical analysis. This is shown in figure 5 below:
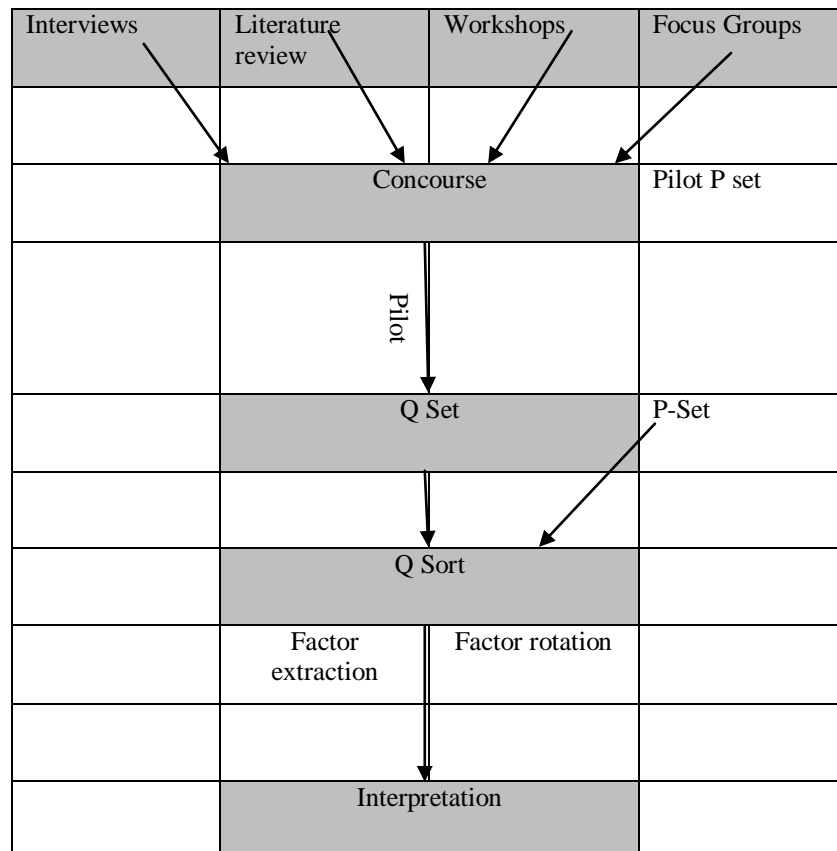
Fig 5: Summary of the Q methodology process

The terms laid out in the paragraph above are further explored in the sections that follow.

Developing the Concourse

Stephenson's conceptualisation of concourse theory (Stephenson, 1978, 1986) is a manifestation of his rejection of concepts of mind and consciousness as being non-essential (Watts and Stenner, 2012), which has important parallels with the conceptualisation of habitus by Connell (1983) and Jenkins (2002) as being something that is manifest in the operant. Whilst being coherent at a conceptual level, Stephenson uses the term 'concourse' in a number of different ways which makes the formulation of a single definition difficult (Watts and Stenner, 2012). However, from an operational sense the issue is resolved to a situation where the concourse is "the overall population of statements from which a final Q set is sampled" (ibid, p34). This section details how the concourse statements, from which the Q set within this study was finally selected, were derived. Some of the concourse was developed through the interviews with colleagues involved with the 2002 Commonwealth Games, which are described above.

During 2008 the opportunity arose to be involved in two events giving consideration to the potential legacy of the 2012 Games. One of these events was organised by an educational charity and was styled as the 'Golden Opportunity'. This was attended by a wide cross-section of interest – school teachers were represented, but so were education officers from museums and galleries, and representatives from third sector organisations. The other event was organised by one of the East London local authorities and was an event specifically for school teachers. The invitation to take part as a facilitator at both events was due to the background work that the researcher had undertaken around the issue of legacy and which was known to the various organisers. Although facilitating the discussion in line with the stated aims of each event, the opportunity was taken to explain this

research project and to ask the workshop participants to undertake a simple activity to inform the generation of Q samples.

Workshop participants recorded their aspirations for, and their concerns about, the Games. At the local authority event this was done in groups and responses were recorded on flipchart paper, at the Golden Opportunity event individuals wrote their responses onto index cards. Transcribed copies of both sets of responses are included as appendices 4 and 5.

In taking advantage of these opportunities the researcher had in mind that the aim was to reveal the perspectives of those being studied, and thus that the approach should not be too intrusive and structured. Whilst the workshops could not be described as being focus groups, their operation was informed by the principles used to guide the construction of focus group work. Namely, in operating as a facilitator, the researcher gives up a certain amount of control over the proceedings using a small number of general questions with quite a lot of latitude being given to participants to range fairly widely. The interviews and the outcomes from the workshops supplemented the background knowledge gained through the literature review that formed the basis of the earlier chapters of this thesis. The papers, books and reports were drawn upon to either generate concourse items directly or to inform the interviews with participants, from which Q set items would subsequently be drawn. This stage was invaluable to the author as this background knowledge was used to illuminate trends contributing to what Cohen et al (2007) describe as "a fuller understanding of the relationships between politics and education, between school and society, between local and central government" (p192). This understanding was important in developing the researcher's confidence in carrying

out the interviews and in running the workshops that generated another part of the concourse.

Generating the Q Set

The concourse that was generated by the approaches detailed above was then used to generate the Q set, those stimulus items which participants will be asked to rank order in the Q sort. The number of items that should be included in the Q set varies depending on the nature of the investigation, but in general terms between 40-80 items are recommended (Curt, 1994; Stainton-Rogers, 1995; Watts and Stenner, 2012). The lower limit is there to avoid inadequate coverage, the upper to ensure that the sort itself is not too cumbersome (Watts and Stenner, 2012). In this study a Q set of 57 items was developed. These items were refined from the concourse statements through a process of piloting, which helped to clarify the wording of items, avoid duplication and to ensure that the concourse covered all of the concerns of participants. Details of the pilot study, the way in which the process outcomes of this intervention were used to refine the Q set, the participant's understanding of the operation of Q sorting and the suitability of the Q sort statements (the Q set) are attached as appendix 7.

Participants – The P Set

Within Q methodology the participant group is termed the P set. As each participant is a variable in the study, some care has to be exercised in the selection of these participants. In practice this means "finding participants who have a defined viewpoint to express...whose viewpoint matters in relation to the subject in hand...avoid[ing] an unduly homogeneous participant group" (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Within this study the selection strategy was that participants should be drawn from formal and informal education, that the participants from formal education

would be located within secondary schools and would include senior staff and pupils across the age range. The inclusion of participants from both informal and formal education was designed to ensure that the wider conceptualisation of education discussed in Chapter 1 was captured in this study. Teachers, pupils and advisors were included to ensure that the perspectives of all of those involved in formal education were captured and the teachers and advisors targeted were senior as their perspective was likely to frame the engagement of the formal educational institutions within which they worked. In reality, the strategic aim has to be compromised to the pragmatics of securing the participants, and to some extent an opportunistic approach was adopted within the strategic sampling frame. Having said that, the researcher was confident that the study captured "interesting, informative and relevant viewpoints ... [which is] precisely what your recruitment strategy and P set must deliver" (Watts and Stenner, 2012).

Q methodology is designed to sensitise the researcher to the existence of certain perspectives, it is not about generalising to the whole population (Brown, 1980), thus a Q study requires sufficient participants:

> to establish the existence of a factor for the purposes of comparing one factor with another. What proportion of the population belongs to one factor rather than another is a wholly different matter and one about which Q technique...is not concerned (Brown, 1980, p192).

In these terms there are no strict guidelines on the size of the participant group. Stainton-Rogers (1995) indicates that between 30 and 60 is adequate, and Watts and Stenner (2012) offer the advice that the P set size should be less than the size of the Q set. In this study, a Q set of fifty seven statements, the generation of which is described above, were used in a Q sort, described below, that was carried out by a P set of thirty six participants.

These participants came from 3 broad groups: secondary school pupils; secondary

school teachers; and informal educators, consultants and advisers. The table

 below gives some basic information about the schools from which the participants in

the first two groups were drawn. Subsequent tables give details of the participant

groups.

School	Type of School	Olympic Borough	Distance from Olympic Park
A	11-18 Mixed	No	Within 15 miles
B	11-18 Mixed	No	Within 10 miles
C	11-18 Girls	Yes	Within 5 miles
D	11-16 Mixed	No	More than 15 miles
E	11-16 Mixed	No	Within 15 miles
F	11-18 Mixed	No	Within 5 miles
G	11-16 Mixed	No	Within 15 miles
H	11-18 Mixed	Yes	Within 5 miles
I	11-18 Boys	No	Within 15 miles
J	11-16 Mixed	Yes	Within 5 miles

Table 2: The schools from which participants were drawn

- Secondary age pupils from within the East London Boroughs: 23 school students from five different schools completed the Q sort during face to face sessions with the researcher present.

Participant Number	School	Participant's Year Group
7	A	11
8	A	11
9	A	11
10	A	11
11	A	11
12	A	11
13	A	10
14	B	11
15	B	11
16	B	8
17	B	11
18	C	11
19	C	8
20	C	10
21	C	9
22	D	11
23	D	11
24	D	11
25	D	11
26	E	11
27	E	11
28	C	11
29	E	11
30	E	11
31	E	11
32	E	11

Table 3: Participants – school students

- Teachers within the East London Boroughs: five teachers expressed an interest and were sent the Q sort pack.

Participant number	School	Job title
33	F	Deputy Headteacher
35	G	Assistant head teacher
37	H	Assistant Headteacher and English Teacher
38	I	Assistant Headteacher
39	J	Advanced Skills Teacher: English/Media

Table 4: Participants – teachers

- The third group of participants included informal educators, educational consultants and educational advisory staff working for statutory bodies: seven participants from this group were sent the Q sort pack.

Participant number	Job title
1	Director London Environmental Group
2	Partnership Director Learning and Skills Council for a non-London County
3	Family Learning Development Manager at an Adult Education Centre for a non- London County
4	Senior Secondary Advisor for a Local Educational Authority (Olympic Borough)
5	Freelance Education Consultant
6	Field Teaching Standards Manager with a national conservation charity
34	AimHigher Consultant (working on issues of Widening Participation) within a London Borough
36	Learning Services Officer with a national environmental charity

Table 5: Participants – informal educators, consultants and advisors

The project was subject to an ethical approval process and this is discussed below, with associated paperwork appearing in the appendices of this thesis.

Headteachers of schools in the East London Boroughs were identified through their entry in the Education Authorities Directory. They were then contacted through a letter which detailed the study and invited them to express an interest in the project. Those who responded were invited to nominate up to five pupils. Each of the potential pupil participants was sent a letter, via a school nominee, to invite them to take part. The letter contained a two-part form to obtain consent: one for the parent/carer, one for the student themselves to sign. This distribution was managed by the school so that contact details for the families did not need to be shared with the researcher.

Teachers were informed of the research project through a newsletter article to staff in local schools. This is normal practice within UEL's Initial Teacher Training Partnership. Responses were followed up with letters inviting formal participation. Participants from the wider educational workforce were identified from an attendance database for a number of meetings discussing the opportunities around the Games. Examples of letters and consent forms are included in appendix 2.

The Q Sort

There were a number of considerations to take into account when designing the sorting distribution instrument that would allow the participants to rank order the Q set. Burt and Stephenson (1939) advocated a distribution that followed a normal curve and these are the standard choice with Q methodologists (Watts and Stenner, 2012). While this researcher adopted this standard, it is worth noting that there is no theoretical reason to follow this normal distribution pattern, with Brown (1980) comparing a number of different distributions and finding the effect on outcome to

be virtually nil. Whilst theoretically irrelevant, pragmatically the sorting distribution is important as it is through this that participants engage. The fixed normal distribution pattern offers the best compromise in terms of facilitating the item-ranking process both for participant and researcher and, although it is fixed, it still offers a significant freedom to arrange the statements from the Q set (Watts and Stenner, 2012; Brown, 1980).

The sorting distribution grid used in this study is shown as figure 7 below. It is numbered from -5 (indicating strongly disagree) to +5 (indicating strongly agree), with an assumption that "people will ordinarily feel very strongly...about a comparatively limited number of issues" (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p79).

Strongly disagree					Neutral				Strongly Agree	
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5

Fig 6: The Q sort Grid

Participants assigned each item of the Q set to a ranking position within this quasi-normal distribution along a simple face valid dimension, defined by a condition of instruction. In this case the condition of instruction was to arrange the statements on the grid along a continuum ranging from 'strongly disagree' (-5) to 'strongly agree' (+5). The choice of this number of points is based on Brown (1980) who suggests an 11 point scale for Q sets of between 40-60 items. The slope of the grid,

with a steeper distribution indicating the numbers of items that can be assigned to each position, was chosen as participants were likely to be unfamiliar with the subject matter (Watts and Stenner, 2012).

Once the sort had been completed, supporting information was gathered from the participants. In the case of the school students, this was done through group discussion and through individuals responding to some questions in written form. In the case of other participants, who completed the postal Q sort, written responses to questions were taken.

Such 'post hoc' analysis investigated:

- how the participant had interpreted the items given especially high or low rankings in their Q sort and what implications those items have in the context of their overall viewpoint
- if there were any additional items that they would have added
- if there were any further items about which the participant would like to pass comment.

The responses to these questions served several purposes. Any comments that illuminated the reasons for particular interpretations were used in the construction of the narrative around either particular factors or particular issue clusters which are described in Chapters 7 and 9. This is also true of the additional comments that participants were invited to make. Although the suggestions for additional items could not be incorporated into the study, they did allow further dimensions to be brought into analysis and they will be incorporated into further iterations of the study, continuing the engagement with stakeholders around their developing views on likely legacy.

Analysing the Q Sort

The statistical treatment of the Q sorts could be handled by any generic statistics package, for example SPSS, but this would require a transposition of the items and the participants so that the latter were recognised as being the variables. It is also the case that the calculations required to produce the factor arrays which are used in factor interpretation would need to be carried out by hand. These difficulties are overcome by a number of dedicated Q study software packages. Within this study the package chosen was 'PQMethod' (Schmolck, 2002). This software offers a range of options both in terms of factor extraction and factor rotation. These processes are explored below.

Factor Extraction

Essentially a data reduction technique, "factor analysis is a statistical technique which is used for large numbers of variables to establish whether there is a tendency for groups of them to be inter-related" (Bryman, 2004, p.539). In contrast to other statistical techniques, a factor analysis does not resolve itself into a single solution (Watts and Stenner, 2012), the solution to the analysis depending on the overall purpose of the study. In this case the study was aiming to make manifest as many perspectives as possible. This informed the decisions about how many factors to extract.

Each Q sort is inter-correlated with every other sort and this generates a correlation matrix (Brown, 1980; Watts and Stenner, 2012) which indicates the extent of the relationship between any two Q sorts. The matrix as a whole describes the relationships between all Q sorts and hence the variability within the study, the so-called study variance. This overall variance can be subdivided into three sub-categories of variance: common variance; specific variance; and error variance

(Kline, 1994). The first describes the amount of variance within the Q sort that is common to the group; the second refers to the variance attributable to individual Q sorts; and the latter to those random errors inherent in any methodology.

Factor analysis aims to account for the maximum amount of variation possible by looking for "sizeable portions of common or shared meaning that are present in the data" (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p.98). Having identified these patterns, a pattern that constitutes a factor, the portion of common variance that gives rise to that factor is removed. This leaves behind a table of residual variations within which the analysis looks for the next pattern of common meaning and extracts this as a factor. This process continues until all common variance has been removed from the correlation matrix.

As was pointed out above, factor analysis is a data reduction technique and 'PQMethod' offers two tools with which to carry out this function: principal component analysis (PCA) and centroid factor analysis. PCA offers up a single 'best' mathematical solution whilst centroid factor analysis allows a greater freedom in terms of data exploration which means that factors can be extracted in "keeping with theoretical rather than mathematical criteria" (Brown, 1980, p.33). In this study centroid factor analysis was utilised. This approach allows one to decide on the number of factors to extract. Brown (1980) advocates an initial extraction of seven factors and there are a number of objective tests that can be used to decide how many of these factors to keep. These tests include: the scree test (Cattell, 1966); parallel analysis (Horn, 1965); and the eigenvalue or Kaiser-Guttman criterion (Kaiser, 1960; Guttman, 1954). Watts and Stenner (2012) see these tests as being useful "to guide our decision-making, not to make the decision

for us" (p 107). In this study the eigenvalue (EV) was used to guide the decision about how many factors to extract.

Each factor has a variance associated with it and this can be used to calculate the EV using the equation (Brown 1980, p. 222):

$$EV = variance \times (number\ of\ Q\ sorts/100)$$

Both the variance and the EV indicate the strength of a particular factor in terms of its potential to explain the variation in the correlation matrix. In terms of variance, a factor extraction solution which offers a variance >40% is considered to be a sound solution (Kline, 1994). Those factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 are considered practically significant, that is, as explaining an important amount of the variability in the data, while eigenvalues that are less than 1.00 are considered practically insignificant, as this would actually account for less study variance than a single Q sort (Watts and Stenner, 2005). The table of variance and EV is included in the next chapter as part of the findings from this study.

Factor Rotation

The factors extracted through the process described above define a multi-dimensional conceptual space, with the number of dimensional axes corresponding to the number of factors that have been extracted. The relationship between each axis is defined by the common variance between the Q sorts and thus offers something of a "compromise of what these otherwise disparate viewpoints hold in common" (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p.118). This compromise position blurs the perspective of the particular factors, but this can be resolved through a rotation of the factors so that the viewpoint of the factor "more closely approximates the viewpoint of a particular group of Q sorts (ibid, p.119). Within 'PQMethod' two rotational methods are possible: varimax rotation and 'by-hand' rotation. Both are

orthogonal rotations, maintaining the 90 degree relationship between the factors, thus ensuring that each is statistically independent and zero correlated (Dancey and Reidy, 2011).

Within the Q community there are a number of advocates of by-hand rotation (Stephenson, 1953; Brown, 1980; Brown and Robyn, 2004). Their advocacy of this approach flows from its strength in allowing a focus on specific Q sorts during analysis and interpretation (Watts and Stenner, 2012). The varimax approach uses a mathematical model which seeks a solution that is able to account for the maximum variance possible and tends to focus on predominant viewpoints (ibid). While there is some degree of complementarity between the two approaches, the varimax rotation is the one that is predominantly carried out, not least because many journals see it as being objective and reliable (Brown and Robyn, 2004; Watts and Stenner, 2012). This study utilised a varimax rotation.

Factor Interpretation

The degree to which each individual Q sort exemplifies a given factor's pattern is termed the factor loading (Watts and Stenner, 2012). The development, through factor extraction and rotation, of a series of viewpoints is the start of the process of interpretation. These viewpoints are prepared by a weighted average of all of the individual Q sorts that load significantly onto the rotated factor (ibid). This leads to a factor array for each of the factors. These arrays are presented in appendix 9.

In order that cross-factor comparisons can be made, given that different numbers load onto each factor, total scores are converted to standard or z scores (Watts and Stenner, 2012; Kline, 1994; Child, 1990). An interpretation could be carried out on the basis of these z scores (Zambelli and Bonni, 2004) and indeed this maintains some information that is lost in assigning such a scale score to an ordinal placement

within an array (Watts and Stenner, 2012). However, an array does have a number of benefits, including the fact that "they conform to the format in which the data were originally collected" (Brown, 1980, p. 243). As such they convey most clearly the configurations of items within the response and is "a natural acknowledgement of ...holism" (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p. 141), something that has always been a feature of Q methodology (Stephenson, 1936b).

The arrays produced are used in the abductive process that is factor interpretation. Abduction is a logical process which "consists of studying the facts and devising a theory to explain them" (Peirce, 1958, p. 90) treating observations as indicators of other things (Shank, 1998). As such abduction is a logic "designed for discovery and theory generation, not for testing and theory verification" (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p. 39).

Abduction begins with a 'surprising' empirical fact, something that is provided by the inter-relationships within each factor array, with each item placement offering clues as to reasons for the whole configuration (Watts and Stenner, 2012). As such, each item was given due attention at the interpretation stage, with each item being considered for each factor extracted following the procedure outlined by Watts and Stenner (2012) of identifying those items ranked at +5 and -5 alongside those items ranked higher and those ranked lower than in other factor arrays. This allows attention to be given to those items which might be ranked towards the middle of the distribution, but which take on their significance, as do all items, through the context of the overall configuration (Watts and Stenner, 2005) and in comparison to other arrays. Thus "a Q factor is not merely a composite of statements but a new generalisation arising from and cutting across individual Q sorts, linking their separate meanings and summarising their communality" (McKeown, 1980, p423).

It is from this appreciation of the array that the penportraits presented for each factor in Chapter 7 are written. These are presented alongside some basic demographic data for those participants loading onto each factor and a description of those items which have been shown to be distinguishing statements at the p>0.05 and the p>0.01 level.

Watts and Stenner (2012) state that it is often a good idea to give a factor a name to "provide a ready identity for a factor ... [making it] more memorable to a reader" (p160). However, they do not imply that this is a necessity. In this study a decision has been taken not to assign these titles. This decision is based on the belief that if one is trying to maintain the voice of the participants within the interpretation it would be wrong to impose a name on the factor that epitomises that voice. As the study was not able to work with the participants to produce a name, the labelling used is simply 'factor 1', 'factor 2' and so on.

Ethical Considerations

There is a clear relationship between epistemology and ethics which has implications for the ethical behaviour of the researcher (Scott and Usher, 1999; David and Sutton, 2004). This leads in the case of a positivist researcher to a view of utilitarian ethics, where practical knowledge is seen as being inferior to theoretical knowledge and "since knowledge is understood as nomothetic and therefore prescriptive, it would be unethical not to incorporate into practice those behaviours that it recommends" (Scott and Usher, 1999, p127). Allied to this is the presumption within this paradigm that the "ethical dilemmas that researchers have to confront apply to the use of that knowledge and not to its production or construction" (ibid, p128). However, if data collection is seen as a social rather than an experimental enterprise, it is clear that "such an assumption that what we wish to

study is devoid of ethical content is untenable" (David and Sutton, 2004, p17), thus the ethical dilemmas relate to how a researcher should operate and the rights and responsibilities of both researcher and researched. (Scott and Usher, 1999).

The complex social interactions which mark out social research place researchers in difficult moral predicaments (Cohen et al, 2007; Pring, 2000) or lead to situations where the moral and practical debates inherent in the interaction are not recognised, where researchers either "fail to see the moral dimension of what they are doing, or they apply rather dogmatically one principle...to the exclusion of others" (Pring, 2000, p145). Pring (2000) distinguishes between principles, something that is appealed to when justifying an action and rules, which are more specific and less open to interpretation. These rules are often enshrined within ethical codes, but researchers need to be aware of the need for these codes to be "contextualised and situated" (Butler, 2002). This contextualisation is informed by the principles of research which benefit from having a universality of application, with general principles often sitting behind sets of rules and which:

> embody the values appealed to in the establishment of the rules or in the questioning of the appropriateness of the rules on this or that occasion... there is no way in which rules can be established for every conceivable situation. What is essential is the clarification of principles which then need to be applied to particular situations, in the full knowledge that other principles might also be evoked which would lead to different decisions. There is no avoiding moral deliberation (Pring, 2000, p144).

Given the centrality of these principles to ethical action within research it is important to give consideration to these principles. Bryman (2004) notes that "discussions about ethical principles in social research, and perhaps more specifically transgressions of them, tend to revolve around certain issues that recur in different guises" (Bryman, 2004, p 506). Flick (2002) categorises ethical considerations into three areas: how to protect the trust and interests of the people

researched; data protection; and how researchers deal with their own aims. Diener and Crandall (1978) do a similar operation, dividing the concerns into four main areas:

- Whether there is harm to participants. There is a need to engage with what constitutes harm. This is clearly not just an issue of physical hurt, the research experience may be a disturbing one. The guarding from harm implicit in this principle is also addressed through the care of confidential records.

- Whether there is a lack of informed consent. The principle of informed consent entails the implication that, even when people know they are being asked to participate in research, they should be fully informed about the research process (Bryman, 2004, p511)

- Whether there is an invasion of privacy, this issue being linked to that of confidentiality and anonymity

- Whether deception is involved.

The universality of principles discussed above flows from a research community that reflects on its core values and seeks to codify these in some way to facilitate the communication of these values. So while "there is rarely a clear-cut and context-free set of rules or principles which can be applied without deliberation and judgement" (Pring, 2000, p142), there are codes of practice in place at professional body and institutional level to frame such deliberation.

A number of authors (Robson, 2002; David and Sutton, 2004; Bryman, 2004) have produced lists of issues to consider in connection with ethical issues. Bryman's (2004) includes: ensuring that principles and requirements of professional associations and institutions have been complied with; that the informed consent is

based on the participants having a good level of understanding of the research process; and that issues of confidentiality have been taken into account.

In framing this project due regard was given to the British Educational Research Association's (BERA) 'Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research' (BERA, 2004). BERA is the key reference organisation for those involved in educational research and produced these guidelines to ensure that research is "conducted with an ethic of respect for:

- The person

- Knowledge

- Democratic values

- The quality of Educational Research

- Academic freedom" (p5).

BERA takes voluntary informed consent to be the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation, without any duress, prior to the research getting underway (p6). This was sought through a written communication which also detailed the nature of the research. Within this communication there was a statement that recognised the right of any participant to withdraw from the research for any or no reason and at any time (BERA, 2004, p6).

As stated above, some of the participants in the Q sort were of school age. BERA requires researchers to comply with Articles 3 and 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Article 3 requires that in all actions concerning children the best interests of the child must be the primary consideration. Article 12 requires that all children who are capable of forming their own views should be granted the right to express their views freely in all matters affecting them,

commensurate with their age and maturity. Children should, therefore, be facilitated to give fully informed consent (BERA, 2004, p7). In this case consent was also sought from the carers and headteachers of the children involved to approach the children before the consent of the child was looked for. All three consents were a prerequisite for progression with that particular participant. In all cases, appropriate register was used to explain the nature of the research, the extent of participant involvement and the output of the research. Ongoing consent was sought at all stages of the research, this being built into the interaction around the interviews and the Q sort.

The BERA Guidelines state that researchers must take the steps necessary to ensure that all participants in the research understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported. To this end the communications and interaction with participants made clear the nature and purpose of the research, the use that was to be made of the data generated by the project and where this research was likely to be reported. All participants received a summary of the research when it was completed in line with BERA's statement that "the Association considers it good practice for researchers to debrief participants at the conclusion of the research and to provide them with copies of any reports or other publications arising from their participation" (p10).

The benefits that may accrue to the participants from the research project were alluded to in Chapter 1, using this study to identify practice and perceptions that could be used to inform the development of educational initiatives that build on the opportunities offered by London 2012. In the majority of cases this information was given as the introduction to an informed consent form for participants to sign

before they engaged in the research: this included the right to participate voluntarily and the right to withdraw at any time. The form included:

- The procedures of the study, so that individuals can reasonably expect what to anticipate in the research

- The right to ask questions, obtain a copy of the results and to have their privacy respected

- The benefits of the study that will accrue to the individual

- Signatures of both the participant and the researcher agreeing to these provisions.

The research plan was subject to the procedures of the UEL ethics committee. The ethical approval form and examples of the associated letters and informed consent forms are attached as appendices 1 and 2.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the apparent dichotomy between social structure and individual agency and the way in which this is reflected in research strategies and their associated approaches. A case was made for seeing this division as being a false one, drawing upon a number of commentators (Giddens, 1984; Drier, 2008; Layder, 1993) and linking this back to the exploration of the work of Pierre Bourdieu that formed the basis of Chapter 4. The elusiveness of one of Bourdieu's key concepts, habitus, was discussed (Jenkins, 2002) and the potential of Q methodology to explore habitus was emphasised.

The chapter gave an overview of the methods that were used in this study, principally interviews and Q methodology. The chapter detailed the operation of Q methodology within the study, how the concourse was generated, the participants that took part in the study and how the data generated was analysed to produce the

findings that are presented in the next chapter. The historical development and

scope of Q methodology was considered, as was the way in which key informant

interviews carried out in 2013 were used to complement the Q sort investigation

that was carried out in 2009. Details of the key informants and of the operation of

the interviews with these participants also formed a part of this chapter. The

findings from these interviews are presented in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 – The Q Sort Findings

Introduction

This chapter draws on the analysis of the Q sort described above to answer the question 'what perceptions do stakeholders have of the interactions between megaevent structure and the educational environment' In the case of this thesis these stakeholders are people involved in education within East London. The make-up of this stakeholder group is described in the previous chapter. The statements that formed the basis for the Q sort were drawn from a concourse generated from the literature considered in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, and from a range of empirical investigations which are described in Chapter 6. How these stakeholders load onto the six factors that emerged from the factor extraction is included in the interpretation of each factor which is detailed below. Each factor is interpreted through a penportrait of the factor written from the table of normalised scores for each statement and through a consideration of the distinguishing statements for each factor. Each section concludes with a critical engagement with these penportraits using the conceptual frameworks explored in previous chapters, offering up some explanation for the practice that is implicit in the statement array that each factor produced.

Analysing the Q Sort and Extracting the Factors

Of the 36 Q sorts that were administered, 34 were completed correctly, that is that each cell on the grid was populated with a number related to a statement. Each of the Q sorts was entered into the software package 'PQMethod 2.11'. The statistical operations that are carried out by this package are discussed in Chapter 6.

The data entered from these Q sorts was subjected to centroid analysis, which computes and outputs a correlation matrix identifying unrotated factors. This

procedure extracted six factors which were then rotated using a varimax procedure which automatically seeks the best mathematical solution to maximize the amount of variation explained by the factors thus extracted.

The percentage of explanatory variance generated by the package was then used to calculate the eigenvalue for the extracted factors.

Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6
% explanatory variance	17	11	1	7	7	10
eigenvalue	5.95	3.85	0.35	2.45	2.45	3.5
Number of Participants loading onto factor	11	6	1	3	1	2

Table 6: % explanatory variance and calculated Eigenvalue for the rotated factor matrix

As discussed in Chapter 6, a 'standard' requirement in deciding how many factors should be extracted is that the factor should have an eigenvalue in excess of 1. Ostensibly, this would preclude factor 3. However, it was decided to take this factor through to the stage of interpretation as the participant loading onto this factor was a senior secondary advisor with one of the local boroughs and therefore their opinion is likely to impact on the way in which initiatives are taken forward. It is for a similar reason that factor 5, which has only one participant loading onto it, is also involved in the interpretation below. This is because the participant loading onto this factor is a Deputy Headteacher.

The tables below record the factor Q-sort values for each statement:

Factor Q-Sort Values for Each Statement (extent of agreement: +5 strongly agree, -5 strongly disagree)		Factors					
No	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world	+5	+2	-5	+1	+5	+4
2	The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	+1	+2	+2	-3	+3	0
3	The Games are an event of national significance	+5	+5	-4	+5	0	+4
4	The Games will inspire community development	0	0	-2	-2	+1	-4
5	Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	-3	0	+3	0	+1	-1
6	The Games will do little to promote sport education	-5	-5	+5	-1	+2	-5
7	The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes	+5	+3	-1	+3	+3	+3
8	The voices of local people are being ignored	-3	+1	0	+3	-5	+1
9	The Games will encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area	0	-3	+2	0	-1	0
10	The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	+3	+2	-5	-2	-1	+2
11	The Games have diverted money from community projects	0	+3	+1	+2	-2	+1
12	The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	+3	-1	-4	0	0	-1
13	The Games will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation	0	-4	-1	+2	-3	0
14	The Games are not just about elite athletes	+3	-2	0	+3	-3	-4
15	Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	+2	+4	-2	0	-3	+1

Table 7. Factor Q-sort values showing level of agreement with each statement

Factor Q-Sort Values for Each Statement (extent of agreement: +5 strongly agree, -5 strongly disagree)		Factors					
No	**Statement**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
16	The Games will help to connect young people with the UK's artistic communities	0	-4	-1	-2	+2	-1
17	The Games will help the regeneration of the area	+3	+4	+1	0	+2	+5
18	The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	-4	-1	+1	+1	+3	-2
19	The Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity	+2	-3	+1	-1	-1	-2
20	Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	+1	+4	-2	+2	+3	+3
21	The Cultural Olympiad will exclude local people	-4	-2	-1	-1	-4	+1
22	The Cultural Olympiad will not lead to any long-term benefits to our cultural life	-3	+2	+3	-1	-4	+1
23	The Games will inspire people across the country to develop sustainable lifestyles	-1	-5	-2	-4	+1	-1
24	The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	-3	+1	+2	+3	+2	+2
25	The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished	-5	+1	+1	0	+2	-2
26	There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering	+3	+1	-2	-1	0	0
27	The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over	+4	+5	-3	+4	+5	+5
28	The Games will lead to a huge public debt	-2	+5	-3	+4	0	+4
29	There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	-1	-5	0	-1	+1	-3
30	Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	-1	-3	0	+5	-2	-2

Table 7 . Continued

Factor Q-Sort Values for Each Statement (extent of agreement: +5 strongly agree, -5 strongly disagree)		Factors					
No	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6
31	Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	-2	0	+4	+4	-4	-3
32	The Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities	-2	+1	0	+2	-3	-1
33	The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	-1	-1	-3	+2	-5	+5
34	It is important that school pupils are able to attend events	+1	+4	-1	+1	+5	+4
35	The Games will give people opportunities to work with people they wouldn't normally meet	+4	-1	-3	+1	+3	0
36	The involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level	-4	+1	0	0	-1	+2
37	The Games will be a useful resource for schools.	+2	+2	+1	+2	+1	-3
38	The Games provides educational opportunities for cross-curricular work	+1	+3	-1	-5	-3	+2
39	The Games will give the people of East London more self-esteem	+2	0	+2	-3	-2	-1
40	People are excited about the event	+4	-1	0	+4	+4	+2
41	The Games will highlight the good points of East London	+2	-2	-2	-2	+1	+3
42	The Games will bring people into this part of the city	+4	0	-4	+5	0	+3
43	The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.	-2	+2	+5	-5	-1	-5
44	The Games will act as a catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit	+1	+3	-5	-2	-2	+2
45	The Games will increase community cohesion	+1	-2	+4	+1	0	-1

Table 7. Continued

Factor Q-Sort Values for Each Statement (extent of agreement: +5 strongly agree, -5 strongly disagree)		Factors					
No	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6
46	The Games will widen the horizons of the local communities	-1	-1	+3	-3	+2	-3
47	The Games are a waste of money	-5	-3	+2	+1	-2	-4
48	The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development	0	0	+4	-3	+4	+1
49	There will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park	-3	+1	+3	-5	-4	-4
50	The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world	-2	-2	+3	-4	-1	-5
51	The Games will transform the heart of East London	+1	+3	-4	-3	-1	+3
52	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	-1	-2	+5	+1	-5	0
53	The Games will raise the job aspirations of young people	+2	-3	+1	-1	0	-3
54	The Games will raise awareness of disability issues	0	-1	-3	-4	+1	0
55	Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012	-1	0	-1	+3	-2	-2
56	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole country	-4	-4	+4	-4	+4	-2
57	The Games won't lead to any sustainable jobs	-2	-4	+2	-2	+4	-1

Table 7. Continued

The individual statement arrays for each factor are presented in appendix 9.

There were no consensus statements, this meaning that there were no statements that did not distinguish between any pairs of factors.

Interpreting the Factors

The statistical analysis of the Q sort leads to a number of outputs: Firstly, a normalised score for the array of responses that characterise that factor; secondly, each factor has a set of distinguishing statements, those that occupy significantly different places in the arrays compared to each other factor. It is important to note that this does not mean that a particular statement is agreed or disagreed with particularly strongly, but rather that it occupies a significantly different space compared to the other arrays. The level of significance which characterises a distinguishing factor is $p<0.05$, although some will be more significant at the $p<0.01$ level. These statements are indicated on the statement arrays that appear in appendix 9 and in the tables of distinguishing factors in appendix 10.

A common approach is taken in the interpretation of each factor detailed below. Each section begins with details of the number and nature of those participants who load onto each factor. This is followed by a pen portrait for the factor that is written directly from the normalised scores for each factor. In writing the penportraits the text of the statements that have been sorted is used within the narrative of the portrait. The intention was to use the self-reflexive nature of comparison within the whole statement array maintaining its primacy and preserving, as far as is possible, the 'voice' of those loading onto each factor. Clearly, however, the researcher's selection will impinge somewhat on the penportrait both in selection of the order in which the statements emerge within the narrative, the juxtaposition of statements that are used to construct the flow of the narrative and in the style of writing which may not be in accord with the 'tone of voice' that participants would use when reflecting on the reasons for their placement of particular statements. Having said this, the fact that the narrative is written directly from the normalised array, rather

than through another level of analytical framework, keeps the internal integrity of

the array. An important point to recognise is that in a number of cases participants

will have disagreed with a negatively framed statement. This means that sometimes

an inelegant turn of phrase might be used to remain true to the sort.and to ensure

that this is not rendered as a 'false positive'

Factor 1

Participants loading onto this factor

Factor 1 provided 17% of the explanatory variance within the correlation matrix of the Q sorts. The factor showed seven distinguishing statements, three of these were significant at the $p<0.01$ level, the remaining four being significant at the $p<0.05$ level (appendix 10). It had a mixture of participants loading onto it. Seven of the eleven were secondary age school students, six of whom were Year 11 students (15-16 years of age) and one was a Year 8 student (12-13 years of age) from five different secondary schools. There were two schools that were attended by two participants each, one of these was more than 15 miles from the Olympic Park, and one was within 10 miles of the Park. The other school-age students each attended a different school, two of which were within 15 miles of the Park, one was within 5 miles and was within one of the designated Olympic Boroughs. This is also true of one of the adult participants who worked as an Advanced Skills Teacher in a school within 5 miles of the Park. The other three participants came from a wide range of backgrounds within both formal and informal education, but were all based outside of London. The range of participants loading onto this factor is suggestive of the ability of the Games to foster linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001).

Participant Number	Organisation	Role	Olympic Borough	Distance from Olympic Park
2	Learning and Skills Council	Partnership Director	No	Based outside of London
3	Adult Education Centre	Family Learning Development Manager	No	Based outside of London
6	National Conservation Charity	Field Teaching Standards Manager	No	Based outside of London
12	School A	Year 11 Student	No	Within 15 miles
14	School B	Year 11 Student	No	Within 10 miles
15	School B	Year 11 Student	No	Within 10 miles
19	School C	Year 8 Student	Yes	Within 5 miles
23	School D	Year 11 Student	No	More than 15 miles
24	School D	Year 11 Student	No	More than 15 miles
31	School E	Year 11 Student	No	Within 15 miles
39	School J	Advanced Skills Teacher: English/Media	Yes	Within 5 miles

Table 8: Participants loading onto factor 1

Penportrait

Factor 1 saw the Games as being an event of national importance (3: +5), offering

up opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world (1:+5), working

with people that one would not normally meet (35: +4). Participants loading onto

the factor believe that the Games will bring people into East London (42: +4) and

that people are excited about the event (40: +4). There is a strong belief that the

Games will have the ability to inspire a new generation of athletes (7: +5), and will

provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities (35: +3). The perception that the Games

are not just about elite athletes (14:+3) is expressed at the same level as the belief that the Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sport (12: +3). It is strongly felt that the Games will do much to promote sport education (6: -5) and that the facilities will be used after the Games (25: -5).

This factor sees the Games as leading to health benefits for the community (18: -4). There is a strong feeling that it is very important for local people to be able to access the facilities of the Olympic Park (27: +4), which it is felt will be connected with its surrounding communities (32: -2), but is unlikely to provide affordable homes within itself (49: +3). However, it is doubted that the Olympic Park will do much to contribute either to the enhancement of the natural environment (43:-2), nor to giving people contact with the natural world (50: -2).

It is felt that the Games will help the regeneration of the area (17: +3), although the extent of the change is coined more cautiously: it may be a catalyst for longer term benefit (44:+1), it may transform the heart of East London (51:+1). It is put a little more strongly in terms of raising the job aspirations of young people (53: +2), and in providing some sustainable jobs (57: -2). It is also felt to be likely to have an effect by encouraging people to take part in local volunteering (19: +2), this mirroring the positive perspective of volunteering (24: -3) during the Games held by this factor.

It is this factor's belief that the Games will highlight the good points of East London (41: +2) and raise the self-esteem of the people of East London (39: +2). To some extent this local view is reflected in the belief that the legacy programme has not been thought about in national terms (56: -4).

Whilst disagreeing slightly that education is a key strand of legacy (30: -1), the Games are seen as being a useful resource for schools (37: +2), with not just certain

subjects being able to make use of the resource (31: -2), and there is a belief that young peoples' and schools' involvement will be at more than a superficial level (36: -4).

There is some support for involving young people in deciding what is included in the Cultural Olympiad (20: +1), which is seen as leading to long term benefits to cultural life (22: -3), and also felt quite strongly not to be exclusive of local people (21: -4). This might be a contributor to the feeling that those not directly involved in the Games will not feel left out (5: -3: $p<0.01$) although there is recognition that the opportunities for direct involvement are limited (29: -1).

The belief expressed through the very strong disagreement with the statement that the Games will produce facilities that will not be used subsequent to the Games (25: -5: $p<0.01$) is in contrast to the majority of the other factors which are either neutral or express only tentative agreement. This viewpoint might go some way to explain why factor 1 also very strongly disagreed with the assertion that the Games are a waste of money (47: -5: $p<0.05$), having said that, there are others of the distinguishing statements that might also have impacted on this position. Not least amongst these is the view that the Games will lead to health benefits for the community (18: -4: $p<0.05$). This factor contrasted with the generally tentative view on this matter expressed by the other factors.

Volunteering is a feature in two of the distinguishing statements associated with this factor. Firstly, there is no belief that the Games will use volunteers as cheap labour ($p<0.01$) and secondly, there is a view that the Games may increase involvement in other activities, such as volunteering ($p<0.05$). These two positions are likely to be linked, as the other factors broadly show a reversed pattern, all, apart from factor 1,

viewing volunteering as being 'cheap labour' and most not believing that the Games will lead to increases in young people becoming involved in voluntary activity.

Sports infrastructure and sports education were clear aspects of legacy for this factor, with the belief that the sport facilities of the Park will be used subsequent to the Games being a distinguishing statement ($p<0.01$). The view that the facilities will be used is a positive sign for legacy, especially as the majority of participants are students who might be accessing such facilities. However, as the majority of them are based some distance from the Park, the perception might be based on the expected use by others. Indeed, it was noticeable that this factor assigned less significance to the statement about opportunities for 'people like me' to make a contribution to the Games. This could be a reflection of the fact that three of the participants were based outside of London, and only two of the others were within the Olympic Boroughs, and an indication that the embodied cultural capital that they feel that they can deploy is limited by location. It was also noticeable that those statements relating to the 'use' of the Games by schools were clustered around the centre of the array, indicating low level significance for this aspect of legacy. These positions demonstrate a low level sense of agency for participants loading onto this factor.

From the generally positive view of legacy which this factor expresses, largely accepting the 2012 promises (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2007), this factor is exhibiting doxa (Bourdieu, 1990) and, believing that the engagement with the Games is worth it, the participants loading onto this factor are operating in an 'illusio' (Bourdieu, 2000).

The extraction of factor 1from the matrix of correlations removes quite a lot of the common ground that is held by the Q sorts within the data set. Further extractions,

and hence the factors discussed below, serve to explore underlying areas of

difference.

Factor 2

Participants loading onto this factor

Factor 2 explains 11% of the explanatory variance within the study. The factor showed four distinguishing statements, one of these was significant at the $p<0.01$ level, the remaining three being significant at the $p<0.05$ level (appendix 10). The factor had six participants, with a range of educational roles, loading onto it. Two of the participants were Assistant Headteachers at separate schools, one of which was within an Olympic Borough and within 5 miles of the Park, the other did not work in an Olympic Borough, but was still within 10 miles of the Olympic developments. Two of the participants worked for environmental groups, one national and one London-focused. Both, however, were based in London and were within 15 miles of the Park. Two consultants also loaded onto this factor. One was freelance and one worked in the area of widening participation (someone working to increase the number of students from under-represented groups entering higher education) and was based more than 15 miles away from the Park. In terms of this group, the indication is towards the development of bridging social capital (Woolcock, 2001).

Participant Number	Organisation	Role	Olympic Borough	Distance from Olympic Park
1	London Environmental Group	Director	No	Within 15 miles
5	N/A	Freelance Education Consultant	N/A	N/A
34	A London Borough	AimHigher Consultant	No	More than 15 miles
36	National Environmental Charity	Learning Services Officer	No	Within 15 miles
37	School H	Assistant Headteacher	Yes	Within 5 miles
38	School I	Assistant Headteacher	No	Within 10 miles

Table 9: Participants loading onto factor 2

Penportrait

Participants loading onto this factor strongly agree that the Games are an event of national significance (3: +5), and disagree that they are a waste of money (47: -3), but balance this by fears over the extent to which they will lead to a significant debt (28: +5).

This factor gives clear support for the need for the local community to be able to use the Olympic Park (25: +5), whilst there is a perception that the facilities within the Park might not be used subsequent to the event (25: +1).

It is felt to be important that pupils are able to attend events (34: +4) and that they should take an active involvement in deciding the content of the Cultural Olympiad (20: +4). There is little confidence that the Cultural Olympiad will lead to any long term developments in the cultural life of the area (22: +2), there is no expectation that it will lead to connections being formed with the wider artistic community (16:

-4) nor to the development of a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation (13: -4).

Whilst not seeing education as a key strand in the potential legacy of the Games (30: -3), there is a strong feeling that schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform lesson planning (15: 4: p<0.01). There is a belief that the Games will provide opportunities for cross-curricular work (38: +3), but little expectation that people will gain a greater knowledge of the local area through engaging with the Games (9: -3).

Although there is a fairly strong feeling that the Games will operate as a catalyst for change for longer term benefit (44: +3), with the potential to transform the heart of East London (51: +3), there is a strong feeling that the Games have diverted money from existing community projects (11: +3) in order to secure this potential benefit. There is a feeling that there are very few opportunities for people to make a direct contribution to the Games (29: -5). There is also a tentative agreement that the voices of local people are being ignored (8: +1). This might go some way to explaining the feeling that the Games will not increase community cohesion (45: -2). There is limited confidence that the Olympic Park will provide affordable housing (49: +1), with only a slightly stronger feeling that the Games might contribute to an enhancement of the natural environment (43: +2). There is strong disagreement that the Games will be instrumental in inspiring people across the country to develop more sustainable lifestyles (23: -5). There is a belief that the Games will deliver in providing sustainable jobs (57: -4), although there is little belief that the job aspirations of young people will be raised (53: -3). It does not appear, however, that the role of volunteering in this is recognised, there is a slight agreement with the assertion that volunteers will be used as cheap labour (24: +1),

and little belief that this will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering (19: -3).

While expressing a view that the Games is mainly about elite athletes (14: -2), there is an acknowledgment that the Games are likely to inspire a new generation of athletes (7: +3), and will promote sports education (6: -5). This sits alongside a small degree of confidence that the Games will provide a legacy of facilities (10: +2) that these athletes might be able to use. There is less belief that the Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sport (12: -1), and a similar feeling about the health benefits that might accrue to the wider community (18: -1).

There was a clear belief that schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform lessons. In fact this was a distinguishing statement (p<0.01) for this factor. Although there was a recognition of the opportunities for cross-curricular work, the response to the assertion that only certain subjects would be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons would suggest an appreciation of the difficulties that some teachers may have in utilising this opportunity. Taken together this suggests that this factor acknowledged the difficulties that teachers face in adopting such approaches (Morgan and Williamson, 2008). This constraint imposed by the 'field'– the boundaries with "their own self-referential legitimacy and [which] operate in a tacit manner" (Greenfell *et al*, 1998, p25) – of school based accountabilities explains both the negative perception of education as a strand of legacy and the belief that the involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level. This indicates that the institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Reay, 2004) that is seen in a qualification-driven school sector is a key determinant in the practice of that sector. So while educational engagement might be a feature of the Games, this was seen as ending with the Games rather than

an opportunity to develop approaches seen in Place Based Education (Sobel, 2005; Gruenewald and Smith, 2008) around developing positive regard for place, or gaining a greater understanding of the local area.

The perception that there will be limited networking opportunities for people like the participants loading onto this factor is somewhat at odds with the variety of people who have loaded onto this factor. The potential for the development of bridging social capital does not spontaneously lead to its generation. This indicates a low level of embodied social capital, certainly less than the significance given to the institutionalised cultural capital discussed above. This is in tune with the low significance that was given to the statement about the likelihood of increasing 'personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering.' It also resonates with one of the distinguishing statements for this factor, which was a very strong disagreement with the assertion that there would be opportunities for people like them to make a direct contribution to the Games (p<0.05). This is similar to factor 1, but differs in as much as none of participants loading on factor 2 are geographically distant from the Olympic site. It would appear that the potential for 'disconnect' is not merely a function of distance.

Factor 3

Participants loading onto this factor

Factor 3 only explains 1% of the variance within this study and only has one

participant loading on to it. The factor showed eleven distinguishing statements,

three of these were significant at the $p<0.01$ level the remaining eight being

significant at the $p<0.05$ level (appendix 10) As explained above, the decision to

extract and analyse this factor was taken because this person was a senior advisor to

secondary schools within one of the Olympic Boroughs and as such their

perspective was likely to be a key determinant in how specific initiatives were

presented.

Participant Number	Organisation	Role	Olympic Borough	Distance from Olympic Park
4	Local Education Authority	Senior Secondary Advisor	Yes	Within 5 miles

Table 10: Participant loading onto factor 3

Penportrait

Within this factor there is a strong belief that the legacy programme has been

thought about in terms of the whole region (52: +5), and the country as a whole (56:

+4). Part of that legacy is seen as the contribution that will be made to the

enhancement of the natural environment (43: +5), with the Park potentially offering

people contact with the natural world (50: +3). It is also felt strongly that the

Olympic Park will become a model for future projects in terms of sustainable

development (48: +4). There is less certainty, however, about the extent to which

the Games will help the regeneration of the area (17: +1), disagreeing strongly with

the assertion that the Games will act as a catalyst for change for longer term benefit

(44: -5). It was certainly felt that the Games would not transform the heart of East

London (51: -4). There is a moderately strong disagreement that the construction of the Park has led to the destruction of public space (33: -3).

Whilst the possibility of the Games widening the horizons of local communities is acknowledged (46: +3), there is an equally strongly held belief that those who are not directly involved in the Games will feel left out (5: +3).

There is a strong feeling that the Games will impact positively on community cohesion (45: +4), tempered slightly by the perception that the Games have diverted money from existing community projects (11: +1).

There is a view that the Games will increase the self-esteem of the people of East London (39: +2) and increase knowledge of their local area (9: +2). The potential for this informal education is stated more highly than the overall view on the place of education in the legacy which is viewed neutrally (30: 0). There is a low level acknowledgement that the Games will be a useful resource for schools (37: +1), with a much stronger feeling that, even if this is so, it will only be certain subjects that will be able to use the Games as a theme (31: +4). There is little support for encouraging schools to use developments around 2012 to inform their lessons (15: -2).

There are strong doubts that the Games will promote sports education (6: +5). There are similarly expressed doubts about the legacy of sporting facilities (10: -5). Both of these would seem to underpin the feelings that the event will not lead to the inspiration of new athletes (7: -1), nor to an increase in mass participation in sport activities (12: -4), nor to any health benefits for the community (18: +1). There is also some doubt about the ability of the Games to increase personal involvement in various activities, including volunteering (26: -2). Incidentally, volunteers are seen as being used as cheap labour by the Games organisers (24: +2).

The Games are not viewed as being of national significance (3: -4), and whilst they are not believed to be likely to lead to a huge national debt (28: -3), they are seen as being a waste of money (47: +2).

It is felt to be unlikely that the Games will bring people into this part of the city (42: -4), thus reducing the opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world (1: -5), though there is a moderate belief that the Games will help to develop an understanding of different cultures (2: +2).

The Cultural Olympiad is not seen as leading to long term benefits for the cultural life of the area (22: +3), but it is felt unlikely that local people will be excluded from Cultural Olympiad events (21: -1). It is thought unlikely that the Cultural Olympiad will connect young people with the UK's artistic communities (16: -1), nor is it seen as a mechanism for promoting a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation (13: -1).

Although it is felt to be of low priority that local communities have access to the Olympic Park facilities after the Games (27: -3), there is a belief that there will be affordable housing within the Park (49: +3).

The tone for the discussion of this factor is set by the fact that there is a strong disagreement that the Games are an event of national significance (this being a distinguishing statement at the $p<0.05$ level). Bearing in mind this tone when discussing this factor is important as, in a number of cases, this field defining tone may have depressed the view of particular areas. The view on the significance of the Games can be seen as an 'internalised arbitrary' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) which has shaped the other choices that this participant has made (Marsh, 2006). It is interesting to note that this factor's view is that the legacy plan has been thought about for the whole region. As mentioned above, the participant loading onto this

factor is a local authority officer for one of the Olympic Boroughs and as such is likely to have been informed of legacy plans in a way that the majority of other participants were not. This is borne out by the distinguishing statements which show a belief that the Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment ($p<0.05$), and give people contact with the natural world ($p<0.05$). This may be indicative of some knowledge of the plans for the Park, and demonstrates how the field within which one works helps to define practice. Having said this, it does not seem that the aims of such a plan are reflected in what this factor records as being significant. Thus, there is low level agreement that the Games will help the regeneration of the area, strong disagreement that the Games will transform the heart of East London, and very strong disagreement that the Games will act as a catalyst for change, certainly not providing a lasting legacy of sports facilities. There are clear indications that this factor is not taking part in the 'illusio' (Bourdieu, 2000) giving low significance to key aspects of the promises (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2007), for example, there is a lack of belief in the development of mass participation through the Games and a disagreement that the Games will inspire a new generation of athletes.

It is particularly noticeable that this factor disagrees that the local community should be able to access the Park facilities, which is a distinguishing statement for this factor ($p<0.01$). This is in sharp contrast to all of the other factors which strongly or very strongly agree with the statement.

This factor has placed little significance on the importance of education in legacy ranking this in the middle of the statement array. However, given that the majority of other factors, including all of those with educational professionals loading on them, have disagreed that education is a key part of legacy, the 'neutral' ranking by

factor 3 actually reveals a 'positive' view in relation to other factors. Nevertheless, this factor's view is that there will be limited use made of the Games by schools. It is doubted that sports education will benefit and it is felt that only certain subjects will find it possible to use the themes of the Games to inform their lessons. Whilst this might indicate a realistic view of the way in which schools will engage, informed by this participant's understanding of the practices of teachers, the lack of agreement that schools should be using the Games to inform their lessons indicates that the value of such an approach is not held to be significant.

There is an indication of an understanding of the role that the Games may play in the wider educational environment in that, while assigning low significance to the raising of job aspirations, this factor was one of only two to assign any positive value to this at all, although whether any sustainable jobs will be secured was doubted.

The views on the effect of the Games on 'hard' infrastructure initially seem to be at odds with perspectives on softer aspects of 'event structures' such as networking and education. In terms of the former, there is a belief that the Games will widen the horizons of local communities and serve to increase community cohesion. This is especially so in the light of the perception that the Games will not furnish opportunities to be involved with people from around the world (a distinguishing statement $p<0.01$) nor allow people to work with people that they would not normally meet, nor is it thought to be likely that the Games will bring people to East London (a distinguishing statement $p<0.05$).

This factor's perspective is very much away from the 'illusio' defined by the London promises (DCMS, 2007). This is mirrored in a level of tension in the views

expressed by this factor, where it is quite difficult to identify a clear alignment

between the field and the habitus.

Factor 4

Participants loading onto this factor

Factor 4 accounts for 7% of the explanatory variance within this study and has three

participants loading on to it. The factor showed six distinguishing statements, two

of these were significant at the $p<0.01$ level the remaining four being significant at

the $p<0.05$ level (appendix 10). All of these participants were Year 11 (15-16 years

old) school students from a single school which was more than 15 miles distant

from the Park. As such, this is the first factor to offer up a solely student

perspective. The nature of the participants loading onto this factor indicate the

potential for the perspective expressed to develop bonding social capital

(Woolcock, 2001).

Participant Number	Organisation	Role	Olympic Borough	Distance from Olympic Park
7	School A	Year 11 Student	No	Within 15 miles
10	School A	Year 11 Student	No	Within 15 miles
11	School A	Year 11 Student	No	Within 15 miles

Table 11: Participants loading onto factor 4

Penportrait

This factor recognised that the Games are of national significance (3: +5). The

Games are not seen as being just about elite athletes (14: +3), but there is a belief

that they will inspire a new generation of athletes (7: +3). They also perceive the

potential for the Games to incur a huge public debt (28: +4). The factor expresses a

very strong belief that the Games will bring people into East London (42: +5). The

developments are seen as having diverted money from community projects (11: +2),

there is a belief that existing public space has been destroyed during the

construction of the Park (33: +2), and a feeling that when built the Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities (32: +2). There is a feeling that the voices of local people are being ignored (8: +3).

Education is seen as being a key strand of legacy (30: +5), with the Games being viewed as being a useful resource for schools (37: +2), although it is felt that only certain subjects will be able to use the Games as a vehicle for lessons (31: +4), with very little scope for cross-curricular work (38: -5). Whilst being viewed positively, the importance of pupils actually attending events (34: +1) is not seen as important as their being involved in deciding what's in the Cultural Olympiad (20: +2). The perception is that the Cultural Olympiad will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation (13: +2).

It is felt that the Games will enhance opportunities to work with people that they would not normally meet (35: +1). This is somewhat at odds with the strongly expressed doubts that this event will widen the horizons of local communities (46: -3) and develop understandings of other cultures (2: -3). It is seen as imperative that local people be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games (27: +4), although the nature of these 'local people' is called into question by the fairly strong feeling that existing communities will be priced out of the area after 2012 (55: +3); there is a strong belief that there will be no affordable housing within the Olympic Park (49: -5).

There is no belief that the Games will contribute to the natural environment (43: -5), nor that it will offer up any contacts with the natural world (50: -4). Neither is there a perception that it will inspire people to adopt more sustainable lifestyles (23: -4). The aspiration for the Park as a model for sustainable development is not held in high regard (48: -3).

The feeling is that the Games will do little to transform East London (51: -3), and it is felt unlikely that the Games will impact positively on the self-esteem of East Londoners (39: -3). The Games are not seen as being a catalyst for longer term benefit (44: -2); they are not seen as inspiring community development (4: -2) although they might lead to some sustainable jobs (57: -2). Given that the participants loading onto factor 4 are school students, perhaps it is unsurprising that there is a strongly held belief that education will be a key part of the legacy of the Games. In fact, this is a distinguishing statement for this factor (p<0.01). However, as there are other factors (1 and 6) with students loading onto them, the influence of the individual school on defining the perspective needs to be considered, as does the role of individuals in defining the practice within a given school. This is discussed for factor 5 below.

Although the place of education in legacy is clearly stated there is not any real sense of what this might look like. Perhaps it is envisaged that the 'greater understanding of culture in the younger generation' will be part of this legacy. This statement is ranked higher by this factor than by any other factor. It is worth noting that the three factors (2, 3 and 5) which have educational professionals loading onto them all disagree with this proposition. Given that these are the groups, "the hired professionals [who] sensitise the child to cultural distinction" (Reay, 2004, p75), and who are likely to facilitate the development of such understanding, this is of concern.

There is no feeling that schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons, and indeed it is believed that only certain subjects would be able to do this effectively, with a perception that the Games do not provide opportunities for cross-curricular work. This latter view is expressed

strongly, but is indicative of the views of the majority of factors. In this it is reflecting the view of Morgan and Williamson (2008) that subject teachers find it difficult to work in a cross-curricular way. This might also reveal something of the practice within the one school from which the participants loading onto this factor are drawn.

This factor is the most strident in its agreement with the statement that the Games will use volunteers as cheap labour, which resonates with Forrest and Kearns' (1999) finding that young people often see becoming actively involved in initiatives as marking you out as a 'mug'. It is hardly surprising, then, that the factor feels that the Games will be unlikely to increase personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering, a clear indication that for these actors the 'illusio' of volunteering is not worth engaging with.

There is a negative view on the infrastructure legacy; a fear of huge public debt, having diverted money from community projects, is allied with the lack of belief that the Games will in any way help to regenerate the area. Factor 4 is one of only two factors that agree with the statement that the construction of the Olympic Park has caused the destruction of public spaces ($p<0.05$). The agreement is more pronounced in factor 6 which also has school students loading onto it, although their school is closer to the Park, which might explain the greater significance assigned to this statement by those participants loading onto factor 6.

Factor 4 expresses a strong disagreement with the statement that there will be affordable houses in the Park, linked to a view that local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012. It would appear that these participants are giving significance to the operation of economic capital in the form of property rights (Bourdieu, 1986). This is a distinguishing statement for this factor ($p<0.05$) and

begs the question as to whether this factor views the development as being for them. The agreement that the voices of local people are being ignored, disagreement that the Games will inspire community development and a belief that the Park will be disconnected from its surrounding communities would all suggest that the answer is 'no', and that this factor is somewhat 'disenfranchised'. In this, factor 4 is stating the position that is implied in the discussion of factor 2, 'disconnect' not being simply about distance but also about the commodification of cultural capital that was discussed in Chapter 5 (Atkinson, 2003; Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Bridge, 2006).

The belief about impact on house prices might have some resonance in the very strongly-expressed agreement that the Games will bring people into the eastern part of the city, which is a distinguishing statement (p<0.05). Seeing this as being more closely linked to being priced out of the area, rather than as a resource for developing social capital is implied by the fact that opportunities for the development of networks are seen to be low.

Factor 4's lack of belief about the way in which the Games will help develop an understanding of other cultures is significantly different (p<0.01) to the other factors. This might be linked to the nature of the school which is located in a demographically non-diverse area, but consideration also needs to be given to the fact that the two other factors (1 and 6) which have, albeit not exclusively, students loading onto them have ranked these at quite a low level.

Factor 5

Participants loading onto this factor

Factor 5 has one participant loading on to it, but offers up 7% of the explanatory variance within the study. The factor showed two distinguishing statements, both being significant at the $p<0.05$ level (appendix 10). This participant was a Deputy Headteacher of a secondary school in East London, which although not within one of the Olympic Boroughs is still within 5 miles of the Olympic Park. There is a similar reason for including this factor as there was for the inclusion of factor 3, the individual habitus as exposed through the psychological significance assigned to statements in the Q sort is likely to define the practice which is seen within the school.

Participant Number	Organisation	Role	Olympic Borough	Distance from Olympic Park
33	School F	Deputy Headteacher	No	Within 5 miles

Table 12: Participant loading onto factor 5

Penportrait

For this factor, the perception is that people are excited about the event (40: +4). This factor sees clear opportunities being afforded, by the Games, for people to become involved with people from all over the world (1: +5). It is believed that the Games might also help in the development of the understanding of other cultures (2: +3), this operating in concert with the opportunities to work with people that one would not normally meet (35: +3), widening the horizons of local people (46: +2), at least to some extent.

There is a strong desire expressed for the Olympic Park to be accessible to the local community (27: +5). Alongside this is uneasiness that the facilities will not be used after the Games (25: +2).

It is seen as being very important that pupils are able to attend events during the Games (34: +5), and it is thought to be a good idea that young people help to define the content of the Cultural Olympiad (20: +3). Whilst the Cultural Olympiad is felt to be likely to lead to longer term benefits to cultural life (22: -4), it is not felt that it will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation (13: -3).

Although not expecting any community health benefits (18: +3), there is an expectation that the Games will inspire a new generation of athletes (7: +3), although there is no perception that the Games will promote sports education (6: +2). As there is also a view that the Games are concerned with elite athletes (14: -3), then it might be that this inspiration will come from this group.

There is a moderately expressed belief that the Games will help with the regeneration of the area (17: +2), possibly highlighting the good points of East London along the way (41: +1), even if this will not necessarily impact on the self-esteem of the people living there (39: -2). The developments around the Games are not seen as having impacted negatively on existing public space (33: -5), although there is little belief that the legacy programme has been thought through for the region as a whole (52: -5). The Olympic Park is seen as being a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development (48: +4).

Whilst it is very much doubted that there will be affordable housing within the Olympic Park (49: -4), it is also felt that local people will not be priced out of the area subsequent to 2012 (55: -2), and that the communities within the area will

indeed be connected to the Park (32: -3). There is a strong perception that local

people are not being ignored (8: -5).

There is a slight feeling that the Games will use volunteers as cheap labour (24: +2),

at the same time as not delivering in terms of sustainable jobs (57: +4). The impact

on the supply of volunteers for local projects is seen as being minimal (19: -1).

Education is not seen as being a key strand of the legacy (30: -2), indeed the issue

of whether schools should be using the Games as a resource is called into question

(15: -3).

This factor is different from the other factors in being ambivalent about the

'national significance' of the Games (this being a distinguishing statement, p<0.05).

Post-sort investigation of this point revealed that this view was based upon the

participant loading onto this factor's experience of previous Games where "no-one

took any notice of it basically... no-one talked about it in my experience, my circle

of friends, my circle of colleagues and certainly in the school there was some

interest, a little interest but not a great deal." This illustrates how the habitus of the

individual is framed by a range of factors, both personal and professional, which go

on to offer a structured influence on future practice (Marsh, 2006; Brosnan, 2010;

Crossan et al, 2003) made manifest in the Q sort.

Another point of distinction is the very strong disagreement (-5) with the notion that

the legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region which is

a distinguishing statement (p<0.05). This marks it out from all of the other factors,

but the difference between this factor and factor 3 (which ranked this statement as

+5) is particularly interesting. This is because both have strong managerial

positions within education albeit in different authorities. Whilst there may be a

number of explanations for this difference, the fact that factor 5 works within a non-

Olympic Borough and factor 3 works for an Olympic Borough cannot be discounted, even though both are within five miles of the Park. The scope of the field within which legacy practice develops would appear, therefore, to be defined not only by the geography, but also by the labelling.

The importance of the educational strand in legacy is called into question. In fact this is similar to the majority of the other factors, only factor 4 views this positively. Factor 5 does not believe that schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform lessons. In this there is a similarity with factor 3, and while factor 2 felt differently about this particular aspect there is a similarity in the recognition of the primacy of institutional cultural capital. There is a perception that only certain subjects would be able to use the themes of the Games, but the most obvious 'subject' is not clear as there is little belief that the Games will do much to promote sports education. Given the management position of the participant loading onto this factor this is interesting, the Games seem not to be going to impact on the structure of the school timetable because of the perception of the gatekeeper.

It appears that the Games and the Cultural Olympiad are seen as ways of developing networks and culture structures. There is a strong agreement that the Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world and will give people opportunities to work with people that they would not normally meet, widening their horizons. There is, though, no indication of how this might be mediated, given the downplaying of the educational strand and the view that the Games will not lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation. This is a view that is broadly shared with factor 2 and is discussed above. Perhaps the fact that factor 5 was the only factor to identify, albeit tentatively, that there might be opportunities for 'people like me' to make a direct contribution to the

Games, indicating a reasonable level of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), is of some importance here. This factor is likely to be adept at accessing and utilising cultural capital, and so does not recognise that mediation is needed in order to access these opportunities for those with less cultural capital to draw upon. This resonates with the concern raised in the discussion of factor 4 and is indicative of Crozier and Reay's (2005) observation that distances in class and educational level between teacher and the communities that they serve might be a factor in constraining engagement.

Factor 6

Participants loading onto this factor

Factor 6 accounted for 10% of the explanatory variance within the study. The factor showed two distinguishing statements, one of these was significant at the $p < 0.01$ level, the other being significant at the $p < 0.05$ level (appendix 10). The two participants loading onto this factor were both students at the same school. One was a Year 9 student (13-14 years of age), the other a Year 11 student (15-16 years old). The school was within one of the Olympic Boroughs and within 5 miles of the Olympic Park. A similar statement can be made here as was made for factor 4 in as much as the nature of the participants loading onto this factor indicate the potential to form bonding social capital, although the different age groups could also be seen as forming bridging social capital.

Participant Number	Organisation	Role	Olympic Borough	Distance from Olympic Park
21	School C	Year 9 Student	Yes	Within 5 miles
28	School C	Year 11 Student	Yes	Within 5 miles

Table 13: Participants loading onto factor 6

Penportrait

This factor expressed a strong belief that the local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities (27: +5).

The Games are seen as being a strong facilitator in the regeneration of the area (17: +5), transforming the heart of East London (51: +3) and highlighting its good parts (41: +3). This is set alongside the view that in developing the site, existing public space has been destroyed (33: +5). Whilst the Games, it is believed, will incur large

public debt (28: +4), they are not viewed by participants loading onto this factor as being a waste of that money (47: -4).

The Games are seen as being an event of national importance (3: +4). It is felt to be very important that pupils are able to attend events (34: +4), but their involvement and that of their schools is thought likely to be only at a superficial level (36: +2), with its use as a resource being called into question (15: +1). As such, education is not seen as being a key legacy flowing from the Games (30: -2). It is hoped, however, that opportunities for young people to become involved in the Cultural Olympiad will be forthcoming (20: +3). There is a slight fear that local people will be excluded from the events (21: +1) and that there will not be any long term benefits to cultural life accruing from the Cultural Olympiad (22: +1).

The Games are expected to promote sport education (6: -5), and to inspire a new generation of athletes (7: +3). As there is an understanding that the Games are about elite performance (14: +4), it is likely that this inspiration be delivered through this performance; there is a slight doubt expressed that this will lead to an increase in mass participation in sport (12: -1).

While the possibility is recognised that the Olympic Park might be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development (48: +1), it is very much doubted that it will do this through contributing to the natural environment (43: -5), nor is it thought that the Park will enhance people's engagement with the natural world (50: -5). It is felt very unlikely that there will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park (49:-4), it is not felt that local people will be priced out of the area after 2012 (55: -2).

The role of the Games in inspiring community development is called into question (4: -4), and their ability to widen the horizons of local communities is also doubted

(46:-3). There is a feeling that there are limited opportunities for people to make a direct contribution to developments (29: -3). There are slight doubts about the promotion of community cohesion through the Games (45: -1) and the extent to which the Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity (19: -2).

The benefits of the infrastructure legacy are recognised with the Games being seen as helping in the regeneration of the area and are thought likely to transform the heart of East London, acting as a catalyst for longer term benefit. However, this factor very strongly believes that the construction of the Olympic Park has caused the destruction of public space. This is a distinguishing statement for this factor ($p<0.05$). This perception is diametrically opposed to factor 5 which very strongly disagrees with this assertion. In both cases the participants are based at schools within 5 miles of the Park, factor 5 is a deputy headteacher and the participants loading onto factor 6 are secondary school students. It is worth noting that the only other factor to express any level of agreement about the destruction of public space is factor 4 which also has school students loading onto it. This indicates a difference in the way in which the changes in the cultural capital embodied in the places around the Park are perceived, probably based upon its use value. Some of this value which is perceived to have been lost might be reclaimed if, as this factor believes, the sports facilities within the Park are used after the Games. It is felt to be important that the local community is able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games.

There is disagreement that the Games will be a useful resource for schools, this being a distinguishing statement ($p<0.01$), and a perception that any engagement of schools and young people with the Games will be superficial. Indeed most of the

factors, with the exception of factor 1 and factor 5, indicate that this is the case or that it is of no significance to them either way. Whilst for factor 2 this feeling is most likely due to an understanding of the operation of institutionalised cultural capital, for factor 6 this might be indicative of a feeling of marginalisation. This is especially likely when taken alongside the belief that the voices of local people are being ignored and the significance given to the statement that local people will be excluded from the Cultural Olympiad.

While recognising that the Games presents opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world, the beneficial outcomes that one might expect to flow from the opportunity are called into question by the perception that there will be limited opportunities to make a direct contribution to the Games and that the Games are unlikely to widen the horizons of local communities. Similarly low expectations are evident for the encouragement of young people into local volunteering and other activities. Taken together these indicate low levels of embodied cultural capital and resonate with the links between socio-demographics and the likelihood of taking part in volunteering activity (Anheier and Salamon, 1999; Lammers, 1991; Pearce, 1993; Wardell, Lishman and Whalley, 2000). Once again the need to mediate these opportunities is clear.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a consideration of the extraction of the factors from the correlation matrix that was produced from the responses to the Q sort that was described in the previous chapter. A rationale for the extraction of six factors was given, based on the eigenvalues of five of those factors, the sixth factor being included as the person loading onto that factor was a senior secondary advisor with one of the local boroughs and therefore their opinion was likely to impact on the

way in which initiatives were implemented. Having explained why six factors were

extracted the chapter detailed the normalised factor Q sort values showing the level

of agreement with each statement. This table was the basis for the interpretation of

each factor which formed the substantive part of the remainder of the chapter. Each

interpretation began with a consideration of those participants who loaded onto that

particular factor and continued with a penportrait written directly from the

normalised Q sort value table.

This chapter has revealed the range of perspectives on the legacy of the London

Olympic Games held by educational stakeholders, and thus addresses the second of

this study's research questions. It has done so using a statistically robust

methodology that sets individuals as variables and allows a perspective to be

developed across a number of aspects of potential legacy, considering what is

psychologically significant for those individuals in the operant, thus enabling an

exploration of the habitus.

Chapter 8 – Interviews with Key Informants

Introduction

Key informants were interviewed during the summer of 2013. These informants occupied key national, regional and local positions during the London Olympiad, having roles with either overarching responsibilities for Games related developments (including education) or with responsibilities for educational projects, both within formal and informal educational organisations (a table of the informants can be found on page 92 and penportraits of each one are presented in appendix 11). The Olympics formed a lens to examine social change; within this thesis the focus falling on the educational environment. These interviews were sought as a means of gaining an understanding of the way in which the changes associated with the Games were perceived by stakeholders who were tasked to manage such change. They also acted to update, in the post-event phase, the analysis that had previously occurred through the Q study in 2009. The interviews offered an opportunity for the key informants to engage with the perspectives uncovered through the Q methodological investigation described above and to consider the implications of these perspectives for legacy. The outcomes of this deliberative process are explored in the next chapter.

This chapter develops a narrative based on these key informant interviews. As described in Chapter 6, thematic analysis was carried out with the 'event structure' themes (Gratton and Preuss 2008) as sensitising devices and as broad organising principles, with other sub-themes being generated to provide an adequately nuanced account of how these themes are construed within the field of education. This approach is reflected in the sections below. It became clear through the interviews

that the Games afforded opportunities to develop the educational environment within which institutions and individuals operate. These ranged from acting as a "point of inspiration" to being a catalyst for the development of networks. The sections below explore how the key informants viewed these changes.

Knowledge, Skills and Education

According to Gratton and Preuss' (2008) framework, by hosting an Olympic Games, the host population has an opportunity to gain knowledge and skills through a wide range of activities that are linked to the Games. Analysis of the interviews demonstrated that, in addition to these aspects, consideration also needs to be given to curriculum development, employability and volunteering.

The official 'Get Set materials', described in Chapter 3, were produced, as Jess, the Chief Executive Officer of the British Olympic Association points out, to discharge the BOA's educational "responsibility." They were used as the basis for engagement by a number of informants. Jon, the Principal of a Further Education College, saw the materials as one source of "resources" with which to "refresh and enliven the curriculum" within his college. Jane, the Olympic Development Manager for a local borough, used the materials "as a point of contact with a range of schools," but was candid that the work that she could do with schools was limited:

> I did as much hands-on work with the schools as I could, but it was one of the most time consuming things because every school wants their own thing.

There is an implication here that the schools were expecting a tailor made solution, rather than developing their own response. This is indicative of the degree of tension for teachers in engaging with the curriculum described by a number of commentators (Gonzales et al, 2005; Sachs, 2003; Levine, 2007) this being

exacerbated by a reliance on commercial curriculum solutions (Thomas, 2012; Ball, 2007). This tension could militate against curriculum development post-Games, something which is explored further below.

It was recognised by a range of informants that the 'Get Set' materials were successful in bringing the Olympic values into the school curriculum, and Jess reported a desire amongst current members of the 'Get Set' network, to continue with this values based education approach. However, there were some concerns about how likely this continuation would be. Jon, whilst acknowledging that a "lot of [the resource] was Games specific," also recognised that much remains relevant and was pleased that the material has been updated. This doesn't necessarily accord with the views of those informants who recognise that developments, especially if they are tangential to the formal curriculum offer, are unlikely to continue. James, the Director of the 2012 Office at a university in East London, questions the way in which even non-tangential engagement can continue in areas that are geographically distant - although this somewhat misses the point of the flexibility of the materials described by Jess as "resources" which teachers can customise to their own purpose. This supposes that teachers will be able to undertake this customisation, something that is called into question above, although the discussion below reveals a more positive picture.

Discussion with the informants made it clear that curriculum development was not tied to a "curriculum package," rather the changes associated with the Games formed a series of opportunities within which curriculum development could take place - an adaptive response to a changing educational environment. Peter, Executive Director for Regeneration and Community Partnership at the London Legacy Development Corporation noted the way that various educational

institutions were beginning to develop their curriculum through interaction with partners associated with the Park. For example, Jon had recognised the potential for students to "gain employment at Games time" extending this to developments that link their "curriculum to the opportunities available" within 'iCity', the business centre within the Park.

Nigel, the Executive Director of 'Fundamental Architectural Inclusion', an architecture centre specialising in community engagement, saw the developments around the Games as a subset of wider regeneration activity. He worked with the opportunity to develop an informal curriculum offer built around an "awareness of regeneration, not simply related to the Games." In common with other informants, for example Jane, he experienced some resistance to this approach, particularly from local authority advisers who felt that this was too large an undertaking and that, "as it wasn't in the national curriculum it would be unlikely to be successful." To address this, the pilot scheme that he developed had tools that could be used within a formal educational setting but also exposed the problem that "teachers don't feel confident about architecture and built environment" and have a limited understanding of regeneration. This calls into question the efficacy of the mediating power of the teacher between the "curriculum and the political economy" (Goodson, 2008, p134), but also supports the call for teacher training and education made by commentators such as Riley (2008).

Nigel's work, largely outside of the formal educational sector, could be seen as a disruptor to the way in which communities engage with regeneration. A number of informants also discussed how work outside of the formal realm was of importance in the stages leading up to the Games and as part of the legacy. For example, Peter talked about the way in which 'Leaside Regeneration,' an organisation for which he

had previously worked, designed interventions that ensured that the "community is intrinsically involved in the change" and which aimed to demonstrate "the resource that sits within the community." Peter's approach resonates with the approach to community orientated understanding advocated by Cummings et al (2007) explored in Chapter 5. However, Peter admits that the nature of this "resource" was "something that was never truly grasped" by those involved either in the bidding for the Games nor in subsequent developments, which illustrates some of the difficulty of such an approach. In many ways this aim of involving the local community in the changes around them underpins Nigel's work, setting out as it does to "try and get local young people to understand the scale of the change that was happening." This work was cited by one of the other informants, Jane, who was impressed by the way that the architects "really listened to the young people." Nigel sees this introduction of young people "right into the guts of "regeneration as a key educational aim of his work, part of what several informants, including Jane, see as a key legacy:

> an understanding of the individual's place in relation to urban development and an ability to influence the fabric of their own environment.

In this, Peter, Nigel and Jane are advocating the place-based education approach (Elder, 1998; Hutchinson, 2004; Sobel, 2005; Gruenewald and Smith, 2008) described in Chapter 5.

One way in which the local can influence curriculum development is through the alignment of the curriculum offer with the employment opportunities within a particular area. A number of informants identified the influence of the Games on patterns of employment. For example Jon, noted "the general growth in employment … particularly in the hospitality and tourism industry" with his college developing a new hospitality training centre "which serviced the local area."

Simon, the Chief Executive of the Lee Valley Regional Park Authority, also recognised the potential effect on employment of development along the Lee Valley as a whole, especially in the sport and leisure industry, but wondered how the alignment between the opportunities and the curriculum of schools and colleges will be managed. Nigel was also concerned about this alignment, especially the lack of understanding within schools of the employment opportunities that exist within the area. Jon's college worked closely with borough employment brokerages to link opportunities to participants on the short courses that his college offered to the long term unemployed. These linkages were supported during Games time with LOCOG working in partnership with the boroughs and the Colleges to ensure that the necessary Games-time workforce was in place. The efficacy of this approach was recognised by a number of informants, for example Jon, James, Gerry and Michael, the latter two being involved with 'Podium', the HE/FE engagement body. Thus, Michael speaks proudly of the way in which the Games have enabled young people to gain "work experience" from which they might benefit. It is hoped by Jon, amongst others, that the structure - linking colleges, businesses and brokerages - which enabled these experiences, will continue, despite the removal of the motivational fact of the Games time delivery. There is a recognition that the employment opportunities around developments on the Olympic Park and in the wider East London area won't offer the focus of the Games, but James sets this into context: "if you had Canary Wharf job densities in the broader Olympic Park area you'd have a couple of million jobs there." It is interesting that both Nigel and Jane talked about the way in which the young people that they had worked with didn't see themselves as being able to work in the corporate world exemplified by Canary Wharf, seeing it "as too posh" and not "being for me." This lack of recognition resonates with the idea of the operation of a gentrification aesthetic (Bridge and

Dowling, 2001) discussed in Chapter 5. Bridge (2006) makes the point that such aspects of development need to be taken into consideration when looking at the overall effect of development. From an educational point of view, an acknowledgement needs to be made of the importance of the embodied cultural capital that helps to frame aspiration and the ways in which this can be developed.

A number of informants stressed voluntary work as a key way to develop employability skills and the effect that the Games had had on the perception of volunteering. Jon, for example, had engaged with the 'Games Maker' project and James had used the opportunity of the Games to gain a commitment from his University Management Team to support a Volunteering Development Group from which an accredited volunteering module had emerged. Jane developed her own volunteering programme due to her belief that the conversations around the recruitment of volunteers being held at a regional level were asking the "wrong questions and proposing the wrong solutions." Drawing on her local knowledge of working with the voluntary sector, she was clear that the mode of recruitment being proposed wouldn't give proper representation, rather privileging the "middle-aged, middle-class, white, male sports fanatic." Simon also recognised the need to think "differently" when trying to engage hard to reach groups. Unfortunately, the programme that Jane set up, which was successful in recruiting women of Asian descent was wound up after the Games. Jane found the fact that there was "no signposting" to other opportunities for the volunteers frustrating. This lack of progression certainly isn't indicative of the ability to provide ongoing meaningful engagement which Pegg (2002) identifies as a key issue in volunteer development. This illustrates the way in which the Games were used as a disrupter of the existing frameworks, but also the fragility of the structures that emerge from the disruption.

Other informants were able to report on how volunteering is faring subsequent to the Games. 'Podium' continue to be involved in developing volunteering opportunities through the 'Get Set and Make a Change' project where young people "deliver community engagement projects of their choice." The project is built around the 'Get Set Network' and will reveal the extent to which, as Geoff (the Director of Policy and Partnership at the Legacy Trust UK) puts it, involvement in volunteering depends on the "status" element of the event. Jess feels that this effect is minimal, citing an event in the Park which celebrated volunteering where existing volunteers brought along "a friend [who] they would recruit into a volunteering opportunity." Whilst the celebration of volunteering is to be welcomed, the closed nature of the recruitment of "a friend" mirrors the tendency recognised by Treuren and Monga (2002b) for organisations to recruit through their own extended social networks and resonates with the comments made by Jane about the recruitment practices of the volunteering programme for the Games. More positively, Jon's College built on its involvement with 'Games Makers', which he, along with a number of other informants, for example Jess, Geoff and Michael, believed had produced a "wider understanding of the importance of volunteering." Whilst volunteering had not been incorporated into its formal curriculum offer, Jon's college continues to promote volunteering. For example, the college has joined a time banking project which has the advantage of extending the networks within which the college operates. This has enabled the college to "gain mentoring time from employers" increasing social capital which is somewhat in contrast to the picture painted in the previous paragraph.

The section above has detailed the way in which informants engaged with the Games in a number of different ways within the broad area of knowledge, skills and

education. It explored how the engagement of stakeholders with the Games had impinged on the environment within which their variously configured educational endeavours take place. Concrete manifestations of the changes in this environment are to be seen in the infrastructure changes which are discussed in the next section.

Infrastructure

The work that Nigel's 'Fundamental Architectural Inclusion' had undertaken "allowed a new, local voice into the planning process" leading, he contends, to a better understanding of how "particular space was used." This is an important dimension when exploring the infrastructure 'event structure' framework of Gratton and Preuss (2008) which considers both the sports and general infrastructure associated with any given Games. Not surprisingly, given the nature of the informants, much of the discussion centred on the way in which the Games had either affected the development of infrastructure of educational institutions or had drawn upon this infrastructure during the delivery of the Games. This section begins by exploring this specific area of 'general' infrastructure and how the tangible assets of that infrastructure are being used to develop the linkages within the educational environment in the area.

There is a recognition amongst the majority of the informants that the Olympic Park could "operate as an educational space" for all sectors of education and certainly as a "resource for local schools." However, it is similarly recognised that the utilisation of this resource requires some work in order to, as Simon states, "make the connection between schools, clubs" and the venues which the LVRPA (Lee Valley Regional Park Authority) own in legacy.

According to Michael, Gerry, James and Jon, the Games benefitted colleges, universities and schools by giving them the opportunity of being able to provide

"venues" to "host events" and to accommodate "training camps". Gerry talked of the way in which 'Podium' brokered these opportunities, matching what universities and colleges were prepared to offer with what LOCOG, Games sponsors and national teams required. The benefits of doing so were "financial", but also often lead to "improvements", most obviously in sports infrastructure within the educational institutions involved. Some participants talked of the way in which such developments were accelerated and delivered to a higher specification because they were needed by national teams during Games Time. The establishment of this concrete infrastructure is recognised as a means of facilitating the development of networks. James, for example, described the way in which the expansion of facilities would enable his HEI to play "a major role in the IPC [International Paralympic Committee] Games in 2017", whilst at the same time operating more effectively with the student body and the local community, allowing more "active student involvement in sport" and enabling space to be offered to local sports clubs.

The somewhat piecemeal, opportunistic approach described above raises the issue of the coordination of such developments to maximise the benefit. Simon calls for some "joined-upness" in the thinking around how the Olympic Park and Lee Valley Regional Park facilities work with the wider community. There is some evidence for this in the way that Peter and James talked about the way in which the LLDC are brokering the development of educational infrastructure within the Park, "encouraging 'new' HEIs" into the area, and the importance of this in the "economic development" of the area. One such 'new' HEI is Loughborough University which, as Jon explained, will occupy space in 'iCity' where it will sit next to his College's "small training facility …for training apprentices." This goes

beyond the concrete facility, as the apprenticeships will be tied to the "'iCity' tenants" This approach of using the Park to attract in new partners and to develop relationships with these partners is also promulgated by Simon who understands that there is a need to move beyond the idea of the Park as "a nice resource to use on your doorstep" to one which is used to structure educational opportunity.

A number of the informants made mention of the way in which the transport infrastructure, built, as James puts it, to "support a large influx of visitors," had been improved by the presence of the Games. This has had both a real effect and changed the view of the eastern part of the city. Michael feels that this level of connection will enable Stratford to "change and develop" through an increase in accessibility with a consequent increase in "job availability." A specific influence of this improved transport infrastructure is cited by Jon who recognises the positive impact of improved transport on "student recruitment" and also on the working day of his staff, being able to recruit from a wider area as the commute is made easier. While acknowledging the way in which the transport infrastructure had "improved" in preparation for the Games, some of the informants, for example Peter, were a little more sanguine about the "physical linkages into the Park." This is pertinent to the legacy use of the Park by the local community, something that is explored further below.

The section above has considered some of the comments made by informants concerning aspects of infrastructure development. Emerging from this narrative has been a sense that these developments have both facilitated networks and are dependent for their success on the network relationships so formed. These are further explored below.

Networks

Gratton and Preuss' (2008) view of the network 'event structure' emerged from their observation that the staging of a successful Games is predicated on effective relationships and cooperation between a large number of organisations and individuals, which they identify as international sport federations, media groups and politicians. The analysis of the interview transcripts found it necessary to extend this view beyond those directly involved in the Games and to also consider networks at a greater number of levels, from international to the very local. This section explores how networks were viewed and utilised by this study's key informants and the ways in which the Games continue to provide opportunities to network with individuals and organisations. A number of these networks have been mentioned in previous sections, for example Jon's positive view of the network which enabled employment brokerage. The work of 'Podium' was recognised by a number of informants, for example, Jon, James, Michael and Gerry, in facilitating networking between interested parties in the provision of Games-time support.

One of the key roles of 'Podium' in legacy mode, according to Michael, is to broker international links. Rio 2016 is "setting up" an equivalent organisation to Podium with which Jon is linked. It is interesting to note that these international links were only mentioned by those who worked within further or higher education contexts, although the links described were not just academic. For example, James talked about the artistic directors of a local theatre who were "looking for partnerships around the Rio Games."

Higher education institutions and 'Podium' were also instrumental in developing networks at a national level. Peter described how the LLDC are encouraging HE partners into the Park and acknowledges the importance of the "understanding" of

the "local HEI" as to the importance of this investment. Whilst the majority of informants, not surprisingly given the nature of their role, described the development of new networks focused on the Park, others, for example Geoff and Nigel, talked of networks formed which were more "related to the wider nation." Often in these descriptions was the desire to use networks to capture learning from one context and to offer up ideas to other members of the network, to see, as Geoff puts it, how an "event relates to the wider community." In this context it was important that each region came up with their "own ideas" based around their "priorities", their "assets", their "geography" and existing "events and organisations." This contextualisation of lessons learnt in the wider network was felt to be important by Geoff in order to ensure the sustainability of any given project. This resonates with the recognition expressed by Michael, for example that any development would "probably never happen quite to the extent that it did around the Games," although there is an implicit hope in a number of informants' comments that the "partnerships" formed will continue "post-Games." Some informants, for example Jess, Gerry and James were able to provide examples of how "networks" set-up during the Olympiad were continuing to allow "sharing" and "conversations." One such network, which Jon alluded to above, is the employability "network of colleges to work with the network of boroughs" set-up by LOCOG. This has formed the basis for a "skills partnership" within the convergence plan of the growth boroughs, discussed in Chapter 3.

As well as drawing on structures formed around the Games, there is a need to consider the structures that might need to be formed to support legacy, and in doing this to take into account the way in which certain networks were "inhibited" by the

Games. Peter was quite candid about the lack of interest in the local shown by the IOC:

> They didn't want to meet local communities, and I don't just mean West Ham or Hackney residents, they didn't want to meet local MPs or local councillors.

This lack of interest in the local is a counterpoint to the feeling expressed by Geoff that a number of people assumed "proximity" equated to legacy benefits, which in turn led to the possibility of some tension between "host boroughs" and the wider "region." This was a concern expressed by Simon. This tension might militate against the formation of networks going forward, and it is thus important that as wide a "range of organizations" as possible are involved in "planning ahead" to avoid problems "around the actual management of the Park." There was a generally "positive" view of the "collaboration" between partners within the Park and the Lee Valley, expressed by amongst others Jane, Simon, Peter and James. However, the fragility of such partnerships was conveyed by Simon who described the way in which his education team work very closely with the "education lead" within "local authorities." The increasing fragmentation of this level of educational governance was pointed out to him and he acknowledged that this was something that needed to be thought through, as this was likely to have "resource implications" and might "impact on the provision."

The section above details how the key informants view the way in which developments around the Games have enabled a number of links to be forged. Sometimes these links were between groups that had existed in isolation of each other prior to the Games. Sometimes the links were with new partners who have come into the area, for example "new sports clubs", and HEIs. The section below

explores the culture 'event structure', and picks up some of the themes from the network section examining the role of the cultural sector in developing networks.

Culture

Gratton and Preuss (2008) acknowledge that a mega-sport event produces cultural ideas, cultural identity and cultural products. As was discussed in Chapter 3, such a cultural presentation has been taken as an opportunity to address a number of issues around, for example, heritage and identity. Having said this, only one informant, Jane, mentioned anything about the engagement of the Games with the existing heritage of the area and this only tangentially in that one local authority decided to reinstate an "historic fair" and have committed similar levels of resource to this for the future.

The "Cultural Olympiad" was mentioned by Jon, Peter and Simon, with a feeling that it had "passed East London by" leaving few "very specific outcomes" possibly because, as Simon pointed out, the Cultural Olympiad has the disadvantage of not having "fixed assets as legacy." This is not to deny that there has been some enrichment of the area through artistic engagement, although it is difficult to "disentangle" what is an Olympic legacy and what is just down to the "concentration" of artists already in the area. Peter was keen to stress the way in which "world class street artists" were engaged to work with "local street artists" and that this had opened up a space "for collaborative relationships." Maybe these collaborative relationships are the fixed assets?

A majority of the informants talked about how the arts, in their broadest sense, were used as a tool of engagement with the Games. Peter described a project called 'The Bridge' which Leaside Regeneration developed in the "run up" to the bid. This linked older members of the community to schools and to youth groups. As

described in a previous section, Peter had hoped that this project would demonstrate the community's resources to the bid team, but that this resource was never "truly grasped." This lack of 'grasp' is also evident in the initial responses of those more embedded in the local communities. For example, Jane describes her colleagues initially not wanting to "make a song and dance" about the Torch Relay. The success of the event led these same colleagues to say that "what we did was the right thing." Jane feels that engagement with the Games, after the initial inertia, has made people "think a little bit bigger" and encouraged a "culture" where the local authority is prepared to host bigger events. This is a view echoed by several other informants, for example Simon, who saw the Games as an opportunity to build on already "established events," which might mitigate inertia, or as Jess and Geoff point out as an opportunity to develop "initiatives" and "alliances" that hadn't previously been there. This resonates with some of statements about the development of networks above.

Jane noted the way in which events in the Park seemed to be shifting the axis eastwards with various festivals which "used to be in Hyde Park now coming to East London." She also makes the point that this increased physical accessibility to such events for local people is part of a change in the built environment where the existence of better quality public space "does change the culture of this area" which might affect the emotional accessibility to these same areas.

The section above, in considering the culture 'event structure', gave some insight into some of the tensions between the local and the Olympiad in 'delivering' culture. One such issue was seen in the initial resistance to certain events amongst officers and members within one local authority; that is until the emotional climate was warmed by the proximity of the event.

Image and Emotion

This section considers how both positive and negative emotions associated with hosting the Games, and indeed the symbolic significance of the Games themselves, affect the way in which an area is viewed and how the behaviour of individuals, organisations and markets change in response to this emotional climate.

All of the informants commented on the way in which the Olympiad had had an effect on their emotions or on those with whom they worked. They often linked this to the effect that this had on the way in which the area was viewed. Several of the informants, for example Peter and Jane, talked about the level of pre-Games "scepticism" and the way in which this led to a "lack of support" for specific projects. It was felt that as time progressed people "appreciated" the "benefits" of the Games. This was allied to, as James pointed out, the failure of the media to "whip up public opinion against the Games." This appreciation was taken to mean that the initial scepticism hadn't been a sign that "people didn't want to engage" but was rather a manifestation of "apprehension" which was mentioned by both James and Michael. A number of the informants, for example Jane, Peter and Jon felt that helping people through these "anxieties" was a part of their job. Jon was able to assuage some of this apprehension by drawing on his experience gained on a number of study trips to other host cities, which demonstrates the importance of knowledge exchange around the event; he felt he could "tell people it's going to be fantastic."

The informants described a range of professional and personal motivators for their involvement in the Games. For example, Jon talked of "motivating" students through the Games but also of wanting, as a "local resident," the Games to be a "success." The interplay of the personal interest and the professional engagement

offers some insight into the construction of an individual habitus. Jane's growing

realisation of:

> just how powerful the Olympics was in changing people's mind sets around
> where they live and what they were capable of doing

altered her opinion from having "no personal interest" in the Games to "this

Olympic nut!"

The power of the Olympic "brand" and of those associated with it was seen as a key

tool by a number of informants. Michael is clear that appearances from key

"figures from LOCOG" enabled 'Podium' to "establish a reputation." Jon brought

in "athletes to talk" to students in particular "curriculum areas" and used the ticket

allocation associated with the "'Get Set'" network as an enhancement to the

college's "recognition and reward programme." Discussing the same allocation

scheme, Jane illustrated the power of senior managers in schools as gatekeepers to

opportunities, when she shared her frustration at schools with headteachers who

weren't "interested" and who did not want to "engage with the Games" which

meant that "their children weren't in with a chance for tickets."

A majority of informants raised issues concerning engagement subsequent to the

Games. Some present a somewhat unproblematic picture of this engagement. For

example, Jess reported the desire of teachers to continue with the "values based

education programme" developed through "'Get Set' [incorporating] it into their

own curriculum." But as we have seen above and in Chapter 5 this is problematic.

Michael makes the claim that the sporting facilities will enable people to "access"

and "be inspired" by "world class sport." However, this is a somewhat passive

view of engagement and doesn't address the issue of where the audience for such

events might come from. Peter is a little more sanguine about the developing

engagement with the Park:

> only time will tell if people will love it, but again it is important that we don't
> over regulate the engagement and offer up space for communities and
> individuals to develop their own relationships with it.

This statement is one of several that makes it clear that there is a need to give

thought to the ways in which both the physical and emotional links into the Park are

managed. Jane, for example, expressed her "relief" that the Park wasn't "closed for

a long time" once the Games were over. The ability to "continue" the engagement

with the Park and to develop a "relationship" with it is of importance and is "eased"

by the "affection" that was generally felt, and expressed through the perspectives

elicited within the Q sort, for the Games which were held there. For example,

Simon recognises the importance of the sports venues within the Park in creating

"an identity" and that this is likely to "cut across local boundaries" offering a

"venue of a certain status" - something, in Simon's words that "it's worth travelling

to because it's adding something more." Whilst this is indicative of a change of

image, it is interesting to explore what this change might mean to local residents in

light of the use of such cultural capital as a source of class distinction (Bridge,

2006) discussed in Chapter 5. Jane was able to offer this insight, being somewhat

tentative about whether she "as a normal resident" would be able to "just turn up

and go for a swim." This resonates with Nigel's reports of views expressed by

some of the young people with whom he worked that indicate a lack of recognition

of "themselves" in the pictures presented by planners of the developments around

the Park. He also reported that the dialogue between planners and the young people

enabled some appreciation of how "the local communities worked within the space"

as it was currently defined. Whilst this almost "frightened" the planners, these

views were received as "representative and real." and led to some changes in plans and an inclusion of "community hubs" and a "designed" community programme which would enable groups to "feel some sort of shared ownership over the Park." This kind of approach would help to generate levels of trust which have shown to be essential in engaging young people (Stoddart, 2004).

As well as discussing the way in which the Games affected the communities and individuals with which they worked, a number of informants were open about their own emotional response to the Games. They described their "enthusiasm" for the Games and the "joy" of being involved and of working alongside people who were "passionate" about the Games which led to the liberation of "having your cynicism" lift for a while. These positive responses need to be acknowledged as does the possibility that they might obscure an understanding of a less positive perspective in others.

The exploration of the area of image and emotion with the key informants uncovered the perception that the Games had "changed views of the area." Whilst some of the sections above have described how the structural changes, for example transport, have had an effect on this new image, Gerry felt that schools and colleges had enhanced their "reputations" by operating as training venues, but this is something that needs further exploration in terms of how this reputation is perceived, and the influence it will have on the educational environment going forward. It might be that this change has an effect on this environment by, as Simon puts it, lifting "self-esteem" and thus changing the psyche of those within the area. However, Nigel alerts us to the danger of being complacent about these changes, which could lead to the "typical" "local" young person feeling that "it's not for them and they wouldn't quite fit in." The "increase" in opportunities needs

to be thought about in terms of, as Simon says, "who benefits" this echoing the sentiments of a number of other informants, for example Jane and Nigel, who call for work with "the local population" to ensure that they "feel positive" about themselves.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the key informants' perspectives on the effect of the London 2012 Games on the 'event structures' characterised by Gratton and Preuss (2008). The thematic analysis of the interview data supported this framework as a heuristic device, but also made it clear that it was necessary to develop the categories in order to adequately nuance the narratives from the key informants. Engaging with the interview data has allowed a more multi-dimensional appreciation of the various 'event structures' and demonstrated the way in which these structures act together to constitute the wider environment. The responses of the key informants have also provided insights into how their agency, and the agency of those with whom they worked, dynamically interacted with the 'event structures' in a complex and adaptive manner.

The next chapter continues the discussions that have been started in this and the previous chapter to discuss the points of similarity and difference between the perspectives emerging from both the Q methodological study and the key informant interviews. It will also critically reflect on the response of the key informants to the perspectives that emerged from the Q study when these were presented to them as part of a deliberative discussion about the implications of these perspectives for legacy.

Chapter 9 – Exploring the Perceptions of Legacy

Introduction

This chapter draws together the strands of the thesis, the literature that was explored in the first five chapters and the findings that emerged from the study's empirical work. In bringing the strands together a discussion is developed around the points of articulation between the structural aspects of legacy, the perceptions of these aspects held by stakeholders and the implications of these perceptions for legacy.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the perceptions of the 'event structures' (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). It does this by juxtaposing comments from the key informants gained through interviews in the summer of 2013 with single, or groups of statements taken from the statement array produced for each factor as part of the Q-sort undertaken in the summer of 2009. This produces a narrative around individual 'event structures' and allows a closing of the timeline, exploring the extent to which the earlier perspectives were recognised by the key informants. It is important to note that this 'event structure' framework sets up artificial divisions between the structures and, whilst this is useful as a heuristic device, there are clearly real world overlaps that cannot be easily accommodated within such a framework. It is for this reason that the second part of this chapter considers the way in which a more holistic approach to perceptions of legacy might be approached. It does this by discussing and critically reflecting on the way in which the perspectives that emerged from the Q study were greeted by key informants and how these perceptions were engaged with as part of a deliberative discussion about the implications of these perspectives for legacy.

Exploring Knowledge, Skills Development and Educational Legacy

The knowledge, skills and education 'event structre' as characterised by Gratton and Preuss (2008) notes the potential gains for the host population in a wide range of activities and areas such as event organisation, human resource management, security and hospitality, alongside the potential for gaining knowledge of wider cultural and historical issues related to the host city. Engagement with the key informant data saw a number of sub-themes emerge, for example discussion around the way in which the Games stimulated curriculum development within schools and colleges and how opportunities provided by the Games afforded developments within employability.

A number of key informants, for example Jon, Jess and Jane discussed the way in which the educational materials associated with the Games were used. It was clear that this uptake depended on personal agency, whether the head of the institution was "enthusing" about the possibilities or "didn't want to engage" seems to have been key. This is in accord with the assertion by Sarah (made in an interview as part of the generation of the concourse for the Q sort) that some schools in Manchester missed their opportunities because "they were waiting to be told what to do." This is also reflected in Jess's view that "everyone seems to be looking to someone else to deliver the legacy." There are complex issues underlying this 'passive' attitude, some of which were discussed in Chapter 5 (Higham and Yeomans, 2009; Ball, 2007; Thomas, 2012). These issues were also explored through a number of Q statements which were explicit in their consideration of the use of the Games on curriculum development.

Some of the factors emerging from the Q sort saw education as being a key part of the Olympiad, others as a superficial engagement. Whilst there was a desire

amongst a number to use the developments around the Games to inform lessons, for most this was seen as being a low priority. Amongst the key informants it was generally acknowledged that the Games could be used to "enrich" and "enliven" the curriculum, with a view amongst some, for example Jess and Michael, that the "resources" made available would continue to form the base for curriculum development. This is somewhat at odds with the general view derived from the Q sort that there would be limited educational legacy. Thus, whilst there was a general view that the Games themselves were a useful resource for schools, only factor 2 strongly agreed that schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons with several factors disagreeing with the assertion. This latter perspective reflects some of the difficulties that were encountered when trying to engage teacher groups with the Games time curriculum as described by, for example, Jane and is indicative of the difficulties of local curriculum development described by a number of commentators (Barber, 2001; Elliot, 1998; Thomson and Hall, 2008). In a similar vein there was limited belief that there were opportunities for cross-curricular work with only factor 2 agreeing moderately strongly with the assertion. The participants loading onto factor 2 include education officers from informal education bodies, as such they operate with different constraints to school-based colleagues. This goes some way to explaining their perspective in terms of this cross-curricular area. The feeling that only certain subjects would be able to use the Games, something acknowledged by Jon alongside his acceptance that many of the resources were Games "specific," indicates that the habitus of individual secondary teachers operates to keep them within a subject field. This is likely to inhibit future engagement with the values based cross-curricular work that was described by Michael and Jess.

For schools local to the Games and their associated developments, there were opportunities to develop an "awareness of regeneration," as Nigel terms it, which is an example of the 'archaeological model of learning' described by Jaros and Deakin-Crick (2007). However, this engagement was subject to some resistance from local authorities, experienced by both Nigel and Jane, and evident in the perspective illustrated by factor 4 which had a local authority adviser loading on to it. Whilst the level of success of any such initiative relies on happenstance and improvisation (Higham and Yeomans, 2009), it is also contingent on what Nigel felt to be the lack of understanding of the "local" amongst teachers.

Employment opportunities help to define the educational environment, potentially affecting the curriculum, as seen in Jon's college, and the aspiration of young people within schools and colleges. Whilst Preuss (2004) states that it is difficult to characterise the effect of the Games on the employment patterns in host cities, it was clear from the interviews with, for example, Jon, Jess and Gerry that securing employment opportunities was an important part of their engagement with the Games. Within the Q sort, one statement considered the way in which young people's job aspirations might be raised, a second explored the perception of the creation of sustainable jobs. In terms of the former, the general perspective was that the Games were unlikely to impact on the job aspirations of young people. However, there was a view that, in relation to East London, the Games were likely to lead to the creation of sustainable jobs. This belief might arise from the recognition that many of the jobs created by the Games would be in the service sector, and so not necessarily raise aspiration. It might also indicate, as Nigel and Jane suggested, that the local young people believed that certain jobs were "too posh" for them.

It has been noted that the ability to secure economic legacy is set by a field limited by constraints imposed by geographic location and political positioning (Monclus, 2007), with the Games having the potential to offer showcasing and rebranding opportunities to change some of these constraints (Cashman, 2008; Baim, 2009; Brunet, 2009). There is a need to recognise that this event-led regeneration might mask the systemic nature of the socio-economic problems of a given area and its associated communities. The view expressed within the Q study that the Games are unlikely to raise the job aspirations of young people seems pertinent here. Assuming that there is a desire to enable local young people to access any enhanced employment opportunities means that consideration needs to be given to how this might be done.

Volunteering is often seen as being linked to employability (Boumer and Millican, 2011; Townsend, 2009), even though the evidence for such an effect is partial (Hirst, 2001). This notwithstanding, volunteering formed a key part of the DCMS' promise that the Games would "inspire a generation of young people to take part in local volunteering, cultural and physical activity" (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2007). However, amongst the participants of the Q sort, there was no strong feeling that the London Games would affect the development of volunteering amongst young people, although there was tentative agreement expressed by the factor with seven school students loading onto it. The factor most strongly disagreeing that voluntary activity would increase as a result of the Games had a number of workers from third sector organisations loading onto it, volunteering is well understood within this field. However, this was a perspective that emerged prior to the 'Games Maker' programme and is somewhat at odds with the views expressed by the majority of key informants.

Chapter 9 – Exploring the Perceptions of Legacy

Clear links have been demonstrated between socio-demographic factors and the likelihood of taking part in volunteer activity being positively associated with income and educational levels (Anheier and Salamon, 1999; Lammers, 1991; Pearce, 1993; Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994; Gillespie and King, 1985; Wardell, Lishman and Whalley, 2000). In addition, there would appear to be effects on volunteering influenced by gender, labour market participation and age (Treuren and Monga, 2002a; DASETT, 1993; Jago and Deery, 1999). These demographic factors may indicate some of the structural factors within which individual volunteers may operate. Jane identified some of these issues as militating against proper representation in the volunteer body and talked of the way in which she sought to overcome them, but there is also a need to explore the sense of agency of those individuals who undertake volunteering activities. While there is a recognition that an individual is likely to have a mix of motivations which they are aiming to satisfy (Rosenburg-Russell, 1995; McDonnell, Allen and O'Toole, 1999; Pegg, 2002; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Henderson, 1981; Andrew, 1996), a number of commentators (Wilson and Musick, 1999; Warburton et al, 2001; Winniford, Carpenter and Grider, 1995) have attempted to isolate these motivations. Some (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Henderson, 1981; Gillespie and King, 1985) have identified an altruistic motivation, whilst other putative motivations include the potential for instrumental benefit, forming relationships and showing solidarity with a group, a wish to demonstrate achievement or a desire to stimulate achievement in others (Treuren and Monga, 2002b; Henderson, 1980).

Given the expense of recruiting and training a volunteer force (Slaughter, 2002) for a megaevent, there is a case for giving consideration as to how the length of the involvement of the volunteer can be maximised, rather than, as was the case with

Jane's volunteer project, ending with the event. In the case of events which are repeated, this can be managed through the retention of volunteers from one iteration of the event to the next (Pegg, 2002; Green and Chalip, 1998). However, this is somewhat complicated by the nature of a megaevent, which has one iteration in a particular setting before moving on to the next host city.

The complication alluded to above is exacerbated by the indication that the motivations of those volunteering for special events are specific to that event and different to those volunteering for the welfare and community sectors (Farrell, Johnston and Twynam, 1998; Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995; Treuren and Monga, 2002a). Work has demonstrated that motivations can shift over time (Cuskelly and Harrington, 1997; Winniford, Carpenter and Grider, 1995) and so there is a need to give consideration to how the motivation for volunteering for an event can be translated into voluntary activity in other fields. Ideally this would entail a detailed knowledge of the individual volunteer in order to match volunteers to volunteering opportunity (Clary, Snyder and Ridge, 1992; Pegg, 2002), but in practice this is likely to be difficult, the imperative of the event militating against this legacy planning (Nichols and Ralston, 2012). Maximising job satisfaction and ensuring a clear understanding of the organisation, ideally with a mechanism to input to decision making (Cuskelly, 1995; Pegg, 2002), something akin to the youth panels that were part of Nigel's work, are seen as ways of approaching this issue of retention.

To some extent the megaevent's contribution to the volunteering legacy should be to provide a positive experience of volunteering. There are a number of factors that will impact on this experience. The importance of job satisfaction, and appropriate match between volunteer and task are crucial (Silverberg, Marshall and Ellis, 2001;

Carpenter, Glancy and Howe, 1998), as is being realistic and open about what the role will entail alongside the same expectations that one would have of a paid employee (Hollway, 2002). Some of the problems in terms of securing this involvement with longer term volunteering might be due to the widely held perspective amongst Q participants that the Games would use volunteers as cheap labour. The only factor disagreeing with this view was factor 1, which had a number of people who work for third sector organisations loading onto it. These organisations use volunteers as part of their 'workforce', so viewing this as 'cheap labour' would not sit easily with them.

There is a need to recognise that the tendency of organisations, as Jess's description of subsequent volunteer recruitment suggests, to recruit more volunteers through their own extended social networks (Treuren and Monga, 2002b) is likely to increase bonding social capital (Woolcock, 2001), but unlikely to diversify the demographic of the volunteers. Thus, whilst the size and the visibility of a megaevent might be capable of operating as a disruptor of the 'status quo', this will only be of benefit if mechanisms are in place to move beyond existing structures.

Exploring Infrastructure Legacy

As well as the sports and general infrastructure: roads, rail, housing, and telecommunication that Gratton and Preuss (2008) use to characterise this 'event structre', a number of other subthemes emerged from the interviews with key informants and from the development of the concourse used for the Q sort. Thus, consideration is also given here to perceptions about cost, the impact on public space and issues around access.

The literature on the Barcelona Olympics (Monclus, 2007; Marshall, 1996; Ward, 2002) and interviews with those involved with the Manchester 2002

Commonwealth Games suggest that their perceived success was due to the planning for the events being embedded in wider regeneration activity. Within the Q sort there was broad agreement that the Games would help the regeneration of the area, although participants were less certain that this would amount to the transformation of the area that was promised (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2007).

The study did reveal that some factors had concerns about the effect that the construction of the Olympic Park had on public space. The majority of the factors did not believe that public space had been destroyed in the construction of the Olympic Park. In this they were in accord with the views expressed by a number of key informants, for example Peter, James and Jane. However, participants loading onto factor 6, and factor 4 to an extent, take a significantly different position to the other factors in terms of their agreement with the statement that there has been a destruction of public spaces. The participants loading onto these factors are all school students. This sensitises us to the fact that different views of what constitutes public space are possible as are issues of access and usage of the space so defined. Allied to this is the issue of the ownership of the regenerated space as previously 'publically' owned space becomes increasingly owned by investors (Minton, 2009). Thus, there is a case for seeing the "destruction of public space" as including the increase in privately owned space to which the public has access. An example of this was provided by Jane who spoke about how a group of young people with whom she was working were asked to "move on" when doing some survey work around Canary Wharf, which is similar in status to Stratford City, Westfield's retail development on the edge of the Olympic Park in East London (Minton, 2009). Within this, gentrification is happening through the occupation of the area by shops and services reflecting 'good taste' in the way described by

Atkinson (2007) and Bridge and Dowling (2001). The differences between factors signify the way in which the development of such cultural capital is, for some, a destructive force (Bridge, 2006). Nigel pointed out that the young people with whom he worked questioned why the vision of the area shown by the planners looked like "Hoxton". Whatever it was to become it wasn't something they recognised.

Issues of 'ownership' are implicit in the Q statements that are concerned with community access to the Park. There was a clear desire expressed through the Q sort for community access to the facilities of the Park, something that was explicit in statements made by Peter, Simon and Jane. This desire is to be welcomed as it is likely to help counter the potential 'white elephant' tag that has been levelled at other stadia (Mangan, 2008). There were general reservations expressed through the Q sort in 2009 that the sports facility legacy will be forthcoming. Being sensitised to these reservations is important as they indicate weak levels of trust between the community and public bodies, something which tends to be a feature of regeneration efforts based on cultural capital (Humphreys, 2007). The key informant interviews indicated that thought has been given to the legacy use of the Park, Simon being very clear about how the legacy use of the facilities would define the "identity" of the Park. It is worth noting here that both Jane and Nigel felt that the Games enabled communication between local authorities and community groups that would not normally have engaged. Nevertheless, there are concerns about the way in which this new space will be disconnected from the local community and there is a need to give thought to how the connections through the Park and between the edge constituencies can be facilitated (Herrington, 2012). The practice of individuals within the community space will be dependent on their

ability to deploy their cultural and social capital in the utilisation of the resource that occupies that space, bridging into the Park through what Stoddart (2004) terms 'thin trust'. In terms of people's ability to do this, comments made by Jane and Nigel about lack of recognition of the space, and insights shown by, amongst others, Simon and Peter would indicate that this may be problematic.

The remodelling and development of the space for London's Olympic Park is linked, as it was in Sydney (Cashman, 2009), and as acknowledged by a number of key informants, for example Peter and James, with the remediation of toxic land. This remediation has been cited as being a major environmental benefit and clearly fit with the IOC's formal environmental position (International Olympic Committee, 1999). This contrasts somewhat with the general disagreement within the Q sort that the Games would contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment. There was a similar pattern of response seen in the views expressed around the notion that the Olympic Park would give people contact with the natural world. This perception could be seen as indicative of a view that the development of the Park is set to present an essentially empty environmentally friendly image for the Games in the same way that previous Games have done (Lenskyj, 2000). Alternatively, the perception could indicate that the Park is not viewed as being akin to the natural environment, a lack of belief which could be part of a misrecognition of urban green space as being legitimately described as the 'natural world'. There is a need to revisit these perceptions as the Park develops, as some of this could be seen as being a lack of vision, in 2009, as to what the Park will have to offer. There is scope for seeing a role here for the educational mediation of this vision.

Exploring Network Legacy

The network 'event structre', as characterised by Gratton and Preuss (2008),

acknowledges the various interests within the Olympic Movement (Chappelet. and

Kubler-Mabbott, 2008) and the way in which these, along with media groups, and

politicians, need to cooperate in order to stage an event successfully. It is likely that

these networks serve to increase the level of bonding social capital (Woolcock,

2001) within these groups and therefore limit the access to these networks for those

within the local community (Field, 2003; Reuf, 2003). This is consistent with

Peter's comment about the IOC's unwillingness to engage with the local. These

constraints might be added to by the branding of the Games which were seen by a

number of key informants, for example Michael, Geoff and Jane as being somewhat

"conservative" and "inhibitory" to engagement, with people feeling that there was

"no point" because they couldn't link their work explicitly to the Games. Having

said that, the analysis of the key informant interviews led to some other subsets

within this theme as different levels of network – international, national, regional

and local – were discussed and it became clear that networks were formed that

didn't sit within the formal structures discussed in previous chapters.

Amongst the participants in the Q study there was a general view that the voices of

local communities were being ignored, with this belief being most strongly

expressed by factors 2, 4 and 6. Participants loading onto factors 4 and 6 are all

school aged students which should sensitise us to the potential marginalisation of

this group and to the subsequent missed opportunities for bridging social networks

(Beames and Atenico, 2008). This is in accord with Peter's view that "the resource

that sits within the community" was never fully understood by LOCOG. Allied to

the potential for marginalisation was the perception that there would be few

opportunities to make a direct contribution to the Games, somewhat mitigated by the fact that there was a view – seen particularly amongst participants loading onto factor 1 – that those not directly involved with the Games would not feel left out. Opportunities for involvement emerged from activities that were associated with the Games offering up points of development for social capital through the types of schemes generically discussed by a number of commentators (Humphreys, 2007; Sampson, 2008; Forrest and Kearns, 1999) and described in the context of the Games by Jane, Nigel and Peter within their interviews. However, the cultural capital that is bound up in the Olympiad is available to those whose habitus, formed over time and through interaction (Reay, 2004), allows access, remembering that practice is dependent on the product of habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1984). In other words, the scope for the event to develop this capital is limited. This explains why within the Q study there was little belief that the Games would have much of an effect on community development, indeed there was a view that resources were being diverted from community projects. This could slow some developments and be considered a negative externality (Preuss, 2007; Baade and Matheson, 2002), resonating with the finding (Carley et al 2000) that, in regeneration effort, there is a favouring of large development activities over everyday issues. A number of key informants, for example James and Peter refuted the view that this diversion had taken place, although they did show some understanding as to how the perception might have arisen. Others, for example Simon pointed out that the opportunities offered by such a diversion, focused on Games related activity, need also to be considered in community gain terms. Geoff felt that there was a need to investigate this issue further by exploring the ways in which changes in funding and realignments of activity had affected the area. In effect how the investment of material resource has been done in such a way so as to develop "[s]ocial capital of

any significance ... enabling the individual to establish relations with others."

(Portes, 2000 p2). In terms of community development the most useful social

capitals to develop are bridging and linking social capitals (Woolcock, 2001).

There was a mixed picture in terms of the views within the Q sort of the extent to

which the former will be forthcoming, with a number of factors agreeing that there

would be opportunities to work with people that they would not normally meet.

This is allied to the assertion that there would be an increase in personal

involvement in a number of activities, this being a proxy for an increase in the

opportunities to form relationships with others. This was generally only tentatively

accepted. It is clear that there was strong support for the assertion that the local

community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games.

This potentially offers sites for the formation of bridging social capital, being

tempered by the uneasiness about the level of connection that the local community

will have with the Olympic Park. This sensitises us to the need to involve local

residents in the identification of their priorities within any development effort

(Carley et al, 2000), a view clearly supported by, amongst others, Peter, Simon and

Julie and an approach which underpins the work of Nigel described above.

Exploring Cultural Legacy

Gratton and Preuss (2008) characterise the 'event structure' on culture as the

cultural ideas, cultural identity and cultural products that are produced by sport

megaevents, including the opportunities so afforded to engage the host population

and to address their history.

Within this study, there were a mixture of views concerning the long term benefits

of the Olympiad to cultural life. Two of the factors (2 and 6) showed some level of

agreement with the statement that the Cultural Olympiad would not lead to any long

term benefits to their cultural life. The other factors disagree. How this benefit might accrue was explored by a number of other statements. The pattern of responses to the assertion about the effect on the level of understanding of culture in the younger generation was telling, with those factors that have adults loading onto them being more negative about the likely effect than those where participants loading were school students. This is explored more fully below.

Past Games, Athens and Barcelona for example, have benefitted from the development of their heritage industry as a consequence of the Games (Solberg and Preuss, 2006; Gold and Gold, 2005; Scott, 2004). The problem faced by the heritage of East London is that much of it is hidden, curated in buildings and communities rather than in museums and galleries. There is a need to make the stories which reside in these communities and buildings more visible and to ensure that they are not lost in the developments that often assume a massive deficit in the area. Such removal of historical and cultural assets negatively effects the shaping of attachment to communities at the small area level (Humphreys, 2007). A stronger approach is needed to the wider heritage and cultural landscape of the area of East London within which the Olympic Park sits. It is, therefore, unfortunate that only one key informant, Jane, made even a passing reference to the heritage of the area.

Participants in the Q sort, generally felt that the Cultural Olympiad would not exclude local people, although several of the key informants, for example Peter and Jon, believed that it had somewhat passed East London by. This was reflected in the belief expressed within the Q sort that the Cultural Olympiad would have little effect on the younger generation. Therefore, within the statement arrays it would appear that, whilst not being excluded, the participants were not expecting to be

engaged. This is somewhat surprising given that a good number of participants were educationalists who operate as mediators of cultural capital who seem to have little belief that such engagement would effect the understanding of culture amongst young people. There is a need to explore how the cultural capital of the Games can be unlocked to a greater extent, possibly through a subversion of the official offer (even if that risks upsetting the gentrification aesthetic). However, given that the development of embodied cultural capital takes an investment of time from "parents, other family members or hired professionals to sensitise the child to cultural distinctions" (Reay 2004, p75) this is difficult to construct around a time constrained event. Rather the cultural quantitative easing, making the capital flow needs to be more embedded into practice, to benefit from special events, but not to be dependent on them. This is likely to require some training of the practitioners, along the lines described by Nigel who set up a programme of professional development for teachers so that they would "feel confident enough" to engage with issues of the local.

Exploring Image and Emotional Legacy

The emotion 'event structure' recognises the effect that both positive and negative emotions associated with hosting the event can have on the behaviour of individuals, organisations and markets (Gratton and Preuss 2008). The issues around the purposes of such manipulations have been explored above. Part of this manipulation concerns the development of the image 'event structure' which recognises the symbolic significance of the event and its ability to form, reposition or solidify the image of a city, region and country (Gratton and Preuss 2008).

The need to regenerate East London was a key part of the successful bid for the Games and was seen in the rhetoric of the policymakers. This rhetoric portrays a

partial picture and, as Grace (1984) points out, flows from a pathologising of the inner city based on an inadequate understanding of power and resources in the development of urban phenomena. The Q sort explored whether there was a belief that the Games would address some of these issues by highlighting the positive aspects of the area. The mixed views that emerged carry an implication that the event and the area are disconnected. A number of key informants, for example Michael, Jane , Simon and James, are clear that subsequent to the Games there are a number of positive attributes to the area, but little was made of connecting to the history and wider culture of the area that existed prior to the Olympiad. There is a case for stating that this lack of connection to the past is because this would compromise the development of the objectified cultural capital operating through the gentrification aesthetic discussed in Chapter 5.

What the local community might be subsequent to the Games was explored through the statement that local people will be priced out of their own area after 2012, a recognition in the concourse of the range of ways in which displacement of populations takes place (Smith, 1996; Wyley and Hammel, 2005; Ley, 1996; Rose, 1996; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005). Reponses tend to show a belief that the existing communities are likely to remain after the Games, but this suggests a view that sees cultural capital building up as a resource (Florida, 2004; Landry, 2003) rather than as a marker of class distinction (Bridge, 2006). People might not be priced out of the area, but they might move away because of an increasing lack of identification with the area. A number of key informants, for example Jane, expressed some concerns about housing within the Park, with James raising issues of "inclusion and exclusion." In some ways the key informants were more negative than the Q

participants in this regard, but this is at the end of this study's timeline and so this perception is probably more valid.

There is also a need to explore the issue of what the local means, and how people identify with it. Consideration needs to be given to whether people's perceptions of the local are based on a real understanding of the local community or are they configured so that the local means 'people similar to me'. Such a proposition would indicate a failure on the part of individuals to recognise the power relations in the wider, dominant discourse, leaving them unchallenged. This, according to Sharp (1980), makes the reproduction of structural inequalities rather more dependent on individual agency than some who have critiqued Bourdieu's work suggest. This gives further weight to the assertion that the experience of the community is not necessarily shared across the population (Pink, 2008; Orellana, 1999; Christiansen and O'Brien, 2003). As mentioned earlier this differential perception is important if, as a number of commentators (Habermas, 1991; Lefebvre, 1991) contend, public and community space are created through social interaction. This was implicit in the view taken by Simon that a "joined upness" was needed in the development of the Park and Peter's perspective that overregulation should be avoided to ensure people develop their own relationship with the Park.

A somewhat intangible legacy, which might lead to benefits in a number of areas, is that related to self-esteem. While a number of informants, for example Simon and Michael, stressed the increased self-esteem within the local area, it was generally felt by the Q participants that the Games would not have any effect on the self-esteem of the people of East London, nor would it encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area and to potentially change their perception

of that area. As a number of commentators have pointed out (Giddens, 1994; Selman, 2001; Hanna, Dale and Ling, 2009), perceptions of place are determinants of the social capital that can be generated within that place. With this in mind, it is important to recognise the effect of the messages conveyed through and about the area's image on the community. Being told that your area is one of the most deprived (even if that is true) is very likely to have an impact on self-esteem, especially if there is no mechanism to balance the picture, and to challenge "the right of one group to name and represent the area for all other groups" (Facer, 2009, p5). This balancing would recognise that the experiences of individuals within a community are not homogeneous (Pink, 2008; Orellena, 1999; Christiansen and O'Brien, 2003) and that this will impact on the priorities and expectations of the community (Forrest and Kearns, 1999). This non-homogeneity is something which Q methodology is designed to explore, the section below discusses the way in which the perspectives that emerged were greeted by the key informants.

Responding to the Perspectives

Although an exploration of potential legacy through a thematic approach has some merits, and indeed tends to be the dominant way of exploring legacy, it does not offer any coherent perspective across the multiple potential legacy outcomes and misses the subtle modalities (Bourdieu, 1977) in the relationships between the psychological significance (Watts and Stenner, 2012; Burt and Stephenson, 1939) of each statement concerning potential legacy. There is an acknowledgement in the literature (Preuss, 2007; Searle, 2002) that the 'event structures' under consideration can be viewed from multiple , sometimes conflicting perspectives. The use of Q methodology, which is described in Chapter 6, allows these perspectives to be exposed for examination. The variety of perspectives revealed through the factor

interpretations detailed in Chapter 7 clearly demonstrates these subtle modalities, making manifest the fine grained differences between the factors. The emergence of six such factors reflects, at an operant level, the significance that participants loading onto that factor assign to each statement about legacy. Three of these perspectives, those offering the greatest percentage of explanatory variance and the highest eigenvalue, were shared during the interviews with the key informants, with each participant being asked to respond to the penportrait of the perspective. The reactions and responses to the penportraits of the factors are discussed below. This was done in an attempt to gauge the effectiveness of such penportraits in stimulating a deliberative dialogue about the implications of the perspectives for legacy.

Responding to Factor 1

When faced with the largely positive perspective of factor 1 the key informants were happy to accept it as according with their own view, seeing it as "a perspective that I share" and being "certainly what we see". However, some of the key points within the penportrait prompted some discussion. For example, Jane felt that the prominence of sport education in this perspective was "a misconception" and then went on to describe her beliefs about the role of the Olympics in the gaining "an understanding of one's place in the world." Other informants were also equally forthcoming in engaging with the penportrait to discuss the way in which the hopes made explicit in such "reporting" has an effect on the way in which government engages with legacy. As such a perspective indicates that there is a "clear hope and expectation" that the legacy promises would be delivered upon, for example, Jon felt that the government "backtracked" on withdrawing funding from school sport, "being shamed into putting the resource back." It was interesting to note that

several of the informants, for example Peter and Michael engaged with the penportrait by drawing on specific examples or by quoting from research that their organisation had undertaken: "there are more sports clubs...we have worked hard to keep the links into the Park as active as we can"; "74% of the respondents said that they expected increased sport participation to be of benefit." There is a subtle contrast between this positive support for a positive perspective and the way in which Jane offered an example around sports facilities: "[the borough] only has one swimming pool, so promoting something like swimming is only going to frustrate people"; and used the perspective as a way to discuss her views about the importance of the Games in developing an "understanding [of] London's place in the world." In general the key informants were "heartened" by the positive regard for the Games that the perspective revealed, with the caveats that this might not be the perspective if the study was carried out in "another part of the country," or "in a few years' time." Two of the key informants, James and Jess, engaged minimally with the perspective offered. James simply stated that he "was happy with that" and Jess "couldn't agree more." It is worthy to note that Jess also wished to add to the perspective, saying that the Games had "developed initiatives" across many sectors, enabling people to work beyond their "silos." It would seem that there is a tendency to accept the positive and to extrapolate personal experience into the perspective of others, something which is raised in the previous chapter as needing to be guarded against.

Responding to Factor 2

The still largely positive, but slightly ambivalent, perspective expressed by factor 2 was met by a variety of responses. Jan said that it was "difficult to take a perspective only one year afterwards." Others were less defensive seeing this as a

"fair point" and agreeing "with the sense of there needing to be a question" asked about legacy with people having "the right to be concerned and to raise those concerns."

A number of informants responded to specific concerns implied within the perspective. For example Jon, offering up some facts about the legacy use of the stadia, stated that he thought that "people have already been proved wrong about the venues", whilst Simon used the penportrait to engage with the concern and to try to understand it:

> we've always been mindful ... that the public's engagement with these wonderful iconic venues has been through the Olympics and elite athletes. So some people don't make the connection between the Olympic Games and the athletes and day to day use by people like themselves.

The point here being that, even if the concern is known to be unfounded, with some informants seeing this perspective as "wrong", there is still a concern which needs to be addressed. This might be at a level of simple reassurance, for example Jane and Michael drew on data and anecdotes that were available to them. It might be, as in Simon's case that a level of insight into the concern needs to be forthcoming before it can be addressed. However, this is not a view that was universally shared. Jess for example, felt that asking whether these concerns were "justified" was "unfair" as she would like to be able "to sit across the table and have a discussion with whoever those observations were from to be able to understand where they got that opinion from." This indicates a lack of understanding of the nature of the Q sort, where the perspective develops from the positions taken by each of the participants, rather than that of a few individuals.

Although the perspective of the factor reflects the views expressed in 2009, it was interesting to note a level of agreement between a number of the key informants

about the Cultural Olympiad subsequent to the Games. A number of these issues were discussed in Chapter 8, for example Jon struggling "to quote any very specific outcomes" and Peter feeling that East London had been "passed by". The way in which these views were elicited by the interaction between the key informant and the perspective is indicative of the way in which this approach might be used in future developments. The concerns raised in 2009 seem to have manifested in 2012, and although it would be over-claiming to state that the perspective, if presented earlier, might have helped to overcome this, it does show the potential for the perspectives to set up dialectics. However, it should be noted that this might not have been forthcoming if there wasn't the benefit of hindsight, as even with the time lag there was some defensiveness; Jess expressed a view that research produces results that "may not be a fair reflection of the discussion." This indicates that the nature of the perspective and the research that produced it was not properly explained as a way of avoiding giving a "stage" for the expression of individual "opinion" and enabling a dialogue with a wider constituency.

Geoff did offer the insight that, whilst accepting the "fairness" of the comments within the perspective, perhaps the Games "weren't there to tackle those issues." This raises the issue of the construction of the Q-set, but the wider point is that the perspectives developed through the Q-sort show the type of expectations that need to be managed.

Responding to Factor 6

Factor 6 was the most negative perspective, where the participants loading onto the factor essentially felt marginalised by the developments around the Games, believed that spending on the Games diverted money from community projects and that public space was destroyed in the construction of the Park. The presentation of the

penportrait elicited some level of "surprise" from a number of the key informants. The reaction of the informants to this perspective varied from Simon's view that "one can't question those feelings" to Peter's statement that the "point is just wrong." Michael stated that he "never really encountered that" view, which is not too surprising given the likely self-selecting group that 'Podium' worked with.

Jon, while being somewhat taken aback by the perspective, even a little hurt because of the work that was put in to "make sure that people didn't feel marginalised," acknowledged that "if that's how people felt, that's how they felt" and thought that it might be worth having some discussion with students about "how they feel" now.

A number of informants, for example Jon, Peter, Jane and James, dismissed this factor's perspective on the destruction of public space, having little "sympathy" with this position and stating that "the Olympic Park was not public space", it was "industrial" "people went to work there". Peter is interested "in where people get these views from," something reflected in Nigel's observation that views on disruption caused by wider regeneration were often blamed on Games-related developments, However, it is worth bearing in mind that the perspective held by people will frame their engagement. It is, therefore, interesting to note the internal dialogues that certain informants engaged in as a response to the perspective. For example, James went from an initial description of the perspective as being "bollocks" to an acknowledgement that "allotments had been lost," to a realisation that the feeling might have come about as "you can create a sense of displacement by standing outside the electrified fence and think you're not being let in for six years."

There was a general acknowledgment that the developments were "a massive upheaval for East London" with a number, for example Simon, justifying this by stating that "what we've got to remind ourselves is that the period … of there being a deficit in terms of provision" will be "paid back." This is particularly relevant in terms of those loading onto this factor who are all school students for whom the length of the "inconvenience" coincided with a sizeable portion of their childhood.

Informants were keen to talk about how they were working "to draw" communities into the space and were interested "as the Park opens up" to see how this engagement would develop. The perspective presented seemed to encourage an exploration of the term public space. Jane, for example recollected taking youth groups to Canary Wharf and them being asked to move on as it is "privately owned". She was somewhat concerned that this will also happen with the Olympic Park, with "security guards that are judging them … and asking them to move on" working against the "opportunity" of using the Park. Geoff had some insight into how this would lead to a sense of marginalisation:

> that sense of public realm and the perceptions and the minds of young people about actually restricting movement or, you know, changing the look and feel of their neighbourhood for a few years. That could psychologically have been quite a restrictive experience … 'I can't go down that bit, my road suddenly stops'

even if the "truth" is that public space was not destroyed. This insight forms a point of departure for dialogue which the response of other informants did not offer. Jan, for example, had a "gut reaction" that the perspective was to be expected as "any large, major event" will have "opposition" as it "impacts upon daily lives and individuals who may not have an interest in what it can offer." There is also a slightly dismissive tone in the argument that James put forward that "there are some people who are romantically attached to the notion of decayed urban landscape."

This tone will exacerbate the already difficult task of "consulting with young people" when as Jane points out "you want to say well that's not really how it works. But you also want to listen to their views."

When confronted with this perspective a number of informants told stories about how it's all going to be alright. Michael for example countered by relating the "very successful" 'Get Set' programme and how it was "popular" with schools and colleges. James used arguments around the remediation of the land "the waterways were filthy … the velodrome is piled on top of the former West Ham Municipal Tip now it's a nice place with plants."

The fact that this perspective was met with "surprise" and elicited stories of how young people feel "the facilities are there for them" and were able to "give their feedback" on various legacy projects makes the point that certain perspectives are being missed or dismissed.

Conclusion

In drawing together the two pieces of empirical work that underpin this thesis it has been possible to develop an appreciation of the views held about the 'event structures' and how they effect the educational environment. This appreciation was framed by the understanding derived from the overarching perspectives expressed by the factors within the Q sort which is reported in Chapter 7. This frame recognises the general feeling of warmth to the Games, but also sees that there was an underlying pattern that indicated levels of marginalisation and the potential for further marginalisation. This was often located in low levels of embodied cultural capital. There were a number of perspectives that indicated that primacy was given to the institutionalised cultural capital of the formal curriculum and that this works against engagement with the event. In this is exposed the internalised arbitrary of

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), a key part of their argument about how the values of the dominant class are transmitted through the curriculum. This helps to develop an understanding of how practices are perpetuated across time through the habitus of individuals and the operation of this 'internalised arbitrary' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Marsh, 2006). In terms of this thesis this understanding is important, as is an appreciation of how these perspectives are received by, and responded to, in a dialectic development of practice and policy,

The second part of the chapter - 'Responding to the Perspectives' - used a deliberative approach (Niemeyer et al 2013), basing a dialogue around the penportratits of those Q factors that displayed the most explanatory variance. As well as revealing some interesting insights into the view of the key informants, it was also possible to note some issues that need to be addressed in the future development of such a deliberative approach. For example, there is a need to better explain the nature of the Q sort and what this means in terms of the penportrait that is presented as the stimulus to dialogue. There is also a need to build a dynamic engagement with the concourse to fine tune the perspectives of participants as the dialogue develops over time.

The next chapter, the final one of this thesis, draws some conclusions from this discussion and the preceding chapters and reflects upon the answers to the research questions. It discusses the limitations to these answers and suggests future questions for studies within this area.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis began with the assertion that the Olympic Games offer a powerful lens through which to explore the complex adaptive system of policy, practice and social context - the educational environment - within which particular institutions and organisations operate. In this light the thesis aimed to examine the way in which the educational environment interacts with the hosting of a megaevent, such as the Olympic Games and to explore the ways in which these interactions are viewed by a range of stakeholders involved in education within East London. There is a recognition that the 'event structures' that are a necessary part of megaevent related development (Gratton and Preuss, 2008) can act as a disruptive influence changing location factors within a particular area. The nature, scope and sustainability of these changes depend on a range of contingent structural and agency factors. Within this study the has focused on exploring the ways in which education has engaged with the social change that is inherent within regeneration efforts and considered ways in which a more active engagement might be promulgated. In doing so an appreciation has been offered of the difficulties that are inherent in this active engagement-building using the concepts associated with Pierre Bourdieu to begin to understand the practice of those in the field. Q methodology was used to explore the habitus of a group of educational stakeholders, drawn from East London. This part of this study's empirical work was carried out in the summer of 2009. Semi-structured interviews with key informants, carried out in the summer of 2013, complemented this investigation by acting as an update in the post-event phase of the perspectives elicited in 2009. This approach also allowed an

opportunity for the key informants to consider the implication of these perspectives for legacy in a deliberative manner.

This analysis recognises that a megaevent such as the Olympics brings together many different interests and that there is a need to be able to represent these in any exploration of legacy and to respond sensitively to them acknowledging that whilst:

> a major sporting event may serve to catalyse a form of post-industrial urban renewal, the contemporary popularity afforded sport culture is an inadequate and passive substitute for the loss of personal and human agency that underlies the often fatalistic response of local people to such patterns of social change (Poynter, 2009, pp147-148).

This final chapter begins by summarising the answers to the research questions articulated in Chapter 1. It continues with an appreciation of the contribution that this thesis has made to an empirical understanding of the educational legacy of megaevents and to the conceptual and methodological manner in which this might be engaged with. There are also some reflections on the research that has gone into this thesis, the challenges and limitations of the study, and details of further work that has been suggested by reflecting on this current piece.

Reflecting on the Responses to the Research Questions

This thesis set out to answer three research questions which were defined in chapter one and are repeated here:

1. How do megaevent structures interact with the educational environment?

2. What perceptions do stakeholders have of the interactions between megaevent structures and the educational environment?

3. What are the implications of these perceptions in terms of the legacy of the 2012 Olympic Games in London?

Chapter 10 - Conclusion

How do megaevent structures interact with the educational environment?

Chapter 1 characterised the educational environment as a complex, adaptive system formed from a dynamic interaction of aspects of culture, politics and economics. Considering education through the ecological metaphor of 'environment' allows a multi-level analysis of the 'space' within which particular educational institutions operate. This thesis has explored the way in which a megaevent, such as the Olympics, might affect this dynamic and has used this to both examine the underlying processes within the system and the way in which the megaevent 'disrupts' these processes.

A number of commentators (Giddens, 1984; Layder, 1993; Drier, 2008), discussed in Chapter 6, have recognised the importance of this multi-level, dynamic approach to examining social phenomena. Authors such as Bottery (2003), Jeffrey (2002) and Hall (2003) have explored the way in which a global 'ecosystem' of neo-liberal rhetoric impinges on the educational system at a number of levels. There is also a need to acknowledge, as Bottery (2002) does, the dialectical nature of the dynamic and ensure that individual agency is not lost within the consideration of the educational environment. The conceptual framework of Pierre Bourdieu, which is critically engaged with in Chapters 4 and 6, offers a means to examine the dynamic between the field of education and the habitus of those who operate in, and help to define, that field.

Part of the complexity of the educational environment is formed by the multiple perspectives on the purposes of education with a wide range of views which for the purposes of examination can be resolved into a broad characterisation (Sterling, 2001) which sees education as having: A socialisation function where the aim is to replicate culture and promote citizenship; a vocational function, training people for

employment; a liberal function which aims to develop the individual; and a transformative function which encourages change within society. The issue with adopting such a characterisation is that it implies that the positions are mutually exclusive, which is not the case. Rather they exist in a dynamic equilibrium with each other, albeit one that can be disturbed to privilege one perspective over the others through changes in the conditions within the environment, such as legislation, employment supply and policy direction.

The hosting of the Olympics acted as a disturbance to the dynamic equilibrium within East London. The first three chapters of this thesis detailed the nature of this intervention, with Gratton and Preuss' (2008) model of the 'event structures' necessary for the operation of such a megaevent being used in subsequent chapters as a heuristic device to engage with the changes that such a disturbance causes.

The survey of past Games and the hopes implicit in the promises for London 2012, examined in Chapter 3, supported by the key informant interviews have given an overview of the way in which the Games affects the various sectors of education. Within this professional doctorate the concern is how the Games impinge on secondary schools as this is the sphere of my professional concern.. The Q methodology study which forms one strand of the empirical work within this thesis was designed to focus on this embedded level within the overall educational environment described by other aspects of the thesis. In doing so it has exposed the extent to which the secondary school is responsive to external influence and also shown the ways the school is active in defining its field of action.

The empirical investigation and the review of past Games has demonstrated that the potential effect of an event such as the Olympic Games on the educational environment is wide ranging and certainly not limited to event related resources

(Smith, 2012). However, the scope of these effects is not well understood, and there are a number of issues that militate against engaging with the various 'opportunities' that present themselves, not least the habitus of particular actors. The whole range of potential effects was incorporated into the concourse from which the statements used in the Q sort were drawn. As argued in Chapter 6 the perspectives revealed through Q methodology allow habitus to be exposed and explored, which this thesis does in Chapters 7 and 9.

The scope of these event-related effects can be considered against the broad purposes which Sterling (2001) postulated. Previous Games, for example Barcelona (Gold and Gold, 2005; Monclus, 2007), Sydney (Garcia, 2007) and Athens (Gold, 2007) have used the opportunity to address issues of history and culture, ostensibly operating within the socialisation function. This being said there is also scope for seeing, particularly with Barcelona and Sydney, the way in which the intervention was structured as also having transformative aims. This supports the point made above that these positions are not mutually exclusive. Noteworthy in the case of London 2012 is the lack of mention of heritage in the responses from the key informants, the feeling that the Cultural Olympiad "had past East London by" and the way in which there was some degree of marginalisation felt by participants in the responses to the Q sort. There is a clear indication here that the educational environment is not being structured to engage with the local as it existed prior to the Games, rather to transform the area in the way discussed in Chapter 5 (Humphreys, 2007; Crozier and Reay, 2005; Hanna et al, 2009).

The potential transformative power of the Games within education was recognised by a number of key informants, for example Peter, Nigel and Jane. However, each one of them recognised a problem in making this power manifest: either the lack of

engagement with the local by the wider organisation – the IOC not being interested in the local; or the lack of confidence and competence in building a curriculum based on the local; or on the individual resistance of headteachers and other 'gatekeepers' to the opportunities that were presented. These difficulties were also manifest in the outcomes of the Q sort.

The difficulties in aligning curricula to the local is a concern that a number of key informants raised, particularly in relation to securing the employment opportunities that the Games were seen to provide even if, as is pointed out in Chapter 3 that this effect is a contested one. In terms of the educational environment, that the skills base which such 'new jobs' require should be part of the development of curricula within an area is implicit in the comments of a number of key informants. The view expressed within the Q study that the Games are unlikely to impact on the job aspirations of young people is pertinent here. Whilst this was the perspective elicited in 2009, the comments made by both Jane and Nigel, in 2013, that young people with whom they worked viewed some work as "too posh" for them indicates that this perspective still holds. If this is to be countered then there is a need to draw attention explicitly to the opportunities for the development of higher skilled employment in the area, something which is being done by the alignment of Jon's college with 'iCity', but needs to be more wide ranging and begin at an earlier stage of education.

The effect of the Games on the employability aspect of the educational environment through the increased opportunity described by three of the key informants and through the formation of the brokerage networks that were also discussed are somewhat constrained by the issues discussed in the previous paragraph. The alignment which is called for needs a greater level of engagement with the local

from schools than is currently the case and ongoing training as advocated by Nigel is a key issue here. This is not just in the narrow employability field, but also in the engagement with wider aspects of curriculum policy as identified by commentators such as Facer (2009) and Francis (2011) and discussed in Chapter 5. One of the London 2012 Promises (DCMS, 2007) is to encourage young people to take part in local volunteering. This seems to be something that will run into similar problems in terms of local engagement especially as the perception amongst the Q study participants was generally negative in terms of volunteering. This is, admittedly, in contrast to the way in which the key informants generally viewed volunteering, albeit that there was recognition of problematic areas in terms of recruitment and retention. The difference in the two broad views, between Q participants and key informants could be a function of both the timings of the two empirical investigations, and the personal agency of those involved. This is why it is important to be able to explore aspects of habitus and its associated agency which the next research question sought to address.

What perceptions do stakeholders have of the interactions between megaevent structures and the educational environment?

The response to this question is contained within Chapters 7, 8 and 9. In these chapters the analysis of the Q sort and the outcomes of the interviews with the key informants are presented and discussed. It is not, therefore, the intention of this section to rehearse this discussion. Instead, this section will reiterate the rationale for the approach undertaken in addressing this research question and draw out some of the key points to emerge from the rich discussion contained in the previous chapters.

Chapter 10 - Conclusion

The importance of agency in social change has been discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The arguments rehearsed in Chapter 6 clearly demonstrate that habitus, Bourdieu's conceptual manifestation of agency, can be rendered open to scrutiny through Q methodology. A Q methodological exploration of the perceptions of school stakeholders was the first of two empirical investigations that were undertaken as part of this thesis. This was undertaken in the summer of 2009 and was complemented by a series of interviews with key informants in the summer of 2013. The nature of both participant groups is detailed in Chapter 6.

Taken together the two investigations constituted a timeline with the interviews acting to update, in the 'post-event' phase, the analysis that had previously occurred through the Q study in 2009. Hence, whilst providing insights into the perceptions of those both experiencing the changes and those who were tasked to manage such change, the interventions allowed an opportunity for the key informants to engage with the perspectives uncovered through the Q methodological investigation.

As mentioned above, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 contain respectively the detailed perspectives of the six factors which emerged from the Q sort and the views elicited from the key informants. The ways in which the narratives were developed in each of these chapters is detailed in the relevant section of Chapter 6. Chapter 9 develops a discussion around the outcomes of the two empirical studies and frames this through Gratton and Preuss' (2008) 'event structures'. The juxtaposition of comments from the key informants with single, or groups of, statements taken from the statement array produced for each factor as part of the Q-sort was used to produces a narrative around individual 'event structures' and allowed a closing of the timeline, exploring the extent to which the earlier perspectives were recognised by the key informants. The complementary approach of Q method and informant

interview allowed a structural, approach to be supplemented by a more holistic one that took the descriptive interpretation of each factor and developed an understanding of what was psychologically significant for participants in the operant. Chapter 9 also discusses and critically reflects on the way in which the perspectives that emerged from the Q study were greeted by key informants. This was done as part of a deliberative discussion with the key informants in recognition that the 'event structure' framework sets up artificial divisions between the structures and, whilst this is useful as a heuristic device, there are clearly real world overlaps that cannot be easily accommodated within such a framework. Any implications of perceptions for legacy need to be thought about in this whole perspective mode, which will be further discussed below.

Although one cannot generalise from Q findings, they do sensitise us to the general feelings of the participant population. The factor which carried the greatest amount of explanatory variance when extracted from the Q sort correlation matrix was factor 1, with participants loading onto it who were generally positive about the Games ,This was in accord with the outcomes of the key informant interviews. However, once the common variance attributable to factor 1 was removed from the matrix of correlations a number of significant areas of difference were revealed. Underlying patterns of response in a number of the factors indicated levels of marginalisation and the potential for further marginalisation, often revealed through an implied low level of embodied cultural capital. While the response to these perspectives from the key informants ranged from denial to surprise, a number of the statements that they made within their interviews revealed some of the issues which might be framing the perspective revealed through the Q sort. For example, all of the following could have some explanatory power in understanding the

perspectives expressed: the way in which some headteachers had "not wished to engage"; the concerns about curriculum alignment raised by some of the key informants; the lack of "interest in the local"; and the way in which local young people "didn't recognise themselves" in the plans for the development of the area,. The fact that this understanding can reside in these key informants, whilst they still expressed surprise at the overall perspectives presented, demonstrates the need for a deliberative process in the consideration of these perspectives in the legacy momentum.

What are the implications of these perceptions in terms of the legacy of the 2012 Olympic Games in London?

Rittel and Webber (1973) coined the phrase 'wicked problems' for those areas of policy characterised by scientific uncertainties and high stakes, where there are multiple perspectives on the nature of the problem and on the nature of the solution. Legacy is such a 'wicked problem'. There were clearly concerns expressed in the Q sort that was carried out in 2009 which came as a surprise to, or promoted a denial from, the key informants in 2013. The point here being that even if the concern is known to be unfounded, with some informants seeing a particular perspective as "wrong", there is still a concern which needs to be addressed. This might be at a level of simple reassurance, through the use of data and anecdotes to gainsay the view or it might be that a level of insight into the concern needs to be forthcoming before it can be addressed. It is also worth noting that the nature of the denial of perspectives, particularly factor 6's (the participants loading onto this factor expressing levels of marginalisation), by James and Peter, was terse. If this had been done in a face-to-face situation, then dialogue would have been curtailed. The deliberative interview, engaging with the perspective through a third party, enabled some insight to be developed which might be the basis for a dialogue. This would

not have been possible if the terseness of the initial reaction had provoked a defensive reaction within the dialogue.

As described above, the general perception of the Games was one of positivity, with most factors recognising the importance of the Games, but when the Games have gone the field within which this aspect of habitus is being expressed is changed. As Simon points out "people don't make the connection between the Olympic Games ... and day to day use by people like themselves." There is also the risk that the positive emotion engendered by the presence of the Games will be overtaken by the negative emotions generated by, for example, the marginalisation of the citizens of the host city (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). There is a need to take this into account as the legacy momentum develops with thought being given to how to maintain the significance of the Park in legacy mode. Key informants expressed an understanding of this along with a desire for a real and organic growth in public engagement with the Park, using formal and informal education as tools in this development.

The range of groupings of those who load onto each factor illustrates the power of an event such as the Olympics to bring people together. There was an indication that all three types of social capital, as described by Woolcock (2001), would be supported if the perspectives were used as an organising principle in defining a community of interest. Whilst the bonding and bridging social capital has a framework for operating after the Games, whether that is place or activity based, the development of linking social capital is likely to be limited once the Games is over. Its continuation will require the image of and the emotional attachment to the Park, to be harnessed, although as Peter says "only time will tell if people will love it". Thought also needs to be given to the connections made across the Park and into the

local community (Herrington, 2012) to avoid the possibility of social capital being deployed effectively for the purposes of exclusion, a possibility which exists alongside its potential function to generate a more inclusive society (Field, 2003; Reuf, 2002). There are indications that, in the field of volunteering, the bonding social capital is being asserted through "recruit a friend". In this case a larger role for educational establishments, as described by James and Simon, in promoting volunteering would seem to be a way of at least mitigating this problem. However, if this is to be successful then the negative perspective on volunteering seen amongst the factors needs to be acknowledged and addressed.

The failure to recognise the situated nature of educational endeavour alongside wider issues of differential experiences of change within communities which could "have a significant impact on priorities and expectations" (Forrest and Kearns, 1999, p2) at the very least diminishes the dynamic or develops a dynamic which divorces education from the community. There is clear evidence from the perspectives of the factors that knowledge of the local is not seen as being particularly significant, indicating a level of separation which carries with it messages about the public space that any given community inhabits and becomes part of a hidden curriculum developing perceptions about the importance and power of particular places. Evidence from interview data would suggest that there is a need to develop training for teachers in place-based education if a community-oriented approach to education is to develop. This may be facilitated by the desire expressed by key informants to make educational links with the Park and its surrounding areas.

The work of a number of commentators (Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Cattell and Evans, 1999) has pointed to a seemingly intractable position where communities do

not want projects imposed, but are not willing to define their own. This was reflected in the inertia discussed by a number of key informants, for example Jane, Peter, Jon and Nigel. It would be wrong to pathologise this attitude, rather better to see it as a symptom of marginalisation in some cases, or, as indicated by a number of key informants, something which arises from a position of anxiety. Whatever the cause, it does frame the field for the behaviour of the individual, leading in a number of cases to not wishing to get involved. There is a need to find some way to mediate and enable engagement. The changes that are caused by the hosting of the Olympics act as a disruptor to the field and enable a reconfiguration of the frame within which individuals act. However, there is little point in assuming that participation will flow naturally as opportunities, whether from a megaevent or a smaller scale event, present themselves. Indeed the pace of change and the perceived locus of power in the change process might work against local input. Establishing mechanisms to ensure that interpretation of needs and agenda setting are controlled by the relevant stakeholder would seem to be a necessary starting point, but might be resisted if the involvement of the local would work against the aesthetic necessary for gentrification (Bridge and Dowling, 2001) of the area. The transformation of East London that took place for the Games is clear, but is the recognition of the area by local communities still intact, the perspectives of factor 4 and factor 6 suggests not. By not adequately understanding the view points of those affected by change we run the risk of imposing structures which alienate those who occupy the space that is being transformed. A lack of understanding of how place is used already, which is seen in differing perspectives on whether or not public space has been destroyed, might "keep people in separate social worlds despite sharing the same neighbourhood space" (Bridge 2006, p729). There is a need to develop a tool that allows the perceptions of stakeholders to be given due consideration, and

which does not ignore "reasoned judgment by actors and their first person accounts of their own actions" (Sayer, 1999, p61). Q methodology used in a deliberative manner is such a tool.

The key informant interviews demonstrate that much of regeneration is more about space-changing than place-making. It is certainly not clear that adequate recognition has been given to the organic development of successful places (Hanna et al, 2009). Education, with the caveats of the need for training, around the urban has a role to play in addressing this deficit. The story of the London Games and its associated developments may become a resource for educators to explore issues of planning and urban development, but in order for this to be of use from a critical point of view the story needs to include the socio-historical narrative as well as the one of regeneration. The issues around the tensions between public and private space, the engagement of communities in the planning process and the use of statute to circumvent normal regulation because of a 'need to act' will all play a part in the rich resource for such study. However, this is likely to be seriously limited by the primacy given to the accountability around institutionalised cultural capital. This is described by a number of commentators (Bottery, 2003; Ball, 2007) and is indicated in the perspectives to emerge from the Q sorts. It can also be seen in the resistance to certain initiatives described by key informants. This might be mitigated if it was not just a case of using the event to support the curriculum, but of bringing it into the curriculum and using it to disrupt the accepted internalised arbitrary (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). The Games introduces turbulence into the field, potentially changing the nature of what is valued arbitrarily within that field. The unusual nature of the event offers an opportunity to explore the "practices that are part of our everyday lives and [which have] become habitual" (Marsh, 2006, p164).

However, it appears that the participants in this study saw little significance in the effect of the Games on schools and on their practice.

Challenges and Limitations of this Study

The rationale for the approaches used in this study has been rehearsed in Chapter 6. However, it would be naïve to present these benefits without also balancing this with a consideration of some of the challenges that have been encountered. It is also important at this stage to give consideration to other factors and operational issues that limited the study.

The initial difficulty in using Q methodology was in accessing knowledge about the methodology. Some of the key texts, for example Brown (1980) and Stainton-Rogers (1995) are dense and challenging. The recent publication of Watts and Stenner's (2012) book 'Doing Q Methodological Research' was too late to inform the structuring of the research, but has been a useful resource in validating the approach that developed during the study and in helping to explain it within this thesis. There were limitations in carrying out the Q sort, for example few teachers expressed an interest in taking part, and the students who were put forward by their Headteacher were not necessarily representative of the whole student body of their school. However, by using Q methodology I am not trying obtain a position from which to generalise, rather to gain a sensitisation to issues which can be used in further deliberative action.

The major limitation of the study was the lack of follow-up with participants that was possible subsequent to the analysis of the Q sorts. A combination of the timing of when the sorts were carried out (of necessity during the Summer term), the age of the school students (Year 11s being at the end of their compulsory schooling) put forward and a change in staff at a number of organisations meant that only a

handful of participants loading onto factors were available for follow up discussions. Although the key informant interviews did allow follow-up in the post-Games phase with hindsight other interventions would have been carried out. For example, it would have been useful to have introduced a 'time series' into the Q sorts to investigate how perspectives change over time; secondly, the study would have benefitted from ensuring that follow-up interviews were possible with participants loading onto particular factors. Whilst this is not vital to the success of a Q methodological investigation it would have added another layer of texture to the analysis of the Q sorts; thirdly, focus groups would have been arranged with a range of stakeholders to explore the interpretative penportraits that were presented in Chapter 7 to further develop the narratives that are contained therein. In the absence of these time-series and focus groups the key informant interviews acted as a way to close the time-line and allowed the consideration of the perspectives beyond the participants who completed the activity.

What also became clear during the interpretation is that it would have been useful to have known where school based staff lived. This was not asked of any participants, as the distance from the school of the Olympic Park was taken as being the determinant rather than their residence. For students this might be a close proxy, for school staff and for workers in other educational organisations this is not as likely. It would have been useful to know if where someone lived was important in the significance that they ascribed to certain statements.

Whilst, as described above, the study expanded its vision from the consideration of school-based interventions to one with a broader view of the effect of the Olympics on the educational environment, reflection suggests that the former focus on the Games-themed engagement probably gained greater prominence in the Q set than was warranted. The pilot did not pick this up, but this might have been because

the pilot was done within a school setting and so no informal educators, consultants, nor advisors were involved. The school-specific statements that were used in this study are concerned, for most participants, bar the teachers, with actions which are beyond their agency. Having said this no participant commented on this 'prominence', but in future iterations the school action statements will be reduced.

There were challenges encountered in the construction of the literature review chapters due to the fact that I was dealing with a wide range of disciplines, this was exacerbated by the fact that the Olympics, and similar events, might be a good thing to think with, but there is also a lot of material to think about! This study developed a particular focus, but I am aware that this could have taken in work around other Summer Games, the Winter Olympics, the Paralympics and the developments around the Youth Olympics. Poynter's (2009c) typology was useful here in maintaining a focus, the important point being to be able to gain a concourse from which the Q statements would be generated.

The Contribution of this Research to the Field: empirical, methodological and conceptual

The contribution that this thesis has made to our empirical knowledge of megaevents is contained in the above section where the research questions are addressed. In summary, the thesis has shown that there are numerous ways in which the changes associated with Olympics offer opportunities to those acting within the educational environment. However, the ability, and willingness, to act on these opportunities depends on a range factors which include ones of structure and of individual agency. For this reason a number of key informants were able to relate ways in which the Games had led to enhanced and on-going engagement for some groups whilst other informants talked of the ways in which initiatives were resisted prior to the Games or where not sustained after the Games were over. It

was clear, however, that the sustainability of initiatives was more likely if they had emerged from the local community, rather than been imposed from above. This indicates the need to engage with the local in a meaningful way when constructing such interventions. This thesis has utilised a methodology that allows this to happen.

In order to engage with a 'wicked problem', (Rittel and Webber, 1973) such as securing legacy there is a need to examine how individuals and organisations "arrive at judgments, make choices, deal with information and solve problems" (Bobrow and Dryzek, 1987, p83). There are an increasing number of commentators, for example Cuppen (2013), Niemeyer et al (2013) and Gaynor (2013) who have used Q methodology in their policy studies to examine these issues. In this Niemeyer et al (2013) are particularly interesting in the way in which they advocate combining Q methodology with a deliberative process where there is the opportunity to engage with the issue and consider the implications of the perspectives that emerge. This is the approach that was used in this thesis, presenting those perspectives with the most explanatory variance to the key informants and discussing with them the implications of these perspectives for the management of the legacy momentum.

The fact that this thesis is coming to an end means that there has to be closure on this deliberative process, but it is the intention to continue with this approach, continuing the use of Q methodology as an intervention method, which is described in the section below. Within the follow up study, the next iteration of the Q sort will build in the dimensions that emerged from the interviews, the key informant responses to the perspectives and suggestions for further statements that were made by the original Q study participants. A number of key informants expressed an

interest in the perspectives revealed through further Q studies as a way of

continuing the engagement with stakeholders around their developing views on

likely legacy. Such an approach could be used as a counter to, what Gaynor (2013)

sees as, alack of adequate participation which serves to remove residents from

playing an active role in designing the physical and political landscape of their

community; something that is seen in the perception of marginalisation within the Q

sort This is a perspective that came as a surprise to some of the key informants

which serves to stress the importance of Van Eeten's (2001) demonstration that Q

can bring new points of view to the table and thereby open up a deadlocked

situation with Q serving to uncover more marginal perspectives in addition to the

dominant ones.

Q offers an opportunity to systematise interpretative enquiry and analysis without

the need for resource intensive qualitative interviewing (Baker and Jeffares, 2013),

with the quantification and factor analysis offering an, admittedly not universally

accepted (Yannow, 2007), enhanced sense of legitimacy. Q doesn't set out to

identify the proportion of a particular population who hold the shared perspective

within that population that Q has revealed. It therefore sensitises subsequent

engagement, and facilitates dialogue.

As mentioned below, in the section where the research process is reflected upon, the

operationalisation of Bourdieu's concept of habitus was initially problematic.

Whilst Bourdieu's work was useful in exploring practice to a certain extent, for

example in revealing the instrumentality of education in a given set of power

relations, his view that actions are in line with our habitus which is shaped by our

socialisation and our trajectories through a social field (Bourdieu, 1984) necessarily

leads to a strong constraint on what ostensibly could be viewed as a disinterested

judgement (Sayer, 1999). For Sayer (1999), and for the author, Bourdieu's implicit rejection of any action ascribed to anything other than that which is "merely conventional for, and consistent with, their position within the social field" (Sayer, 1999) is problematic, precluding social action that is based on the moral worth of that action and making it difficult to explain social change (Jenkins, 2002). This difficulty is exacerbated by the lack of a clear picture of what habitus is (Sayer, 1999; Jenkins, 2002).

A critical engagement with Bourdieu's concepts in Chapter 4 and in Chapter 6 leads to the argument that Bourdieu's approach tends toward structure dominating existing social relations at the expense of a consideration of habitus. It is the contention of this thesis that this structural domination does not allow full engagement with the nexus that this implied by the conceptualisation of habitus, field and capital. There is a need to provide a fuller conceptualisation of habitus, to enable it to be held up to scrutiny. This is made possible through Q methodology where the prominence of the operant is ontologically congruent with the habitus and allows a deep engagement providing insights to the issues that must be addressed to overcome the passive acceptance of the objective world.

Outcomes from the Study

The work of, for example, Steelman and Maguire (1999) and Niemeyer et al (2013) emphasises that Q methodology is not only a method for analysis and evaluation, but also an intervention method. During the timeframe of this doctoral study the data gathered, both in the preparation of the concourse for the Q study, and the data emerging from the Q sort itself was used to construct such interventions. One such intervention was the development of a programme of work with teacher educators around using engagement with the Games to develop knowledge and understanding

of community-orientated approaches to education. Whilst the funding for this was cancelled due to a change of government and financial constraints a number of workshops were held considering this issue at national conferences including the University Council for the Education of Teachers National Conference 2008 and the Higher Education Academy's Initial Teacher Education Conference in 2009. The need for teacher education to engage with place-based education and community-orientated approaches to curriculum development were borne out by the key informant interviews, especially the reflections of Nigel on this work.

The focus on the wider educational environment and the novel use of Q methodology in the exploration of legacy ensured a wide audience for this work and led to two chapters being published; one in Savery and Gilbert (2011) 'Sustainability and Sport' and the other in the United Nations University book 'Innovation in Local and Global Learning Systems for Sustainability' which was published in 2012. Papers were also accepted for, and presented at, a range of international conferences. These included: the 'Fifth International Sport Business Symposium' and the International Conference of the Society for the Scientific Study of Subjectivity (ICSSS) – a conference of Q theorists and practitioners.

Directions for Further Research

The ICSSS conference had a focus on the use of Q methodology in the development of public policy, to which the paper presented spoke. The potential of the approach used within this thesis to benefit the planning and delivery of future Games and similar events is clear. Such an approach offers a framework within which to listen to those with the least power (Apple, 2006; Ogbu and Simons, 1998; Gordon, 2008), involving a wider community and sensitising all stakeholders to hopes and concerns around such activity. It is an intention to utilise the existing Q set with

similar participants to the study presented here to gain a picture of the perception of legacy now that we are within the legacy mode. I will use follow up interviews and focus group events around the penportraits that are generated to engage with the data in a deliberative manner akin to the work undertaken as part of the key informant interviews.

There were a number of areas for further work suggested by this study. One such area was the seeming differences between age groups of what constitutes public space and to the differential issues of access and usage of the space so defined. There is a need to further explore the link between age and the perception of public space and to examine the "capacity for children and youth to be authentic participants in planning, development and implementation processes" (Malone, 2001, p8).

There was a general perception that the legacy effect on schools would be limited. It is difficult to gainsay this given that there has been limited evaluation of the longer term effects on school outputs, although studies associated with the Manchester Commonwealth Games do suggest that there were improvements in the attendance and progression rates as well as in the reputation of schools around the Commonwealth Stadium (Newby, 2003; Ecotec, 2004). It would be worth exploring the way in which these have been sustained more than ten years on, and the baseline work that was done in preparation for the Manchester case study, initially envisaged as part of this study, will be a useful starting point.

Reflections on the Research Process

The decision to study the area of the effect of megaevents on the educational environment was made in response to the recognition of the opportunity that London 2012 presented. The realisation that megaevents were a legitimate area of

study with a well developed literature was a revelation. Initial thoughts were to explore, in quite an instrumental way, the efficacy of educational interventions and learning resources that were associated with the Games and with previous megaevents. This now seems to be a naïve and simplistic approach, but this was the starting point that led to some broad, initial research questions. These were engaged with in a grounded way as the work developed.

My initial thoughts on methodology were similarly naïve, reflecting the initial focus of the study. In the first instance a case study was envisaged, but as the focus shifted, and for certain pragmatic reasons, this was abandoned. However, the work towards the case study on the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games did add to the concourse from which the Q set was drawn and the base line data that was gathered as part of the case study will form the basis of future work. The literature review and the initial scoping carried out towards the Manchester case study led me to a realisation that there was a need to explore the way in which individual action or perspective influenced the overall practice within a field of activity, whether that is community engagement, urban development or getting involved with a megaevent such as the Olympics. Whilst the conceptual framework of Bourdieu carried the promise of enabling this exploration, the initial operationalisation of this proved problematic. The question remained as to how this exploration could be achieved?

A review of available methodologies, using standard texts such as Bryman (2004), Cohen et al (2007) and Opie (2004) offered one or two leads and certainly sharpened my knowledge and understanding of a number of different methodologies. However, it was a serendipitous meeting at a researcher development event with a colleague who was just finishing a doctorate that used Q

that moved this study forward in the ways rehearsed in Chapter 6 and in the 'contribution' section above. I rank my discovery and growing understanding of this 'qualiquantological' (Stenner and Stainton-Rogers, 2004) methodology as being among the key outcomes of my doctoral study.

The scope of the study has enabled me to engage with a wide range of literatures and, whilst this has been challenging, this has allowed me to think about the field of education in a wider context. This has forced me to think about my own practice as a teacher-educator, and has made me more aware of the subtle compliances which mark out this role and the role of many educators. I think Kemmis (1987) is right to suggest that "education is made vulnerable by its institutionalisation in schooling" (p. 79), and would contend that communities are similarly put at risk if this institutionalisation continues. The engagement with the key informants has been useful in securing links which will be useful in forging links which will be used to make community-orientated links through my professional activities.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has drawn together the strands of the thesis and provided a summary response to the research questions which were raised in Chapter 1. Alongside this, consideration has been given to both the limitations of the study in forming answers to those questions and to other questions that have suggested themselves during the course of the study.

Using the developments associated with the Games as a lens has enabled an exploration of the way in which educational stakeholders perceive their place within the wider educational environment; their interaction with urban development; their role in community development; and the way in which they perceive how a megaevent like the Olympics could change the 'location factors' for education

(Preuss, 2006). Whilst there was a generally warm regard for the Games, there were underlying feelings of marginalisation expressed by the factors, and indications of a lack of engagement with the opportunities that the Games might provide. To some extent this might be a function of the transient nature of the Games, but seeing this as an event rather than as part of a process will limit the way in which legacy is accessed. There is a need to be able to localise this global event. In order to do this, there needs to be a mechanism which enables the multiple experiences and backgrounds of stakeholders to be taken into account; allowing a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between programmes, participants and local communities.

This thesis has made a case for utilising a different approach, that of Q methodology, for the exploration of such perspectives, and it is this thesis' contention that this approach would act as a useful adjunct to existing planning and evaluation tools if used in a deliberative manner. This approach means that evaluation becomes an important tool in informing the planning, preparation and delivery of the event and its legacies and not merely something that captures effects and impacts. This ongoing evaluation is certainly an approach which is built into the Olympic Games Impact study that was discussed in Chapter 2, and this ongoing scrutiny is seen as being useful with the potential of raising constructive concerns (Mangan, 2008; Toohey, 2009) which is seen by Preuss (2007) as being a positive legacy, although how these concerns are received might be called into question by some of the responses seen by key informants. By introducing a wider perspective through Q methodology the potential to be aware of grievances and viewpoints is increased. It also has the potential to move the OGI away from the highly instrumental format that exists at the moment. Such an approach has the advantage

of locating the event more authentically with the possibility existing of carrying out

Q sorts at different levels within the educational environment, analysing at each

level and then integrating each analysis for the environment as a whole. Beames

and Atencio (2008) have pointed out that the effectiveness of intervention depends

on the way in which they are situated within the local. Whilst the exoticism of the

Games is important in generating excitement; the local contextualisation is what

will lead to the sustained legacy. It might be that the metaphor of catalyst that has

been applied to the Games as a tool of regeneration is problematic in this respect. A

catalyst is something that changes the rate of a reaction (not necessarily speeding it

up) and remains unchanged by that reaction. There is a need to more fully define

the products of the regeneration reaction and to ensure that the reaction is

proceeding in the right direction - to see the Olympic Movement and its

development as part of the reaction rather than merely a catalyst of it. It needs to be

changed by its involvement with each host, our gift to them.

As the 'closing ceremony' of this thesis is reached a reflection on the Games is

offered which makes the link between the London Games and its legacy:

> We proved we are world class during the Olympics and Paralympics. We need
> to apply all that skill, energy, talent to our societal problems and do it with a
> sense of fun and challenge; activity and purpose are our redemption (Twivy,
> 2012).

I was fortunate enough to attend several events, including the closing ceremony for

the Paralympic Games. As someone who heard the announcement of London's

successful bid whilst standing in the crowd in front of Stratford Station, I was

determined to wave them goodbye when the flag was handed over to 'Rio 2016'.

My decision to write in this area came about after reading Richard Cashman's

(2006) 'Bitter Sweet Awakening' where he talks of the feeling of deflation after the

Chapter 10 - Conclusion

Games. This thesis is offered in an effort to avoid the legacy promises leaving a

sour taste.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical Approval

<u>**UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON**</u>

Application for the Approval of an Empirical Programme Involving Human Participants

<u>**Please read the Notes for Guidance before completing this form.**</u>   **If necessary, please continue your answers on a separate sheet of paper: indicate clearly which question the continuation sheet relates to and ensure that it is securely fastened to the report form.**

1. **Title of the programme:**	
The Impact of Mega-Events on Regeneration: the educational legacy	
Title of research project (if different from above):	
Using Q-Methodology to Explore the perceptions of stakeholders about the legacy benefits of London 2012	
2. **Name of person responsible for the programme (Principal Investigator):**	
Peter Martin **Status:** Professor of Education	
Name of supervisor (if different from above)	
Professor Gavin Poynter **Status: Professor School of Social Sciences, Media and Cultural Studies**	
3. **School:**	
School of Education	
4. **Level of the programme (delete as Appropriate):**	
Postgraduate (research)	

5.   **Number of:**
        (a) experimenters (approximately): 1
 	
        (b) participants (approximately): It is intended that there will be up to 5 participants involved in phase 1 of the project which will consist of interviews leading to the generation of items for the Q set (description of methodology in section 10 below). In phase 2, the implementation of the Q sort, up to 40 participants will be involved in the procedure itself.	

6. **Name of researcher (s) (including title): Mr Neil Herrington** **Nature of researcher (delete as appropriate): Staff/Student**	

Principal Lecturer within the School of Education undertaking research as part of an EdD programme

> 7.   **Nature of participants (general characteristics, e.g University students, primary school children, etc):**

Participants in the first phase of the project, interviews leading to the generation of the Q set will have been involved with the Manchester Commonwealth Games. It is intended to approach appropriate individuals from the following categories:

- Those who had input to the educational resources produced for the Manchester Games

- Those who developed regeneration policy allied to the Manchester Games

- Those who were users of the educational materials (in this case this will be limited to school teachers and youth leaders, no school age students will be included at this stage)

The mechanism for the identification of these individuals is outlined in section 10.

The second phase of the project, utilising the Q set generated from the interviews above, will include participants from the following groups:

- Policy workers involved in the 2012 Games
- Teachers within the East London Boroughs
- Youth Ambassadors – these are young people who, each year, are selected from schools and colleges to spend a year promoting the Games to others in their area
- Secondary age pupils from within the East London Boroughs

Up to ten participants will be sought from each of the above groups

---

> 8.   **Probable duration of the programme:**
>
>   **from: February 2008 to: July 2008 (subject to ethical approval)**

> 9.   **Aims of the programme including any hypothesis to be tested:**

This study aims to consider the impact of educational initiatives that are associated with the Olympics and other mega-events, such as the Commonwealth Games and to draw out the factors that maximise such impact.

In order to do this the answers to the following questions will be sought:

- To what extent are educational outcomes defined in legacy?
    - a.   What are the educational initiatives that have been associated with mega-events?
    - b.   What impact have educational initiatives associated with mega-events had?
- What role do educational initiatives play in regeneration?
- What are the perceptions of stakeholders about the benefits of the Games
- What facilitators/inhibitors operate in terms of legacy?
    - a.   To what extent is the impact of the educational initiatives associated with mega-events sustainable beyond the life of the mega-event?

The particular project for which permission is being sought is the part of the overall

programme that involves engagement with participants, this addressing specifically the research question *What are the perceptions of stakeholders about the benefits of the Games*. This will be addressed using Q methodology which is described below in section 10.

10. Description of the procedures to be used (give sufficient detail for the Committee to be clear about what is involved in the programme). Please append to the application form copies of any instructional leaflets, letters, questionnaires, forms or other documents which will be issued to the participants:

Q sorting calls for a person to rank order a set of stimuli according to an explicit rule (condition of instruction) usually from agree (+5) to disagree (-5) with scale scores provided to assist the participant in thinking about the task, example below:

STRONGEST ⬇— ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⬇ STRONGEST
DISAGREEMENT   AGREEMENT

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

(3)   (3)
  (4)   (4)
    (5)(5)   (5)(5)
        (6)   (6)
            (8)
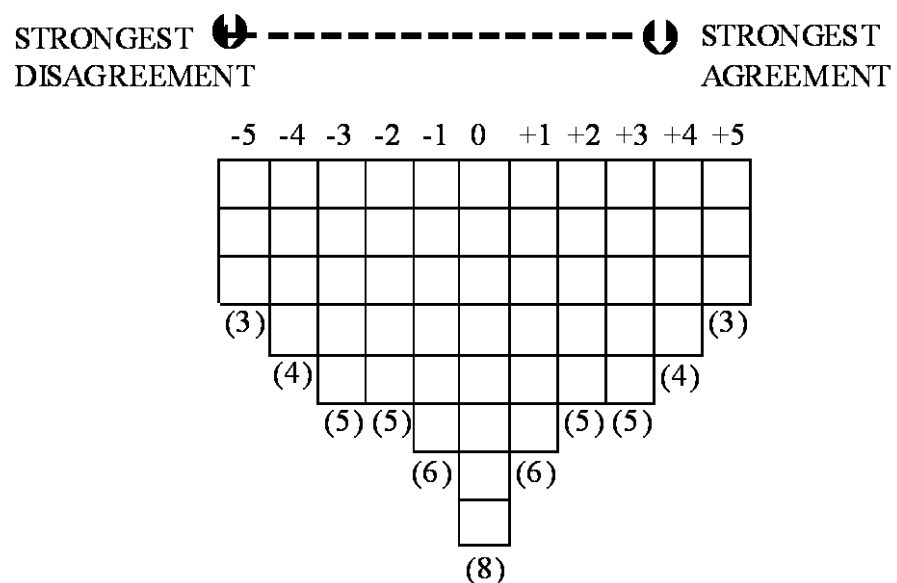
Initially called 'inverted factor technique', Q studies explore correlations between persons or whole aspects of persons. In doing this the methodology neither tests its participants nor imposes *a priori* meanings. Participants are asked to decide what is meaningful and significant from their perspective.

From the process an essentially relative set of evaluations is produced. The data from several people is then factorially analysed which reveals groups of individuals who have ranked characteristics in the same order. Q-sorts can be performed by groups of individuals and by single participants. Whilst large numbers of participants are not required, thought needs to be given to participant group constitution. It is also possible for the same participant to perform the same Q-sort but with several different conditions of instruction. But whatever way the Q-sort is performed, the Q-sort is then subjected to intercorrelation and then factor analysis, "to determine the implicit structure of the individual's or group's subjectivity" (McKeown, 1980, p422).

What are Q-sampling, Q-sorting and conditions of instruction?

A Q-sample is an assortment of stimulus items or statements presented to participants who then rank or order them in a Q-sort. Each of the Q set should make a different but nonetheless recognisable assertion about the appropriate subject matter, which flows from the research question. The research question also acts as a condition of instruction

The Q set can be elicited from:

- Literature
- Popular texts
- Formal interviews
- Informal discussions
- Pilot studies

According to McKeown & Thomas (1988) there are two main types of Q-samples, 'naturalistic' and 'ready made' and two contrasting designs namely, 'structured' and 'unstructured'. Participant derived statements are naturalistic and any other method of generation is ready made. McKeown & Thomas (1988) point out that neither method is superior to the other and the researcher should choose which ever method is the most appropriate for their research.

In this phase of the research participants will be involved in semi-structured interviews which will involve specialised interviewing of informants. As Hakim (1987) points out these are quite different in nature from standard research interviewing. For example, such interviews often require the interviewer to 'demonstrate a good deal of prior knowledge of the subject, to treat the interviewee as an informant as well as a respondent, to display sensitivity to the fact that views offered by organisational and other role holders may not be co-terminus with their private opinions.' (p73) This last point may be less problematic as the case under consideration is a 'completed' pieces of work..

As mentioned in section 7 above, participants in the first phase of the project will have been involved with the Manchester Commonwealth Games. It is intended to approach appropriate individuals from the following categories:

- Those who had input to the educational resources produced for the Manchester Games

- Those who developed regeneration policy allied to the Manchester Games

- Those who were users of the educational materials (in this case this will be limited to school teachers and youth leaders, no school age students will be included at this stage)

The individuals in the first two categories will be identified through publicly available documents. The educational resources have identified authors. All of these potential participants will be approached through letter (a copy is attached appendix 1) in the first instance. Regeneration policy is detailed in a number of documents, for example the East Manchester Regeneration Strategy, the Unitary Development Plan, the Manchester Commonwealth Games Bid Document and the impact study of the same. Participants in the third category will be identified through discussion with participants in the first two categories. Those individuals so identified will be contacted by letter (a copy is attached appendix 2) to invite them to participate in the project. I am aware that this method of identification may introduce bias into the sample and that there may be a perceived pressure to take part as they have been put forward by people they might see as being in positions of power. Methodologically, this is not problematic as this stage is about generating items for the Q sort. The potential for undue pressure will be mitigated through informed consent and by making it clear at every stage that withdrawal from the process at any time is possible.

The interview, which will be of 1 hour duration, will be split into three stages with an introductory and a concluding statement that will be the same for all participants (interview script attached appendix 3). As can be seen, the first section collects some background information, the second is the substantive part of the interview and the third offers the participant the opportunity to raise any issues that have not been dealt with elsewhere. At each transition point within the interview there is member checking in operation and therefore the opportunity to withdraw from further engagement. The introductory statement reiterates the purposes of the research and the treatment of the data

that is generated in the research, with the undertaking to keep the information anonymous, the steps that will be taken to do this and a check that it is alright to proceed. The concluding section will restate the measures that will be taken to safeguard the data and the undertaking to provide a transcript for checking within 28 days. The participant will also be informed that, should they so wish, they can choose not to allow the interview to proceed to the analysis stage of the project.

Q-sorting and conditions of instruction

The second phase of the project, utilising the Q Sample generated from the interviews above allied with documentary evidence, will include participants from the following groups:

- Policy workers involved in the 2012 Games

- Teachers within the East London Boroughs

- Youth Ambassadors – these are young people who, each year, are selected from schools and colleges to spend a year promoting the Games to others in their area

- Secondary age pupils from within the East London Boroughs

Within this phase the participants will be identified in the following ways:

Policy workers associated with the 2012 Games will be identified through publicly available documentation and personal contacts. A letter (a copy is attached appendix 4) inviting participation will be sent.

Teachers will be informed of the research project through a newsletter article to staff in local schools. This is normal practice within UEL's Initial Teacher Training Partnership. Responses will be followed up with letters inviting formal participation (a copy is attached appendix 5).

Headteachers of schools in the East London Boroughs will be identified through their entry in the Education Authorities Directory. They will then be contacted through a letter (a copy is attached appendix 6) which details the project and invites them to express an interest in the project. Those who respond will be invited to nominate up to 5 pupils. Each of the potential participants will be sent a letter to invite them to take part. The letter will contain a two part form to obtain consent one for the parent/carer, one for the student themselves to sign. (a copy is attached appendix 7), This distribution will be managed by the school so that contact details for the families do not need to be shared with the researcher.

Participants assign each item to a ranking position within a quasi-normal distribution along a simple face valid dimension, defined by a condition of instruction. This is a guide for sorting the Q-sample, such as a request to sort the items or statements along a ruler of 'most like me'(+5) to 'not at all like me' (-5).

This is usually done on an 11-13 point scale. This distribution also indicates the numbers of items that can be assigned to each position. For this reason it is often referred to as a forced distribution.

At this stage it is not possible to define the statements within the Q set, as these will be generated through phase 1 of the project. However, the schedule used will contain an introductory statement which will reiterate the purposes of the research and the treatment of the data that is generated in the research, with the undertaking to keep the information anonymous, the steps that will be taken to do this and a check that it is alright to proceed. It will be made clear that they can withdraw from the procedure at any time. Participants will be then introduced to the grid and the cards that contain the statements of the Q set. An example set will be provided so that the procedure can be modelled; the participant will be asked if they are ready to proceed. If they answer in the affirmative then the Q set will be given to them, the condition of instruction revealed and once again a check made that they are happy to proceed, they will be informed that they have as long as they need to

complete the sort, that the researcher will make no intervention but is available for help should it be required. When the participant declares that they have finished, the researcher will offer up the opportunity of a post sorting interview. Such *post hoc* analysis investigates:

- How the participant has interpreted the items given especially high or low rankings in their Q sort and what implications those items have in the context of their overall viewpoint

- Are there any additional items that they would have added

The concluding section of this phase will thank the participant, will restate the measures that will be taken to safeguard the data, and detail what the data will be used for including the undertaking to share the key messages of the findings.

By building in member checking at each stage of each phase of this research the ethical framework will drive up the quality of the researched outcome.

References

Brown S.R (2004) The History and Principles of Q Methodology in Psychology and the Social Sciences. http://facstaff.uww.edu/cottlec/qarchive/bps.htm 24/09/2004

Hakim, C. (1987). Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research. London, Routledge.

Stenner and Stainton Rogers (2004) (in mixing methods in Psychology Todz et al eds London Routledge)

Watts S and Stenner P (2005) Doing Q Methodology Qual. Res in Psych 2 p67-91

Are there potential hazards to the participant(s) in these procedures?
        Yes

        If yes: (a) what is the nature of the hazard(s)?

Potential divulgence of identity, distress caused by questioning

                (b) what precautions will be taken?

All data will be coded so that no identification of individuals is possible. Transcripts of interviews will be kept electronically as a password protected file on the secure UEL server. Paper notes will be kept in a locked file in secure accommodation on UEL premises. These notes will be shredded and disposed of as confidential waste once the transcript has been checked by the participant

   10. It will be made clear to all participants that they have the right to withdraw from the process at any time. Questions will be selected to minimise the risk of distress.

---

12.   **Is medical care or after care necessary?**
        No

    If yes, what provision has been made for this?

---

13.   **May these procedures cause discomfort or distress?**
        Yes

    If yes, give details including likely duration: see section 11

---

14.   **(a)   Will there be administration of drugs (including alcohol)?**
        No
        If yes, give details:

    (b)   Where the procedures involve potential hazards and/or discomfort or distress, please state what previous experience you have had in conducting this type of research:

15. **(a)** **How will the participants' consent be obtained?**

In drawing up this proposal I have given due regard the British Educational Research Association Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2004). BERA is the key reference organisation for those involved in educational research and produced these guidelines to ensure that research is 'conducted with an ethic of respect for:

- The person
- Knowledge
- Democratic values
- The quality of Educational Research
- Academic freedom (p5)'

The Association takes voluntary informed consent to be the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation without any duress, prior to the research getting underway (BERA (2004) Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research p6). This will be sought through a letter which will also detail the nature of research (see section below). Within this communication there will be a statement that recognises the right of any participant to withdraw from the research for any or no reason and at any time. (BERA (2004) Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research p6).

As alluded to above, some of the participants in the second phase of the project will be of school age. BERA requires researchers to comply with Articles 3 & 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Article 3 requires that in all actions concerning children the best interests of the child must be the primary consideration. Article 12 requires that all children who are capable of forming their own views should be granted the right to express their views freely in all matters affecting them, commensurate with their age and maturity. Children should, therefore, be facilitated to give fully informed consent (BERA (2004) Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research p7). In this case consent will also be sought from the carers and headteachers of the children involved to approach the children before the consent of the child is looked for. All three consents will be a prerequisite for progression with that particular participant. In all cases, appropriate register will be used to explain the nature of the research, the extent of participant involvement and the output of the research.

Ongoing consent will be sought at all stages of the research as is detailed in section 10 above, this being built into the interaction around the interviews and the Q sort.

(b) **What will the participants be told as to the nature of the research?**

The BERA Guidelines state that [r]esearchers must take the steps necessary to ensure that all participants in the research understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported. To this end the communications and interaction with participants make clear the nature and purpose of the research, the use that will be made of the data generated by the project and where this research is likely to be reported. All participants will receive a summary of the research when it is completed in line with BERA's statement that 'the Association considers it good practice for researchers to debrief participants at the conclusion of the research and to provide them with copies of any reports or other publications arising from their participation (p10).' The summary will be written in a register that is appropriate for the various audiences of participants that have taken part in the research

16. **(a)** **Will the participants be paid?**
      No

    (b) **If yes, please give the amount:**

    (c) **If yes, please give full details of the reason for the payment and how the amount given in 16 (a) above has been calculated (i.e. what**

expenses and time lost is it intended to cover):

---

17. **Are the services of UEL Health Service likely to be required during or** **No**

    after the programme? If yes, give details:

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18. (a) **Where will the research take place?**

The interviews in phase 1 will take place in the participant's place of work. In most cases this will be an office or a classroom.

The Q sort procedure will take place at UEL. This will be part of a day with partner schools focusing on Olympic Education. Individuals will complete the Q sort and then be invited to take part in the rest of the day. In this way the involvement in the research will be subsumed into other aspects of the participant's work and therefore not impose any other time constraints.

    (b) **What equipment (if any) will be used?**

For the interviews consent will be sought to use a digital recorder will be explored with the participant. No other equipment will be used with participants.

    (c) **If equipment is being used is there any risk of accident or injury? If so, what precautions are being taken to ensure that should any untoward event happen adequate aid can be given:**

There is no risk posed by the equipment.

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19. **Are personal data to be obtained from any of the participants?**
            Yes

If yes, (a) give details:

As mentioned in section 7 above this project will have a range of different participants. In the section below I have indicated the personal details that will be sought for each of the participant groups:

For the adults involved in the research, that is:

- Those who had input to the educational resources produced for the Manchester Games

- Those who developed regeneration policy allied to the Manchester Games

- Those who were users of the educational materials (in this case this will be limited to school teachers and youth leaders, no school age students will be included at this stage)

- Policy workers involved in the 2012 Games

- Teachers within the East London Boroughs

The following data will be sought:

- Aspects of career history
    - Years in post
    - Previous post

- How the participant became involved in the Games

For the school students

- Youth Ambassadors

- Secondary age pupils from within the East London Boroughs

The following data will be sought

- Year group
- Subjects studied
- Involvement in out of school activities

(b)   state what steps will be taken to protect the confidentiality of the data?

The BERA Guidelines state that confidential and anonymous treatment of participants' data is considered the norm for the conduct of research and that researchers must comply with the legal requirements in relation to the Data Protection Act.

Researchers must recognise the participant's entitlement to privacy and must accord them their rights to confidentiality and anonymity…must also recognise participants' rights to be identified with any publication of their original work or other input if they wish. In some context it will be the expectation on participants to be so identified.

All data will be coded so that no identification of individuals is possible. Transcripts of interviews will be kept electronically as a password protected file on the secure UEL server. Paper notes will be kept in a locked file in secure accommodation on UEL premises. These notes will be shredded and disposed of as confidential waste once the transcript has been checked by the participant

(c)   state what will happen to the data once the research has been completed and the results written-up. If the data is to be destroyed how will this be done? How will you ensure that the data will be disposed of in such a way that there is no risk of its confidentiality being compromised?

The UEL Code of Good Practice in Research
(http://www.uel.ac.uk/gradschool/resources/doclibrary/documents/codeofgoodpracticeinresearch.doc)

 states the need to keep clear and accurate records providing details of research procedures and the results obtained. Data produced in the course of the research must be kept securely in paper or electronic form. There is an expectation that it is kept securely for 10 years.
This will be done as described above - kept electronically as a password protected file on the secure UEL server – at the end of this period the file will be corrupted.

---

20.   Will any part of the research take place in premises outside UEL or will any members of the research   team be external to UEL?   Yes (see section 18 above)

If yes, please give full details of the extent to which the participating institution will indemnify the experimenters against the consequences of any untoward event:

All sites have public liability insurance.

---

21.   Are there any other matters or details which you consider relevant to the consideration of this proposal? If so, please elaborate below:

---

22.   If your programme involves contact with children or vulnerable adults, either direct or indirect (including observational), please confirm that you have the relevant clearance from the Criminal Records Bureau prior to the commencement of the study

YES (enhanced disclosure is currently being renewed)

---

23.   DECLARATION

I undertake to abide by accepted ethical principles and appropriate code(s) of practice in carrying out this programme.

Personal data will be treated in the strictest confidence and not passed on to others without the written consent of the subject.

The nature of the investigation and any possible risks will be fully explained to intending participants, and they will be informed that:

    (a)   they are in no way obliged to volunteer if there is any personal reason (which they are under no obligation to divulge) why they should not participate in the programme; and

    (b) they may withdraw from the programme at any time, without disadvantage to themselves and without being obliged to give any reason.

NAME OF APPLICANT   Signed

                              _____
                              _____
                              _

(Person responsible)

_____   Date

                              _____
                              _____

  NAME OF RESEARCH LEADER   Signed

_____

   _____   Date

_____

  NAME OF HEAD OF SCHOOL   Signed

                              _____
                              _____

_____   Date

                              _____
                              _____

Appendix 2: Exampled of Letters to Participants and Consent Forms.

My name is Neil Herrington and I work as a Principal Lecturer in the Cass School of Education at the University of East London.

I am writing to you to request your participation in a doctoral research project that I am currently undertaking at the University of East London. The title of the project is:

The Impact of Mega-Events on Regeneration: the educational legacy

This study aims to consider the impact of educational initiatives that are associated with the mega-events such as the Commonwealth Games and the Olympics drawing out the factors that maximise such impact.

As an academic and a teacher educator working in East London I want to use this study to identify practice and perceptions that could be used to inform the development of educational initiatives that support London 2012.

As part of this work I am developing a case study around the Manchester Commonwealth Games. I would very much welcome the opportunity to interview you about your involvement in developing educational resources associated with the Games.

The interview would of 1 hour duration. Responses will be transcribed and this would be sent to you for checking within 28 days. Should you wish, you may modify or choose not to allow the interview to proceed to the analysis stage of the project.

All data will be coded so that no identification of individuals is possible. Transcripts of interviews will be kept electronically as a password protected file on the secure UEL server. Paper notes will be kept in a locked file in secure accommodation on UEL premises. These notes will be shredded and disposed of as confidential waste once you have checked the transcript.

If you would like to take part in this research then please fill out the form attached and return it in the stamped addressed envelope. If you would like further information then please contact me on 079320xxxx or by email n.herrington@uel.ac.uk .

Thank you for taking the time to consider this proposal,

Yours sincerely

- •

Participant Consent Form:

The Impact of Mega-Events on Regeneration: the educational legacy

- I have read the information sheet about this study, understand what it will involve and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- I understand that taking part is voluntary and that I may withdraw from participation at any time
- I understand that the researcher will ensure that information collected remains anonymous unless I agree otherwise in advance

I agree to take part in this research:

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Appendix 3: Interview Schedules

Manchester Participants

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. As you know this is part of a research project that is looking at The Impact of Mega-Events on Regeneration and the role of educational legacy in this impact. My name is Neil Herrington and I work in the Cass School of Education at the University of East London.

The interview will last about an hour and will be split into three stages. The first will just be a few questions about yourself, career background etc, the second part will focus on the work you did around the Commonwealth Games and the third will be an opportunity for you to raise any issues that have not been dealt with elsewhere. Is that OK?

As I said in the letter I sent to you all of the data generated in the research will be presented in an anonymised fashion, so that no individual can be identified. You will have the opportunity to check the transcript of the interview, I will make sure you have a copy within 28 days, and you can modify this, or even choose for it not to go forward to the analysis stage. I intend that the research will be written up by the end of the year and hopefully findings will be disseminated at conferences and through publication, and I will keep you informed about these if you want. Is that OK?

I would like to record the interview, but if you prefer I can take notes?

And just before we start, let me just say that transcripts of interviews will be kept electronically as a password protected file on the secure UEL server. Paper notes will be kept in a locked file in secure accommodation on UEL premises. These notes will be shredded and disposed of as confidential waste once the transcript has been checked by the participant. OK?

Section 1.

A few details just to set the scene for me, about how you came to be involved in the Commonwealth Games.

How did you become involved in developing the work associated with the Games (to cover the following:

- *How long in post?*
- *Previous career*
- *Already living in Manchester or moved to the area?)*

Section 2.

Thanks for that. Now I want to move on to talk about your views and experience of the way in which education played a role in delivering any benefit to the City from the Games, is that OK?

1. *How do you feel that the fact that the Commonwealth Games were held here impacted on the development of the area?*
2. *How did you see it linking into other regeneration activities*
3. *What did local people think abut the Games – was this different across different boroughs*
4. *Tell me a little bit about the extent that educational outcomes were discussed in planning the Games.*
5. *What effect did people hope the education packages would have?*
6. *Did people think about how the impact of the initiatives would be measured?*

7. *What impact do you think that they did have?*
8. *Is there a legacy?*
9. *What types of things facilitated the uptake of the resource/initiative ?*
10. *What things got in the way?*
11. *If you were able to start over again with the whole process, is there anything you would do differently?*

Section 3

OK so we have covered issues around the educational legacy associated with the Games.

Is there anything else that you would like to raise?

Are there any questions that you would like to ask me?

Many thanks for taking the time to talk to me. I'll write up the interview and send you a transcript within 28 days – would you prefer an electronic or a hard copy? As I said before, when you receive the transcript feel free to make any modifications or get in touch for clarifications.

Key Informant Interviews Summer 2013

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. As you know this is part of a research project that is looking at Educational Perspectives on the Legacy of London 2012. My name is Neil Herrington and I work in the Cass School of Education at the University of East London.

The interview will last about an hour and will be split into three stages. The first will just be a few questions about yourself, career background etc, the second part will focus on the work you did around the Games and your hopes for its legacy and the third will explore some perspectives of educational stakeholders in East London around likely legacy that emerged from some research prior to the Games – the aim of the last section is to look at how plans for legacy address some of these perspectives. Is that OK?

As I said in the letter I sent to you, you will have the opportunity to check the transcript of the interview, I will make sure you have a copy within 28 days, and you can modify this, or even choose for it not to go forward to the analysis stage. In reporting the data it is likely that your role will be identified, so whilst you will not be named I cannot guarantee anonymity. I intend that the research will be written up by the end of the year and hopefully findings will be disseminated at conferences and through publication, and I will keep you informed about these if you want. Is that OK?

I would like to record the interview, but if you prefer I can take notes?

And just before we start, let me just say that transcripts of interviews will be kept electronically as a password protected file on the secure UEL server. Paper notes will be kept in a locked file in secure accommodation on UEL premises. These notes will be shredded and disposed of as confidential waste once the transcript has been checked by the participant. OK?

Section 1.

A few details just to set the scene for me, about how you came to be involved in London 2012 and your role within (organisation).

What initially attracted you to the role?

What were your hopes for the role and its future legacy?

Section 2.

Thanks for that. Now I want to move on to talk about your views and experience of the way in which schools, universities, colleges and the local communities were able to play a part in the Games and whether education has played a role in delivering any benefits to East London from the Games, is that OK?

1. *Were people (schools, colleges and universities) keen to get involved in the Games? Prompt - How did they go about expressing their interest?*

2. *Did you come across many people with positions of authority (within schools, colleges and universities) who were not keen to get involved? Prompt - were you able to overcome this and present involvement in the Games in a positive light?*

3. *Has the Games heightened awareness of the possibilities of getting involved in future events? Prompt: how are the learning points captured and shared*

4. *Do you feel there is potential for a long term educational legacy following the Games? Prompt: what can be done and how can it be implemented?*

5. *Do you feel there has been a positive impact on local communities and their involvement in sporting and / or volunteering activities?*

6. *How do you feel about the future plans for the Olympic Park? Are they developing in the way that was hoped?*

7.   How do you feel about legacy in terms of the projects you were involved with?

8.   Is there anything you would do differently if you could start again?

Section 3

Thanks for that, now I'd like to get some of your thoughts on some of the perspectives on legacy that were revealed in a piece of research that was done prior to the Games, with educational stakeholders: students; teachers; and colleagues from the informal education sector. A number of perspectives emerged. For each could you give your initial reactions to the perspective and explore any implications that there might be for legacy practice.

9. The first perspective to emerge was generally positive about the Games and its legacy. Stakeholders recognised that the Games were of national significance, would provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities, promoting sports education. They also felt that the Games would encourage interest in local volunteering and would raise the self-esteem of local people. [Prompt How do you think that this positive view of the Games can be built on – how is the regard for the Games transferred to regard for the legacy?]

10. Another perspective, whilst also being generally positive is a little ambivalent in some areas. For example, some doubt was expressed about the use of the facilities subsequent to the Games; there was little belief that the Cultural Olympiad would lead to any long term development of the cultural life of the area; nor that the legacy will see health benefits for the community. [Prompt: Are these concerns justified and how should they be addressed.]

11. A further perspective, particularly expressed by school students, is that spending on the Games diverted money from community projects, that public space was destroyed in the construction of the Park and in essence they felt marginalised by the developments around the Games. [prompt: How can this be addressed during the developments around the legacy?]

Section 4

OK so we have covered issues around the educational legacy associated with the Games.

Is there anything else that you would like to raise?

Are there any questions that you would like to ask me?

Many thanks for taking the time to talk to me. I'll write up the interview and send you a transcript within 28 days – would you prefer an electronic or a hard copy? As I said before, when you receive the transcript feel free to make any modifications or get in touch for clarifications.

Appendix 4:Aspirations and Concerns: Local Authority Workshop Outcomes

Aspirations

o Primary school children will be able to be physically involved in the Games themselves – opening ceremonies etc
o Tickets for Paralympics for children – important for community
o Ask children what they would like to see

o Widening of horizons
o Potential for economic development
o Potential for raising pride in where we live
o Show what we are good at
o Raise profile of our area
o Opportunity to make a direct contribution

o People of East London will feel involved in important events and have more pride in where they live and more confidence in themselves
o The site will give people new ideas about environmentally friendly buildings and a contact with the natural world

o Chance for students to get involved in following the process
o Increase in job opportunities leading up to 2012
o Opportunities to link curriculum in, include additionality in programme
o I hope to give Travel and Tourism courses a boost and to give excellent ideas for involvement/ideas

o Mass participation events arising from an elite event
o Broaden awareness of the 'Olympic movement' outside of actual participants eg cultural, moral, ethical considerations
o Increase awareness of the 'one world/nation' concept to understand other cultures

o Excited about the event
o Snowball of enthusiasm across all groups
o Opportunity to put aside petty squabbles
o London, for 16 days, will be the epicentre of the world
o Positive effect on economy
o Lasting legacy of sports infrastructure after years of neglect

o Pride centred on area
o Stadia utilised
o Pupils attending events
o Infrastructure
o Perceived ownership of facilities in E15
o Knowledge shared to teenagers that it will not just service elite athletes/programmes

- Cluster groups of primary schools – sharing of ideas, resources etc
- Termly co-ordinator meeting as a platform for sharing ideas

- Watching site develop
- Cultural aspects – cultural Olympiad opportunities
- Opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world
- Become proud of home town – appreciate what's there
- Aspirations job possibilities/raising expectations

- Very positive – motivating, inspirational for our young people
- Centre of cultural diversity/understanding/appreciation
- Legacy factors – regeneraton, and not just the Olympic sites but wider
- Environmental sustainability – setting the standard/best practice
- Sport for local people
- Macroscale catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit
- Opportunities in next 4 year for cross-curricular benefits: creative writing, art work, technology, geography etc
- Importance of ownership and inclusion – bottom up involvement

- Could be better disability awareness and celebration of Paralympics impacting on practice and provision for pupils with disabilities (physical, sensory, mental health – needs to have view of all disabilities)

- Enthusiasm
- Volunteer culture
- Vehicle to promote sport education
- Improved health
- Tourism
- Improved transport system

- Inspire a new generation of athletes
- Highlight the good points of the area
- Development of a greater understanding of culture and sporting culture in younger generation
- Sense of pride in country
- Boost to economy
- Improved health
- Volunteer work
- Tourism
- Regeneration
- Transport links

Concerns

- o That the Games will have a 'top down' approach for example logo could have been designed by children

- o Potential for all benefit to go to the 5 Olympic boroughs
- o Being just a car park

- o The site won't be used to its full potential after the Games

- o The 5 boroughs sounds exclusive
- o Will jobs be sustainable

- o Concern at increased potential for division in the UK eg areas not directly connected feeling left out
- o Accessibility of facilities for people not from the 5 Olympic boroughs

- o Worry about cutting out red tape of the Games and how the facilities are used and run
- o Access to facilities is for all layers of society not just linked to National Institute of Sport

- o Corporate take over
- o Potential apathy
- o Sponsorship hijacking many areas
- o Concern that most interest in London will come from South West corridor

- o Lack of funding to provide transport etc for visits to site
- o Structure of activities for primary schools

- o Possible scandals

- o Fear dominance of sponsors and corporations
- o Fear that local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012
- o Fear tabloid press- demotivating by harping on about rising costs! Costs will rise as environmental and regeneration spreads beyond the local focus of the Olympic site

- o We have some pockets of 'good practice' but disability awareness is sadly lacking at times
- o Question – Transport links – disabled access to stations limited, even though we may be close to Stratford which may have as accessible station, spectators with physical difficulty will still be distanced by lack of planning

- o Facilities which may be inaccessible
- o Ultimate cost carried by local people could escalate.

Appendix 5: Statement Cards Generated at the Golden Opportunity Workshop

ASPIRATIONS	
Inspire some people (young and not so young) to find a focus in their lives	Sustained activities and facilities for young people
Make East London a better place to live and grow up	I would like the Games to deliver higher aspirations for young people by giving them a chance to see that 'the sky is the limit' to their future opportunities
Inspire, challenge and engage the UK as a whole and support economic growth and regeneration	Have an environmental/built landscape that encourages active connected communities in East London (spacially and culturally.
Building local belief and extending horizons	I would like the Games and everything around them to inspire young people to aim higher in their own personal development and career aspirations
Job opportunities	Instill a sense of pride /confidence in the area amongst the community
Help those from outside to see East London in a positive light	Help inspire people and create a sense of community, achievement and pride for Britain
I hope the Games will improve the environment and the look of the place	Develop skills and aspirations of the local people
The Games I hope will inspire and motivate young people to be successful learners beyond 2012 and never forget their Olympic experience	The 2012 Games should help raise aspirations of children and young people in local schools to achieve better outcomes
The Games, I hope, will be a spring board for employers and employees engaging in training (ongoing professional development)	I hope the Games will engage young people in their communities in volunteering
National pride	The Games, I hope, will allow for improvement of relationships between teachers and workers with their young people, to see them developed in their everyday life as well as educational needs.
Regeneration plan which is a long term legacy	The Games will create sporting opportunities for young people to engage in a variety of sports, with a legacy of improved provision

CONCERNS	
A ghetto is created around the Olympic village after the Games due to a decline in housing market – with insufficient support for those living there	Opportunities for local people limited due to cost constraints
I fear that the Games might exclude young people and local citizens by being too much of a circus arriving and departing leaving a trail of litter behind	That the Games will be a whirlwind of activity that leaves little lasting legacy for the economy and society in general
Wealth creation/jobs and employment do not provide progression routes	Buildings whilst handsome/with possibilities that are not occupied/managed/relevant for building communities and addressing regeneration
Local people will become cynical about the Games	Increased feelings of disaffection
I am concerned that the vast amount of monies raised/gathered in for the Games will not be spent wisely for the benefit of athletes and Londoners	Terrorism and a failure to deliver
High expectations and disused sites	Transport crisis-local people won't be able to get there
Influx of people from abroad block local people's access	The Games may bring high property prices without delivering matching economic benefits to local peole in London East
SMEs, small providers, contracting	Olympic training qualifications that ignore the role/aspect of passenger transport
I fear that the Games will suck funding and give little proportional local benefit	Highlight lack of transport
Could exclude those who are not 'sporty' people	Ill considered public expenditure which doesn't leave a legacy of longer term gains
All the focus on capital projects, with no legacy infrastructure for community sport	Building expectations that can't be delivered.

Appendix 6: Notes on Interviews with Manchester Participants

Andrew

You had worked in community sports engagement from 2000-2005, in leisure projects and as a community worker in Hulme and Moss Side before being appointed as Sports Action Zone project manager within the city council.

The nature of the work has moved over the years as the various strands change with the politics. More about participation for targeted groups, training as sports coaches, sports volunteering and actual sports right through to arranging events. Was involved in pilots for specialist sports colleges, involved now in rolling out more school sport pre-school.

The Commonwealth Games offered fantastic opportunities in terms of facilities, there was a good community use plan with health projects built in. A lot of employment has been gained from construction, especially as local companies were enabled to bid for work. Jobs are still on the go in terms of hospitality.

The realisation of these opportunities came from a lot of effort, a lot of pre-thought, time and funding, a lot of coordination and lots of networking.

The Games gave a focus and were embedded in local councils. The fact that the Games were to be held in the North West meant that I could go to meetings and contribute to surrounding boroughs which is quite unique. The coordination of Queen's baton relay also improved cooperation between boroughs.

The Games did link up lots of networks. 80 to 90 resident tenant groups were set up. It wasn't just about the physical infrastructure, the community networking was vital – the encouragement of street parties led to a good feeling in the build up to the Games. There was a big school festival and parties in the park.

This was alongside a lot of effort that was put into reducing the negative impact of the build, making it as easy as possible on the locals.

There was an 'across the board' regeneration office where the key staff from the SAZ, EAZ and HAZ were all located together.

In terms of the Games, the EAZ had specific themed work with the immediate 12 primary and 3 high schools.

The SAZ used it as a common denominator and had input to web projects, exchanges, art and history linked to the commonwealth, cross-curricular stuff. There was lots of talking.

The impact of these initiatives was noticeable in a number of outcomes, for example lots of schools gained the international award for school links.. All schools got the sports mark and healthy schools. We doubled the number of community sports clubs and the range of sports on offer.

A lot of what worked was because of the amount of practical experience that was brought to bear, thinking through the curriculum, lots was developed with teachers and schools.

There was a lot of pre-planning getting key people together. There had to be some money involved, the regional SRB was used under the various themes.

Sports England tended to focus on the facilities and the delivery of the Games, with not enough into legacy funding. This could be seen as being similar in some ways to the way that Athens handled their Games, not a vision for the future. In some

ways, it could be said that if the regeneration networks hadn't been in place with new deals for communities then a lot of this may well have fizzled out, but there were a lot of schemes in place.

You have to be very careful of managing expectations after the Games, usage often linked to elite use. Currently involved in developing a sport strategy for Manchester, planning for other sports with new build to integrate KKP consultation linking citywide and to sport governing bodies. We are developing a pyramid scenario in opportunities and facilities setting up new clubs, and regenerating parks to support community sport.

We spent a lot of time thinking of community use, for example spent a lot of time with primary schools producing plans to use their playgrounds as carparking, which has been a big boost to their income and advising them on the playground markings for the sports that were coming.

It's probably true to say that those local to the stadium actively engaged more probably because the stadium was on its doorstep. They were involved, for example, in the test event with 2000 free tickets. Subsequently, Manchester City FC allow free community use, and have a community use plan.

If we were starting from scratch again I would probably try to get Sport England more into the design of the facilities; try to get more impetus behind the volunteer project after the Games had finished.

After the Games there was some conflict between the use of facilities by GB, the community and the public it was initially a scrap. The velodrome led the way to a solution here through good scheduling.

Overall though the event was really good, and its effect is still massive.

Sarah

My background is in local government- equal opportunities work I was an SRB manager based in the Commonwealth Games office. There was a single regeneration budget programme attached to the Commonwealth Games, I thought I would apply for it and I got it – the Director of the Social and Economic Legacy Programme for the North west region not just Manchester but working for Manchester Council because they were the accountable body for the 20 million project. There was a multi-agency regional board.

Being located in the Commonwealth Games office was fundamental to the success of the programme..

I think the impact of the Games has been huge, a lot has been written in terms of the economic impact, jobs etc, but actually the biggest thing has been around self-esteem, the belief that Manchester is a cool place to be. That continues, they have a year of sport this year and I went to the world short course swimming championship and that's just another example of how Manchester can do this. They have picked up the baton and run with it and are saying to people you can have confidence to bring your event to Manchester.

The trick was not to put the Commonwealth Games at the end of a timeframe, but to use it as a milestone in a successful strategy with many other activities. The physical regeneration, the build, over the past few years has just been phenomenal.

I developed the pre-volunteer programme for the Manchester Games, I also was asked to be a volunteer, looking after the Secretary General of the Commonwealth – one of a number of VIPs. This was in addition to my 'day job' it was quite interesting because it gave an idea of what volunteering was like. Then I set up the

legacy volunteering policy and strategy. We wrote to 20000 volunteers and asked them if they would be interested in becoming involved in further events, about 2000 are registered. These are used for a wide range of events including, for three years on the trot, the London Triathalon because they found it easier to bus people down rather than engage locals – this was before the development of Newham volunteers – I also wrote the strategy around this.

East Manchester was a Government experiment, what happens if you take a deprived area and you drop into it millions of pounds under a range of different headings physical regeneration projects, SAZ. In a way the Commonwealth Games was part of this. It is a little more complex than this because it wasn't just an East Manchester project. The legacy programme had been thought about in terms of the region. I like to think of it in terms of concentric circles, the borough where the activity is is at the centre. So the 'host' borough gets the most out of it, and it would be a bit weird if it didn't. So it goes East Manchester, Manchester, Greater Manchester, NorthWest Region.

My job as legacy director was to set up funded projects that allowed things to flow through these circles.

The Commonwealth Games was a great hook and pulled people into activities that they wouldn't normally be involved in. For example, out of school activities – canoeing in Barrow in 2000 which is about 100 miles from Manchester, the kids involved said that they went along because it was linked to the Games. And this has carried on, we knew we had time limited funding so where we could we tried to embed things. I stayed in the Games office for 6 months after the Games (well it was an office everyone else cleared off a month after the Games). There are limits to what you can do. After the event, and no one seems to be interested any more. The same thing happened with the Women's European Football championship where the steering group collapsed after the championship. The issue is the significance of the Commonwealth branding, after the Games it's yesterday's news. So there is a need to embed, which is quite tricky for evaluation purposes as you can't track things really. For example with the European Championship we did a dance project, much smaller than the Commonwealth Games, but the interesting thing was that in evaluations it appeared that boys were turning up to the dance sessions because they had been involved in our dance project and that was cool because it was associated with football and called the haka. But it is very difficult to show that this is causal.

Even though evaluation is tricky we did have to plan where each of the programmes were going, how they would develop, what we were going to do with it up to 2004.

In planning the Games, I would say that Education was an absolute key strand as a heading but with no real clear thinking about how that might work, what it would mean. A lot of people didn't have a clear concept of what the Commonwealth Games might mean in terms of education. Some people didn't really conceptualise this as an event of national significance – this is not going to be a problem with the Olympic Games. But trying to persuade someone that you could include something within the GCSE curriculum about the Commonwealth Games and they would have laughed at you.

The Commonwealth Curriculum Pack is an interesting one. We had a budget, about 2 million, to deliver to the North West of England – how do you do that? We did a lot of thinking and came up with the online solution, we can promote them to the schools in the region, be accessible to all, but be directed to North West School

children. Again the evaluation was problematic, how would you do a control for example – given the whole range of factors that children were subject to, so in the end we didn't evaluate it we could only use hits on the website, use of material and anecdotal feedback. We got a good feel from this data, the hits were really high – and we could see where they were coming from, most from the North West of England, second highest was Germany third was Australia. Germany, I have no idea why. The hits peaked up to the Games.

The site was tidied up and frozen. We also made it into a CDROM and a DVD , hosted by Johnny Vegas, each one around a different theme. We didn't want to produce something that made the 'fat kid' feel worse and would be put off, and Johnny Vegas was ideal for this. These were put into a pack and sent a copy into every school in the NorthWest.

We had horrendous problems communicating with schools, this was one of the biggest difficulties in the whole project. When we launched the website we got lots of coverage and we got lots of general coverage, we did 5 sessions when we invited all schools and we got quite a good turnout for that, but communicating directly with individual schools was really hard, emails and phone messages not getting passed on ('my secretary hasn't downloaded this months emails yet, and when the pack went into schools not sure who got it).

We don't know if this difficulty impacted on the use of the resource, but it impacted on our ability to evaluate.

We tried to develop the pack using groups of teachers, PDM and other people. What we were keen to do was to develop National Curriculum based material using the Commonwealth Games as a way of delivering that material, for example the Poetry in Motion material.

The teacher groups were difficult to work with in terms of responding to deadlines, etc.

It's also interesting to see what is produced by the events themselves. The Commonwealth Games produced stuff itself Kidzone, and the FA produced material for the Women's European Championship and they always do for the men's championship. They tend to produce top down, send it to every school and they suffer from the same problem. We were inundated with calls from people during the European Championship saying we thought the FA were going to produce materials, and the right people hadn't received them although every school was sent them.

The problem with big events is that its hard enough to put on the events – build the stadium, sell the tickets.

We could use the Commonwealth brand on anything we did as long as there was no commercial linkage (so we couldn't link with educational book companies).

If we went back to the start with the time and the resources that we had at that point then probably wouldn't do anything differently, because what we did with quite a small budget – I can't think of a better way of doing the curriculum pack for example. Without investing in how schools engage and communicate I can't see that the response would have been any different.

What I wouldn't like to do is to give the impression of all schools being the same, for example we held one event in Chesire – the County Council suggested it because they were 'brilliant' and engaged with the Games – it was amazing all the reception area was dedicated to the Games, there was a podium, medal charts each

class had adopted a country, events. In some boroughs Stockport for example just went for it. Other boroughs, missed the boat because they were waiting to be told what to do.

I think that in lots of ways schools missed the opportunities offered by the Commonwealth Games. The regional director for health was thinking about setting up a few after school clubs in the whole of the region, rather than seeing this as a once in a generation opportunity and incorporating it into strategic planning. Not convinced this is different for the Olympics yet. There seems to be a general feeling that we need to start quite soon and we'll think a little bit more afterwards. It may be that after Beijing this might ignite slightly, Manchester certainly did after Sydney. But shouldn't be saying hang on and in four years time you will get it, think about what can do now.

We were in the Games Office, we were at the centre of things and we had a committed chief executive of the Games and she would say I haven't got time for legacy, but was willing to support legacy initiatives.

It often doesn't take new money to get these initiatives off the ground, we had some money from the SRB earmarked for the Games, but not new money and we would put this on the table with, say for example Liverpool, and say we have this money to develop volunteering in Liverpool, the LSC put some in because its linked to an NVQ, someone else puts money in.

The key is how to use the hook.

Appendix 7: The Pilot

Developing the Q-sample for the pilot Q-sort

The interviews and workshop outcomes were used to generate an initial bank of statements. From this bank the statements which would form the actual Q sample would be drawn. In constructing this sample, a balance in positive and negative statements is necessary. If this is not the case then it may be difficult for the participant to complete the sort. To avoid this a pilot is advised (Stainton Rogers 1991). In addition to checking on the balance in the statements, the pilot enabled the instructions provided to be considered, and for participants to put forward any suggestions for areas/comments that had been missed and to make any comments on the clarity of individual statements that had been included in the pilot sample.

The Statements

Fifty eight statements were extracted from the bank generated. An initial balancing was carried out through adding negative stems to some positive statements and removing them from others as appropriate. Balance was also considered in terms of the areas that the statements addressed.

These would form the basis of the pilot study. However, prior to this the statements were checked by a colleague for face validity. In the light of feedback a number of changes were made. These are detailed below with the rationale for the change:

Original Statement	Amended to	Rationale for Change
It is likely that all of the benefit will go to the 5 Olympic Boroughs	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	Too specific
The Games will be divisive, those not directly involved will feel left out	Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	Two statements
Education will be a key strand in the success of the Games	Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	Need to specify legacy
It will only be in certain subjects that we will be able to use the theme of the Games	Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	Exemplify similar to "Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons"
The Games will highlight the good points of the area	The Games will highlight the good points of East London	Need to be specific

Participants for the pilot Q-sort

The pilot was run on two separate occasions, once with a group of Y9 students and once with a group of teachers. These groups were chosen so as to reflect the participants that were going to be involved in the Q sort. The opportunity was taken to also use two methods of engagement – face to face and via postal response. Again this was done as these two methods were to be used in the final Q sort and feedback on instructions, completion time and ease of sort would be useful in the final iteration.

Pilot Participant number	Type of School	Olympic Borough	Participant Status	Favourite Subject	Other subjects	Out of School
P2	11-18 mixed	Yes	Year 9 student	PE	math sci Eng RE Cit ICT	Yes, cricket, football, basketball athletics
P3	11-18 mixed	Yes	Year 9 student	Drama	PE eng maths sci RE citi	Yes I play for a football team
P4	11-18 mixed	Yes	Year 9 student	PE	cit Re eng math eng sci span food tec text art geo	well at the moment I do fencing at a club called Newham swords. Also as my rankings stand I am in the GB team, but I must keep my rank up in order to continue to fight for Great Britain
P1	11-18 mixed	Yes	Teacher (PE)			

Instructions for the pilot participants

Participants were given explicit written instructions, supplemented by verbal instructions in the case of the face to face participants, on the completion of the Q sort. Participants in the pilot study were also asked to consider carefully all of the Q-sample items, checking for clarity and repetition of items. They were also asked to comment on any issues that arose during the process.

In the case of the face to face participants the comments were collected by the researcher in the post sort debrief. In the case of the participants who 'trialled' the

postal version recorded their reflections in boxes designed for this purpose on the response sheet

Evaluation of the pilot Q-sort

A number of participants expressed some ambiguity about whether or not there was a need to 'rank' within the columns indicating level of agreement. This ambiguity was expressed by one of the participants as "is the top line more important? I was not sure when I started off, decided that it wasn't. was I right?". They were right, but there was a need to remove the ambiguity. This was done through a statement making this explicit in the written instructions.

A number of statements related to, what could be seen as, specific terminology: for example, "do people taking part know about the Games… 'the legacy'?" in this case, some explanation of the term was put into the communication inviting participation in the actual Q sort. A similar issue was raised in regard to statements about the Cultural Olympiad. These were questioned in the pilot which took place before the Beijing Games of 2008. These statements were not changed in the Terminal Q sort which took place after the handover to London 2012 as there had been exposure of these terms in the media. At no point during the actual Q sort did participants express any lack of familiarity with the term.

One of the participants who had undertaken a postal sort made a comment that the "boxes [on the grid] need to be bigger as you can't manipulate them easily, can't copy the numbers [onto the grid] without messing up the cards." This was not an operational problem that was observed with those participants who undertook the Q-sort in the face to face session. There is also the issue that there is a physical limit to the size of 58 boxes that can be accommodated on an A3 sheet.

Those participants who took part in the face to face sessions, the year 9 pupils, completed the sort in between 30 and 40 minutes.

Comments made in the debrief of the session or on the response form caused one statement to be removed as it was repetitious of another statement and also noted inconsistencies in the tense of the statements. This was rectified in the actual Q sort.

The pilot also led to the following changes in the phrasing of statements:

- o The statement "The facilities that remain must be easy to access by the existing community" was changed to "The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over."
- o The statement "The Games provide an opportunity for pupils to make a direct contribution" was changed to "There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games." The second statement was felt to be more inclusive.
- o The statement that "the Olympic Park will be a blueprint for future sustainable development" was changed to "The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development"- the former statement being deemed too broad.

The amended statements and instructions were used in the project Q sort. The next chapter gives the details of this sort, the statistical treatment of the sorts performed by the participants in the study and presents the findings which emerged from the analysis.

Appendix 8: Written Instructions for Q Sort

The Impact of Mega-Events on Regeneration: the educational legacy

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research exercise. It should take no more than 30 minutes to complete.

Instructions for the exercise

You will find 57 statements on paper 'tickets' within the small envelope which is also enclosed, I have also included a list of these statements in case any of the tickets gets lost. The tickets are sized to fit within the spaces on the grid. The statements themselves have been generated from focus group discussions, interviews with colleagues who were involved in the Manchester Commonwealth Games in 2002 and from documentary sources.

This exercise asks you to express your level of agreement with each of the statements by placing them on the grid. The central position is one of neutrality, +5 indicates a strong level of agreement, -5 indicates a strong level of disagreement. The type of analysis that this exercise will be subjected to requires that all cells are occupied so please give consideration to each statement. You have a limited number of spaces under each number, each space in a given column carries the same weighting – so the order statements are placed within a column is not important.

Please arrange all of the enclosed statements onto the grid, according to your own level of agreement. (Other participants have found that it has helped to sort the statements into 'agree' and 'disagree' piles first and then consider each of these piles more closely, placing the statements onto the grid after the initial sort.) Then, when you are satisfied with the distribution, write the number of the statement into the cell on which it was placed.

Fill in the details on the data sheet.

Thank you very much for taking the time to participate in this exercise.

Appendix 9: Factor Arrays

Appendices

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
6 The Games will do little to promote sport education	**18*** The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	**5**** Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	**28** The Games will lead to a huge public debt	**23** The Games will inspire people across the country to develop sustainable lifestyles	**4** The Games will inspire community development	**2** The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	**15** Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	**10** The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	**27** The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over	**1** The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world
25** The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished	**21** The Cultural Olympiad will exclude local people	**8** The voices of local people are being ignored	**31** Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	**29** There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	**9** The Games will encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area	**20** Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	**19** The Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity	**12*** The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	**35** The Games will give people opportunities to work with people they wouldn't normally meet	**3** The Games are an event of national significance
47* The Games are a waste of money	**36** The involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level	**22** The Cultural Olympiad will not lead to any long-term benefits to our cultural life	**32** The Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities	**30** Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	**11** The Games have diverted money from community projects	**34** It is important that school pupils are able to attend events	**39** The Games will give the people of East London more self-esteem	**14** The Games are not just about elite athletes	**40** People are excited about the event	**7*** The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes
	56 The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole country	**24**** The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	**57** The Games won't lead to any sustainable jobs	**33** The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	**13** The Games will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation	**38** The Games provides educational opportunities for cross-curricular work	**41** The Games will highlight the good points of East London	**17** The Games will help the regeneration of the area	**42** The Games will bring people into this part of the city	
		49 There will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park	**43** The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.	**46** The Games will widen the horizons of the local communities	**16** The Games will help to connect young people with the UK's artistic communities	**44** The Games will act as a catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit	**53** The Games will raise the job aspirations of young people	**26*** There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering		
			50 The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world	**52** The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	**48** The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development	**45** The Games will increase community cohesion	**37** The Games will be a useful resource for schools.			
				55 Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012	**54** The Games will raise awareness of disability issues	**51** The Games will transform the heart of East London				

Statement Array for Factor 1. Distinguishing statements are identified by asterisks. A single asterisk indicates p<.05; a double asterisk indicates p<.01

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
6	13	9	14	12	4	8	1	7	15**	3
The Games will do little to promote sport education	The Games will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation	The Games will encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area	The Games are not just about elite athletes	The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	The Games will inspire community development	The voices of local people are being ignored	The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world	The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes	Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	The Games are an event of national significance
23	16	19	21	18	5	24	2	11	17	27
The Games will inspire people across the country to develop sustainable lifestyles	The Games will help to connect young people with the UK's artistic communities	The Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity	The Cultural Olympiad will exclude local people	The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	The Games have diverted money from community projects	The Games will help the regeneration of the area	The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over
29*	56	30	41	33	31*	25	10	38	20	28
There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole country	Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	The Games will highlight the good points of East London	The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished	The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	The Games provides educational opportunities for cross-curricular work	Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	The Games will lead to a huge public debt
	57	47	45	35	39	26	22	44	34	
	The Games won't lead to any sustainable jobs	The Games are a waste of money	The Games will increase community cohesion	The Games will give people opportunities to work with people they wouldn't normally meet	The Games will give the people of East London more self-esteem	There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering	The Cultural Olympiad will not lead to any long-term benefits to our cultural life	The Games will act as a catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit	It is important that school pupils are able to attend events	
		53	50	40	42	32	37	51		
		The Games will raise the job aspirations of young people	The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world	People are excited about the event	The Games will bring people into this part of the city	The Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities	The Games will be a useful resource for schools.	The Games will transform the heart of East London		
			52	46	48	36	43*			
			The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	The Games will widen the horizons of the local communities	The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development	The involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level	The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.			
				54	55	49				
				The Games will raise awareness of disability issues	Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012	There will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park				

Statement Array for Factor 2. Distinguishing statements are identified by asterisks. A single asterisk indicates p<.05; a double asterisk indicates p<.01

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
1**	3*	27**	4	7*	8	11	2	5	31	6
The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world	The Games are an event of national significance	The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over	The Games will inspire community development	The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes	The voices of local people are being ignored	The Games have diverted money from community projects	The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	The Games will do little to promote sport education
10*	12*	28	15	13	14	17	9	22	45	43*
The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	The Games will lead to a huge public debt	Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	The Games will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation	The Games are not just about elite athletes	The Games will help the regeneration of the area	The Games will encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area	The Cultural Olympiad will not lead to any long-term benefits to our cultural life	The Games will increase community cohesion	The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.
44	42*	33	20*	16	29	18	24	46	48	52**
The Games will act as a catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit	The Games will bring people into this part of the city	The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	The Games will help to connect young people with the UK's artistic communities	There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	The Games will widen the horizons of the local communities	The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region
	51	35	23	21	30	19	39	49	56	
	The Games will transform the heart of East London	The Games will give people opportunities to work with people they wouldn't normally meet	The Games will inspire people across the country to develop sustainable lifestyles	The Cultural Olympiad will exclude local people	Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	The Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity	The Games will give the people of East London more self-esteem	There will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole country	
		54	26	34	32	25	47	50*		
		The Games will raise awareness of disability issues	There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering	It is important that school pupils are able to attend events	The Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities	The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished	The Games are a waste of money	The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world		
			41	38	36	37	57			
			The Games will highlight the good points of East London	The Games provides educational opportunities for cross-curricular work	The involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level	The Games will be a useful resource for schools.	The Games won't lead to any sustainable jobs			
				55	40	53				
				Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012	People are excited about the event	The Games will raise the job aspirations of young people				

Statement Array for Factor 3. Distinguishing statements are identified by asterisks. A single asterisk indicates p<.05; a double asterisk indicates p<.01

Appendices

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
38	23	2**	4	6*	5	1	11	7	27	3
The Games provides educational opportunities for cross-curricular work	The Games will inspire people across the country to develop sustainable lifestyles	The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	The Games will inspire community development	The Games will do little to promote sport education	Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world	The Games have diverted money from community projects	The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes	The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over	The Games are an event of national significance
43	50	39	10	19	9	18	13	8	28	30**
The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.	The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world	The Games will give the people of East London more self-esteem	The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	The Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity	The Games will encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area	The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	The Games will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation	The voices of local people are being ignored	The Games will lead to a huge public debt	Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games
49	54	46	16	21	12	34	20	14	31	42*
There will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park	The Games will raise awareness of disability issues	The Games will widen the horizons of the local communities	The Games will help to connect young people with the UK's artistic communities	The Cultural Olympiad will exclude local people	The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	It is important that school pupils are able to attend events	Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	The Games are not just about elite athletes	Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	The Games will bring people into this part of the city
	56	48	41	22	15	35	32	24	40	
	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole country	The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development	The Games will highlight the good points of East London	The Cultural Olympiad will not lead to any long-term benefits to our cultural life	Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	The Games will give people opportunities to work with people they wouldn't normally meet	The Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities	The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	People are excited about the event	
	51	44	26	17		45	33*	55*		
	The Games will transform the heart of East London	The Games will act as a catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit	There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering	The Games will help the regeneration of the area		The Games will increase community cohesion	The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012		
		57	29	25		47	37			
		The Games won't lead to any sustainable jobs	There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished		The Games are a waste of money	The Games will be a useful resource for schools.			
			53	36	52					
			The Games will raise the job aspirations of young people	The involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region					

Statement Array for Factor 4. Distinguishing statements are identified by asterisks. A single asterisk indicates p<.05; a double asterisk indicates p<.01

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
8 The voices of local people are being ignored	**21** The Cultural Olympiad will exclude local people	**13** The Games will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation	**11** The Games have diverted money from community projects	**9** The Games will encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area	**3*** The Games are an event of national significance	**4** The Games will inspire community development	**6** The Games will do little to promote sport education	**2** The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	**40** People are excited about the event	**1** The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world
33 The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	**22** The Cultural Olympiad will not lead to any long-term benefits to our cultural life	**14** The Games are not just about elite athletes	**30** Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	**10** The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	**12** The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	**5** Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	**16** The Games will help to connect young people with the UK's artistic communities	**7** The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes	**48** The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development	**27** The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over
52* The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	**31** Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	**15** Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	**39** The Games will give the people of East London more self-esteem	**19** The Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity	**26** There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering	**23** The Games will inspire people across the country to develop sustainable lifestyles	**17** The Games will help the regeneration of the area	**18** The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	**56** The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole country	**34** It is important that school pupils are able to attend events
	49 There will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park	**32** The Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities	**44** The Games will act as a catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit	**36** The involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level	**28** The Games will lead to a huge public debt	**29** There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	**24** The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	**20** Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	**57** The Games won't lead to any sustainable jobs	
		38 The Games provides educational opportunities for cross-curricular work	**47** The Games are a waste of money	**43** The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.	**42** The Games will bring people into this part of the city	**37** The Games will be a useful resource for schools.	**25** The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished	**35** The Games will give people opportunities to work with people they wouldn't normally meet		
			55 Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012	**50** The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world	**45** The Games will increase community cohesion	**41** The Games will highlight the good points of East London	**46** The Games will widen the horizons of the local communities			
				51 The Games will transform the heart of East London	**53** The Games will raise the job aspirations of young people	**54** The Games will raise awareness of disability issues				

Statement Array for Factor 5. Distinguishing statements are identified by asterisks. A single asterisk indicates p<.05; a double asterisk indicates p<.01

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
6	4	29	18	5	2	8	10	7	1	17
The Games will do little to promote sport education	The Games will inspire community development	There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	The voices of local people are being ignored	The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes	The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world	The Games will help the regeneration of the area
43	14	31	19	12	9	11	24	20	3	27
The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.	The Games are not just about elite athletes	Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	The Games will encourage young people to take part in local volunteering activity	The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	The Games will encourage people to gain a greater knowledge about their local area	The Games have diverted money from community projects	The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	The Games are an event of national significance	The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over
50	47	37**	25	16	13	15	36	41	28	33*
The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world	The Games are a waste of money	The Games will be a useful resource for schools.	The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished	The Games will help to connect young people with the UK's artistic communities	The Games will lead to a greater understanding of culture in the younger generation	Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	The involvement of young people and schools will only be at a superficial level	The Games will highlight the good points of East London	The Games will lead to a huge public debt	The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces
	49	46	30	23	26	21	38	42	34	
	There will be affordable homes in the Olympic Park	The Games will widen the horizons of the local communities	Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	The Games will inspire people across the country to develop sustainable lifestyles	There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering	The Cultural Olympiad will exclude local people	The Games provides educational opportunities for cross-curricular work	The Games will bring people into this part of the city	It is important that school pupils are able to attend events	
		53	55	32	35	22	40	51		
		The Games will raise the job aspirations of young people	Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012	The Olympic Park will be disconnected from the surrounding communities	The Games will give people opportunities to work with people they wouldn't normally meet	The Cultural Olympiad will not lead to any long-term benefits to our cultural life	People are excited about the event	The Games will transform the heart of East London		
			56	39	52	48	44			
			The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole country	The Games will give the people of East London more self-esteem	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	The Olympic Park will be a model for future projects in terms of sustainable development	The Games will act as a catalyst for change eg transport infrastructure for longer term benefit			
				45	54	57				
				The Games will increase community cohesion	The Games will raise awareness of disability issues	The Games won't lead to any sustainable jobs				

Statement Array for Factor 6. Distinguishing statements are identified by asterisks. A single asterisk indicates p<.05; a double asterisk indicates p<.01

Appendix 10: Tables of Distinguishing Factors

Distinguishing Statements for Factor 1 (P<.05: asterisk indicates significance at P<.01)		Factor					
No	Statement	**1**	2	3	4	5	6
26	There will be an increase in personal involvement in activities, sport and volunteering	**3**	1	-2	-1	0	0
12	The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	**3**	-1	-4	0	0	-1
24*	The Games will use volunteers as cheap labour	**-3**	1	2	3	2	2
5*	Those not directly involved in the Games will feel left out	**-3**	0	3	0	1	-1
18	The Games won't lead to any health benefits for the community	**-4**	-1	1	1	3	-2
25*	The Games will produce facilities which will not be used after the Games have finished	**-5**	1	1	0	2	-2
47	The Games are a waste of money	**-5**	-3	2	1	-2	-4

Distinguishing statements for Factor 1

Distinguishing Statements for Factor 2 (P<.05: asterisk indicates significance at P<.01)		Factor					
No	Statement	1	**2**	3	4	5	6
15*	Schools should be using the developments around the Games to inform their lessons	2	**4**	-2	0	-3	1
43	The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.	-2	**2**	5	-5	-1	-5
31	Only certain subjects will be able to use the theme of the Games in their lessons	-2	**0**	4	4	-4	-3
29	There will be opportunities for people like me to make a direct contribution to the Games	-1	**-5**	0	-1	1	-3

Distinguishing statements for Factor 2

Distinguishing Statements for Factor 3 (P<.05: asterisk indicates significance at P<.01)		Factor					
No	Statement	1	2	**3**	4	5	6
43	The Games will contribute to the enhancement of the natural environment.	-2	2	**5**	-5	-1	-5
52*	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	-1	-2	**5**	1	-5	0
50	The Olympic Park will give people contact with the natural world	-2	-2	**3**	-4	-1	-5
7	The Games will inspire a new generation of athletes	5	3	**-1**	3	3	3
20	Young people should be involved in deciding what is included within the Cultural Olympiad	1	4	**-2**	2	3	3
27*	The local community must be able to access the Olympic Park facilities after the Games are over	4	5	**-3**	4	5	5
3	The Games are an event of national significance	5	5	**-4**	5	0	4
12	The Games will lead to an increase in mass participation in sporting activities	3	-1	**-4**	0	0	-1
42	The Games will bring people into this part of the city	4	0	**-4**	5	0	3
10	The Games will provide a lasting legacy of sports facilities	3	2	**-5**	-2	-1	2
1*	The Games will provide opportunities to be involved with people from all over the world	5	2	**-5**	1	5	4

Distinguishing statements for Factor 3

Distinguishing Statements for Factor 4 (P<.05: asterisk indicates significance at P<.01)		Factor					
No	Statement	1	2	3	**4**	5	6
42	The Games will bring people into this part of the city	4	0	-4	**5**	0	3
30*	Education will be a key strand in the legacy of the Games	-1	-3	0	**5**	-2	-2
55	Local people will be 'priced out' of their own area after 2012	-1	0	-1	**3**	-2	-2
33	The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	-1	-1	-3	**2**	-5	5
6	The Games will do little to promote sport education	-5	-5	5	**-1**	2	-5
2*	The Games will help to develop an understanding of other cultures	1	2	2	**-3**	3	0

Distinguishing statements for Factor 4

Distinguishing Statements for Factor 5 (P<.05: asterisk indicates significance at P<.01)		Factor					
No	Statement	1	2	3	4	**5**	6
3	The Games are an event of national significance	5	5	-4	5	**0**	4
52	The legacy programme has been thought about in terms of the whole region	-1	-2	5	1	**-5**	0

Distinguishing statements for Factor 5

Distinguishing Statements for Factor 6 (P<.05: asterisk indicates significance at P<.01)		Factor					
No	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	**6**
33	The construction of the Olympic park has caused the destruction of public spaces	-1	-1	-3	2	-5	**5**
37*	The Games will be a useful resource for schools.	2	2	1	2	1	**-3**

Distinguishing statements for Factor 6

Appendix 11 – Penportraits of the Key Informants
Geoff

Geoff joined Legacy Trust UK in September 2010. The Trust was established in 2007 and developed through 2008 and 2009 to be a supporter of arts, cultural, education, sport and activity around the UK that was inspired by London 2012. Geoff is responsible for working with stakeholder and partners, supporting programmes and evaluating the Trust's impact.

Previously, he worked at the Big Lottery Fund as a Policy Adviser leading on the development of funding programmes and providing strategic policy advice to the organisation. Geoff was lead in the development of a range of programmes and initiatives aimed at young people such as the Young People's Fund and Youth in Focus.

Geoff has also worked at a council for voluntary services in South London and on regeneration programmes in East London and Merseyside. Geoff started his career as a youth worker.

Gerry

Gerry applied in 2007 to be the manger of Podium an organisation that was designed to be a communications and coordination unit for universities and colleges around opportunities presented by London 2012. Whilst he was not initially successful in securing this role he was appointed as second in charge, and took over in 2008 when the incumbent left. He also worked as a Further and Higher Education Adviser at LOCOG. Gerry left these roles straight after the Games in 2012, taking up the post of Head of Student Experience at a Higher Education Institute in East London.

James

James read history at UCL and worked in business, politics, the arts and community engagement for nearly 20 years before moving to the Higher Education Institution most local to the Olympic Park where he has worked for 18 years, directing its 2012 Office since 2007. The 2012 office is the University's initial channel for engagement and collaboration with all aspects of the London Olympic & Paralympic Games and Legacy. His contribution to the HEI's Olympic & Paralympic engagement includes work on research, volunteering, sport, marketing and Legacy planning.

James has been an elected local politician in East London, a school governor for 25 years, and served on the boards of many organisations including the renowned Theatre Royal Stratford East. He is an expert in urban regeneration having worked in the field for 25 years.   He played a leading role in the creation of both the university's London Docklands Campus and the development of their innovative approach to higher education-led regeneration.

Jane

Jane has always lived in Newham and comes from an arts background, working on a variety of projects with young people, for example exploring issues through the use of theatre. She managed the Newham Volunteer programme between 2004-2006. She then worked as a policy officer for London Council working in their 2012 team looking at volunteering and was committed to making sure that on the day of the opening ceremony lots of really local people were involved in all aspects of the Games. This team was wound up and Jane was made redundant and set up my own consultancy working on a range of projects helping to shape some of the venues in the Olympic Park and on the master plan.

Jane secured a role in one of the non-host Boroughs with an overarching Olympics brief dealing with everything from refuse collection to volunteer programmes to sports to venues. This role transformed her thinking around mega events and the work that goes on behind the scenes. Jane was made redundant from this role when the Games finished but recognises the ways in which the skills and experiences that she gained have opened up a number of career options.

Jess

Jess is the Chief Executive of the charitable arm of the British Olympic Authority which deals with everything within the role of an Olympic committee with the exception of elite sports for able bodied men and women because able bodied sport in this country is not charitable. She is also Director of Olympic Relations which is the individual who is accountable in the organisation for the international relations dealing with the International Olympic Committee, the National Olympic Committee of all the associations around the world and acts as the BOA's representative on the European Olympic Committee.

At Games time Jess fulfilled the role as Deputy Chef de Mission Sport. Jess sees the role of the BOS as to act as the conscience of legacy and to work corroboratively with other organisations who have the accountability to the legacy which really mainly falls to many of the government agencies that are publicly and very high profile in legacy such as Sport England etc.

Jon

Jon is the Principal and Chief Executive of a Further Education College in one of the host boroughs, where he is also resdent. The college is on a single site and has about 10,000 students a year registered with it. The college offers a broad curriculum covering a wide range of vocational areas plus a Sixth Form Centre, with full time, part time, work based learning and apprenticeships all featuring within the offer. The college is committed to

working in partnership and giving people the skills that they need for work and life as well as having a mission to meet the needs of employers.

Jon led a group of colleges that visited Beijing in 2005 and Vancouver in 2010, the visits considering how the Games could be used to best effect and what kind of impacts there would be. He was a representative on LOCOG's employment planning.

Michael

Michael's initial experience of working on a sporting megaevent was as a student volunteer with the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games, working on the official website. This gave him the desire to get involved with London 2012. He applied for the role of Podium's Communications and Media Manager in May 2009 and took up the post in September of that year, there having been some delay due to problems with securing the funding for the post. Michael worked in this role until August 2012 when he took over as head of Podium, a role that he still occupies.

Nigel

Nigel trained as an architect and had been actively involved in engaging communities involved in master planning working for a housing design architect on a large New Deal for Communities programme when he noted a level of mistrust between young people and older people. He set up various initiatives to try and get the young people involved, but found it hard to secure a voice for this group. He began to feel that he was always being parachuted into communities, expected to get their trust and encountering hostility because these communities had had been 'consulted' before and never even been replied to. In response to this he, along with an arts educator, set up the organisation of which he is Executive Director in 2003 in Newham, where he lives. The organisation which is an architecture centre that seeks new ways for communities to participate in the transformation of their neighbourhoods worked across the age range from a reception class in a primary school to an over sixties

group, and secured work associated with the planning of the Olympic Park for his *Architecture Crew.* This youth panel began with a trip to Manchester and they did research about the Commonwealth Games and what it had been like for the community in East Manchester to host the Games and then looked at how it became a catalyst for much wider regeneration for that area. They produced a film that was screened at the bid day in Meridian Square in Stratford and continue to operate.

Peter

Peter was born in and is resident within East London. Having been Professor of Molecular Hematology at the Institute of Child Health at Great Ormond Street Hospital, completed a career change in 2002 in order to contribute to the regeneration of East London, first as Director of Regeneration and Chief Executive of the Bromley by Bow Centre and then as Chief Executive of Leaside Regeneration. He contributed to the early visioning of the Lower Lea Valley and to the delivery of new homes, physical infrastructure and green spaces. The practical involvement of people from local communities was central to this work.

In 2011, Peter joined the London Legacy Development Corporation, whose task is to maximise the legacy of the 2012 Games for East London, by promoting physical, social, environmental and economic regeneration in Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the surrounding area.

Simon

Simon has been the Chief Executive of the Lee Valley Regional Park Authority for 17 years. This is a statutory body set up by an Act of Parliament in 1966 when its job was to clean up, to remediate, restore, the Lee Valley. As a statutory body it has significant powers to acquire land, but has managed to achieve its objectives through treaty and arrangement. Of the 10,000 acres within the area the Authority owns around 50% of what is a mix of country

parks, nature reserves, camp sites, marinas, sports venues, and commercial farms. The authority has a 28 member Board, all Local Authority members from across Essex, London and Hertfordshire and that membership is enshrined within the Act in terms of the democratic representation. The Authority has the remit to develop directly, or through third parties, a range of sport and leisure activities and venues and has a budget of around £22 million, about 50% of which is raised through a levy charged to the London boroughs, Essex and Hertfordshire, the rest being raised through the income from activities.

Simon was involved in the bidding for the 2005 World Athletic Championships, which, although unsuccessful led to the development of the Athletics Centre at Picketts Lock, and was in negotiation with a number of sports' governing bodies about developing centres within the Lea Valley prior to the bid for the Olympics. At bid time the authority's vision dovetailed neatly with the Olympic opportunity and allowed Simon to talk to the IOC about the developments. Simon stresses the way in which the legacy of regionally important venues drove the development around the Games, the event didn't lead the way.