

Edited by Gavin Poynter and Iain MacRury

Olympic Cities: 2012 and the Remaking of London



Chapter 14 London 2012 – Winning the Olympic

'Green' Medal

Paul Toyne

Introduction

Today the Olympic Games are intrinsically linked to the need to be 'green'/ sustainable. This means that throughout its development, the running of the event and its legacy (how what it leaves behind operates and sustains impacts, the Games will seek to have limited negative environmental and social impacts, and wherever possible positive impacts. The Olympic Games cannot afford to be anything other than a force for good, simply because of its huge impacts in terms of changes to local infrastructure and the global media frenzy that watches the construction of the Olympic site, the running of the Games and what happens after the Games has left. This media attention focuses on all aspects of a host nation's behaviour, as seen in the run up to the Beijing Olympics, particularly the controversy surrounding China's human potential reason for repression.¹

This chapter explores the development of the 'Green' Olympic Games, and describes the approach and aspirations for London 2012. It briefly explores past Olympic Games for their approach to sustainability, reviews the current policy framework for the London 2012 Games and offers a personal insight into the potential outcomes for which the 2012 Games may be judged. In this chapter emphasis is placed on the activities surrounding the hosting and running of the Olympic Games in London, however many sporting competitions will occur outside of London, for example, sailing at Weymouth and Portland, rowing at Eton Dorney and BMX cycling at Weald Country Park, Essex. Much of the discussion and conclusions are general and can also be applied to these sites. Lastly, where relevant I have provided a reference to supporting evidence in the form of a http web address.

l http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/7325754.stm;http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/report/what-human-rights-legacy-beijing-olympics-2008 401; accessed 24 May 2008.

Origins of the Olympic 'Green' Movement and How the IOC formalised Policy around the Environment

Origins of the Green Olympics

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) did not formally include the environment or sustainability as part of their selection criteria until the competition for the 1996 Games, won by Atlanta in the USA. Prior to that. nearly all Games by their sheer scale have considered how to manage their impact. For example, host cities such as Rome (1960) and Montreal (1976) implemented changes to their urban transport systems that reduced car use and provided an improvement in air quality. The Tokyo Games in 1964 provided Japan with an opportunity to tackle its capital's environmental problems. These problems included water quality, waste disposal, air pollution, industrial diseases and a poor public transport system caused by rapid postwar reconstruction and economic growth at the expense of public health. The Tokyo authorities decided to use the Games to create change for the whole city, not just the city sites that would be used. That meant improved water and waste-water management including three new sewage treatment systems, the clean up of the polluted Sumida River, and improved refuse disposal and street cleaning. The most notable improvement was the introduction of the shinkansen high-speed bullet-train, running between Tokyo and Osaka, which has subsequently been introduced throughout Japan, and which a generation later was echoed in the TGV and the other high-speed rail networks within Europe. The decade after the 1964 Games saw a number of similar environmental improvements in all Japan's cities, whose end results included measurable improvements in air and water quality, and in public health.

The environmental impacts of past Olympic Games has caused concern and created a backlash that has influenced IOC thinking. A key turning point was the negative environmental legacy of the 1992 Winter Olympics held at Albertville, Canada. The bid had proposed an ambitious programme linking together infrastructure at 13 small sites across a large area of relatively unsettled natural landscape. A great deal of road construction as well as the building of a new hotel and competition facilities was required. Many heavily forested areas were cut down to clear the ground for the building of the new infrastructure, and without much concern for the local biodiversity. The impacts were considered an environmental disaster by green groups and local inhabitants alike. Clearly that kind of legacy needs to be avoided, and to safeguard against these threats the IOC started to formalise an approach.

Formalising the 'Green' Olympics

During the 1990s, the IOC formally adopted an environmental position. It was largely drawn from the outcomes of the 1992 United Nations Conference

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an environmental position. It 12 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Río de Janeiro, namely Agenda 21. Agenda 21 describes the concept of sustainable development at the local/community level. The concept of 'sustainable development' became part of the global agenda of the United Nations. The IOC responded by debating how to adopt this concept for the Games. The outcome of the discussions at a meeting in Paris in late 1994 was the establishment of an IOC Commission on Sport and the Environment. This was tasked by the IOC with holding biennial conferences on the issue. As a result, in 1995, the environment joined sport and culture to make up the 'three pillars' of the Olympic Charter. The current Charter includes amongst the mission and role of the IOC item 13 of 18:

To encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport and to require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly. (IOC 2004: 12)

Building on the 1995 statement the IOC, in 1999, published a fully itemised Olympic Games Agenda 21, whose principles were followed by the Sydney Games. Agenda 21 offers a global understanding of the environment. It understands the provision of air, water, food and recreational space of sufficient quality to promote health and well-being as basic human rights, and recognises that in order to achieve this fundamental provision, global issues have to be addressed. In the words of the IOC's own Agenda 21 document,

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: 17)

The IOC's Agenda 21 provides a framework for potential hosts of the Games to consider how their bid will deliver to the aspirations of the Olympic movement.

The Sydney Games in 2000 sought the 'green' label and collaborated with environmental NGOs to help achieve it. It was the first Games to be audited by Greenpeace, who issued a positive report. The following Games in Athens was audited by Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), according to the Sydney benchmark, and scored poorly. Of interest is the low scoring of carbon related management in Athens after the promising actions taken in Sydney.

The future environmental impact of the Games in Beijing and London will be judged according to the Sydney benchmark, and therefore cooperation with NGOs (in information sharing, planning and execution as well as establishing

Table 14.1 Sustainability scorecard of the last four Olympic Games

g.	Barcelona 1992	Atlanta 1996	Sydney 2000	Athens 2004
Guidelines drawn up with NGOs	0	0	2	2
Clean-up and return of waste land to social and economic use	1	1	2	1
Renewable energy use	0	1	2	0
Water use and recycling	1	0	2	1
Waste management and recycling	1	1	2	1
Transport infrastructure and 'green' fuel	1	1	1	1
Biodiversity maintenance	1	0	2	0
Carbon: event footprint management	0	0	1	1
Carbon: visitor footprint management	0	0	0	0
Sourcing: sustainability	0	0	2	1
Sourcing: fair trade	0	0	0	0

Sources: Adapted from the Sydney report card (Greenpeace 2000) and Greenpeace's and World Wildlife Fund's joint scoring of the Athen's Games (WWF 2004).

the principles of construction, raw materials procurement, etc.) will be vital. In considering this the London 2012 Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) has set up stakeholder panels and engagement groups that deal with specific issues, for example, procurement. The next section looks at the London 2012 Games and reviews their potential to deliver a sustainable Olympics.

2012 London Olympics - Vision, Governance, Policy Frameworks and Legacy

Vision of London 2012

London won the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games with a vision 'to stage inspirational Games that capture the imagination of young people around the world and leave a lasting legacy'. Other important factors in deciding London's selection were the desire to use the Games as a catalyst to stimulate the regeneration of a 500-acre site in East London, and its ability to promote

Olympic Games

Sydney 2000	Athens 2004
2	2
2	1
2	0
2 2	1
2	1
1	1
2	0
1	1
0	0
2	1
0	0

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mes with a vision 'to stage of young people around ortant factors in deciding as a catalyst to stimulate and its ability to promote and inspire future generations of sportsmen. The East London site, the Olympic Park, is located at the heart of the lower Lea Valley, just four miles north from Tower Bridge and close to Stratford.

Governance

Tasked with delivering this 'vision' is a wide array of stakeholders, but the principal accountability lies with two bodies – LOCOG and the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA). LOCOG will organise, publicise and stage the 2012 Games. It will also report directly to the International Olympic Committee on London 2012; whereas the ODA is the delivery body responsible for creating the infrastructure for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. In addition, it undertakes some operational work whilst the Games are underway, such as the provision of transport. The ODA also '... want London 2012 to be the first 'sustainable' Games, setting new standards for major events'.²

The London Sustainable Development Commission, in partnership with the national Sustainable Development Commission and equivalent regional structures, has established an independent assurance function – a watchdog for the Games – The Commission for a Sustainable London 2012. It was established in 2007 and its remit is to assess annual progress against the overall objectives of each of the main bodies LOCOG, the ODA and official stakeholders. It will also verify every two years – to take into account evolving policies, standards, best practices and technology – each organisation's actions against specific objectives, key performance indicators and targets.³

Whilst The Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 provides the external governance, internal decision-making is governed by an auditing structure that comprises of the Olympic Board together with the Boards of Stakeholder organisations. They will ensure the delivery against these sustainability objectives through the following measures – integrating sustainability principles into the day-to-day management of LOCOG and the ODA and by working closely with the host London Boroughs, the GLA Group, nations and regions, central Government, British Olympic Authority, British Paralympics Authority, sports authorities and the International Olympic Committee (see http://www.cslondon.org/). The 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games have a vision and have the governance set up to check deliver against that vision, but what exactly are the Games hoping to achieve in the area of sustainability?

² http://www.london2012.com/plans/sustainability/index.php; accessed 24 May 2008.

³ http://www.londonsdc.org/discover_more/lsdc/. accessed 24 May 2008.

Policy Framework

To deliver the 'sustainability' vision the London 2012 Organising Committee has developed a sustainability policy and accompanying plan, which set out the concept of One Planet Living and actions to achieve it. One Planet Living is a term developed by WWF and Bioregional in the UK whereby our living requirements are within the ecological limits of the planet – the one planet Earth that we have – rather than the present consumption behaviour in western Europe and North America which requires three planets (World Wildlife Fund 2004).

The policy sets out the following legacy goals:

- make the UK a world-leading sporting nation;
- transform the heart of east London;
- inspire a new generation of young people to take part in local volunteering, cultural and physical activity;
- · make the Olympic Park a blueprint for sustainable living; and
- demonstrate the UK is a creative, inclusive and welcoming place to live in, visit and for business.⁴

It focuses on five headline themes: climate change, waste, biodiversity, inclusion and healthy living. These themes were chosen because they represent areas where the organisers believe that the 2012 Games can make the biggest impact and achieve the most beneficial outcomes.

Climate change Climate change is a global issue and the organisers see the Games providing a platform for demonstrating long-term solutions in terms of energy and water resource management, infrastructure development, transport, local food production and carbon offsetting. The aims are to minimise the environmental footprint and carbon emissions of the Games and legacy development, notably by optimising energy efficiency and energy demand through the use of low carbon and renewable energy sources.

Waste The organiser's aim is for the construction of the Olympic site to be a catalyst for a new waste management infrastructure in East London and other regional venues, and for the construction of all the facilities to demonstrate exemplary resource management practices. During the demolition and construction phase companies will need to minimise waste at source, divert construction waste wherever feasible and all Games-time waste away from landfill, and promote the waste hierarchy of 'reduce, reuse, recycle' to facilitate long-term individual behavioural change.

⁴ http://www.london2012.com/documents/locog-publications/london-2012-sustainability-policy.pdf, accessed 15 May 2008.

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Biodiversity As well as the economic regeneration of the area, the natural river system of the Lower Lea Valley and its surrounding habitats will be restored. This will involve the dredging of canals, widening rivers and the creation of three nectars of wetlands. The restoration will involve the planting of native species such as oak and hazel to create a wildlife haven in East London. These aims are entirely achievable, and the success of the Barnes wetland reserve provides a working example of a recent habitat restoration success in West London.

Inclusion The London 2012 Games seek to promote access, celebrate diversity, and facilitate the physical, economic and social regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley and surrounding communities. This will be supported by the provision of new infrastructure and facilities and the creation of employment, training and education opportunities. Communities across the rest of London and the UK will be encouraged to identify and take full advantage of direct and indirect opportunities arising from the Games.

Healthy Living The organisers will use the Games as a springboard for inspiring people across the country to take up sport and develop active, healthy and sustainable lifestyles.

2012 Construction Commitments

A key aspect of delivering sustainable Games will be ensuring that the construction of the Games' infrastructure is sustainable. With this goal in mind in 2006 the UK government signed up to a set of construction commitments designed to deliver the vision of the London 2012 Games. The commitments were developed with the construction industry with the aim that, if implemented, they would demonstrate the very best in British construction practices using the Olympics as a live example. The '2012 Construction Commitments' cover six key areas of the construction process and are designed to promote collaborative working and ensure the successful delivery of the Games infrastructure, buildings and subsequent legacy. To this end they reinforce and underpin the Olympic Delivery Authority's (ODA) procurement policies and those appointed as the delivery partner to work with the ODA and manage the programme to build the Olympic park are required to adhere to them.

The Commitments were developed by the Strategic Forum for Construction's 2012 Task Group in conjunction with the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and the Department of Trade and Industry. Areas covered include:

• Client leadership – client leadership is vital to the success of any project and enables the construction industry to perform at its best. Eight

aspects are covered in this section ranging from client attitudes to procurement and commitments to best practice.

- Procurement and Integration a successful procurement policy requires ethical sourcing, enables best value to be achieved and encourages the early involvement of the supply chain. An integrated project team works together to achieve the best possible solution in terms of design, buildability, environmental performance and sustainable development eight aspects are covered that included risk identification and project team responsibilities;
- Design the design should be creative, imaginative, sustainable
 and capable of meeting delivery objectives. Quality in design and
 construction utilising the best of modern methods will ensure that
 the Olympic sites meet the civic needs of all stakeholders, both
 functionally and architecturally, for 2012 and beyond. Six aspects are
 covered including IT based collaborative tools and exploring the use of
 prefabrication techniques;
- Sustainability sustainability lies at the heart of the delivery of the Games. A sustainable approach will bring full and lasting environmental, social and economic benefits through regeneration and legacy. Seven aspects are covered that include developing policy in accordance with the One Planet Olympics ideals and setting targets on sustainability issues;
- Commitment to People valuing people leads to a more productive and engaged workforce, facilitates recruitment and retention of staff and engages local communities positively in construction projects. Eights aspects are covered including commitments to local employment, community engagement and training for staff; Health and Safety Health and safety is integral to the success of any project, from design and construction to subsequent operation and maintenance. Six aspects are described that cover commitments to incident and injury free and occupational health.⁵

The Commitments were the result of detailed discussions with a wide range of stakeholders representing all parts of the construction supply chain and represent a partnership and collaborative working between industry, Government and Olympic organisations. So far the background, the policy intent and some of the issues around delivering a sustainable Games have been described. The theory has been explained but what of the reality? This next section provides a more personal opinion of what to expect.

⁵ http://www.strategicforum.org.uk/pdf/2012ConCom.pdf. accessed 19 May 2008.

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onCom.pdf. accessed 19 May 2008.

What Can We Expect London 2012 to Deliver?

The London 2012 Games could be a force for good and create change around its five key themes of climate change, waste, biodiversity, inclusion and healthy living. Its 'green' success will depend on a number of factors - how influential it can be in shaping and informing national policy; whether it will be a catalyst for innovation that delivers use closer to a low waste and low carbon economy; and, lastly, the extent to which it demonstrates the capacity to build a more inclusive society. Below I consider some of these areas and pose questions that can only be answered with the progress of time.

Contribution to the National Policy Debate

London 2012 must be used as an opportunity to consider how its objectives should be drivers for the need for nationwide policy reform. Why? Scarcity of resources and increasing problems related to environmental and social issues mean that we are not delivering at the pace required to address the problems. Let us consider healthy living: What is in place to transform the UK population from an ageing, obese population with unsustainable consumption patterns? Can the Games transform the population into considering a healthy lifestyle with exercise and diet? Probably not, but it can be used to generate best practice and lessons that could be applied to other regions and at a national level. This is an important objective as the UK, like most of Europe and North America, is suffering from an obesity epidemic, affecting all age groups and resulting in other health problems such as diabetes - being more active and participating in sport is part of the solution. The challenge will be to consider how to use London 2012 to engage with the public, raise awareness and actually encourage them to change their behaviours to diet and exercise. For this to happen what else needs to be in place? What access to resources – literature, venues, equipment and support will people need?

Similar questions can be posed concerning the other themes of the London 2012 Games, for example, waste and carbon management. The construction of the infrastructure of the Games will provide an excellent opportunity for construction companies and their supply chains to demonstrate new ways of working and feed these lessons back into their operations, creating a business transformation in how they deal with waste and carbon. But what supporting legislation and enabling conditions are required to ensure that activities around the Olympics are not just one-off initiatives but do actually have the intended impact of creating transformations in the market place? The UK Government has set the draft target of halving construction waste to landfill by 2012, within the construction lifetime of the Games. If the Games-related construction projects are successful in achieving this goal, the lessons learnt can be implemented across the UK construction sector as a whole. That would

be a powerful and much needed step-change.

Similarly, the current national policy framework requires that all homes built in 2016 and all non-domestic dwellings built in 2019 are zero carbon. Pushing to develop the Games infrastructure with as lower carbon footprint as possible could create an extremely important first step in meeting these targets. It would also show how the Olympic sustainability movement has moved on from the Sydney Games and recognised the significant public and political concern over climate change. What could this mean in practice? Aside from construction, will we see event management and the visitor carbon footprint being managed to promote a low carbon Games using minimal amounts of energy and resources? What part will hoteliers, transport and catering

One aspect that may be hugely beneficial for the push on sustainability is scale (size and time of the development), because if actions can be made economically - as well as socially and environmentally - viable, then there is the possibility of raising the bar in terms of subsequent performance in other developments. A flip side maybe that the lessons learnt may not translate into smaller developments and only be relevant to large scale projects and events.

Innovation

Transformation of business and public behaviour to meet the requirements of One Planet Living will require innovation. Without innovation it will simply not happen. So the challenge here will be how to stimulate innovation. Here the vision, policies and objectives for the London 2012 Games provide a catalyst to stimulate thinking and generate ideas. Innovation can also come from collaboration and some unlikely partnerships that may result from those set up around the Games. LOCOG and the ODA are developing active partnerships with non-Governmental organisations, community groups, businesses, professional bodies and academia to help leverage the opportunities provided by the Games and to utilise the power of the Olympic brand to mobilise enthusiasm and maximise benefits in a number of areas, for example, procuring goods, services and sponsorship sustainably with an emphasis on supplier diversity, fair employment and environmental attributes, as well as other social and ethical criteria as appropriate. Time will tell if it leads to innovation that creates a positive step change in these areas.

Employment, the Skills Agenda and Technology

Previous Games have led to the implementation of new technology for example in Tokyo as mentioned at the start of this chapter; also in the regeneration of Barcelona and its improvements in the control of river pollution, and waste water management; and in Atlanta where the production of an event allowed business to experiment in clean technologies such as solar panels and lowenergy lighting. The Sydney Games set targets on energy efficiency and the

by framework requires that all homes ellings built in 2019 are zero carbon. Sture with as lower carbon footprint as tant first step in meeting these targets. Stainability movement has moved on d the significant public and political ld this mean in practice? Aside from nent and the visitor carbon footprint on Games using minimal amounts ill hoteliers, transport and catering

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use of sustainable materials for buildings and as a result industry innovated to meet those requirements.

London 2012 should be no different, and companies will be applying new methods of working, and applying technology in the pursuit of a low carbon stadium and accommodation. New technology will also be employed in the running and communicating of the Games, visitors to the Games will need to stay in accommodation and be provided with other services, like catering, that meet the one planet living requirements. The challenge will be to ensure that all these goods and services meet sustainability criteria outlined by the ODA green procurement guidelines, and that there is the technical support to ensure it works and can be maintained without any problems, not just for the Games but after them. Can the London 2012 Games demonstrate its positive social force by addressing poverty reduction through creating opportunities for producers and workers who have been economically disadvantaged or marginalized by the conventional Olympic procurement system? Could it be the first Games to achieve Fairtrade status?

The True Legacy of the Games - What Can be Expected?

It is often forgotten or little mentioned that economic sustainability is an important component of sustainability. Will there be an economic benefit from hosting the Games? If so, what will it amount to? If not, will there be other benefits that compensate and make the whole event worthwhile. Critics have suggested that most Olympics are expensive to run and result in debt to host nations; this is certainly true if you look at past Games such as Montreal (1976). The UK government's own Strategy Unit came to the conclusion that we should not bid to host the Games. This advice was dismissed. Why? Presumably because there are other factors to consider – the feel good factor to the UK public, the global media attention promoting Great Britain. But these will wane over time.

So what will be the long-term legacies? Hopefully, the regeneration of the Olympic site into a sustainable community, which offers a community access to local employment, education and a quality of life that promotes a healthy sustainable lifestyle. If this can be achieved and sustained then it should provide a blueprint for transforming other parts of Britain. In many ways it is an experiment and there are many risks that may result in the legacy not being delivered. One of the many risks will be the lack of investment to provide economic opportunities for the new community. Without that investment manifesting itself as enterprise, providing work to the community it will fail to function as intended.

So what legacy is likely? The upskilling and training opportunities within the construction sectors supply chain and the trailing of new technological innovations will happen. For this to be a sustained legacy it will need to be employed elsewhere and the policy drivers of building zero-carbon homes and non-domestic buildings should ensure that this happens. There will be an employment boom for construction workers. It is suggested that more than 9,300 people will be directly employed in the Games construction when activity peaks in 2010 with many more employed indirectly. Where will these people come from and how will they be employed after the Olympics? A worthwhile legacy will be the ability for the social disadvantaged in the local communities where the Games take place to benefit from sustained employment, thus breaking the cycle of unemployment within families.

Smaller, less talked about issues surrounding the London Games may be where the legacy has the strongest opportunity to be delivered. Will both public and private procurement be changed for the future, incorporating measurable sustainability evidence from suppliers as a criterion for their selection? Will the concept of supplier diversity live on after the Games? Demonstrating you are a responsible employer and procuring your goods and services locally, will go a long way to meet the aims of One Planet Living, regardless of whether you are a large scale communication company or a niche boutique hotelier. Ultimately, whether the Games are a green success or not will come down to the judgement of the NGO community and the Games' performance benchmarked against the Sydney Games. There have been enough pointers of what London 2012 should do, ranging from Fairtrade status, to being a low carbon Games and offering the Olympic tourist an opportunity to trial One Planet Living, at least for the duration of their visit.

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- The Evolution of the Olympic and Paralympic Games
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 Gavin Poynter
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- The Legacy of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games 87 5 Hyunsun Yoon In which the author examines the political, economic and cultural impact of hosting the Games in Seoul; assessing the hard and soft legacies and drawing positive conclusions concerning the outcomes of the Games for the city and nation of South Korea.
- The Economy of the Barcelona Olympic Games 6 Ferran Brunet The author explores the urban transformation of Barcelona generated by the 1992 Olympics. The Games had far-reaching economic and social impacts. Barcelona is widely considered as a model from the sporting, organisational, economic, social and urban planning perspectives. The chapter examines the legacy of the Barcelona Games over the period of the two decades since 1992.

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- Atlanta (1996): The Centennial Games 121 7 Gavin Poynter and Emma Roberts The authors assess the contested evaluations of the legacy of the Atlanta Games through a brief examination of the bid, the process of governance that it gave rise to and the available evidence on the outcomes achieved.
- Regenerating Sydney's West: Framing and Adapting an 8 133 Olympic Vision Richard Cashman The author considers four stages in the development of Sydney's Olympic legacy. The Olympic vision, which was articulated before the Games, was a powerful and compelling one. During the second stage, the immediate years after the Games, the city struggled to realize its legacy. In the third stage belated plans were developed and implemented to deal with ongoing problems. The city's Olympic vision was adapted and modified in the final stage to suit the changing post-Games environment.
- 145 The 28th Olympic Games in Athens 2004 9 Roy Panagiotopoulou The author examines the Athens Games from the bid phase through to the three years following the event. The chapter explores domestic and international perceptions of the Games, its success as a sporting festival and how, by 2007, Greece seemed to be exhausted by the great effort required during the long preparation period and the staging of the event.

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PART 2: OLYMPIC CITIES

- The Legacy of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games 87

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- Atlanta (1996): The Centennial Games

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 The authors assess the contested evaluations of the legacy of the Atlanta Games through a brief examination of the bid, the process of governance that it gave rise to and the available evidence on the outcomes achieved.

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- Olympic Vision 133
 Richard Cashman
 The author considers four stages in the development of Sydney's Olympic legacy. The Olympic vision, which was articulated before the Games, was a powerful and compelling one. During the second stage, the immediate years after the Games, the city struggled to realize its legacy. In the third stage belated plans were developed and implemented to deal with ongoing problems. The city's Olympic vision was adapted and modified in the final stage to suit the changing post-Games environment.
- The 28th Olympic Games in Athens 2004

 Roy Panagiotopoulou

 The author examines the Athens Games from the bid phase through to the three years following the event. The chapter explores domestic and international perceptions of the Games, its success as a sporting festival and how, by 2007, Greece seemed to be exhausted by the great effort required during the long preparation period and the staging of the event.

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The author reviews London's 'story so far'. The chapter examines the origins of the bid and its association with the renewal and regeneration of East London. It outlines the promises and policies that central, city and local government agencies aspire to achieve and also explains the complex governance structures established to deliver these aspirations.

12 London 2012 and the Regeneration Game Penny Bernstock 201

The author, drawing on evidence from other regeneration projects affecting East London – the Thames Gateway and London Docklands developments – considers alternative scenarios concerning the housing legacy of London 2012.

13 'Race', Sport and East London
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The authors discuss the urban renewal and legacy promises driven by the Games and suggest these present significant challenges if they are to be achieved in one of London's most multicultural and resource deprived areas. The chapter also considers UK sports development's historical failure to include black and minority ethnic communities as participants and influential voices and how this is likely to be perpetuated in East London.

London 2012 - Winning the Olympic 'Green' Medal Paul Toyne

The author explores the development of the 'Green' Olympic Games, and describes the approach and aspirations for London 2012. The chapter briefly reviews past Olympic Games for their approach to sustainability, and examines the current policy framework for the London 2012 Games.

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16	Where is London, England in Contemporary Britain – and Will the 2012 Olympics Help Us to Find It? 259 Andrew Blake The author argues that while Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and London itself have a political and cultural framework within which to reinvent themselves, England does not. The chapter examines this problem within the discussion of the role of 'culture' in the preparation for and staging of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.
17	London, Beijing and the Role of Culture in Reconstructing Society Andrew Calcutt The author speculates that ruling elites in Beijing and London are hoping that hosting the Olympic Games in 2008 and 2012 respectively will help to reconstitute society as an agora of self-expression and self-recognition.
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