

A Lasting Legacy for London?

Assessing the legacy of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games

May 2007

Barcelona · Atlanta · Sydney · Athens





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Research commissioned by the London Assembly from the London East Research Institute of the University of East London

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Greater London Authority May 2007

Published by

Greater London Authority
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minicom 020 7983 4458

ISBN 978-1-84781-022-9

This publication is printed on recycled paper.

A Lasting Legacy for London? Assessing the legacy of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games

1. Introduction

The purpose of this report is twofold. First, it highlights key points of the research carried out by the University of East London for the London Assembly into the legacy of recent Games. Second, it examines how London can learn from the experience of previous host cities and draws on previous Assembly work to suggest potential ways forward

Our assessment is that London has made a good start to securing a sustainable physical legacy from the Games. London has set in train an ambitious programme of urban renewal which, if it succeeds, will eclipse the most impressive achievements of previous host cities in areas such as hard infrastructure and land use.

However, we believe much more work remains to be done to secure the soft legacy benefits such as employment, skills, sports participation and disability awareness. These are areas in which previous cities struggled to make their mark. Unless London learns from their experience, it too risks failure.

The most important concept to emerge from our research is that of legacy momentum, or the capacity of a host city to continue to grow after the immediate post-Games downturn in economic activity. Best illustrated by the Barcelona Games in 1992, legacy momentum is the single most critical factor in determining the extent to which the Games will drive the transformation of its host city.

We look forward to working with the Games organisers, host boroughs and people of London to secure the best possible legacy for our city.

2. Legacy assessment

In this section, we highlight key points of the University of East London's research into the legacy of previous Games. First, we assess the legacy left by each of the four host cities – Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney and Athens. Second, we examine in more detail the legacy in each of nine key areas.

2.1 Legacy by city

2.1.1 Barcelona (ranking: gold)

Barcelona is the city that, of the four, emerges with the strongest evidence of a Games legacy. Its economy benefited from a three-stage programme of transformation, with each phase addressing the omissions and negative impacts of the preceding cycle. The Games were a catalyst for urban renewal, which was driven by both hard (infrastructure) and soft (such as increased confidence) legacy successes. Redevelopment of the site was imaginative and generally positively received, and employment levels, after an initial blip, have risen.

However, partly due to lack of monitoring, Barcelona struggled as much as other cities to prove that it had achieved a lasting legacy in softer areas such as disability awareness and sports participation. There is also little hard evidence of improvement in the city's

skills base in the immediate aftermath of the Games, although this may yet materialise in subsequent phases of regeneration.

2.1.2 Atlanta (ranking: bronze)

Atlanta's aspiration was commercial redevelopment – which it achieved – rather than neighbourhood renewal. As a result, there appeared to have been little or no improvement in the lives of the city's least well off residents. Indeed, people in deprived communities lost housing to the Games development and had to be relocated, which led to considerable ill-will.

There is little evidence of improvements in employment and skills levels, and the gap between suburban wealth and inner-city deprivation has not closed in the decade since the Games. Atlanta's priority was to market itself as a global business centre rather than a tourist destination. It appears to have succeeded at least to some extent in this, but there is insufficient evidence to establish a clear link with the Games.

2.1.3 Sydney (ranking: silver)

The legacy of the Sydney Games is best described as mixed. Sydney saw significant infrastructure investment and business relocation. It also benefited from legacy benefits such as improved international status. Sydney's tourism industry saw a significant boost, partly due to a major rebranding exercise, including a large increase in business visitors.

However, evidence on the long term employment and skills legacy is unconvincing. Job creation was, with the exception of the construction industry, mainly temporary and in low-skilled service work. Sports venues have been underused since the Games, and significant government investment has gone into the site in an attempt to make it self-supporting. It is also unclear whether Sydney lived up to its billing as the Green Games.

2.1.4 Athens (ranking: bronze)

Athens benefited from considerable land remediation and improvement while avoiding excessive house price inflation. Residential areas in the centre and outskirts of the city were enhanced, and Athens also benefited from transport improvements.

However, the city saw a dramatic drop in employment, especially in the construction sector, in the aftermath of the Games. The Athens Games were also heavily criticised by environmentalists. The tourism legacy is uncertain, as it is too early to draw robust conclusions on the impact on tourist numbers in the city.

2.2 Legacy by sector

Having summarised the overall impact of the Games in each of the four cities, we can analyse in more detail the legacy in each of nine key themes: city economy, urban renewal, employment, skills, sports participation, community participation, the environment, disability awareness and tourism. This gives us an understanding of the issues London will face in achieving a legacy in these areas, and how challenging it is likely to be.

2.2.1 City economy (verdict for London: challenging)

The Games provided a significant catalyst for renewal in all four host cities, largely by accelerating the completion of infrastructure projects. In the case of Barcelona, the already impressive economic legacy is likely to grow through subsequent regenerative

phases. Both Atlanta and Sydney succeeded in attracting businesses to relocate to their cities.

However, there is a question mark over the viability of the site and venues. All ran the risk of creating 'white elephants', and Sydney required subsequent investment to nudge its underused venues towards commercial viability. The research concluded that each city emerged with a balance sheet of negatives and positives from a process of regeneration that 'happened to' local people rather than being shaped by them.

2.2.2 Urban renewal (verdict for London: challenging)

Barcelona succeeded in securing hard legacy gains, such as improved infrastructure, reorientation of city spaces and new types of land use. Polluted waterfront areas were completely transformed, and the industrial section was replaced with beaches. Both Barcelona and Sydney recorded soft legacy gains, such as enhanced confidence, status and reputation. Atlanta, on the other hand, sacrificed renewal at a neighbourhood level for a largely successful programme of commercial redevelopment.

Although, with the exception of Atlanta, urban renewal has been one of the strongest elements of the Games' legacy, there is a flipside to this success. Barcelona, for example, has seen substantial house price and rental inflation and the emergence of a large population of international residents and property investors who are gaining more from the infrastructure benefits than some of the city's local communities.

2.2.3 Employment (verdict for London: very challenging)

All four cities struggled to achieve a sustainable employment legacy. Although employment growth was marked in the pre-Games phase, the longer-term legacy has been mixed. Indeed, the research found that long-term unemployed and workless communities were largely unaffected by the staging of the Games in each of the cities. Much of the employment was temporary, and there was also little evidence that volunteer skills transferred to the post-Games economy. Greece actually lost 70,000 jobs in the three months following the Games, mostly in the construction industry.

However, there was some evidence of positive results. Barcelona puts its permanent jobs legacy at around 20,000, Sydney at around 2,400. Many of these were created by inward investment and the relocation of companies to the region.

2.2.4 Skills (verdict for London: very challenging)

There is evidence that host cities benefited from pockets of new skills: Sydney and Barcelona saw development of event and project management skills among regeneration professionals, while Sydney and Athens benefited from improvements in the use of technologies and training schemes, especially in the construction sector.

However, evidence of a broad improvement of the skills base in the four host cities' labour markets is limited. Sydney, for example, offered training opportunities in the hospitality and security sectors, but these did not translate into permanent jobs post-Games. There is the possibility, primarily in Barcelona, that skills weaknesses could be addressed in the course of further regeneration.

2.2.5 Sports participation (verdict for London: very challenging)

On sports participation, the picture is mixed, at best. In Sydney, seven Olympic sports experienced small increases in participation in the year following the Games, but nine

actually declined. The research suggests this could be due to couch potato syndrome induced by the quantity of sports coverage.

There is also doubt over the sustainability of any increases. There is anecdotal evidence of a positive impact, but detailed research is inconclusive. Participation among disabled people has been particularly difficult to monitor because of the low numbers of clubs and the lack of a clear pathway from grassroots to elite performance.

2.2.6 Community participation (verdict for London: feasible)

All four host cities saw evidence of community participation in the Games events through volunteering: in Atlanta and Sydney, 47,000 volunteers participated; in Athens, 44,000; in Barcelona 35,000. Barcelona was successful in engaging people in pre- and post-Games events, while anniversary events were well attended in both Barcelona and Sydney.

There is no doubt that these volunteers were the basis of a highly flexible short-term workforce, and, in the case of Sydney, helped present a multicultural face to the Games. However, many of the volunteers were trained for specific low-skilled, customerfocused tasks, and there is little evidence of volunteer skills transferring to the post-Games economy.

2.2.7 Environment (verdict for London: challenging)

Sydney, the first Games to be audited by Greenpeace, received a fairly positive response from environmentalists. Athens, in comparison, was found wanting, and received a great deal of negative publicity. There were examples of good environmental practice in earlier Games, for example the control of river pollution in Barcelona and experiments with clean technologies in Atlanta.

However, it is important to note that prior to Sydney sustainability was not a significant part of the bidding or planning process for the Games.

2.2.8 Disability awareness (verdict for London: very challenging)

The most detailed information available on the Paralympic Games is from Sydney, which hosted the best attended Paralympic Games in the history of the event, as well as selling most tickets and securing the highest ever viewing figures for the opening ceremony of the Paralympic Games. However, there was criticism of the exclusion of Paralympic athletes from active roles, for example, in the high profile launches of various initiatives. Research from Sydney suggests awareness and attitudes towards disability may have improved, but some of these benefits disappeared in the years following the Games.

However, the lack of information available on the legacy of the Paralympic Games more generally makes monitoring its impact very difficult. In Athens, there are no relevant papers whatsoever. This in itself gives an indication of the low priority attached to this aspect of the Games legacy.

2.2.9 Tourism (verdict for London: very challenging)

Although recent host cities have succeeded in attracting tourists (and, in the case of Barcelona, attracting them beyond the event itself) there is some evidence that tourist numbers decreased pre-Games, for example in Sydney. Some research points to an uncertain link between sporting events and tourism. Indeed, it has been shown that local bars and restaurants, far from gaining trade during the Games, actually lost

business. This is partly due to congestion and partly because of the spending patterns of Games tourists, which are quite different from those of other visitors.

Business tourism is an important part of the equation. Both Atlanta and Sydney appear to have benefited from increased conference trade around the Games. However, the longer term impact on tourism, particularly in Athens, is difficult to predict at this stage.

3. Lessons to be learned by London

The research contains valuable lessons for London on how best to maximise the legacy of the 2012 Games. These lessons relate both the areas of hard legacy, in which previous host cities have made substantial progress, and soft legacy, where they have been much less successful.

It is especially useful to learn from Barcelona how best to achieve legacy momentum. According to the research, it is essential that the Games complement an existing regeneration plan. Secondly, the knowledge base employed in the preparation and the staging of the Games must not be dispersed at the end of the event, but used to promote further innovation. Thirdly, any negative consequences of Games-related regeneration must be addressed in subsequent urban development.

Lessons can also be learned from each of the nine assessed legacy areas. In this section, we examine how London can learn from the experience of previous host cities and draw on previous Assembly work to suggest potential ways forward.

3.1 City economy

Work on the legacy of London 2012 has already begun, and will go on until well beyond 2012. As Waltham Forest leader Clyde Loakes told the Assembly in February: "The legacy of this fantastic opportunity...started as soon as we won the host city status". Sir Robin Wales, Mayor of LB Newham, added: "2013 is not the final date. The stuff that is happening in East London will be in 2020, 2030."

London rightly recognises that in regeneration terms the Games is a long-term solution rather than a quick fix. However, it could be helpful to replicate the approach taken by Barcelona in seeing the legacy as a staggered programme of investment, with each phase building on the one before. This is the crux of achieving legacy momentum.

There are already concerns¹ that London's long-term programme of regeneration is repeating a weakness of previous Games: it risks happening to, rather than being shaped by, the local population. People had, for example, just six weeks to digest and comment on the revised planning application for the site, which runs to 10,000 pages.

It is essential that the London organisers pay more than lip service to local opinions. People - not just pre-selected stakeholders – must have the right to shape the legacy masterplan. When the draft plan is produced at the end of next year, people must have adequate time to respond to it, and the final document must reflect their views. This will be particularly important in ensuring that the final site is one that meets the needs of local communities.

¹ 'This Olympian stitch-up remains blissfully untroubled by democracy', Guardian, 20 March 2007

For the London economy to benefit from the Games, local businesses must be able to compete for, and win, Games-related contracts. The Assembly's Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee has looked at this area in detail. In its *Business of the Games* report, the Committee raised the concern that small London businesses, including those run by women, disabled people and those from BAME communities, could miss out on this work. It suggested ways in which the barriers small businesses face, such as bureaucracy and lack of information, could be eased, and called for the success of these firms in winning Games-related contracts to be monitored.

3.2 Urban renewal

In east London, the need for physical and social regeneration is as acute as any previous Games. Hackney mayor Jules Pipe told the Assembly that East London was often seen as "the embarrassment on the doorstep of the richest square mile that exists in the world...you only have to take one step beyond that and you can see some of the greatest deprivation in this country".

The success of previous Games in regenerating areas of deprivation has been mixed. Barcelona, Sydney and Athens achieved significant hard and soft legacy gains, including infrastructure improvements, land remediation and an increased sense of confidence and status. In Atlanta, the Games had little impact on the disparity between suburban wealth and inner city poverty. Indeed, significant bad feeling was created within certain neighbourhoods that lost housing to the Games development.

The lesson is that renewal must take place at a neighbourhood level, through jobs, housing and related infrastructure, as well for a sub-region as a whole. For example, the 30,000-40,000 new homes promised for London must reflect the needs of the people who live in these neighbourhoods. The Assembly heard from Denise Jones, leader of Tower Hamlets, that to encourage people to live and work locally the borough needs as much social housing as can be built. Newham mayor Sir Robin Wales stressed the need for mixed communities, with houses of the appropriate size with gardens, incorporating both social housing and shared ownership.

3.3 Employment

The track record of the Games on tackling ingrained worklessness is not good, and yet this is one of the central tenets of the London vision. Londoners have been promised 50,000 jobs in the Lower Lea Valley, of which 10,000-12,000 will be in the Olympic Park. However, the experience of previous host cities has been that much of the jobs boost has been temporary, and that in some cases employment levels fell in the aftermath of the Games.

Nevertheless Manny Lewis, chief executive of the London Development Agency, told the Assembly that he had "high aspirations" for employment and skills. He said the Games would catalyse a reduction in worklessness across London by 70,000, and in the five host boroughs by 20,000.

The London Development Agency and others are right to be ambitious. However, for those ambitions to be realised, London must overcome the hurdles faced by its predecessors – chiefly, that the jobs created by the Games are not permanent, and, as Barcelona found, that the Games themselves are not enough to overcome a historic deficit in higher-skilled and professional occupations.

The employment and skills legacy of the Games is being monitored by the Assembly's Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee. The Committee, in its first report on the subject, identified a number of risks that must be addressed if London is to improve on the generally disappointing employment legacy left by recent Games. These include duplication of existing activity, lack of clarity over funding, ineffectual communication, and the lack of geographical focus in some initiatives, which may mean resources are spread too thinly.

3.4 Skills

The London Games will bring 100,000 training places to the city, of which a quarter will go to people living in the five host boroughs. It is also intended that local people will benefit from the training opportunities linked to the Pre-Volunteer Programme.

This training is badly needed: a quarter of the working age population in the host boroughs has no qualifications at all.

However, evidence on skills improvement from previous Games has been unconvincing. Training focused on skills needed for the staging of the Games themselves, which created a legacy in some areas, such as construction, but not in others, such as hospitality and security.

In Barcelona, attempts to improve the local skills base through skills interventions were thwarted by the sub-contracting system present in the construction industry, and also by the fact that most of the temporary and permanent jobs created in the service sector were unskilled.

The research suggests two lessons. The first is that training should match not only the demands of the Games themselves but also the skills needs of the population post Games. At the moment, inadequate information is available on the nature of the training opportunities – and indeed the nature of the 50,000 jobs due to be created in the Lower Lea Valley – to be certain that this is the case. However, initiatives such as the centre in Waltham Forest that will train 250 people a year in basic construction skills are to be welcomed.

The second lesson is that simply providing training opportunities will not be enough. It will be essential for London to anticipate every barrier – including lack of language skills and, in the case of construction work, site readiness – that could prevent local people from getting Games-related jobs.

3.5 Sports participation

The research calls into question assumptions made about the benefits the Games will bring. In the last plenary session, Waltham Forest leader Clyde Loakes described getting people engaged with sports as "a really easy win". At the same session, Neale Coleman, director business planning and regeneration in the Mayor's Office, told Members it was a "given" that a high medals tally for Great Britain would be the biggest driver of participation.

The research indicates that there is evidence only of short term increases in sports participation following the Games, and even that is ambiguous. Previous host cities clearly did not find increasing sports participation to be an easy win. Indeed, the research concludes that although medal-winning success might appear likely to attract young people into sport there is no robust evidence of a link between periodic

international successes and significant and enduring uptake of sport. As noted above, while participation in some sports increased after the Sydney Games, participation in others actually declined.

There is a real risk, then, that this important part of the Games legacy could be thwarted by complacency on the part of the bodies charged with delivering it. We simply cannot assume that hosting the Games will lead to a sustained increase in sporting participation following the Games.

The key to achieving this increase may lie less in elite sport than in grassroots physical activity. For that reason, it is essential that the sporting venues are accessible to local people after the Games. The Assembly was told by Sir Robin Wales leisure water was "part of the discussion" about the future of the Aquatics Centre. Ensuring the pool can be used by recreational swimmers is so fundamental to the legacy of the Games that it should not be an issue for negotiation. Indeed, the budget for the park includes £89m to make all venues suitable for community usage.

It is also critical that grassroots sport is protected as far as possible from any diversion in Lottery funding as a result of the revised Games budget. Tessa Jowell, Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, when she announced the new budget, said no funding would be taken from UK Sport, the body responsible for preparing elite athletes for forthcoming Games. However, no such assurance was given to Sport England, the body responsible for community sport, which faces an 8% budget cut. As a result, the agency predicts 186,000 fewer people will have the opportunity to participate in sport². It is easy to see how the lack of even a relatively modest level of resources can have a huge impact on sports clubs. On a visit to the Camberwell Gymnastics Club in Southwark, Members were told that a particular session for disabled children had a two year waiting list, simply because the club did not have the small amount of funding needed to run another class.

It is encouraging that boroughs such as Waltham Forest have included targets on sports participation in their local area agreements. However, we would reiterate the recommendation of the Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee that boroughs should also consider including targets on sports participation among disabled people.

3.6 Community participation

The host boroughs are optimistic about the potential of the Games to help them engage with local communities. At the last plenary, Waltham Forest leader Clyde Loakes said the carnival of the Games would be a catalyst "to reignite passion within our communities and series engagement with our communities". Denise Jones, leader of Tower Hamlets, said the Games would be a means of enhancing community cohesion.

These are, quite rightly, ambitious aims. The research shows that the Games did indeed promote community participation through large scale volunteering programmes and pre- and post-Games events. There is clearly a groundswell of public enthusiasm which is one of the most valuable resources for Games organisers. This is backed up by the fact that over 100,000 people have already registered their interest in becoming a volunteer at the London Games. However, if the Games is to be shaped by, rather than

² 'Grassroots participation is the loser as Sport England props up Games', Guardian, 22 March 2007

simply happen to, local people, we will have to go beyond signing up volunteers for the duration of the Games.

The first challenge will be for the boroughs and others to convert that enthusiasm into a sustained increase in the numbers of volunteers in their communities, for example by encouraging all potential volunteers to support other good causes in the run-up to 2012.

The second will be to make the best use of the volunteering programme to improve the skills base of local people, for example through the Pre-Volunteer Programme mentioned above. People who successfully complete the Pre-Volunteer Programme should have a good chance of becoming a Games volunteer. This would be a very powerful incentive for people to join the programme, and from there to have the potential to move into sustainable employment.

3.7 Environment

London intends to showcase its environmental credentials at the London 2012 Games by adopting objectives on a range of themes, including carbon, water use and biodiversity.

The most useful precedent is the Sydney Games, the first to adopt wholesale the International Olympic Committee's environmental agenda. In particular, London should replicate Sydney's keenness to work and share information with environmental organisations. Of particular interest are the environmental successes achieved by Sydney in its public transport infrastructure, waste management schemes and use of solar power for the Olympic Village.

However, in considering transport arrangements for the Olympic Family, London should note the criticism that was attracted by the fleet of luxury cars provided in Sydney, which, according to Greenpeace, offset the achievement of allowing spectators to travel to events by public transport. Also, the assessment of Sydney's green legacy did not take into account the visitor carbon footprint.

Proper monitoring is essential to ensure London does not replicate Athens in having to drop environmental commitments as costs begin to rise and deadlines approach.ondon should include in its monitoring a clear calculation of the environmental impact of all visitors – including those who will come without tickets for any events simply to enjoy the atmosphere. There is a real opportunity for London to push the environmental agenda much harder than any previous Games, and to put in place the kind of robust, transparent monitoring that help future host cities learn from our best practice.

3.8 Disability awareness

In its bid document, London said that by hosting the Games it would develop opportunities for disabled people by changing society's perceptions. However, the fact is that no previous Games can be shown to have led to a sustained improvement in disability awareness. What was perceived as an improvement in Sydney disappeared in the years following the Games.

The involvement of disabled people in planning the Games is critical. We welcome work that has already been done by London on this important aspect of the legacy. London can learn, once again, from the experience of Sydney, where disabled people engaged with the project through an access advisory committee.

There is a clear opportunity for London to involve disabled people in the planning of the Games and to ensure Paralympic athletes are visible and properly funded ambassadors for the Games in 2012. It is also essential to address the absence of data both on disability awareness levels and sports participation rates among disabled people.

3.9 Tourism

London Development Agency chief executive Manny Lewis told the Assembly that the Games would bring "something like £2bn of added value" to tourism and inward investment.

Again, the evidence suggests that this may not be as straightforward as it appears. The issue is further complicated by the fact that London is already a prime international tourist destination³. For this reason, we would welcome further information on where this added value is expected to come from. What was clear from previous Games was that longer term benefits could be secured if facilities in the Olympic park were put to use for other sporting events, concerts, conferences and so on.

Timing will be critical. Sydney launched its "brand Australia" programme a full four years before the event in order to maximise the potential for visitor numbers, spend, and national image.

A further issue may be establishing causality. In Atlanta, it was difficult to separate out the impact of Games-driven investment from the high level of natural growth being experienced by the city at that time.

4. Conclusion

London has made a strong start to securing a physical legacy from the Games, including an ambitious plan of urban renewal. Although the evidence suggests that a sustainable legacy in terms of employment and skills is difficult to achieve, we believe it is right to set ambitious targets and are encouraged by early work to secure success in these areas.

However, London must guard against the risk that the Games happen to local people instead of being shaped by their needs. There is also a great opportunity for London government to improve on the track record of previous hosts by monitoring in an open and robust fashion progress against legacy targets, particularly in areas such as the environment, sports participation and disability awareness.

Finally, we believe London should replicate Barcelona's 'legacy momentum' approach, in which legacy is seen as a staggered programme of investment, with each phase building on the one before.

³ According to the latest figures from the International Passenger Survey, overseas visits to London last year grew by 9.4 per cent, bringing the total to a record 15.2 million.

Appendix 1: Organisations involved in the London 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games

The Olympic Board

The Board provides oversight, strategic coordination and monitoring of the total 2012 Games project, ensuring the delivery of the commitments made to the International Olympic Committee when the Games were awarded to London, and a sustainable legacy from the staging of the Games. It is made up of the Olympics Minister Tessa Jowell, Mayor of London Ken Livingstone, chair of the British Olympics Association Colin Moynihan and chair of the London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Sebastian Coe.

The board holds each lead stakeholder to account and oversees delivery of the four Games objectives, which are, in summary:

- To stage inspirational Games
- To deliver the Park and venues on time, to budget and to specification
- To maximise the economic, social, health and environmental benefits of the Games
- To achieve a sustained improvement in UK sport

The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA)

The ODA is the public body responsible for ensuring delivery of the new venues and infrastructure for the Games and the legacy that will follow. Its budget is £5.3bn. It has responsibility for:

- Olympic Park infrastructure and site preparation including the Olympic Village
- Building new permanent venues and relocatable arenas
- Olympic transport projects
- Permanent works to existing sports venues
- Olympic Park venue legacy conversion

The London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games (LOCOG)

LOCOG a company limited by guarantee which is responsible for the preparation and staging of the 2012 Games. One way of putting it is that while the ODA is responsible for building the theatre, it is LOCOG's job to put on the show. LOCOG, which has a budget of \pounds 2bn, is also the UK's main point of contact with the International Olympic Committee.

The Mayor of London

The Mayor's role as the executive of the strategic authority for London is to promote economic development and wealth creation, social development, and the improvement of the environment. He, with his agencies, is responsible for maximising the employment, economic, cultural and social benefits of the Games for London.

The London Development Agency (LDA)

The LDA is the regional development agency for London, coordinating economic development and regeneration. It is responsible for acquiring land on the Olympic Park site and identifying relocation sites for businesses and residents within the Park zone. It also works on behalf of the Mayor to support London's business and people into jobs, contracts and training arising from the Games and their legacy.

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