

Institution: University of West London		
Unit of Assessment: UoA 24 - Sport and Exercise Sciences, Leisure and Tourism		
Title of case study: The legacy of mega-events: affordable housing on London 2012's Olympic Park		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: May 2018 - September 2019		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s) Dr Penny Bernstock	Role(s) (e.g., job title): Head of Subject - Education and Society	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI: May 2018 to date
Period when the claimed impact occurred: May 2018 - December 2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? No		
1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)		
<p>Dr Penny Bernstock's research has made a highly influential contribution to holding public agencies to account for providing affordable housing on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, which was an important component of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games legacy. When London won the bid for the 2012 Games, it was claimed that the hosting of a mega-event would be used to create an inclusive legacy. Campaigners and local authorities in east London have drawn on Bernstock's policy-focused longitudinal research, and her expertise, to underpin their strategy and campaign for change. Her findings have been used in objections to a major planning application and responses to public consultations on expanding genuinely affordable housing opportunities. The research has also informed Citizens UK campaigning on the legacy from the upcoming Birmingham 2022 Commonwealth Games.</p>		
2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)		
<p>Dr Penny Bernstock is a leading analyst of the housing legacy of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, who has been researching this topic since 2005. Whilst employed at her previous university, she published Olympic housing: a critical review of London 2012's legacy (Routledge, 2014) and Watt, P., Bernstock, P. (2017) Legacy for whom: Housing in Post Olympics East London in Watt, P., Cohen, P. (2017) A Hollow Crown; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.</p> <p>Since joining the University of West London, Bernstock has extended her research programme with outputs that provide longitudinal perspectives into the limitations of the London 2012 Games to deliver a meaningful legacy for local communities. This impact case study is based on her recent work published in 2019 evaluating the contribution of planning gain to an inclusive housing legacy on the Olympic Park. The research methodology included documentary analysis of the planning gain agreements for the period 2000 and 2018; and an ethnographic observation of the London Legacy Development Corporation's (LLDC) Planning Committee across a six-month period. [R1]</p> <p>The LLDC is a Mayoral Development Corporation and the local planning authority for the area. Bernstock's work directly engages with policy making, and her findings have generated interest from policy makers and campaigning organisations.</p> <p>This research provided a critical appraisal of the assumption that the hosting of a mega-event would simultaneously lead to rising land values and benefits for East London's disadvantaged communities. This appraisal was undertaken through a forensic analysis of planning decisions. It demonstrated that substantial government investment resulted in rising land values which crowded out lower value uses, such as social rented housing. In contrast, private sector development activity increased substantially. However, the planning system was relatively ineffective in leveraging adequate contributions to affordable housing from private developers.</p>		

In 2017, the Greater London Authority revised its Statutory Planning Guidance (SPG) with the intention of increasing the volume of “affordable housing” by enabling greater flexibility in the type of housing provided in this category. Bernstock’s research published in 2019 demonstrated that this new SPG had resulted in an increase in intermediate housing rather than in much needed social-rented housing. Intermediate housing includes a mix of homes for sale and rent that, since 2012, have been mapped against market prices rather than against incomes. This has become particularly problematic on the Olympic Park because the substantial investment has resulted in the Park emerging as a sub-section of the East London housing market characterised by higher rent and higher house prices. As a result, discounted intermediate housing products require household incomes substantially higher than median household incomes in the legacy area.

Bernstock’s recommendations included the need to undertake a more robust affordability test for affordable housing; increasing provision of much needed social rented housing; and the formal recognition of Community Land Trust housing within the planning system as part of the intermediate / affordable housing offer.

In September 2019, Bernstock presented a conference paper jointly authored with Dr Juliet Davis of Cardiff University which used a Marcusean framework to assess the long-term impacts of state-led, mega-event focussed regeneration and its capacity to reorient land uses that served working class groups towards professionals and elites. [R2]

This paper drew on a rich data set, with documentary analysis and household interviews with residents and businesses displaced from the Olympic Park in 2005. It included a 2019 follow-up case study conducted by Bernstock with documentary analysis and interviews with stakeholders at Here East (the Games’ former International Broadcast Centre), a major source of new employment on the Park, and household interviews with residents who had moved to live in the Park’s first new neighbourhood, Chobham Manor.

The research showed that although London as a host city distinguished itself from other Games’ host cities in its commitment to inclusive regeneration, analysis demonstrated that there was a tendency towards housing and employment displacement. In the paper, Marcuse’s concept of ‘exclusionary displacement’ was developed beyond its initial application of market processes, to capture ways in which a complex interaction of state and market forces contributed, in this case, to a process of socio-spatial restructuring along race/class lines, clearly evident both at Here East and in Chobham Manor. This led to a process of hegemonic gentrification across employment and housing, thus exacerbating displacement pressures in the surrounding areas for low-income residents.

In August 2019, Bernstock presented a paper at the Royal Geographical Society’s Annual International Conference (RGS-IBG AC2018) which provided a critical analysis of the use of a mega-event to regenerate east London. This analysis went beyond housing and considered - through a case study of the Games Stadium, the Athletes’ Village, and East Bank - the reasons why, despite a commitment to provide a meaningful and transformative legacy of ‘inclusive growth and regeneration’ for local communities, this had not been achieved. It was argued that the decision to utilise a mega-event resulted in an outward-facing approach, reflected in the governance structures, and in a focus that disconnected the Park from its wider surrounding area. Bernstock argued that a more bottom-up approach to governance was required to realise genuinely inclusive growth/regeneration. [R3]

Bernstock’s research undertaken since joining UWL in May 2018 has made a material and distinct contribution to the impact claimed. In terms of output R1, the detailed analysis of planning applications that underpins her findings was carried out after joining UWL, as was the writing of this publication. This data and the data analysis were used to underpin the TELCO campaigns described in section 4 of this impact case. The data collection, data analysis and writing/presentation of outputs R2 and R3 was undertaken after Bernstock joined UWL.

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

- R1. Bernstock, Penny (2020) Evaluating the contribution of planning gain to an inclusive housing legacy: a case study of London 2012, *Planning Perspectives*, 35:6, 927-953, DOI: 10.1080/02665433.2019.1639210 (published online 17/7/19).
- R2. Bernstock, Penny and Davis, Juliet (2019) Mega-events, urban transformation and displacement: a case study of employment and housing in London's 2012 Olympic site, 2005-2019. In: *In and Beyond the City: Emerging Ontologies, Persistent Challenges and Hopeful Futures* (RC21 Conference), 18-21 September 2019, Delhi, India. Available at: <https://repository.uwl.ac.uk/id/eprint/7472/>.
- R3. Bernstock, Penny (2019) Critical reflection on the use of a Mega Event to regenerate East London, RGS-IBG Annual International Conference 2019, Strand: Housing and Gentrification, Thursday 29th August 2019. Copy available from the University on request.

Research quality: R1 was published in the premier international journal of history, planning and the environment. The R1 paper, and Bernstock's 2014 monograph, have been submitted as outputs to REF 2021 in this University's UOA 20 submission. The 'RC21 Conference' is a long-running conference (established 1970) on the Sociology of Urban and Regional Development, and part of the International Sociological Association Network. The three-day 'RGS-IBG Annual International Conference' attracts over 2000 geographers annually from around the world.

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

When London won the bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, it was claimed that the hosting of a mega-event would be used to create an inclusive legacy. East London, where the Games were sited, suffered from some of the worst social and economic deprivation in the country. Government statements highlighted the transformational opportunities from the Games and set out ambitious plans for the legacy, including commitments to new homes and affordable housing. [S1]

Bernstock's research on the extent to which the legacy has been achieved, has made an influential contribution to ongoing campaigns designed to hold public agencies to account for the delivery of affordable housing, which is particularly needed in this area. The findings of this longitudinal research have been taken up further as part of a campaign for greater availability of affordable housing across the capital (TELCO). Bernstock has worked closely with research users whilst her research was progressing.

Campaigning for the housing legacy

The use of Bernstock's findings by TELCO (The East London Citizens' Organisation) and her engagement with their campaign has been a particularly important feature of the impact achieved. TELCO is an alliance of over 80 civil society institutions including trade unions, faith groups, charities, schools and universities, and is part of Citizens UK, a national campaigning organisation.

By 2017, TELCO had become increasingly concerned that the Games' affordable housing legacy was not being achieved and that there was not adherence to the commitments that had been made. TELCO invited Bernstock to collaborate with them on these issues, utilising her findings and expertise. Bernstock subsequently became co-chair of TELCO's Olympic Strategy Group and later a member of Citizens UK London and Nationwide Strategy group.

Bernstock worked with TELCO to undertake a power analysis of decision-makers in order to build a dialogue and lobby for change to ensure adherence to those legacy commitments. Bernstock's ethnographic research on the LLDC planning process was particularly influential in this respect. Bernstock's research provided a powerful and important evidence base to hold public agencies to account. A combination of TELCO's community organising and Bernstock's evidence has enabled a more successful dialogue with stakeholders at the LLDC, the four legacy Boroughs and the Greater London Authority. They have met on a regular basis with senior stakeholders to discuss

issues of affordable housing; these stakeholders have included London's Deputy Mayor for Housing; the Chief Executive and the Director of Urban Regeneration at the LLDC; and the senior leadership from the four legacy Boroughs. [S2]

More recently, Bernstock was the academic consultant for TELCO's 12-minute campaigning film, *London's Olympic Housing Legacy: Time for a New Deal*, which featured her research findings. At its launch in August 2020 (marking 8 years since the Games) the audience included a board member and the Head of Regeneration at the LLDC; the constituency member for the Greater London Authority Assembly and the Mayor of Tower Hamlets. The launch led to renewed interest in the housing legacy and the film had over 530 YouTube views in the four months to December 2020. The issue was taken up in the national press with the Daily Mirror headlining their story (20/8/20), *London's 2012's true legacy is broken promises and dashed social housing dreams*. [S3]

The Mayor of Tower Hamlets, one of the legacy Boroughs, has written to acknowledge Bernstock's contribution through the research's influence on the TELCO campaign. The focus was specifically on the issue of whether legacy promises to local residents had been delivered and on providing an evidence base in support of community campaigns for genuinely affordable homes. [S4]

Citizens UK's Lead Organiser has stated that Bernstock's research evidence which tracked housing developments had been instrumental "in helping to push the LLDC to increase the percentage of affordable housing on their developments". In one example, there had been an increase in the proportion of affordable housing agreed for one development from 30% to 40% of the total; i.e. an additional 151 genuinely affordable homes.

The letter from Citizens UK also said this approach to influencing the percentage of affordable homes on a site is a model they were adopting in their work with the Old Oak Common Development Corporation in West London. They will be using Bernstock's findings to challenge existing approaches to affordable housing, and using her research in their campaigning around the 2021 London mayoral elections ".to continue to ensure there is a genuine Olympic legacy for East Londoners. Our manifesto has been developed as a result of her research and calls for the next Mayor of London to: Make Housing Genuinely Affordable." [S5]

The contribution made by Bernstock's research has also been acknowledged by the LLDC's Executive Director for Regeneration and Community Partnerships. He has written to confirm that Bernstock's research has been used productively by TELCO and Citizens UK to support their campaign for affordable housing. He also said that it has been beneficial to him in identifying how, within the framework of London and national policies, the Corporation could increase the number of affordable homes in developments on the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park and the affordability of those homes. [S6]

Applying research evidence in the Planning process

The findings from Bernstock's longitudinal research have been used as part of the debate on the housing components of planning applications for major developments in the Olympic Park.

On 30th April 2019, Bernstock in her capacity as Co-Chair of Citizens UK, Newham Olympic Legacy Committee, jointly presented a research-led formal Objection to the Stratford Waterfront development at the LLDC Planning Decisions Committee. Stratford Waterfront is over 73,000 square meters, it is one of the principal development sites on the Park and will include residential developments as well as BBC Music Studios, Sadler's Wells, University of the Arts London and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Bernstock and a co-campaigner addressed the Committee in objection to the scheme using a presentation which outlined their main concerns: the lack of affordable housing in comparison to local need; the lack of affordability of 'intermediate' forms of affordable housing; and that the LLDC Local Plan policy requirement was to provide a 60 per cent London Affordable Rent: 40 per cent

Intermediate affordable housing tenure split rather than 30 per cent/ 70 per cent split proposed for this development.

The presentation generated extensive discussion about the extent of genuinely affordable and intermediate housing at the meeting. Based on these concerns, the four local authority members of the 11-person Committee decided that they could not support the scheme in this form and voted against it. Although the proposal was adopted, with a 7:4 majority on the Committee, this highlighted to the LDDC the continuing local concerns about access to affordable housing as part of the legacy. The issue was reported further in the local press when TELCO wrote to the Mayor of London. [S7]

In other examples, TELCO's submission to the LDDC's consultation on the plans for the 1,500 home Pudding Mill development in September 2019 also drew on Bernstock's research. The submission used evidence about the original legacy statements and the continuing demand for genuinely affordable housing in the area to argue for revisions to the proposals made for the housing balance in the development. [S8]

Similarly, TELCO's submission to the Mayor of London's August 2020 *Consultation on Intermediate Housing*, directly used Bernstock's findings (published in R1) that amendments to the Greater London Authority's Statutory Planning Guidance had a detrimental impact on the supply of housing for social/affordable rent on the Olympic Park. [S9]

The research has also influenced Citizens UK's wider policy and campaigns. Citizens UK: Birmingham are campaigning to ensure that the 2022 Commonwealth Games achieves a positive legacy for local communities; their Lead Organiser on this campaign has written to say they see Bernstock's research as "a powerful reminder of what has gone wrong in London and we have utilised it in Birmingham to strengthen our arguments for a meaningful legacy". [S10] In London, the research has also influenced Citizens UK policy on Mayoral Development Corporations, where a common agenda around affordable housing has emerged, informing their "asks" at a Mayoral Accountability Assembly scheduled to be held in April 2021.

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

- S1. Department of Culture, Media and Sport (2012), *Beyond 2012: London 2012 Legacy Story*, p.7 and p.76.
- S2. Letter from Lead Organiser, The East London Citizens Organisation (TELCO), 18/12/19.
- S3. The film <https://www.citizensuk.org/olympic-housing-legacy> is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9a0RQkspPRk>. For Daily Mirror press report see <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/london-2012s-true-legacy-broken-22554294>
- S4. Email from Mayor of Tower Hamlets, 14/2/21.
- S5. Letter from Lead Organiser, Citizens UK, 11/2/21.
- S6. Email from Executive Director for Regeneration and Community Partnerships. LLDC, 9/3/21.
- S7. Minutes of the Meeting of the London Legacy Development Corporation Planning Decisions Committee, Tuesday 30 April 2019. Also see: <https://www.newhamrecorder.co.uk/news/politics/letter-to-sadiq-khan-about-stratford-waterfront-1-6177786>
- S8. TELCO evidence to Pudding Mill Consultation, Sept 2019.
- S9. TELCO evidence to Mayor of London Consultation on Intermediate Housing, Aug 2020.
- S10. Email from Lead Organiser, Citizens UK: Birmingham, dated 18/3/21