

# 3

Games Monitor  
Background paper on the London 2012 Olympics

---

# Governance

**Games Monitor, November 2011** (fourth edition, modified February 2012)

These papers are compiled from newspaper reports, academic and activist papers, and discussion postings. Any queries please to Carolyn Smith <c.smith4@lycos.com>.

Other papers in the series:

**Background paper 1: Impact**

**Background paper 2: Finance, profiteering and infrastructure**

All available from <[www.gamesmonitor.org.uk/contact\\_media\\_centre](http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk/contact_media_centre)>.

Games Monitor is a network of people raising awareness about issues within the London Olympic development process. We want to highlight the local, London and international implications of the Olympic industry. We seek to deconstruct the 'fantastic' hype of Olympic boosterism and the eager complicity of the 'urban elites' in politics, business, the media, sport, academia, and local institutional community 'stakeholders'. Our network operates with an open dynamic principle and functions as a discussion forum, research body, press and political lobby. Our website and online group provide hubs for publication, information exchange and solidarity networking. We are also a contact point for local, minority and specialist interviewees for press and broadcast media.

Contact us at <[info@gamesmonitor.org.uk](mailto:info@gamesmonitor.org.uk)>.

---

**Among the tasks of a politics of morality [is] to work incessantly toward unveiling hidden differences between official themes and actual progress, between the limelight and backrooms of political life.**

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002)

**It appears that the very process of development, even as it transforms a wasteland into a thriving physical and social space, recreates the wasteland inside the developer himself. This is how the tragedy of development works.**

Marshall Berman (1982/1983) *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London) Verso

---

# Contents

<b>1.</b>	<b>Intensification of policing, civil liberties implications</b>	<b>5</b>
1.1	The costs of repression	5
1.2	Infrastructure and personnel	6
1.3	Rule 53 and ATCSA 2001	9
1.4	International	10
<b>2.</b>	<b>Sport as catalyst</b>	<b>13</b>
2.1	Postmodernity; the city as neo-liberal frontier	13
2.2	A critique of Olympic economic development strategy	15
2.3	'Convergence' — from security to relations of authority	21
<b>3.</b>	<b>The institutionalisation of consent</b>	<b>23</b>
3.1	The political machinery	23
3.2	Consultation processes	25
3.3	TV and press messaging	26
3.4	Fringe events	28
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>35</b>



# 1. Intensification of policing, civil liberties implications

---

**Security comes in many forms, but in the Olympic context one cannot separate security from surveillance. A raft of surveillance measures aim to make people, places, and processes visible in new ways using diverse tactics and technologies that include new CCTV cameras, satellite monitoring, facial recognition devices, chemical detection, databases, and forms of personal credentials. Outside of airports and prisons, it is difficult to think of comparable situations where citizens are monitored to the extent they are at the Olympics. Such surveillance 'surges' are important because of the wider surveillance legacies of the Games. Many examples can be found of intensive surveillance tools remaining in place after the Games or of them being subsequently reused for markedly different purposes. Past experience suggests that in the post 9/11 period these legacies are no longer accidental.**

Philip Boyle and Kevin D. Haggerty, Olympic-size Questions about Surveillance and Privacy, December 1, 2009

---

## 1.1 The costs of repression

Security for the London Olympics 2012 will be overseen by a Cabinet-level Olympic Security Committee chaired by the Home Secretary and comprising senior officers from the UK security forces. The London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) has a Security Directorate of its own. On September 28, 2008, the Independent on Sunday revealed that the security bill for 2012 would hit £1.5 billion (a leak rather than an official announcement), triple the original estimate, pushing the overall Olympic budget through the £10 billion mark. Previous estimates put the security bill at £838 million. The House of Commons Public Accounts Select Committee was told on November 14, 2007, that on top of this £838 million, a further £600 million had been earmarked for security surrounding the arrival of dignitaries and securing the rest of London and the UK during the Games. This lower figure of £600 million is now stuck in the media consciousness as the total figure for security. This, or rather, a revised figure based on costings for anti-terrorism policing, will be paid for by the Home Office or Metropolitan Police. In December 2010, Home Secretary Theresa May floated the idea of cutting the £600 million by £125 million. However, speaking to the Home Affairs Select Committee on December 14, she clarified that this was an aspirational reduction in costs, and the £600 million was still available if necessary (S. Dowding, Games Monitor Blog update, original posting dated December 13, 2010). Confusingly, there appears to have been another announcement on December 13, 2010, that the security budget would be increased by a further £280 million (G. Fitzgerald, Sky.com). By December 15, 2010, Baroness Neville-Jones (former Security Minister) conceded to Parliament that much of the £1.131 billion for the two years of the Government's 2011-2013 counter terrorism budgets would be devoted to the Olympics in 2012, indicating in her speech that "the end cost, in the event of a major security scare, may very well top £2 billion" (Daily Telegraph, quoted by J. Cheyne, Games Monitor Blog, December 15, 2010). By September 4, 2011, the 2012 Olympics security budget had expanded again, this time by another £150 million, because LOCOG had underestimated the number of security guards needed to process visitors to prevent long queues developing. One assumes that with new projections in November 2011, a further bailout will be needed (see Section 1.2).

Consultant Mark Bostok of Arup, which undertook a cost-benefit analysis of staging the Olympics, stated that the initial security costs had not been properly estimated. Athens estimate for security was

just over £71 million; the city's final security expenditure was just under £1.06 billion (L. Cohn, Business Week, August 15, 2005). Vancouver's budget ballooned from C\$ 175 million to C\$ 900 million (Google/Hosted News, November 4, 2009).

Former UK security minister, Alan West, has stated that London will face the greatest security challenge since World War II when it hosts the 2012 Olympics. Speaking to the Royal United Services Institute think tank, he said that the threat level will probably rise to 'severe', the second highest rating on a five-point scale, suggesting that an attack is considered highly likely (Google/Hosted News, November 13, 2009). However, as of November 13, 2011, the threat level was set at 'substantial', the third level on the scale (The Guardian, N. Hopkins and R. Norton-Taylor). Targets considered possible include shopping centres, pubs and public transport (Press.tv, April 10, 2011), including the high-speed Javelin Shuttle, estimated to carry up to 25,000 people an hour during the Olympic event. Open air jollities in parks around the country are also vulnerable to infiltration by terrorists (Evening Standard, November 26, 2010). Other risks that have been identified include theft from museums and art galleries (D. Alberge, The Guardian, May 31, 2010), the stretch of the River Lee Navigation Canal as it nears the Olympic site (Evening Standard, November 3, 2010) and cyber attacks on the ticketing system (Google/Hosted News, November 25, 2010).

## 1.2 Infrastructure and personnel

---

### **The Olympics has its uses. Now the Metropolitan Police hope the 2012 Olympics will protect them from the cuts ... Get ready for more Olympic security, terror, protest scare stories?**

Julian Cheyne, Games Monitor Blog, September 22, 2010

---

The huge demands of the 2012 Games will leave police forces struggling to cope with the demands of everyday policing, according to Alan Gordon, vice chairman (sic) of the Police Federation, speaking at the organisation's 2008 conference in Bournemouth. Some 15,000 police officers, about 10 per cent of the police workforce in England and Wales, were expected to be involved in the operation (Press Association, May 21, 2008). Later reports, (Games Monitor, July 2, 2008), put the number of police required at 5,000, and now 12,000 police officers involved in security in and around London during the Games, including 2,000 from forces outside London (Daily Telegraph, August 3, 2011).

In an exclusive on November 13, 2011, Nick Hopkins and Richard Norton-Taylor in The Guardian revealed that US officials were so dissatisfied with security arrangements that they were intent on bringing 1,000 agents (some of which would be armed), including 500 FBI officers, to protect US contestants and diplomats. One "well-placed Whitehall source" told the Guardian that the entire Olympic security operation was being prepared "with the US in mind".

It appears that the numbers of private security personnel has been consistently underestimated, something underlined by David Evans, project director of the British Security Industry Association (ibid). The Guardian on November 13, 2011 (N. Hopkins and R. Norton-Taylor), suggested that projections of need now runs at 21,000 security guards across the country, while Reuters put the figure at 23,700 (December 1, 2011). G4S have been awarded the contract to find and train an initial 10,000 guards. However, LOCOG does not have enough money to commission the shortfall. Original projections suggested that 6,500 trained security guards would be available for Olympic duties. However, by August 2011, it emerged that only 1,000 were "available at present", and further training would be required to make up this initial shortfall (Daily Telegraph, ibid). David Hanson, former Home Office minister (crime and policing) told the Commons (Hansard, January 7, 2010) that the Home Office would be supporting a project called Bridging the Gap, which aims to train up to 10,000 young people to Security Industry Authority standards to fill these positions. On August 3, 2011, the Daily Telegraph confirmed that "an army of 8,000 students will be employed to monitor crowds and provide security at key venues [...]. They will have to undergo Criminal Records Bureau checks, but the [G4S] said previous convictions would 'not necessarily preclude' their involvement". The Daily Telegraph also reported that up to 15,000 security contractors would be employed to monitor crowds and conduct security checks through a sponsorship arrangement between G4S and LOCOG. Internal venue security will be handled

almost exclusively by LOCOG contractors (the police are not responsible for this). Blogger Rhythmist (September 5, 2010) worries that private security contractors “expelled from Afghanistan” by Hamid Karzai will be engaged in securing the 2012 Games, and that the Olympics will be used as a gateway to broaden the domestic security market for contractors that have profited from military engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan. Sponsors such as Coca-Cola will have their own private security personnel, “adding complexity to the policing operation” (N. Hopkins and R. Norton-Taylor, *The Guardian*, November 13, 2011).

Increasingly, armed forces personnel are being called in, in a militarization of urban space last seen at the Athens Games in 2000 (Press.tv, April 10, 2011). Special Air Service (SAS) officers have examined the exposure of the capital to Mumbai-style terrorist attacks. The MOD may have to deploy up to 12,000 troops to provide security at the Games (FT.com, July 17, 2011). The figure quoted by the Financial Times includes 4,000-5,000 specialist personnel providing services such as bomb disposal, air defences, and a maritime capability. The Financial Times (ibid) reported that “several Whitehall figures” have said that “the army, navy and air force are also having to consider providing thousands of security guards to protect venues in the capital and other parts of the UK. The MOD has not yet received a formal request from [LOCOG] to provide the security guards. But a number of officials in the department are concerned that LOCOG has not finalised its security arrangements and that the armed forces may be asked to step in and fill the gap”. This now appears confirmed by *The Guardian* report (November 13, 2011, ibid) which reduced this figure to 3,000 personnel with 2,000 in reserve. Reuters upped the ante again with a figure of 7,500 (December 1, 2011).

There will also be concomitant militarisation of the police. Assistant Commissioner Chris Allison, who took over control of security at London 2012 in the spring of 2009, told BBC Radio 5 Live that while the event would be policed largely by unarmed officers, some police would be armed. Asked by presenter Brian Alexander whether there would be “armed officers on every corner”, Allison replied “There will be an element of that” (November 26, 2009). This *Is London* (the Evening Standard’s online portal) reported on January 21, 2011, that armed police may be deployed on the underground network in the run-up to the Games. Senior police officers are holding talks with Government officials about creating a new firearms unit to protect the tube and railway network. The change is part of a review of counter terrorism measures being conducted in the run-up to the 2012 Olympics. Armed police will also protect training venues around the country in the run-up to the Games, and hotels during the Games time (Scotland on Sunday, June 12, 2011). The Press Association reports that squads of marksmen are preparing for dangers including an armed siege, sniper shooting and Mumbai-style attacks with several gunmen. The units, made up of members of Scotland Yard’s ‘elite’ CO19 wing will be armed with pistols, carbines, and night vision goggles. CO19 officers shot dead Brazilian electrician, Jean Charles de Menezes, on the London tube in 2005 (J. Cheyne, *Games Monitor Blog*, August 18, 2010).

Police and emergency services have not escaped the climate of Government-imposed austerity. Police chiefs have been told they will have to cope with steep cuts to their budgets during the year of the Olympics, risking a backlash from senior officers. In a letter to Ed Balls, Labour shadow Home Office minister, Home Secretary Theresa May said the cuts would be front loaded, with a six per cent reduction in 2011/12 and with an eight per cent cut in 2012/13, the Olympic year. The last two years of the period covered by the spending review would each involve reductions of four per cent. Sir Paul Stephenson, former Metropolitan Police Commissioner, has warned repeatedly that his force could struggle to cope with the extra burden of the Olympics at the same time as budgets are slashed (FT.com, October 27, 2010). Scotland Yard have also admitted that a goal to recruit 10,000 special constables to help police the 2012 Olympics is unattainable. Sights are now set at a target of 6,667 officers by March 2012. Sir Paul Stephenson agreed to draw £1.4 million from Metropolitan Police financial reserves to pay for the recruitment of the specials after the Home Office cut funding (Google Hosted News, November 29, 2010). “All emergency and health services are facing a core funding squeeze”, stated a London Assembly report, adding “Funding for all of London’s emergency and health services is one key unknown variable which may have an impact on their preparedness for the Games and ability to provide business-as-usual services”. London’s Fire Brigade told the Assembly’s Health and Public Services Committee it feared a £900,000 shortfall for its cover during the Games, while the capital’s ambulance service said it would need 300 extra staff (Reuters/SportsUKPlurk.com, October 13, 2010). The Health Protection Agency has also stated that upheaval caused by its abolition could pose “extreme risks” during the Olympic Games, compromising emergency responses (*The Guardian*, May 5, 2011).

- A decision to scrap the new Nimrod MRA4 surveillance aircraft has prompted fears from the establishment that it may leave a gap in security. The nine planes had been due to play a major role in counter terrorism from 2012 but are now set to be axed as part of the defence cuts (BBC News, January 21, 2011).

Reports indicate the planning of a new 'nerve centre' built for the 2012 Games, combining police, fire, ambulance and intelligence services (Games Monitor, November 23, 2007), while the RAF have confirmed that it will deploy armed Reaper UAVs (unmanned aerial vehicles) for the event. "The Reaper, which is the latest version of the General Atomics Predator hunter-killer UAV, can carry an array of laser-guided bombs and missiles, including the deadly Hellfire air-to-ground weapon which has been used against Taliban forces in Afghanistan" (I. McPhedran, Courier Mail, November 25, 2007). Philip Hammond, Tory Defence secretary, revealed to Parliament on November 14, 2011, that ground-to-air missiles were also being considered, and would be deployed if deemed operationally necessary by the military (Londonist.com).

London already has a surveillance network of 500,000 CCTV cameras, and it is anticipated that this network will be integrated by the time of the Games, enabling the police to follow individuals as they move through the city (© M. Wells, Games Monitor, April 12, 2010). Threat assessment and behavioural analysis software, which relies on co-ordinated CCTV footage, is reported to be being considered for use (© M. Wells, *ibid*). A report by MBD, on UK CCTV market development, predicts that the value of the UK CCTV market would have increased by 10 per cent by 2012, with the London Olympics leading the growth. Equipment sales are anticipated to reach over £450 million in the same period. Other security services and equipment with strong growth potential include remote monitoring services, rapid deployment cameras and alarm-activated systems (M. Slavin, Games Monitor, December 30, 2007). Security officials are also considering the deployment of 'geo fences', technology that can continuously pinpoint the location of mobile phones. Policing magazine (July 6, 2009) reports that civil servants have held meetings with True Position, a US mobile location firm. Geo fences can alert security staff when an unauthorised mobile phone enters a protected site and track it, typically with an accuracy of 30 to 50 metres.

The Metropolitan Police have proposed a central, biometric, Olympic database. Although we have no confirmation, all workers at the Stratford site may have been asked to provide electronic fingerprint and iris recognition information to gain access to their workplace. Foreign workers would be required to provide copies of their passports and other papers, while volunteers at the 2012 event mandated to declare personal data. Assistant Commissioner of the Met, Tarique Ghaffur, who was initially co-ordinating security for the Games at the Olympic Security Directorate, is also reported to have stated a desire for DNA testing of workers and volunteers (Games Monitor, January 31, 2007).

Other security measures will include facial and iris recognition, fingerprint and hand recognition, guards with attack dogs and search dogs. A scheme to search people and vehicles will include machines capable of looking through people's clothing. The Royal Navy will deploy its new £1 billion Daring class Type 45 Destroyer. This is to be fitted with laser-guided missile systems able to shoot down a target the size of a cricket ball. (© M. Wells, *ibid*).

- Security precautions for London 2012 include the construction of a 17.5 km, 5,000 volt electric fence, topped with 900 daylight and night vision surveillance cameras spaced at 50 metre intervals (© M. Wells, *ibid*).
- A controversial bill to allow police to raid the Athletes' Village has been proposed by Lord Moynihan, the chairman (sic) of the British Olympic Association. The bill would bolster police search powers and give them the authority to seek out performance-enhancing drugs as well as illegal substances. Any British athlete falling foul of the new bill, if it becomes law, would be banned for life from competing at the Olympics. The bill's progress was halted by the 2010 UK general election, but Moynihan, a former Olympic rower and Tory peer, hoped to reintroduce it in the next Parliament. He also called for international co-operation on intelligence gathering to be made a priority (G. Peev, The Scotsman, January 4, 2010). Athletes' representatives have warned that random drug searches in the Village at London 2012 would be "utterly disastrous" (BBC, January 4, 2010).

- Canadian professor, Chris Shaw, author of the book *Five Ring Circus: Myths and Realities of the Olympic Games*, revealed at the 2009 Play the Game conference in Coventry that he had had trouble getting into the UK. Shaw was held by British authorities and questioned for an hour about the purpose of his visit. The conference passed a resolution in support of freedom of expression and security of the person at the Vancouver 2010 Games (M. Slavin, *Games Monitor*, June 13, 2009).
- Everyday information gathering has touched the Games Monitor network, albeit lightly. In April 2008, we hosted a conference with Planners Network UK. The first part of this event was held at Limehouse Town Hall, headlined by novelist Iain Sinclair, and Bill Parry-Davies, a Hackney solicitor prominent in local urban conservation campaign Open Dalston, neither a security risk. We also featured a film about the impact of the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver. During the first part of the event, two police officers turned up, directed to visit us by the Olympic Intelligence Unit. The next day, the conference moved to a church hall in Dalston for a set of workshops on the Olympic planning process. This received a visit from a community support officer, who had been sent to check out our connections with people who had opposed recent planning decisions to build a bus station and tower blocks in Dalston (J. Cheyne, *Games Monitor*, May 4, 2008).
- Meanwhile, security guards at the Olympic site have taken exception to amateur photographers, and sought to prevent them with threats of police involvement, despite a lack of formal ODA prohibitions (C. Cheesman, *Amateur Photographer*, June 13, 2007). Another photographer was threatened with the Official Secrets Act when he attempted to photograph a joint police/SAS exercise being carried out in one of the tower blocks next to the Clays Lane estate, when residents were woken up at 6 am by the sound of stun grenades and blank ammunition being fired off (Cheyne, *ibid*).

### 1.3 Rule 53 and ATCSA 2001

---

**The use of anti-terrorism powers has now paralysed and terrified significant parts of the Muslim community in this country. [...] There has been an apparently random, open-ended series of arrests. All the arrested are Muslim and most are refugees. It is now [...] clear to the community that if you associate with anyone who has already been arrested here (or in their home country), then you yourselves become intensely vulnerable to arrest. [...] Special Branch officers have visited individuals and said 'Don't help the families of people detained — or else!' [...] Even people who want to help families of those detained are seeking legal advice on whether that puts them at risk.**

Gareth Peirce (2003) 'Terrorising Communities' in E. Schmid & D. Morgan, *A Permanent State of Terror* (London) CAMPACC

**'Security' measures for the 2012 Olympics will intensify attacks on our democratic rights. These attacks include not only 'stop-and-search' as political harassment, but also a policy of 'shoot-to-kill'. After the public execution of Charles de Menezes, for example, [former] Mayor Ken Livingstone commented that the police had acted correctly. Although he opposes British state terrorism in Iraq, unfortunately he accepts it here in London. Now we are all 'terror suspects', liable to be harassed, arrested or even murdered — especially anyone with a dark skin.**

Les Levidow, Campaign Against Criminalising Communities (CAMPACC) <[www.campacc.org.uk](http://www.campacc.org.uk)>

---

Political demonstrations will be banned on the Olympic site and in surrounding areas under IOC Rule 53. Anti-terror powers under the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA) may be used even more widely to persecute and criminalise dissent, thus attacking the rights of free expression and association. These have already been used against anti-war protesters: in the run up to the US-UK attack on Iraq in March 2003, the police announced a wide stop-and-search zone around Fairford airbase to block protesters; at the DSEI Arms Fair in September 2003, police carried out a stop-and-search operation against those demonstrating.

Anti-terrorist policing is already undermining solidarity networks among émigrés and refugees (Peirce, 2003) in east London, is written into policy statements at a local level, and seeks to operate through émigré associations engaged in so-called 'partnership working', a form of intimidation

(Hackney Safer Communities Partnership, 2004). The UK has acted as a global vanguard of the 'war on terror' since 2001. Anti-terror legislation systematically undermines human rights and civil liberties. It targets migrant and Muslim individuals as well as political activists.

With the Olympics, we anticipate the intensification of existing trends: police in the Olympic boroughs have a continuing history of racist assault, including arbitrary arrest, house raids, stop and search, the planting of drugs, deaths in custody, and the shooting of unarmed suspects. ATCSA powers renegotiate the basis of a police state founded as a counter in the war in the north of Ireland; the mass media have recomposed their racism and become embedded in a one-dimensional process that stigmatises Muslims (formerly the Irish) as terrorists. There has been a twelve-fold increase in the number of UK Asians subjected to stop-and-search powers since the July 7 bombings in London (V. Dodd, *The Guardian*, December 24, 2005); searches had already tripled since the passing of ATCSA in 2001. *The Guardian* also reports (J. Randerson, January 5, 2006) that 37 per cent of Black men have had their DNA profiles listed on the police's national database, and 13 per cent of Asian men, compared to nine per cent of white men. Under the promotional gloss of a multi-cultural London, a racist 'state of emergency' is reinventing itself, denying UN and EU charter guarantees (CAMPACC, 2003).

On May 16, 2011, the *Evening Standard* reported that police had been warned not to abuse anti-terror powers during the London Olympics following a report into the arrest of six street cleaners during the Pope's 2011 visit. "Rumours and reports of terrorist activity around particular events are likely to recur and indeed increase, as we approach the Olympic Games, a target for terrorism in the past", said David Anderson QC, independent reviewer of counter terror legislation. "Section 41 of the Terrorism Act 2000 does not require any specific terrorist offence to be suspected. Its use will provide a tempting riposte to such rumours and reports, particularly when a feared attack is imminent. Such exceptional powers however, require exceptional vigilance in their exercise. It is not lawful to use power purely out of caution".

- On July 29, 2011, the Metropolitan Police's Griffin Briefing declared: "Anarchism is a political philosophy which considers the state undesirable, unnecessary, and harmful, and instead promotes a stateless society, or anarchy. Any information relating to anarchists should be reported to your local [p]olice" (J. Cheyne, *Games Monitor Blog*, July 31, 2011). With direct action very much at the forefront of activism once again in the UK, there is a danger that activists on issues other than the Olympics will be mistakenly targeted as potential disrupters of the Olympic event. The recent Royal Wedding witnessed pre-emptive arrests of street theatre Trotskyite Professor Chris Knight and his wife, for making a guillotine in their back garden.
- On September 9, 2011, disgruntled London Taxi drivers staged a flash demo at the Grange St Paul's Hotel where LOCOG were staying, to express their anger at plans that London Taxis are to be excluded from over 100 miles of London roads for 100 days during the Olympics/Paralympics. Attempts by cabbies to highlight this to Transport for London have been met with a point blank refusal to consider taxis access to the Olympic VIP lanes. The entire hotel was surrounded by London taxis for about an hour meaning that the Olympic committee (who had booked private hire vehicles to take them to the airport) were in a bit of an awkward position. The taxi flash demo was organised by the United Cabbies Group and supported by many more, arranged via text and Twitter within 12 hours, and resulted in many more taxis turning up than was actually needed to blockade the hotel, resulting in traffic chaos all around St Paul's Cathedral. The mood among many of the cabbies present at the demonstration appears to be thus: either the taxis are allowed access to the Olympic VIP lanes or there is the possibility of further demonstrations of this kind in the run up to and during the Olympic Games themselves (Guest contributor, moderated by S. Dowding, *Games Monitor Blog*, September 10, 2011). Women's rights campaigners are threatening protests against Saudi Arabia at London 2012 if they refuse to include women in their team (J. Cheyne, *Games Monitor*, July 5, 2010).
- Police would not be able to cope with disturbances on the scale of the 2011 summer riots during next year's Olympics, the officer co-ordinating security for the Games has warned. Scotland Yard's Assistant Commissioner Chris Allison said that while lessons have been learned, there is no doubt that police "still wouldn't be able to cope" if faced with riots on

the scale seen in the capital on August 8. Officers are waiting for the conclusions of an internal review and a report on public order policing by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) before making any decisions "about what we need to put in place in Games time", he said. "The challenge is going to be: there isn't (sic) enough police officers, there isn't enough private security and there isn't enough infrastructure to put on all of these events. So we've got to make sure that we dampen the enthusiasm appropriately" (Press Association, The Guardian, September 12, 2011).

#### 1.4 International

In Mexico City, shortly before the start of the 1968 Olympics, 300 people (many students) were murdered by security forces at an extra-parliamentary demonstration. In Sydney, new laws gave police extra powers to enforce Rule 53 <[www.cat.org.au/aoa](http://www.cat.org.au/aoa)>, while Athens 2004 saw a repressive mobilisation of military proportions. Silvio Berlusconi, Italian Prime Minister, announced a policy of 'zero tolerance' to counter protests around the Winter Olympics in Torino, February 2006. Eleni Portaliou, of the Greek campaign Anti-2004, speaking at the Urban Forum at the Bartlett School, University College London, on October 15, 2004, (a fringe event to the European Social Forum), stated baldly: "The Olympics are a continuation of war and competition by other means".

- During the first week of June 2009, 20 individuals (including Chris Shaw, above) who had questioned the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games were visited by police officers in their home, workplace or while going about their business. The Olympic Resistance Network also report that Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) and police attempted to recruit informants in 2008. Without irony, the Vancouver Integrated Security Unit (VISU), responsible for policing the 2010 Olympics, advocated Free Speech Zones as part of the 2010 security plans. Vancouver Mayor, Gregor Robinson, called the plans "Orwellian" (CBC, July 8, 2009).
- Maria Renn, a member of the Olympic Resistance Network, was detained and questioned at the Pacific (Truck) Crossing border station and denied entry to the USA on December 10, 2009. She was travelling to Portland, Oregon, to speak about the negative impacts of the 2010 Vancouver Games. She was held for over six hours as both Canadian and US border guards interrogated her about the subject of her speech, her contacts in Portland, and her political activities. Previously, she was denied entry for a Seattle speaking event on the grounds that her ten anti-Olympic shirts were unauthorised commercial merchandise, but the shirts were found after she had already been questioned on political issues. Likewise, the excuse for rejecting her this second time (lack of employment since graduation in August) was brought up after her planned speech and political activities were addressed by border guards. At the US border this second time, Renn was photographed and fingerprinted, her property was searched, her mobile phone was taken and accessed, and her documents (even the book she was reading) was photocopied. She was warned that any attempt to enter the US within the following six months could result in two years imprisonment. At the Canadian border, she was again searched and questioned extensively. In another case, journalist Amy Goodman of Democracy Now was travelling to speak in Vancouver and was detained and questioned about her speech as border guards assumed that she would be criticising the Olympics (Vancouver Media Co-op, December 13, 2009).
- Documents uncovered by the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association reveal an anti-free speech agenda underlining the 2010 Vancouver Games. The Olympic Torch Run Manual calls on cities to limit the distribution of political leaflets during the torch run; the Clean Venue Agreement outlined a VANOC swat team that would seize offensive literature on public property, while private security guards were to be employed to prevent people holding up placards or wearing clothes with political messages in Olympic venues; the Olympic Host City Agreement required the City of Vancouver to prevent international media and attendees at Olympic venues from encountering political speech inside and outside the venues; the Olympic Charter dictates that no demonstration, or political, religious or racial propaganda be permitted in any Olympic site, venue or other areas; the Manual for Candidate Cities demands compliance with the Olympic Charter during and after the bid process; the Olympic Technical Manual on Media attempts to limit coverage of the Games to that which "by its content, spreads and promotes the principles of Olympism", and grants the IOC the ability to withdraw accreditation from any journalist at any time for any reason. On an acutely sinister

note, the BCCLA also received letters from VISU and the CSIS stating that they refuse to refrain from using *agents provocateur* or from assuming the leadership of activist organisations. Such tactics may be permissible under certain interpretations of Canadian criminal and constitutional law, but their legality is disputed by the BCCLA.

- Vancouver police gained a long-range acoustic device, capable of emitting loud blasts of sound, just in time for the Winter Olympics. The sound emitted can cross the human threshold of pain and is potentially damaging to hearing, but can also be used as a communications device audible a kilometre away. The device was originally designed for the US military and first used publicly in Pittsburgh as police tried to control anti-G20 demonstrators (CBC, November 10, 2009).
- Amnesty International charged Beijing with using the Olympics as a pretext for the extension of detention without trial. Moves to reform or abolish 'Re-education through Labour', administrative detention without charge or trial, remain stalled, with its use being extended to 'clean up' the city before August 2008. The Beijing police suggested that another form of detention without trial, 'Compulsory Drug Rehabilitation', might be extended from six months to one year to force drug users to "give up their addictions before the Olympics". AI also complained of internal media crackdowns. Catherine Baber, deputy Asia Pacific director at AI said: "The new extra layer of judicial review for death sentences and the relaxation of restrictions on foreign journalists are important steps towards better respect for human rights in China. Disappointingly, they have been matched by moves to expand detention without trial and 'house arrest' of activists, and by a tightening of controls over domestic media and the internet. The failure to ensure equal rights and freedoms for both foreign and domestic journalists smacks of double standards — China has yet to meet its promise to ensure 'complete media freedom' for the Olympics" (Games Monitor, April 30, 2007).
- A former Beijing vice-mayor, Liu Zhihua, in charge of Olympic construction projects, has been given a suspended death sentence for corruption. The sentence will be commuted to life in prison in two years if he shows 'good behaviour' (Associated Press, October 20, 2008).

## 2. Sport as catalyst

### 2.1 Postmodernity; the city as neo-liberal frontier

---

**Starkly, the Olympics are an interpellation of post-Fascist regularity, the disciplinary subject imposed through the tryptic methods of state violence, corporate sponsorship, and gender enhancement; and re-mediated (and expanded) via neo-liberal experiments in labour market and welfare state regulation, acutely spatial phenomena. As with economic impact, the Olympic event provides a focal instance for the intensification of existing trends.**

**The monumental scale of the stadia and walkways, and the masterplan itself, confirms the central morality of health and a militarised sports regimen in biopolitical governance. The Olympic event and legacy of infrastructure will produce intensively-policed, interdictory, and fortified enclosures (much like Canary Wharf); a disciplinary space, defined by its internal barriers and poised for anti-terrorist alert. One notes the stadia themselves as acutely regulative, spatially-differentiating institutions; hyperspace and overconsumption are juxtaposed with the flexibly employed, the precarious poor (or 'precariat'), producing a "new degraded urbanity"<sup>1</sup>, a far cry from the re-imagining of place or enhancement of 'civic pride' floated by the developing agencies.**

Carolyn Smith, Project Mimique

---

The LDA and consultants assert a re-imagining of locality via increased media exposure, and ascribe to major sporting events the power to redefine inhabitants' perception of place (LDA, 2004). They assert that sports facilities will catalyse development and attract business location after the Games. Cultural critics might disagree. Fredric Jameson (1991) points to the "induced disorientation" of much postmodern architecture and a "depthlessness based on the culture of the TV image". Jameson also argues a change in lived experience of the built environment via postmodern architecture: domination and disorientation being major intended effects. He highlights the aggressive passivity of saturation CCTV, a lack of self-determination in movement, and a lack of congruence between actual landscape and its representation, something particularly noticeable with the Olympic masterplan illustrations which turned the whole site upside down (a view from the north), excluded the car park replacing East Marsh (i.e. presented it as open space), and included trees that will in fact be removed. More recent misrepresentation includes the map for the Water Chariots waterbus service to the Olympic Park. Blogger DiamondGeezer had this to say: "I especially love this map, on the London Water Taxis website, which has invented a brand new canal through Poplar and Bow that doesn't really exist. Looks fast, looks direct, total fabrication" (S. Dowding, Games Monitor Blog, July 31, 2011).

Fabian Tompsett (1996), writing on the Isle of Dogs, argues that "capitalist TV and film [...] interact with the architecture of redevelopment in new strategies of class control and repression", adding "class struggle has always manifested itself around the construction of symbolic landscape". For the Olympic developments, such antagonism is prohibited on the site itself under IOC Rule 53, enforcing a dispersion of protest and annihilation of effect.

'No longer concerned narrowly with the mobilisation and extension of markets (and market logics), neo-liberalism is increasingly associated with the political foregrounding of new modes of 'social'

<sup>1</sup> Cooke, 1988.

and penal policy-making, concerned specifically with the aggressive re-regulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalised or dispossessed by the neo-liberalisation of the 1980s” (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p 389). Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002) comment that “cities have become a key arena in which the everyday violence of neo-liberalism has been unleashed; neo-liberal projects of political-economic restructuring collide with pre-existing socio-spatial cleavages and, in turn, create new forms of inequality, political disenfranchisement, and economic immiseration” (ibid, p 345). While areas of deep poverty may have been pariah during the 1980s, in its current ‘roll-out’ guise, neo-liberalism is increasingly penetrating the urban, under the advance guard of a pathologisation of marginal social subjectivities, the normalisation of contingent labour (see Section 2.2), and an intensive stigmatisation of youth (Peck and Tickell, pp 394-395). The Olympics are being promoted within the context of what Gordon MacLeod (2002) has called a “revanchist”<sup>2</sup> political mobilisation (see Sections 1.2 and 3.3). Peck and Tickell point to the city as the front line of neo-liberal re-territorialisation. Policy discussion and political rhetoric around the Olympic developments is a paradigmatic instance:

As key sites of economic contradiction, governance failure, and social fall-out, cities find themselves in the front line of both hypertrophied after-welfarist statecraft and organised resistance to neo-liberalisation. Regressive welfare reforms and labour market polarisation, for example, are leading to the (re)urbanisation of (working and non-working) poverty, positioning cities at the bleeding edge of processes of punitive-institution building, social surveillance, and authoritarian governance [...]. ‘Entrepreneurial’ regimes of urban governance are [...] not simply local manifestations of neo-liberalism; their simultaneous rise across a wide range of national, political, and institutional contexts suggests a systemic connection with neo-liberalisation as a macro process. In other words, the remaking of the rules on inter-local competition and extra-local resource allocation — or the deep neo-liberalisation of spatial and scalar relations — fundamentally reflects the far-reaching macro-political alignment that has taken place since the 1970s (ibid, pp 395-396).

Urban policies — and one might include here the Olympic bidding process and the replacement of planning here by project management — “anticipate, complement, and in some cases, mimic the operation of competitive markets” (Peck and Tickell, ibid, p 394). Competitive regimes of resource allocation, barriers to local government finance, and centralised political mandate foreclose economic development strategies based on social redistribution, workers control, or public investment. A public sector saturated by performance-based target setting, and fighting its own austerity, becomes compelled to collude with growth-chasing (and mobile) proposals (See Section 3.1).

Eric Swyngedouw, Frank Moulaert and Arantxa Rodriguez (2002) point to large-scale urban development projects, (such as the Olympic precinct developments), bolstered by ‘exceptionality’ measures such as the by-passing of statutory regulations and institutional bodies (i.e. a deregulation of planning requirements), exceptional powers of intervention and decision-making (the centralisation of London planning decision-making in the London Mayor is considered in Section 3.1), and changes in national legislation, as “emblematic” of neo-liberal urban governance. They charge that projects, such as the Olympic regeneration proposals, accentuate economic polarisation via property markets, changes in public budget priorities (redirected from social objectives to investments in the built environment) and the restructuring of the labour market (ibid, pp 542-543). The authors highlight “the ascent of a more assertive, dynamic and entrepreneurial style of urban governance” as “[p]lanners and local authorities adopt a more proactive [...] approach aimed at identifying market opportunities and assisting private investors to take advantage of them” (ibid, pp 548-551), and note the instrumentality of a city’s economic and political elites in the definitions of social and economic value of particular developments. They also point to appropriation of land-rent value increases (improvements funded by public investment) by private operators, and comment: “The role of local growth coalitions is critical in framing a discourse of renewal, innovation, achievement and success” (ibid, p 562).

<sup>2</sup> Literally meaning ‘revenge’ and a state’s reincorporation of territory (here, the recapitalisation of urban economic landscapes). The term derives from the last three decades of the C19, where a right-wing populist movement in France mixed military tactics and a moral discourse to contest the relative liberalism of the Second Empire and the socialism of the Paris Commune (MacLeod, p 606). Writing about Glasgow, MacLeod looks to the work of Neil Smith on the zero tolerance policing strategies of New York under Mayor Rudy Guiliani.

## 2.2 A critique of Olympic economic development strategy

It is clear that social actions and relationships, development plans and economic strategies, have all been defined by a discourse of uneven development, that of poverty in the Lower Lea Valley and Olympic boroughs (a continuing product). Local baseline data indicates that a majority of wards around the masterplan boundary fall within five percent of the most deprived areas of England in terms of income, with related impacts on health and with a relation to qualifications and perceived skills. Within the Inner Impact Zone (the 12 wards with territory in or immediately adjacent to the masterplan area) the wards of Bromley-by-Bow (16.3 per cent) and East India and Lansbury (15 per cent) suffer unemployment rates over three times the national average (LDA, 2004/2, pp 8-10). The LDA estimated, initially, that in the 'red line area' alone, somewhere between 11,000 and 12,000 jobs could be created (private conversation). Later projections are as high as 50,000 (former Prime Minister Gordon Brown on BBC News, January 16, 2009, this figure includes the 30,000 construction jobs), 60,000 (Games Monitor, October 27, 2006) or even 100,000 (Julian Cheyne reporting a figure in the Financial Times, Games Monitor Blog, March 23, 2011). However, one feels that a high degree of scepticism is called for. On May 6, 2011, The Guardian reported that Sir Robin Wales, Mayor of Newham, had highlighted a discrepancy between Olympic hype and actuality: the Olympic Delivery Authority had announced that 12,635 people were working on the Olympic Park (the time frame is not quite clear from the report, it could be that the figure represents people 'at this current moment', or during the whole of 2011, which would meet LDA expectations), but he said, when the bid was won, officials promised that the project would result in a 70,000 reduction in the number of workless people. Even with the building of Westfield Stratford City, which would have happened without the Olympic event, this latter figure seems preposterous.

The initial economic development strategy was set out by the London Development Agency in the Socio Economic Assessment: Lower Lea Valley Olympic and Legacy Planning Applications, January 2004 (Appendix 5 to the Environmental Statement). The Olympic developments were co-opted *tout court* for a social policy rationale. Analysis here has been broken up into three sections for ease of critique. Direct intervention in the Olympic application area seeks:

**To maximise the potential of construction employment in the period of Olympic development, particularly targeting the more marginalised unemployed: migrant workers, women, and youth; proposing apprenticeships and taster courses before full training for those unsure. EU sectoral regulation appears to be achieving prominence in the construction industry, particularly via public sector contracting (see <[www.jerramfalkus.com](http://www.jerramfalkus.com)>), and here, training benefits are to be sought via local labour agreements, and a signed 'Construction Charter' to prioritise the employment and training of local residents, and to enable smaller local firms gain subcontracting preference.**

Such a minimal intervention into the labour market servicing Olympic developments is striking. Certainly sector representatives point to a pressing need to train existing construction workers, and not only those to work on prestigious Olympic developments. Peter Lobban, chief executive of Construction Skills, (a national body representing construction employers), states that 100,000 existing construction workers need to reach NVQ2 standards each year until 2010 to achieve a "fully-qualified" workforce (E. Fennell, The Times, September 12, 2005/1). Lobban also estimated that the sector must attract and train 88,000 new entrants every year for the next five years to meet (general) demand<sup>3</sup>. Later estimates reduce this to 13,000 construction workers and 1,500 electricians and plumbers a year (A. Bawden, The Guardian, May 1, 2007). Three quarters of the skilled people in the industry are self-employed and this presents a distinct problem for skills training as responsibilities are passed down the supply chain and costs foisted on to the worker. One might also note that in what is known as 'building services engineering', (electrotechnical, heating, ventilation, air conditioning, refrigeration and plumbing), small firms are reported as viewing trainees as tomorrow's competition, thus inhibiting small firm apprenticeship schemes (E. Fennell, September 12, 2005/2). But the numbers of apprenticeships are shrinking. With over 50,000 applications for 10,000 places, the traditional apprenticeship route into construction cannot meet demand (A. Bawden, *ibid*).

<sup>3</sup> Strangely, this is the number of migrant workers in construction given recently by the TUC, below.

Consultants might worry that their strategies exacerbate unevenness — between localities, but also between workers — and thus have formulated policy with extreme restraint (Gough, 1996). Divisions of labour within construction are highly segmented and international disparities reflect the racism of corporate wage and status setting, a recomposing secondary market, an intensity of subcontracting, and the institutionalisation of peripheral economic relations forged through Empire and the regulatory arrangements of EU accession (and re-mediated through national strategies of exposure<sup>4</sup>, socialisation and containment). As a result of these proposals, trainees local to the Olympic boroughs and migrant workers face the prospect of being labelled ‘contingent’ in an already flexibilised sector by dint of existing marginality<sup>5</sup> and a process of conscious social selection (existing social inequalities a hiring criteria). Contingent workers are prey to greater substitution pressures by employers and are more vulnerable to exploitation<sup>6</sup>.

Martin Jones and Kevin Ward suggest that training interventions can be regarded as response to “a devolved rationality crisis”, and within a discourse of competitive advantage under globalisation, displaced from the political sphere of the state onto vulnerable groups such as the unemployed, who are then stigmatised for the state’s own economic failings and forced to shoulder responsibility (Jones and Ward, 2002, pp 480-481). Critics charge that within labour market policies, the production and emphasis on qualifications, and the importance laid on institutionalised knowledge and practice in the classroom as well as the workplace, lies in a process of social exclusion rather than technical or personal advance (Bourdieu and Passeron in Willis: 128). Qualifications reproduce class privilege and the state regulative framework — from tax and accounting principles to the institutionalisation of consent in a labour process context. In Hackney, HTEN report that certificates issued by training contractors to the New Deal, and technology network Learn Direct, as well as government-promoted NVQs, are regarded by employers as “largely useless” (Hutton et al, 2003). Definitions of ‘skill’, intrinsic to job classification, are nuanced by the distributions of power in the labour market and the sphere of social reproduction, (most noticeably around gender and race, but also with regard to the Olympics, international divisions of labour) and exhibit a strong ideological component. Craft unionism continues to be a strong force for demarcation.

Action in December 2004 in King's Cross against the imposition of contracts enforcing lower pay and longer hours by Olympic contractor Laing O'Rourke, (a contract incidentally agreed by UCATT), and the intimidation of migrant workers by company management, suggests a brutalised context for flagship Olympic developments and bleak prospect for local, national and international construction labour. The construction industry has a history of casualised labour, on-site hazard and deaths at work. UCATT Building Worker (Spring edition 2005) reports more than 300 on-site deaths nationally 2001-2004, that 90,000 workers suffered musculoskeletal injuries during 2000-2001 (double the all-industry average), and that over 1,500 workers were fired between 2000-2004 for raising safety concerns, a statistic exacerbated by subcontracting endemic to the sector<sup>7</sup>. In 2009, there were 53 construction fatalities, 11 in London (P. Marshall, Demotix.com, April 28, 2010). Jim Sheridan, Labour MP for Paisley and Renfrewshire North, moved a 10-minute Rule Bill in Parliament on June 13, 2007. “[C]onstruction is the fastest growing sector of the economy, yet is also the least regulated”, he said. “Worst of all, health and safety laws are being broken to such an extent that deaths in construction rose by a staggering 25 per cent last year. In fact, things are now so dangerous that construction workers are seven times more likely to die at work than workers in any other industry” (Games Monitor, June 13, 2007). Peter Marshall reports (ibid) that one problem in London is that the Health and Safety Executive has insufficient staff — only 26 inspectors for the whole of the capital, thus 90 per cent of reported accidents are never investigated. The Conservatives plan to privatise the

<sup>4</sup> “Exposure [...] works at the bottom end of the labour market where unskilled workers are made aware that they are easily replaced by unemployed or marginal workers. Where this is accompanied by exclusion from union representation too, such groups may be locked into a bargaining vacuum” (Cooke, 1983, p 216).

<sup>5</sup> “While social divisions within the work force are not created by capital or by the state, they are nevertheless exploited in the allocation of labour and regulation of the labour supply. [...] [C]ontingent workers tend to be defined by ascribed status and by their relationship to ‘institutions located on the outer limits of the labour market’ dominated by ‘relations of force and control which deprive people of the resources for collective action and thus prevent them from realising their economic interests: family systems, schools, prisons, social security programmes, armies, hospitals and so on” (Offe and Hinrichs, quoted by Peck, 1996, p 31).

<sup>6</sup> Offe, 1985, pp 35, 40, 42.

<sup>7</sup> The ILO reports that work causes three times more deaths and suffering annually than wars throughout the world. More than two million people die from work-related accidents or disease every year. Construction, along with agriculture and mining are listed as the three most dangerous occupations (A. Osborn, The Guardian, May 2, 2002).

inspection process, which construction activists argue is sure to lead to an increase in deaths and serious accidents on building sites in the future.

- A worker injured at Westfield's Stratford City development died in December 2009. Shaun Scurry from Kirkby, Liverpool, aged 39 and the father of two sons, was trapped between a steel beam and an industrial lift when he was installing lagging to ductwork. Henry Sheridan, 58, from Luton, died in December 2008 after an excavator bucket fell on him while working at the Olympic rail extension site at West Ham. Workers downed tools at the Olympic site on Workers' Memorial Day, April 28, 2010, and marched around the Olympic site, to mark their deaths, joined by the families of the dead men and other construction safety activists and construction workers who had laid a wreath at the statue of the Unknown Building Worker in Tower Hill. The IWW allege "systematic breaches of basic health and safety standards" on the Olympic sites, which place workers "at risk of injury and death". They also accuse the police of "intimidation of workers and harassment of union activists" and point to the "exclusive sweetheart deal" with UCATT as a cause of the "proliferation of pyramid subcontracting" on the various sites, exacerbating health and safety hazards (J. Cheyne, Games Monitor, February 1, 2010).

The construction labour market is acutely international. UCATT estimate that 88,000 non-UK workers were employed in construction in January 2003, mostly in London and the South East. The TUC report that 'migrant workers in the UK are subject to such levels of exploitation and control that they meet the international definition of "forced labour" (UCATT Building Worker, *ibid*). A TUC report, *Forced Labour and Migration to the UK, 2005*, found conditions in construction similar to those in sex slavery. Under the previous government, MPs were campaigning for the extension of anti-gangmaster legislation, introduced in the wake of the Morecambe Bay tragedy, to be extended across the industry (UCATT Building Worker, *ibid*)<sup>8</sup>.

- In 2008, only 430 jobs (17 per cent) out of a total of 2,488 had gone to people from the five host boroughs, according to Hackney North and Stoke Newington MP, Diane Abbott. Hackney had the lowest number (48) of residents with Olympic jobs (<[www.theyworkforyou.com](http://www.theyworkforyou.com)>, May 16, 2008). Training programmes have not had much more success. A programme called Personal Best was piloted in Hackney, and 50 local residents graduated. However, only two of these secured employment while eight have been taken up as volunteers. Another ODA scheme aimed at getting local people involved has propelled only eight Hackney residents into Olympic employment. Abjol Miah, former leader of the Respect group on Tower Hamlets Council, has said that Tower Hamlets residents count for only two per cent of employment on the Olympic site. Even this figure is exaggerated as the figures do not distinguish between those only living here while working on the site and more established residents (Socialist Unity; M. Slavin, Games Monitor, May 10, 2009). Sir Robin Wales said that he was increasingly concerned that the Olympics would repeat the mistakes of Canary Wharf, which created 110,000 jobs but with only a few hundred going to local people. One in five of the 7,000+ Olympic workers is local to Newham but Sir Robin believes that many are transient and that his borough is missing out on a 'skills legacy' (M. Beard, Evening Standard, November 25, 2009). The ODA told Abbott that it aims to employ 10-15 per cent of people from the five host boroughs in its construction workforce (<[theyworkforyou.com](http://theyworkforyou.com)>, *ibid*). Despite this, two years later, Abbott found that out of 150 apprentices, only one was from Hackney. While the ODA hoped to increase apprenticeships to 350, it acknowledged that there was not enough time left in the Olympic schedule for them to complete their training. Construction apprenticeships take three years and at the time of Abbott's question, there were only 18 months left to go on the Olympic site before the event (Hackney Citizen, March 10, 2010). By mid 2010, it emerged that only nine apprentices had qualified as tradespeople (Evening Standard, quoted by PeopleManagement.co.uk, June 11, 2010). The paper reported (following a FOI request) that "the Olympic Delivery Authority aims to create 350 fully-qualified tradespeople, three per cent of the peak workforce of almost 10,000. Yet with one year left of the 'Big Build' phase, there are 199 apprentices on site and most of them are not due to finish their training until several

<sup>8</sup> A UCATT leaflet *Your Health, Your Safety: A Guide for Workers* (December 2004), provides information about safety rights at work, the level of safety training that workers should expect from their employers, and who they should complain to if they believe their safety is being compromised by poor workplace practices. It has been published in Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Czech, Greek, Gujarati, Pashto, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Slovak, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish and Ukrainian (UCATT Building Worker, New Year 2005).

years after the Olympics". Despite this, the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills told The Guardian (May 6, 2011) that 426 apprentices had been employed constructing the Olympic Park, exceeding the initial target.

- The ODA has signed an agreement with major unions (Unite, GMB, UCATT) which may lessen the extent of subcontracting. The Memorandum of Agreement is committed to the ethos of a directly-employed workforce, for local employment, for safety as a major priority, for training, and for dignity and respect (Regen.net, September 12, 2007). In November 2004, well before the bid decision, Lord Coe, Ken Livingstone and the Chair of the LDA signed a five page statement of economic guarantees at City Hall. Guarantees included payment of a 'London Living Wage' to all workers on Olympic projects, a construction training academy in east London, local labour clauses and allocation of land for affordable homes and a community land trust. London Citizens and TELCO continue to campaign for the commitments on labour to be honoured. Best value regulations restrict the ODA from requiring the Living Wage to be written into all contracts. LOCOG — the organisation staging the Games — has been less than willing to actively promote the Living Wage. LOCOG chair Seb Coe told the London Assembly in 2007 that the Living Wage "will be a consideration but certainly not a condition" in evaluating contracts.
- The ODA has also imposed gagging clauses in contracts of both subcontractors and employees that prevent workers from whistle blowing when health and safety issues arise. Abjol Miah (above) said "We have already had asbestos scares, and as deadlines on contracts approach the pressure will inevitably grow for corners to be cut. We have to have strong union organisation and whistle-blowing protection to ensure that health and safety is not jeopardised" (Socialist Unity; M. Slavin, Games Monitor, May 10, 2009).
- Illegal blacklisting of construction workers who stand up for their rights was confirmed in 2009 in a raid by the Information Commissioners' Office. This showed that Laing O'Rourke, a member of the CLM consortium that won the contract to become the delivery partner which oversees Olympic construction contracts, was paying Ian Kerr, an ex-police Special Branch officer who ran a discrete company Consulting Association, for sensitive personal information used to vet potential employees.

#### WHAT THEY'RE DOING: CONSTRUCTION TRAINING

- A bevy of schemes under the rubric On Your Marks have been announced, financed by the European Social Fund. These include OLYSE003 Increasing access to Olympic construction employment for foreign workers, OLYSE004 OSAT qualifications for construction workers, OLYSE005 NVQ2 Maintenance qualifications, OLYSE006 Improving construction leadership and management, and OLYSE009 Increasing access for female workers in the sector (LDA, 2006). Contracts awarded to colleges in the South East include a Women in Construction course at Oxford and Cherwell College, and specialist construction courses at Central Sussex and Eastleigh colleges (V. Pattni, FE News, August 15, 2006).
- Other construction skills courses receiving funding in relation to the Olympic event are evident locally. Further education colleges in Newham and Hackney are working with sector skills councils to provide trainees with literacy, numeracy and communication skills alongside specific trades needed for Olympic developments. Hackney Community College, for instance, has teamed up with Westminster Kingsway to offer NVQs in hospitality and catering. There are also a number of initiatives such as the Train to Gain project, which aims to encourage employers to train their own staff. Recently, Train to Gain was awarded more than £300 million for training (including apprenticeships) in the construction, hospitality and manufacturing sectors (J. Carpenter, Regeneration & Renewal, June 26, 2008).
- The Learning and Skills Council was projected to spend £5 million across London in 2007 to expand vocational training in sport, customer service, audio-visual and construction skills. This would have included training for people on incapacity benefit and income support to enable them to become construction trade A1 assessors (Regen.net, October 5, 2007).
- PeopleManagement.co.uk reported (June 11, 2010) that, according to the ODA, 2,865 workers had passed through its training centres in east London.

- Alan Ritchie, general secretary of UCATT, warned the House of Commons Business and Regulatory Reform Select Committee that the London 2012 Olympics faces an “industrial relations disaster” if the ODA did not agree a common site rate for construction workers on the Olympic Park. Mr Ritchie said that he believed there was a need for a “level playing field” on pay rates. He feared that workers being paid less than others for the same work would leave for better work on site, causing instability and delays or alternatively down tools in protest (Builder and Engineer Online in Games Monitor, December 6, 2007). The UK’s largest union Unite, warned that a 2008 decision by the European Court on a case in Germany could mean that the London Olympics would be built either on poverty wages or be derailed by industrial unrest. The case concerned a Polish subcontractor of the company Objekt und Bauregie which paid employees working on a prison building site only 46.5 per cent of the prescribed industry minimum wage. The ECJ found in favour of the company on the grounds of freedom of movement and the provision of services across the European Union. Unite is now calling for the powers of the ECJ to be curbed to allow national governments and national courts sovereignty on collective agreements and collective action (Unite, April 3, 2008). More recently, unions for workers on the capital’s tube and bus services, and the Heathrow Express, have won financial concessions for keeping transport running during Games time. The Daily Mail (K. Walker, September 14, 2011) fulminated at the £1,800 “bonus bribe” to tube drivers not to disrupt the Olympics; the Evening Standard (D. Murray and N. Cecil, September 13, 2011) also called it a “bribe”, but put the figure at a maximum of £1,200, stating that all drivers would get a minimum of £800. Network Rail staff will receive a 10 per cent pay rise and a bonus of £500. Anyway, well done the RMT! Nice work.

**B To optimise synergies in the construction and Legacy periods by maximising cluster effects: the promotion of networking and inter-firm subcontracting; help with access to premises, finance and contracting opportunities; relocation aid; advice, information and marketing; and the integration of employers in training schemes. This comes with database support, ICT infrastructure, and a ‘capacity register’ with information on construction projects. Attention will focus first on the building industry, with advice and training to enable firms meet ‘quality thresholds’. During the Legacy phase, cluster shifts (growth sectors) will be monitored in an attempt to keep training relevant (i.e. business reflexive), with particular attention to trends in leisure, retail and entertainment.**

Local economy specialist, Jamie Gough, clarifies such a strategy in his 1996 rejoinder to Peck and Tickell in the journal *Area* (28, 3, pp 392-398). The Olympic initiative focuses on a neo-classical (and neo-liberal) conception of competition, that is, the presence of many firms competing in a given market, and on market forms of cooperation, such as inter-firm subcontracting. It seeks to weight the strength of notionally local actors in international relations of subcontracting by capital subsidy (note that information is now a factor market); that is, to strengthen a reified ‘locality’ as bidder at the same time as it facilitates the mobile location of firms. This, while perfectly valid, exposes a fundamental contradiction: the exposure of existing firms to intensified market pressures. Potentially, this displaces historically-established local construction businesses, in the short or the longer term.

Perhaps because of a flagship post-Fordist policy maximising informational technologies and small firm support, Legacy expectations point strongly toward low wages (national minimum rates for younger workers) and highly casualised and insecure employment in the longer term. Athens 2004 corporation chief, Gianna Agelopoulos, has suggested that the Olympic Games would develop “a new model of labour”, more flexible and intensive than before. While one might argue that any ‘new model’ has been with us since the 1980s, symptomatic of a polarising post-Fordist tendency across specific sectors, ‘flexploitation’ (Gray, 2004), where the flexibilisation of the labour market is accompanied by a major increase of job insecurity and of underemployment, and actively promoted by benefit and labour market regimes, appears implicitly defined as a Legacy principle. The LDA strategy would seem to fall into what economic geographer Jamie Peck (1996) characterises as the “low road from Fordism”: based on a principle of ‘defensive flexibility’, that is, “deregulation, individualised employment relations, job insecurity and sharpened competition” (pp 130-131). To which one might also add ‘mobility’. The London Chamber of Commerce and Industry has speculated that workers may be recruited abroad to plug skills shortages around the Olympic and Legacy developments in construction, transport, security, tourism and IT (G. Fuller, *Personnel Today*, May 24, 2006).

By an absence of geographical barriers to flows of money capital, contracting, labour and firm migration, neo-liberalism imposes the discipline of value with full force:

Class relations may be reproduced through varied combinations of coercion and incorporation: the state is infused by this tension<sup>9</sup>. One sees clearly the state here as imitation, neither serving the needs of capital nor acting as guarantor of social reproduction, but rather acting out the social relations of capitalist property, accumulation and exploitation. The LDA posits a consensus in the interests of locality — calling forced removal of existing firms ‘regeneration’, throwing a false legitimacy over capital via the Olympic proposals and local labour agreements, and opening a path via training, contract compliance, and capital subsidy, for an intensification of the rule of value, a discipline on individuals and firms. And as Gough notes: when labour is more geographically mobile it becomes more abstract and replaceable<sup>10</sup>. (Carolyn Smith, Project Mimique).

### WHAT THEY'RE DOING: SMALL FIRM SUPPORT

- Hackney Community College’s Centre of Vocational Excellence at Morley Hall in London Fields, opened in January 2006, and aims to enable local small firms maximise the ‘opportunity’ of the London 2012 Olympics with a wide range of skills training. Other initiatives proposed since the bid decision (and awarded funding) include a construction employment programme aimed at firms of all sizes, to maximise local recruitment and diversity of construction labour; and a business club with supply-chain support to assist local firms competing for Olympic contracts (Host City News, December 2005). On Your Marks (above) also includes a course OLYSE007 Improving competitiveness of SMEs in the construction sector.
- London 2012 also claim to have put a business brokerage service in place, matching small and medium-sized enterprises with contract opportunities (Briefing Note, London 2012 Sustainability Plan: Towards One Planet 2012).
- Third Sector magazine reports that east London social enterprises claim that Olympic contracts are too large to bid for. Some not-for-profit groups argue that the ODA is ignoring its commitment to work with social enterprises in the development of the 2012 Olympics site (K. Wiggins, July 7, 2009).

**A structural functionalist package of 'lifelong learning', (i.e. vocational training and other skills development), social and micro-enterprise support, backed up by facilities for childcare. Mitigation of totalitarian proposals for 70,000 volunteers for Olympic Games staffing (reduced to 50,000 by the time of the bid decision, although constantly reiterated by volunteer managers McDonald's) is promoted via training referral (after the event) and a partial choice in volunteer activity.**

Economic development strategy seeks here to offset crisis engendered by flexible contracting and the volatility of technologised innovation (promoted by the other aspects of the stated proposals). Far from catalysing an improvement in prospects, the Olympics here is co-opted into the New Deal paradigm: a marginalist experiment in social, labour market, and welfare state regulation.

Such strategies were central to an (increasingly coercive) mode of regulation underpinning post-Fordist social democracy. Labour market interventions, ‘foyer’ institutions where young people received mandatory training in return for accommodation away from the family home, capital subsidies to small firms, and the promotion of self employment to the long-term unemployed, all defined a marginalist current reflexive to the production and reproduction of variable capital (i.e. the disciplined worker [Melossi]) in the context of a wider regulatory compliance. Economic development and land-use planning are regarded as among the defining ‘technologies’ of social democratic governance, while labour markets have been regarded as a central power mechanism of capitalist societies.

There is a sense of economic development as an elite project, of a socialised conception of disparity and uneven development informing a local acceptance of the Olympics themselves and promoted training, small-firm promotion and infrastructural proposals. One can see this in the LDA’s assertion that sports facilities built for the Olympics will catalyse development and attract business location

<sup>9</sup> A. Eisenschitz & J. Gough, 1998.

<sup>10</sup> J. Gough, 1996, p 393.

after the Games (LDA, *ibid*). This is in many ways similar to the Gramscian notion of passive revolution, but in east London there is no failure of the neo-liberal hegemonic project which would define the instance; no revolutionary counter to seduce workers from (Moore, 2005). Economic development strategy itself has stalled at a national level in what has been described as a 'centrist' framework and exhibits little critical thought or left innovation (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993). Economic development is predicated routinely on the transience of opportunity, and of marginal increments in economic benefit. Yet even this limited horizon is overshadowed by the scale of job displacement and the 'flexi-security' and hazard of projected growth sectors of the Olympic development and Legacy phases.

### 2.3 'Convergence' — from security to relations of authority

The 2009 'Convergence' Strategic Regeneration Framework drafted by the Host Boroughs Unit, has dropped the pretensions of technocracy — the feeding of economic drivers, supply, demand and context — that fuelled the Socio Economic Assessment of the 2004 Environmental Statement which was attached to the original planning applications. Convergence targets work towards the virtuous, disciplined and responsible autonomy of citizenry — deficits of employment and income conceived purely in terms of educational attainment and benefit 'dependency', and remedied via governmental mechanisms alone: improved teaching in schools, JobCentre Plus, New Deal providers and so on; the metabolic heresy of obesity ranged as enemy number two — along with the optimisation of professional performance. The document has become a little out of date, in any case, with Prime Minister David Cameron's stated desire for east London to be transformed as a centre of digital innovation (P. Wintour and A. Travis, *The Guardian*, November 4, 2010). The only visionary aspect here is a utilitarian interest in transformed structures of administration. There has been a shift from the C19/C20 Liberal problematic of security (with a focus on society/economy/liberty) to a construction of centres of agency and the implementation of relations of authority, a turning towards neo-Conservatism well before the election that delivered the Coalition to power. A legitimisation crisis emerges that enables the Olympic seizure of sovereignty: the princely right of passage, patronage and performative spectacle; the premodern comforted by contemporary optimising forms of governance, a neo-Baroque paradox. Reflexive government (Mitchell Dean's definition) — the belief that to change society one no longer needs to comprehend (to research) the social, but rather simply to modify governmental frameworks addressing predefined 'social problems' — oozes from every pore of this document, a substitution of policy interpretation for analytical empiricism. What is necessary is not a febrile nostalgia for more technocratic forms of domination, but a critique of all forms of rule, in their specificity. Students approaching the subject would be advised to consult Mitchell

#### WHAT THEY'RE DOING: A MARGINALIST EXPERIMENT

- Two projects awarded funding under the Olympic rubric seem to back up this thesis of marginalism: something described as "a Job Brokerage and Employment Outreach Programme" or advice service to the unemployed, combined with a referral to basic skills and interview training (the New Deal by any other name), and an educational programme aimed at 'raising' young people's employment aspirations (Host City News, *ibid*). The previous government has also outlined a new initiative, Building on Success: London's Challenge for 2012, bringing together business and local authorities, in a bid to tackle unemployment by exploiting opportunities in the City and Thames Gateway (D. Atkinson, *FE News*, April 11, 2006).
- On February 10, 2006, Alan Travis reported in *The Guardian* that persons convicted of minor crimes, that then would receive a 12-month or less prison sentence, would now be required to undertake unpaid work to cut down prison numbers. The government's five-year plan which contained this announcement included work on Olympic site preparation specifically. This is tantamount to the reintroduction of hard labour (or penal servitude) and links Olympic developments into what is known in the USA as the prison-industrial complex.
- HMP Wayland at Griston, near Watton, announced that from February 2007, it will become "a national hub for prison labour", supplying big business with skilled workers from jails across the UK. Industry bosses welcomed the scheme saying that it would help plug the growing labour shortfall in the UK, "particularly ahead of the London 2012 Olympics". The scheme has already won £35,000 from the Prince's Trust and at the time of the announcement was applying for another £40,000 from Lloyds TSB, with the hope of government backing if the initiative proved successful (*Eastern Daily Press*, October 5, 2007).

Dean's *Governmentality* (Sage, 1999), Michel Foucault's *The Birth of Biopolitics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) and Nikolas Rose's *Powers of Freedom* (CUP, 1999). (Carolyn Smith, *Project Mimique*, 2011).

Volunteering is addressed in Section 3.3.

## 3. The institutionalisation of consent

### 3.1 The political machinery

Support for the Olympics was won by the London 2012 media strategy. The campaign worked assiduously to inhibit public discussion through a process of narrative containment and image management. There was a concerted promotion of the Olympic proposals by the Labour local authorities, and by Tessa Jowell in the run up to the May 2006 local elections. Promotion of the Olympic event was caught up in the self-aggrandisement and structural cohesion of the New Labour party machine. Concurrently, a communicative fixity underlining the consultation process predicated public response as affirmative. To quote Michael Hardt and Toni Negri: the communicative machinery of the post-Fordist state “integrate[s] the imaginary and the symbolic within the biopolitical fabric, [...] integrating them into its very functioning”. “[T]he imaginary is guided and channelled through the communicative machine. [...] The political synthesis of social space is fixed in [this space of mediation]” (M. Hardt and A. Negri, 2000, p 33).

Planning process around the Olympic proposals has been deployed as a binding and coercive agent of what geographer Neil Brenner has described as “a major re-calibration of social power relations mediated in and through the state apparatus”; commenting, “emergent patterns of authoritarian statism [also] entail a significant enhancement of the state’s role in mobilising space as a productive force” (Antipode, 2001). This is acutely visible in planning and economic development process at a local level where the local state is restructuring its relation to the repressive apparatus, and the enhancement of bylaw prohibitions with individualised spatial and social regulation.

Powers of London's Mayor were up for review in February 2006 in advance of the modification of planning process proposed in the Planning White Paper (published May 21, 2007), which proposed a similar centralisation of authority and closure of democratic process for ‘strategic’ applications. The February 2006 review of Mayoral powers came into effect in spring 2008. With it, the Mayor and successors can now direct a local authority planning department to grant planning permission for defined categories of strategic planning application where it was intending to refuse, and for a wider range of applications to be regarded as ‘strategic’ and thus referred to the Mayor. S/he and successors also have the power of direction over local authority local development plans. The Planning White Paper created the Infrastructure Planning Commission (IPC), with functions now modified but not abolished by the new Coalition Government, who created the Major Infrastructure Planning Unit (MIPU) which supplants the IPC (M. Donnelly, Planning Resource, June 29, 2010). The MIPU will enable ministers to take decisions on strategic infrastructure within the same fast-track time frame, while the IPC will have its other functions transferred to the Planning Inspectorate. As far as Games Monitor is aware, Mayoral powers have not been affected by the creation of either the IPC or the MIPU.

There is undoubtedly a distinctive centralisation of decision-making in the Mayor under the new framework and a loss of accountability previously afforded at a local level in the formulation of local plans, something that conflicts with the EU’s subsidiarity principle (that is, that decision-making should take place at the lowest possible level). In effect, the Mayor has substituted himself as conflict adjudicator of last resort for the Secretary of State, although at the time, Livingstone stated that he was not proposing that ministers’ current powers of call-in and direction should be removed, and the then Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM, now the Department for Communities and Local Government) consultation document confirmed that if the Mayor’s proposals were introduced that the Secretary of State would still need the power to intervene with a direction to refuse the Mayor’s ruling.

Olympic planning decisions have already been made within closed systems of reference. The Olympic Joint Planning Authorities Team (JPAT), the (now defunct) regulatory body charged with modifying Olympic planning applications and advising local authorities on their viability and the issues that the planning applications raise, was part of the London Development Agency (LDA), itself a constituent body of the Mayor's Greater London Authority (GLA). The LDA also submitted the Olympic planning applications in the first place and, now that the LDA has been subsumed within the GLA, this could be the case with other strategic proposals now the Mayor has the final say in decision-making. Considerations of democratic deficit might also note that the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) and the London Legacy Development Corporation have been set up as urban development corporations. They now act as their own planning authority over the Olympic precinct area. Responsibility for consultation around planning applications in the UK lies with the developing company, but for strategic planning applications such as the Olympic developments, there has been concurrently a corporate mission to enthuse (to socialise support, by the Mayor as well as the GLA and its offshoot London 2012) not just to consult (undertaken by both JPAT and consultants). Businesses and residents faced with compulsory purchase orders previously had a framework with greater scope with which to contest their removal. However, increased Mayoral powers could be argued to overcome the social closure associated with locality politics (relocation of Travellers a case in point, but this would depend on the politics of the Mayor).

Proposals that might be considered 'strategic' often generate the most public outcry: airport runways, tube and rail proposals (such as Crossrail), sewerage, water and waste facilities, demolition for parks, and the Thames Gateway developments spring to mind. While strategic infrastructure has its own validity, it is insidious that debate and local influence over planning applications and the location of facilities should be curtailed. ODPM reasoning also seems a little uncomfortable. Their consultation document *The Greater London Authority: The Government's Proposals for Additional Powers and Responsibilities for the Mayor and Assembly — Consultation Paper, November 2005*, linked increased Mayoral powers to the GLA duty toward sustainable development, suggesting that if, for instance, action to prevent global climate change would benefit from such an increase in Mayoral authority, then such an increase might be justified simply within the terms of this overarching goal.

- Early in 2010, Conservative Mayor, Boris Johnson, proposed that the newly constituted Olympic Park Legacy Company be reconfigured as a Mayoral development corporation, raising opposition from London Councils (C. Marrs, Regen.net, July 27, 2010). However, Regen.net stated agreement between the Mayor, London Councils and Communities Secretary Eric Pickles on a number of restructuring proposals that will lead to even greater powers for the Mayor: (1) Regeneration quango the Homes and Communities Agency should be devolved to the Greater London Authority; (2) The Mayor and Transport Secretary should jointly award the rail franchises for London suburban rail lines; (3) The Port of London Authority should be devolved to the GLA group; and (4) Government funding for the expanded GLA should not be ringfenced other than for broad areas of policy such as housing and regeneration, transport and skills. The anti-regional swing of Conservative policy has also impacted on the capital. Functions of Games Monitor's old adversary the London Development Authority were folded into the responsibilities of the GLA (rather than be abolished in favour of local enterprise partnerships, although boroughs are free to form these). And the boroughs received another fillip, receiving planning powers back from the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation, which has been closed down.

With the Olympic proposals, campaigners found that local authorities too were stuck in a normative paradigm of 'opportunity', something institutionalised in neo-liberal models of qualification for public sector managers and the managerialist ethos (and training) of planners, and bolstered by barriers to local government finance.

---

**In London, there has been a lack of consultation with local groups, compounded by inadequate notice for meetings. In Hackney, council officials lacked knowledge of the extent of proposals, making promises that turned out to be false when the plans were published. Local authorities are starved of money, officials grab any opportunity or face being left out. Opposition is effectively silenced.**  
Anne Woollett, former Chair, Hackney Marsh User Group

---

The LDA have appeared for some time to be circumventing their own regulatory modifications. Grampian conditions concerning a statutory mandate to provide exchange land attached to the applications by the JPAT team as part of the institutional review process have been legislated out in parliamentary process around the London Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Bill. Attempts to lobby the Lords over this surprise amendment found it hard to make headway, not least because peers are often absent from the chamber, but also because the Olympic event enjoyed so much cross-party support, the matter became a question of loyalty. The combination of closed systems of decision-making, party disciplinary mechanisms and image-generated support is blatantly totalitarian.

In a review, the LDA also reneged on Grampian conditions to relocate non-registered residents of the Clays Lane and Waterden Road Travellers' sites.

### 3.2 Consultation processes

There has been a pronounced attempt to institutionalise consent via borough-level consultation procedures, and an unevenness in application. As outsiders, at each point in the process we were invited to consider possible benefits only, not harm, and bribed with free use of local sporting facilities as the bid neared its deadline. Environmentalists complain of a lack of more formal consultation and a lack of notice for consultation meetings which, at times, forced an absence of group discussion or even presence. Conversely, Gypsies and Travellers resident at Clays Lane and Waterden Crescent point to a surfeit of consultation over relocation with very little substance. Manor Gardens allotment holders were not consulted about their prospective decampment, although some attempt at dialogue was made after an agreement to relocate was pushed through. Clays Lane Housing Co-operative were treated to an all-singing-and-dancing presentation extolling the benefits for regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley of winning the bid, and then informed of their forced removal. Only in February 2006 did the LDA recruit a liaison officer to advise individual tenants and mediate their concerns, and concede funding for independent legal advice (an item fudged in the Grampian conditions of the 2004 planning applications).

It is telling that Finer Stephens Innocent, a law firm employed to give advice and legal support to companies based on Marshgate Lane threatened with displacement, has been subject to what amounts to official persecution. When the firm submitted their bill to the LDA they were accused of overcharging (an allegation rejected). The LDA also questioned the expertise of partner Mark Stephens who had been handling the case, and suggested that he had billed for time engaged on active resistance to the bid, accusations Stephens described as "blatantly untrue". Michael Finlay, director of one of the firms that was displaced, countered that the LDA have been presented with time sheets on a monthly basis, and stated that it was unfair of the LDA to reject them at the close of contract. Mark Stephens told *The Guardian* newspaper (H. Muir and P. Kelso, August 10, 2005):

The LDA are trying to welsh on a deal when they should be trying to settle with my clients. They have failed to grasp that my responsibility is to offer independent advice to my clients without fear or favour. Once the LDA realised that my advice was that the London Games would not be in the interests of the businesses because of the unfair terms being offered they became hostile [...] Next week for example I am chairing a[n] [unconnected] planning inquiry, which does not suggest a lack of competence. The truth is that this is a tactical game being played by the LDA to deflect attention from the fact that they are still to reach agreement with scores of firms in the area.

Marika van Harskamp, an urban sociologist, who undertook a research project on the consultation process in 2003-2004 has this to say about the systematic exclusion of dissent and the absence of discussion of regeneration priorities:

Like the bidding process itself, the consultation period was typified by a lack of public debate and input. Both the LDA and London 2012 claim to have run a thorough and successful community consultation process during the two years between the bid announcement and London 'winning' the 2012 Games. These claims can be challenged in many ways, almost all of which highlight the undemocratic nature and tokenism of the consultation. The

consultation process included pre-statutory consultation events in the autumn of 2003, and a further two statutory consultation rounds in the first half of 2004. The latter were guided by the Joint Planning Authorities Team (JPAT), whilst the former were organised by a company specialising in facilitating community engagement. During each of these stages the emphasis was firmly on the regeneration masterplans.

The masterplans set up a firm top-down approach to local stakeholder input, despite claiming that these drew on previous consultation responses from the initial Lower Lea Valley regeneration proposals of the LLV Matrix Group. In addition to this restriction of public deliberation, the consultation worked with a confusing mix of Olympic, non-Olympic and Legacy versions of the masterplan. Information and feedback on, for example, housing, transport, employment and anticipated costs, was often absent, ambiguous or inconsistent. Typically, especially during the more 'participatory' pre-statutory phase, much of the information and discussion was focused on, or (re)shaped by, issues relating to the Olympic event itself rather than wider concerns of 'regeneration' in the Lower Lea Valley area.

Local and grassroots input was squeezed further from the interplay between (official) 'public involvement' and political/strategic decision-making, due to the pressure of IOC (bidding) deadlines. Such time limits also restricted the scope, depth and research of the consultation. Out of necessity, the LDA started land acquisition in the Lower Lea Valley prior to the July decision. IOC rules and requirements for Olympic facilities quite clearly did not sit comfortably with (claims for) 'community-led regeneration' or, even more modestly, specific local needs and desires such as existing recreation grounds, as the debates about East Marsh clarify.

As so often with deliberative and even participatory approaches, the consultation process discouraged and at times was prohibitive of dissent, opposition and alternative forms of public involvement. For instance, posters and banners opposing or criticising the Olympic-led regeneration plans have been systematically removed, even when hung up legally. Critical contributions made during the pre-statutory public meetings ('talkshops') were often downplayed and sometimes ridiculed by the 'expert panel' of masterplanners, London 2012 and LDA representatives. Letters of discontent were usually answered with an envelope of 'Back the Bid' material, underlining again the very thin line between consultation and marketing.

In any context of global events being used or promoted as 'catalysts for regeneration', especially when such events are 'awarded' in an undemocratic manner, it is unsurprising that consultation cannot be more than a token gesture toward local and other stakeholders. The current absence of a continuing community consultation and involvement in the regeneration process merely appears to confirm this.

### **3.3 TV and press messaging**

*The main text of this section is taken from a leaflet by Project Mimique, October 2005.*

Media treatment of the London 2012 Olympic bid revealed a narrative striving for credibility as index of locality and a re-mediation of Olympic tradition (Cohen, 2004), exposing a simulacrum of modernity, a policy discourse of self-development and economic development (Cooke, 1988), bolstered by the depoliticising mediation of multiculturalism.

After the bid decision on July 6 and the subsequent bombings, Trevor Phillips described the London Olympics as "recognition that our capital offers the best real-world answer that humanity has to the challenge of ethnic and religious diversity" (The Observer, July 10, 2005). But one might counter that media treatment of the Olympic bid and London 2012 media strategies are, in fact, raised as post-fascist mystifications. Backed up by attacks on civil liberties and a generalisation of racist policing, surface forms of this mystification included, alongside multiculturalism, the body-without-obstacles, and the nation state. This is consistent with the broadcast media and the New Labour government's flirtations with the repressive consensus of *Modell Deutschland*, the anti-communist moral rearmament of the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s and 1970s.

Much of the Olympic promotion was achieved via TV news broadcasts, and ITN were explicit in their support for the bid. The televised message has a finality which is not so much a function of its actual referent content as of its relation between the sensory receiver and the referent (McLuhan in

Guiraud, p 17). Viewers are receptive, and implicated in the communication of the message. There is a one dimensionality involved. The socialised viewer provides the message with each repetition of encounter; a moment of narrative stability in the heterogenous media flux (which is itself a process of containment), fixing the viewer as spectator and as benignly affirmative. The shift from cynicism to an affirmative interest was built by this technique — a reduction of content to the extent that the image (devoid of intrinsic signification) was really all that was there, reinforced by a hermeneutic impulsion towards closure of the (simple) enigma (would London win?) The bid promoters constantly reiterated that the bid itself was competent; the press and Mayor Ken Livingstone that there would be 'quality' regeneration for the Lower Lea Valley. These 'facts' were challenged by no one except No London 2012. Such aestheticisation is the process of myth.

Dealing with a televisual phenomenon, one is acutely aware of the process of spectacularisation (the social relations of uneven development mediated by the functional image of bureaucratic 'glad-handing'), state mobilisation of citizens in affirmation of an image-in-itself — honed multi-racial bodies, sporting and moral excellence, and a call for 70,000 volunteers to staff the event — the containment of mass society via a manipulation of individual subjectivity and agency, and a reduction of politics to a question of sport ("Are you for or against a London Olympics?"). After the bid decision, the London 2012 website reduced this figure to 50,000, but the scale hardly diminishes.

- Charlie Tims of Red Tory/New Labour/ex-Communist think tank Demos, pointing to the success of YouTube, Flickr, Wikipedia and the blog, suggests in a thoughtful paper that "It is not unreasonable to assume that the communication of London during the Olympic Games [...] will be a collective, dispersed activity. So, in short," he adds, "the audience for London and the post-exotic city will be harder to reach and what will be communicated will be harder to control".
- As social media supremo Professor Andy Miah has documented in the Huffington Post (September 9, 2010), at the Vancouver Games in 2010, the IOC teamed up with Yahoo to produce a Flickr meet up, and since 2008 it has been broadcasting content through YouTube, Facebook and Twitter accounts. Computer games are even on their radar. Miah reframes Tims' question: "Will the IOC be able to retain a strong control of its intellectual property, or will it develop new methods of making money?" In Vancouver, citizen journalists (bloggers, Twitter aficionados) self-organised to create independent media centres, covering everything from sport to local heritage, and critically discussed aspects of the Olympic programme and its values. One of these centres, True North Media House, embraced the most liberal approach to accreditation, asking its journalists to download a media pass, attach their own photograph and laminate it themselves. The Abandon Normal Devices Festival, (@ANDfestival, #ANDfest), organised by Miah, seeks to make #media2012 the dominant hashtag on Twitter during the Games (WTF as they say there, that's a socialisation of Olympic governance!), but does hope to raise the profile of the Paralympics, which in times past has received scant coverage. The hope is that citizen journalism will lure official journalists away from the media centres and out on to the streets of the capital.
- Swiss bagman Jean-Marie Weber, who admitted in court in 2008 that he paid US\$ 100 million in kickbacks to sports officials in return for lucrative marketing contracts was at it again in Lausanne in 2009, schmoozing wannabee Olympic 2016 hosts Chicago, Rio, Madrid and Tokyo. What a great story for Britain's Olympic reporters. But they haven't published a word. Why can this be? Transparency in Sport has obtained the membership list of the self-styled Olympic Journalists' Association (OJA). Astonishingly, Bagman is a member — alongside the BBC, Daily Telegraph, the Times, AP, Reuters.... (S. Dowding, Games Monitor, July 19, 2009).
- Goodness knows who applies for these jobs, but the adverts beggar belief. In 2010, the ODA advertised for a £44K Marketing Manager to "help develop and deliver the ODA external and internal marketing communications strategy covering — publications, brand (implementation and protection), events, market research, internal communications (corporate and site worker) and new media", as well as "in conjunction with the Head of Marketing develop innovative solutions to communicate construction progress". The advert ran thus: "Live the dream, Go for Gold and Be THE BEST! Sports Marketing role for The Olympics. A DREAM role to be part of the future... building a sustainable, profitable and socially-

networked Marketing Plan. The Olympic Games. Do you want to leave your footprint on the greatest game on earth? Are you a passionate marketer with Sports Industry, Through-the-line Marketing and Public Sector experience, who wants to make a difference on a GLOBAL STAGE? Do you have the X-FACTOR? Can you magic GOLD faster, stronger and prettier than an ALCHEMIST? If so, this job is for you.... And look no further... your future is set" (C. Batsworth, Games Monitor Blog, August 29, 2010). No wonder the propaganda they send out is so vacuous.

- For a public organisation with the Mother of all spin budgets, a Building Public Trust Award for Excellence in Reporting should perhaps not be much of a surprise. Few could trump the ODA at padding their annual report with unedifying social marketing images, and implausible splash statistics ("300,000 wetland plants used within the park") (C. Batsworth, Games Monitor Blog, December 5, 2010). Building Public Trust: is it just Games Monitor, or does this organisation sound really quite sinister?
- Children's classic comic The Beano illustrated Olympic mascots Wenlock and Mandeville taking swimming lessons. Lord Coe claimed that this was "a creative way to engage children in the Olympic and Paralympic values". We'll call it 'hegemonic insertion'. Schools are being charged £850 for a visit by these aquatically-challenged mascots. An earlier catastrophe was averted when a film featuring these dummies was withdrawn because it might trigger epileptic fits (J. Cheyne, Games Monitor Blog, September 5, 2011). On May 24, 2010, the Daily Express (David Pilditch) charged that the film to promote the alien creatures was the product of a Chinese company, raising ire from UK lobbyists for the cartoon industry Animation UK.

### 3.3 Fringe events

---

#### **The texture of the Olympics is not a happy context for art.**

Grayson Perry, Turner prize winner

**As arguments for the economic and 'social' value of creative activity and cultural industries are exposed as inflated by economic downturn, both art and sport may turn out to have been mere contributors to the emerging crisis, factories (or at least 'digital workshops') of fictitious value whose stream of liquidity is now drying up. However, state-funded art, as a relatively weak contributor to major league capital projects such as the Olympics, is likely to feel the squeeze before aestheticised mass sport does. Either way, a swing back toward notions of artistic autonomy will not represent an end to the convergence of art and sport. In a depression, the arguments for state support are likely to become more not less subservient to a repressive process which pre-dates both 'neo-liberal' privatisation and the recent proliferation of 'relational' art (and sport) claiming to offer an exemption from it. Whether or not the farcical replay of modernism is now leading us all the way back to the Jamesian moment of working-class activity in its unrecuperated form, or getting snagged up into an expanded version of the 1930s totalitarian destruction of the working class, may in part depend on whether artists and sports fans continue to serve the state in its projects for managing crisis through 'socially' and 'participatory' disguised forms of destruction and austerity.**

Benedict Seymour, 'Blurred Boundaries: Sport, Art and Activity', in MetaMute, April 17, 2008

---

The production of supportive individuals and organisations is also being ensured via the populist charade of a 'cultural fringe' (originally billed as starting in 2004, but announced formally in 2008), touted local synergies of 'creative' subcontracting and recruitment (London 2012: 2004/2), and an ongoing call for sporting and other volunteers. Proposals for the period of the Games themselves include special performances by the Royal Shakespeare Company and the Globe Theatre, along with a month-long Olympic Proms.

The Cultural Olympiad has been awarded £28 million (70 per cent of a £40 million Legacy Fund, jointly financed by the Big Lottery Fund, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, and Arts Council England). Louise de Winter, director of the National Campaign for the Arts welcomed the announcement, but warned that the arts sector needed to be funded at a "sustainable and consistent level" if it was to put on a show for the 2012 Games. Arts organisations approached the Treasury

for a Comprehensive Spending Review settlement that would make up the shortfall of other funds lost from the Lottery (N. Calvi, *The Stage*, May 15, 2007).

The festival kicked off with a conceptual sprint across the sculpture galleries of the Tate Britain. The rest of the programme oscillates between high culture and a patronising attempt to gain the interest of disenfranchised youth and a philistine majority. Major projects include: Artists Taking the Lead, 12 “cutting edge” commissions from artists across the UK; Stories of the World, a national network of exhibitions “telling new stories in new ways”; Sounds, “celebrating music as a universal language”; Somewhere to, enabling young people to find somewhere to practice sport and culture “on their terms”; Discovering Places, “opening up the historic and built environment to new audiences”; Film Nation, a programme “designed to get young people behind the camera”; Unlimited, a world celebration of disability arts, culture and sport; a World Shakespeare Festival, coordinated by the RSC; and a Festival of Carnivals, five themed street carnivals to be held during the Olympic period (BBC News, September 4, 2008). Another rather bizarre project which gets aired as part of the Cultural Olympiad is a 10 metre statue of Lady Godiva, brought to London from Coventry by a peleton of 50 cyclists (J. Cheyne, *Games Monitor Blog*, October 2, 2010). The Cultural Olympiad will also be responsible for orchestrating the handover ceremonies, the torch relay, the opening and closing ceremonies, the team welcome, and the medal/victory ceremonies (London 2012.com).

At a local level, we have CREATE (“a festival of festivals”), parasitising the soft power of image management that the local arts scene offers, and co-opting every last event into the Olympic vortex. It has its own Host Boroughs Unit Culture Team, contracting consultancy labour to devise marketing campaigns and flagship events. Charles Batsworth highlighted one such event on *Games Monitor* (July 1, 2010): ROAM. He says: “Possibly the ultimate in disappearing up its own backside meta-highjacking, it incorporates activities such as fishing, birdwatching and swimming, and a talk on wild plants into ‘possibly the largest participatory art award in the UK’. Without any apparent sense of irony, ‘it is paen to a slower pace of life, and to an appreciation of the natural beauty that peeks out from even the most urban east London environment, if only you know where to look’, despite allowing itself to be used to promote the Olympic project that is responsible for the destruction of so many of those places of natural beauty and wildlife habitat, even those they had promised to retain. Can we really not have lunch and a conversation, or look at ‘wild plants’ (sorry, native species, I don’t think there are many actual wild plants left on the made-over Greenway...) without a world class festival complete with a pink London2012.com lookalike website and a whole superstructure of administrators, directors and graphic designers?”

Hackney’s offering for the Cultural Olympiad launch, One Carnival, has been described by one *Games Monitor* activist (Steve Dowding, October 1, 2008), as ‘deadweight’ (i.e. it would have happened anyway). Apparently, Dalston-based community and arts centre Centreprise has been organising the Hackney Mare di Gras carnival (a festival of similar size) annually in September for the past ten years, until their funding was cut earlier in 2008.

- The administration of the Cultural Olympiad seems cloaked in secrecy and shades of nepotism. At least £87 million has been spent commissioning art, reports *The Independent* (R. Sharp, April 25, 2011), including 30 foot crocheted lions, 10-metre high puppets and a football pitch hidden away in a forest that is unlikely ever to be used. Before Ruth McKenzie’s appointment as Director of the Cultural Olympiad at £130,000 a year, the festival was derided by leading artistic figures including Sir Nicholas Serota, Director of the Tate galleries, and Turner prize winner Grayson Perry for being overly bureaucratic. Now McKenzie has stated that she alone will decide on the Olympiad’s programme without recourse to committees, using the metaphor of the chef (“Great banquets by committee? Name several!”). She has however conceded that friends will be asked their opinion, and “anyone who wants to can email me and give me a brilliant idea”. Critics note that the Olympiad draws much of its funding from the public purse. “Public money needs accountability”, said Marcus Romer, artistic director of York’s Pilot Theatre.
- Publicity for the Hackney Wick-ed festival (complete with a coracle regatta, bike polo suggested by Gilbert and George, pole vaulting over the blue fence, competition kebab-eating, and exhibitions at 14 galleries) asserted that they were “doing just fine without the Cultural Olympiad”. That was, of course, until 2011 when the festival listed the Olympic Park

Legacy Company as one of its sponsors and partners, and when a mix-up led to London 2012 ambushing the Hackney Wick-ed logo for its Dysarticulate event.

- Hilary Powell, director of the 2007 film *The Games* which staged a surreal Olympics amid the landscapes of the 2012 park site, continued this engagement with *Pudding Mill River: Purveyors of Sporting Spirits and Foodstuffs*, a company set up to gather the last wild harvests (rosehips and sloes) of the Olympic area. She complements the harvesting of food with debate, theatre and film. Hilary also runs a network hosting regular forums for other artists working around the Olympic 'regeneration' project (*Salon de Refuses Olympiques*), building an archive of interventions, events and responses in an attempt "to create a more heterogenous vision" ([www.gre.ac.uk](http://www.gre.ac.uk)). She organised a series of events for the weekend of September 30 — October 2, 2011, including a discussion on military urbanism and surveillance, chaired by journalist Anna Minton, author of *Ground Control: Fear and Happiness in the 21st Century City*. Of particular interest at the Salon was the work of Laura Oldfield-Ford, behind the anti-regeneration fanzine *Savage Messiah*, and a collaboration between Isaac Marrero, post-doctoral research fellow at Birkbeck College and photographer Giles Price, documenting/critiquing the militarised aspects of the Olympic construction area. All have books forthcoming, and will appear in Volume 2 of the *This is Not a Gateway* anthology *Critical Cities* (Olympic edition edited by Hilary Powell). Anna Minton herself has written a special Olympics chapter for her *Ground Control* book which will be republished in time for the event.
- East London production company Germination got 35 15-19 year olds to make a series of short films that "took the pulse" of how Newham young people view the Olympics. The message is either not reaching them effectively or is not specific enough on tangible opportunities. Half of the fifty local residents interviewed by the young people did not know when and where the Games are to take place. Answers ranged from "It's happening in Berlin" to "It's going on now" and "It lasts two or three years". Germination recommended to the ODA more participative media to reach those living in the host boroughs. One of the films is available to watch on You Tube: <[www.youtube.com/watch?v=xxwPCATMOCA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xxwPCATMOCA)>. Another film, this one from a more critical standpoint, was made by young people at the Bromley-by-Bow Community Organisation <[www.bbbco.co.uk](http://www.bbbco.co.uk)> and published online in 2011. Their own comments speak volumes: "Loads of police trying to make us stay inside", "The pitch is closed at 8 pm because of the Olympics", "No youth club, nothing round here", "I didn't get any tickets, I'll watch it on TV, that's about it".
- Meanwhile, Hackney Museum has begun recording for a future archive people's views on the Olympic developments and their impact. They stated that they were particularly interested in interviewing those with experience or expertise in the environmental impact (see Background paper 1). Views would not be published or made public without prior consent. Anyone out there wishing to have their ire recorded for posterity should contact Emily Jost, Heritage Officer, Hackney Museum, 1 Reading Lane, London E8 1GQ.

In a savage irony, with the active collusion of environmental organisations, the British Trust for Conservation Volunteers (BTCV), and Groundwork, Olympic volunteering (conservation labour) has been touted as corporate team building and leadership training for youth (London 2012, 2004/1), a formalist refraction counterpointed by the Environment Agency extolling the virtues of redeveloped "green and attractive river corridors" for "social cohesion", including benefits for physical and mental health (letter from Deborah Coates to Hackney Council Environment Directorate, 2003). In fact, twenty-five years of voluntary environmental labour in the Lower Lea Valley, undertaken often by local residents, are being destroyed by the Olympic proposals. Habitat management organisations seem happy to act as tools of neo-liberal social policy and in the past at least one, BTCV, has undermined practical conservation as a livelihood by enforcing low pay. In 2003, the Home Office floated a proposal for the incorporation of habitat management and maintenance of canal paths as forced labour within the criminal justice system for non-payment of court fines, a variant of workfare options (over the last 20 years) for the long-term unemployed and prison labouring (see also Section 2.2, A critique of local economic development strategy).

Since the bid decision, the Olympic event and its preparations were co-opted briefly as a vehicle for the New Labour Respect Action Plan, evoking a stigmatisation of young people as routinely violent

against both property and populace. At a meeting on January 24, 2006, in Leyton, headlined 'How the Olympics can strengthen our community', Tessa Jowell, then Minister for Culture, Media and Sport, described young people as responsible for a "debasement of society", the mere sight of them causing others "a sense of apprehension". Sport is projected as building "community cohesion" (again!) and organised activities such as boxing (so reminiscent of the 1940s) suggested on a national basis as diversion from graffiti and menace. Jowell also promoted skills training and ending a national depreciation of success. She said that she was in the process of visiting every London borough, demanding "Where is your business plan for the Games?" New Labour contested the May 2006 local elections across east London with an offensive against so-called "anti-social behaviour". Such a co-option could be interpreted as little more than rather base electioneering (the Benthamite zeal of Edwin Chadwick combined with the formal distractions of synchronised swimming). However, one person in the audience, Keith Prince of Waltham Forest Respect Party, noted a fascist nuance reminiscent of the Nazi's Strength Through Joy programme of the 1930s, after hearing Tessa Jowell's speech. Such naked party ambition was underlined by the presence of a number of young people brought in for the occasion as virtuous exemplars, dressed in the red uniforms of Waltham Forest's SafetyNet Community Partnership Unit Young Wardens. Tessa Jowell also took the 2012 Olympics on a three week 'roadshow' around the UK (promotion of volunteering was one of the key themes), and held a 'Business Summit' at Canary Wharf on economic benefit during July 2006.

It is imperative to call into question the government's communitarian ethos — the constitution of the 'responsible subject' (now the 'managerial', 'creative', 'sporting', and 'tidy', subject) — here building through the global signifier of sustainable development (and bolstered separately by an evocation of 'art', 'administration' and 'order'). The call for 70,000 (now 50,000?) volunteers for the Olympic event is reminiscent of the voluntary postwar construction of the Budapest Népstadion in Stalinist Hungary (contemporaneous with Hungarian dictator Mátyás Rákosi's Ready to Work and Fight Movement of sporting youth), and represents the formal elevation of the Games to a transcendent goal (beyond conflict) and an attempted synchronisation of the subject reconstituted as 'national' ("Make Britain Proud") with the moral ideologies of the state.

- McDonald's has been lined up by Olympic chiefs to help recruit and train the 50,000 helpers for the 2012 Games. These poor deluded souls have been nicknamed the McVolunteers by the Evening Standard (January 15, 2010). McDonald's are expected to attempt to recruit via their 1,250 outlets throughout the UK. Apparently, more than 300,000 people have already registered an interest in volunteering via LOCOG's website. McDonald's is a long-standing sponsor of the Olympics. It is also expected to buy the promotional rights to the volunteer programme. The McVolunteers will not receive any tickets, and perks will be limited to the uniform (marketed by Adidas), meal vouchers, free use of London transport and possibly subsidised train tickets for those outside the capital. LOCOG chairman (sic) Sebastian Coe told Parliament that the volunteers should be prepared to sleep on friends' floors if they needed somewhere to stay in London.
- The Queen has come out against the Games. According to the Daily Mail (K. Nicholl, June 27, 2009), the Monarch feels that the Olympics are draining Britain's purse and that public resentment is therefore high. "The Palace does not want the 60th [Diamond Jubilee] celebrations tarred with that brush and for any celebrations to be marred because of the Olympics. Besides, the Olympics are just a one-off event. The Monarch and her reign is (sic) ongoing". Rapper Dizze Rascal has announced that he is fed up with the preparations for the 2012 Olympics. According to The Sun (C. Wightman, September 4, 2009), the rapper complained that building work had turned his birthplace into a "hole". Nevertheless, he'd still do the opening ceremony for the right cash. "They need to be talking about the right situation", he said.
- Launched in June 26, 2007, at law firm Clifford Chance, and with speeches by Tessa Jowell and Ed Miliband, London Civic Forum project The Big Opportunity seeks to position the voluntary sector as key vector of Olympic social policy targets. Areas of interest include employment and skills development, volunteer recruitment, health inequalities, legacy planning, support to contractors, and curiously, risk mitigation. The report, The Big Opportunity — Context and Communication Behind the 2012 Third Sector Engagement Project, highlights among others the work of the Community Action Team, who "help residents to identify concerns [about service delivery] and to tackle crime, anti-social behaviour and

harassment". The CAT claims that it "is best placed to gauge levels of grievances arising from the Games, as well as to help alleviate any social unrest in the run-up" (p 11). Also mentioned is the 2008 Shoreditch Festival, which profiled the handover of the Olympic flame from Beijing to London, along with an unspecified 'China exchange', and on a sad note, the now defunct Lea Rivers Trust, once champion of natural habitat in the River Lea and Bow Back Rivers, training volunteers to give tours of the Olympic site.

- In October 2008, local legislation designed to prevent the fascist British National Party from speaking on Hackney Council premises was deployed to ban one of the borough's most celebrated novelists, Iain Sinclair, from launching his book *Hackney, That Red Rose Empire* in Stoke Newington Library, on the basis that he is a noted opponent of the Olympic developments. Conservative London Mayor Boris Johnson branded this as "an attack on free speech", while the *Evening Standard* (October 24, 2008) commented: "Obviously, it is idiotic of the council to ban Sinclair [...]. Still this daft decision does have the virtue of drawing our attention to Sinclair's original essay [in the *London Review of Books*]. Headlined *The Scam of Scams* [actually it's called *The Olympic Scam*], it's top stuff. Like all Sinclair's writing, it combines convoluted rhetoric with lots of footwork. He doesn't just issue sweeping condemnations from on high, he gets out there and trudges around the site. It's surely the best piece so far inspired by 2012. Hackney Council has done well to bring it to our attention — and it would do even better now to make plenty of copies available in all its surviving libraries". The article can be accessed at <[www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n12/sinc01.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n12/sinc01.html)>. Sinclair also appears as main man reading from his latest blockbuster — *Ghost Milk* (on the futility of mega-projects, including the Olympics) — in Mike Wells short film *Gold Dust*, complete with a haunting soundtrack by local lawyer and campaigner Bill Parry Davies on saxophone. With Paul Charman, Mike and Bill have been crucial to the exposure of the existence of radiation on the Olympic site (see Background Paper 1: Impact, section 3.1). *Gold Dust* can be accessed at <[vimeo.com/28065136](http://vimeo.com/28065136)> and <[www.youtube.com/watch?v=X2QmYmoF1GA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X2QmYmoF1GA)>.
- Despite proclaiming the "Olympic values of inclusion and celebration" at its heart in a newspaper produced for Stratford station, *Art on the Underground* (AotU) censored the comments of local resident and Games Monitor activist Julian Cheyne, despite the fact that he was directly approached by the artist who wanted contributions from people being evicted by the Olympic developments. The artist informed him that AotU would not use what he had written as everything had to be approved by the Head of Transport for London. He had been indelicate enough to include direct criticism of public figures and organisations. Cheyne has found that despite similar claims to inclusion, the ODA publicly-funded website refuses to allow a proper debate. "Instead, the ODA pursues its 'manifest destiny' of bringing

## LONDON CALLING

LOCOG's One Year to Go gig at Trafalgar Square in the summer of 2011 featured a rather strange sampling of *London Calling* by the Clash. The recuperation used the famous riff, but dropped the lyrics. However, that didn't go unremarked. National Public Radio in the US picked up on the story with 'London Calling' Repurposed As A Tourism Jingle, linking to the BBC's longer piece by Alan Connor deconstructing some of those lyrics (July 28, 2011): "The Clash's breakthrough single is enough to start a housing crash and send tourists fleeing. Even so, it's easy to understand the branding appeal. [...] The Clash were supporters of pirate radio and considered launching their own station — this love song to the wireless signal recounts what, in punk terms, is up-to-the-minute and truthful news. But it isn't saying 'come and enjoy the canoe slalom'. In Joe Strummer's mind, in fact, conflict is back. The second line is, 'now war is declared, and battle comes down'. Engines have stopped running and meltdown is expected. So what's caused this war, perhaps a Third World War? It's partly down to resources — a kind of unnatural disaster. The Clash were part-band, part-reading list, and the lyrics distill the gloomiest headlines of the 1970s. The United Nations was tackling food shortages — as the chorus has it, 'the wheat's growing thin'. The Three Mile Island reactor leaked radioactive steam ('a nuclear error'). Newspapers suggested that the inter-glacial period might end sooner rather than later ('the ice age is coming'). At times it's unclear whether the city's getting too hot or too cold ('the sun's zooming in'), but either way, the outlook is poor. And so *London Calling* is a post-apocalyptic radio message to the survivors [...] There's even, at the end, guitar feedback sending a signal in Morse code — naturally, 'SOS'". (S. Dowding, Games Monitor Blog, August 2, 2011)

civilisation and its benefits to the benighted land east of the River Lea, backed up by visionary experiences of its explorers [...] At a recent meeting at UCL, Jason Prior [of masterplanners EDAW] said that it wasn't possible to carry out an Olympics-style development in west London, because of the resistance of better-off communities. As a local resident, first of Newham and now, as a result of being forcibly removed, of Tower Hamlets, I am depressed by this relentless Olympics aggrandisement. This is truly a colonial experience for east London", he concluded (Games Monitor, January 11, 2010).

- The use/misuse of children is a prominent strategy of the social marketing image, and children with balloons were oft represented in the social realist convention as icons of celebration. It comes as no surprise therefore, the image being the indispensable condition of the Olympics, that children have been promoted as both key beneficiaries of institutional largesse at the event, vectors of Olympic promotion, and used as leverage on the IOC by civil society campaigners. (1) On May 22, 2011, the Daily Express (Shaun Wooller) reported that more than 700 children "who dreamt of taking part in the opening ceremony of the 2012 London Olympics have had their hopes dashed". Officials had promised that every child born in the UK on the date that the bid was submitted on December 20, 2004, would be invited to the capital to celebrate the Games. Parents who applied for the Children's Promise at the time, were told that their newborns would have roles in events, "such as the opening and closing ceremonies", and as a result, raised their children to believe they would be among the privileged few to take part. Instead they have been told they will only be involved in the torch relay as it passes through or near their home town up to two months before the Games start. (2) Children these days are not taught to think but instead to sell, and the Field Studies Council outdoor classroom on the Olympics comes as no exception. Students were asked to "identify the need for regeneration/rebranding" and "give evidence that it is happening", "assess environments around the Olympic Park in order to rebrand them" and "suggest how the 2012 Olympics could help to regenerate and rebrand east London" (C. Batsworth, Games Monitor Discussion List, February 15, 2011). (3) On April 5, 2011, TELCO (part of London Citizens) heralded the Olympics as bringer of Living Wage jobs (actually not the case, see section 2.2), housing and opportunities for young people's development (see above for young people's opinions) to east London, with 200 school students picketing the Westminster Park Plaza Hotel where the IOC were meeting for the Sport Accord Conference. At the event, Paul Deighton, Chief Executive of LOCOG, was corralled by London Citizen into lending his support to a celebration of a pledge which LOCOG famously has failed to honour.
- Governance of the aspirational (but oppressed) soul is nowhere more evident than the Accentuate programme, operational in the South East (a "Welcome Region") and funded by the Legacy Trust UK. The programme aims to tackle disadvantage among the disabled population, "raise aspirations and celebrate excellence": "[t]hat people across the South East have raised awareness of and are inspired by the values of personal best, going for gold and excellence, and are offered strategies to help them adopt these values in their own lives" (London 2012.com, how patronising can you get?). The London 2012 website hopes that many of the projects (including the Stoke Mandeville hospital archive) will be eligible for the Inspire mark. Richard Morrison in The Times (September 27, 2008), described similar language articulating the Cultural Olympiad as "Orwellian", but this misses the contemporary nuance. In his book, Powers of Freedom (1999), Nikolas Rose details the myriad of forms in which our liberty, our very desire to live, is harnessed by government to integrate its own restructuring initiatives. Games Monitor thus coins a neologism to encapsulate such tyranny: henceforth, all such discourse will be regarded as 'Rosy'.

See also Background paper 2, Section 1.1 Cash crisis looms, for diversion of Lottery funds



## Bibliography

- Akin, D. (2008) Tanks part of 'discrete' 2010 Games security; 'Surveillance Games', *National Post*, May 21
- Alberge, D. (2010) Cultural sites 'vulnerable to criminals' during 2012 Olympics, *The Guardian*, May 31
- Alexander, B (2009) Police sharpen focus on 2012 security, *BBC Radio 5 Live*, November 26
- Anderson, B. & B. Rogaly (no date) *Forced Labour and Migration to the UK* (London) TUC  
<[www.tuc.org.uk/extras/forcedlabour.doc](http://www.tuc.org.uk/extras/forcedlabour.doc)>
- Associated Press* (2008) A former Beijing vice-mayor... October 20
- (2010) Security threat set to be severe at London 2012, *Google Hosted News*, November 25, <[www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/AleqM5hbJmoGtOhffeDmGEOCgA8Ts9v56Q?docId=cb641e1063cb470292392a313f733f29](http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/AleqM5hbJmoGtOhffeDmGEOCgA8Ts9v56Q?docId=cb641e1063cb470292392a313f733f29)>
- Atkinson, D. (2006) Olympic boost for whole of London, *FE News*, April 11, <[www.fenews.co.uk/newsview.asp?n=1354](http://www.fenews.co.uk/newsview.asp?n=1354)>
- Batsworth, C. (2011) A level Olympic regeneration twaddle, *Games Monitor discussion list*, February 15
- (2010) No such thing as a free lunch — East London's arts hijacking, *Games Monitor*, July 1
- (2010) The Spinners Spun, *Games Monitor Blog*, August 29
- (2010) Surely some mistake? ODA gets 'Building Public Trust' Award, *Games Monitor Blog*, December 5
- BBC News* (2008) Cultural Olympiad plans unveiled, September 4, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7597460.stm>>
- (2008) Police shortage for 2012 Games, July 2
- (2009) Brown hails 2012 as job creator, January 16, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7831847.stm>>
- (2010) Athletes' representatives have warned that random drugs searches in the Olympic Village at London 2012 would be "utterly disastrous", January 4 <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/olympic\\_games/london\\_2012/8440088.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/olympic_games/london_2012/8440088.stm)>
- (2011) Bus union demands pay deal for London 2012 Games, May 19 <[www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-13460648](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-13460648)>
- BC Civil Liberties Association (2009?) *A Matter of Free Speech*, <[www.bccla.org/temp/get%20educated.html](http://www.bccla.org/temp/get%20educated.html)>
- Beard, M. (2008) Fears over legacy in the 'forgotten Olympic borough', *Evening Standard*, November 18
- (2009) 'Games are not ending my borough's poverty', *Evening Standard*, November 25
- (2010) Compete in or take away? McDonald's to recruit 70,000 Olympic volunteers, *Evening Standard*, January 15
- Bennett, T. (1979) *Formalism and Marxism* (London) Methuen

- Berlins, M. (2006) Why is the government seeking to pass far-reaching laws without parliament's approval, *The Guardian*, G2 section, February 15
- Bohle, D. (2006) Neoliberal hegemony, transnational capital and the terms of the EU's eastward expansion, *Capital & Class* 88, Spring edition, pp 57-86
- Boyle, P. & K.D. Haggerty (2009) *Olympic-size questions about surveillance and privacy*, December 1, <[www.straight.com/article-273017/vancouver/philip-boyle-and-kevin-d-haggerty-olympic-size-questions-about-surveillance-and-privacy](http://www.straight.com/article-273017/vancouver/philip-boyle-and-kevin-d-haggerty-olympic-size-questions-about-surveillance-and-privacy)>
- Brenner, N. (2001) 'State Theory in the Political Conjuncture: Henri Lefebvre's Comments on a New State Form', in *Antipode*, pp 783-804
- Brenner, N. & N. Theodore (2002) 'Preface: From the 'New Localism' to the Spaces of Neoliberalism', in *Antipode*, pp 341-347
- Bromley-by-Bow Community Organisation*, <[bbbco.co.uk](http://bbbco.co.uk)>
- Calvi, N. (2007) Olympiad gains £28 million for cultural projects, *The Stage*, May 15
- Cam, S. (2002) Neo-liberalism and labour within the context of an 'emerging market' economy — Turkey, *Capital & Class* 77, summer edition, pp 89-114
- CAMPACC <[www.campacc.org.uk](http://www.campacc.org.uk)>
- Carpenter, J. (2008) £300m funding to help plug priority skill gap, *Regeneration & Renewal*, June 26
- (2010) Johnson reveals plans to seize HCA powers and dismantly LDA, *Regen.net*, June 15
- CBC (2009) 2010 Olympic security plans include 'free speech areas', July 8, <[www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2009/07/08/bc-olympic-security-plans-free-speech-areas.html](http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2009/07/08/bc-olympic-security-plans-free-speech-areas.html)>
- (2009) Vancouver police get sonic crowd device, November 10, <[www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2009/11/10/bc-long-range-acoustic-device-vancouver-police.html](http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2009/11/10/bc-long-range-acoustic-device-vancouver-police.html)>
- Coates, D. (2003) *Letter to Hackney Council Environmental Directorate from the Environment Agency, regarding Appendix A, Lower Lea Valley Regeneration — Scoping Opinion*, October 1
- Cheesman, C. (2007) London Olympics Photo Storm, *Amateur Photographer*, June 13
- Cheyne, J. (2008) The Surveillance Olympics, *Games Monitor*, May 4
- (2008) Inclusive censorship Art on the Underground TriFles with our lives, *Games Monitor*, October 14
- (2008) 2012 Olympic censorship — Hackney picks up the baton, *Games Monitor*, October 23
- (2010) More 2012 bl\*\*ging censorship, *Games Monitor*, January 11
- (2010) Stratford City construction fatality follows safety warnings, *Games Monitor*, February 1
- (2010) They can't keep politics out of sport, *Games Monitor*, July 5
- (2010) Roadside bombs at London 2012, *Games Monitor*, August 7
- (2010) Armed police prepare for 2012 mayhem, *Games Monitor Blog*, August 18
- (2010) Olympics to save police from cuts? *Games Monitor Blog*, September 22
- (2010) Olympic traffic lanes divert marathon, *Games Monitor Blog*, November 2
- (2010) SebCo needs a living wage! *Games Monitor Blog*, December 14
- (2010) 2012 security spending could top £2 billion, *Games Monitor Blog*, December 15
- (2011) Beech (sic) Volleyball Anarchists, *Games Monitor Blog*, July 31
- (2011) What's WickED? *Games Monitor Blog*, July 22
- (2011) Who guards the budget? *Games Monitor Blog*, September 4
- (2011) Is nothing sacred? Beano joins the 2012 beanfeast, *Games Monitor Blog*, September 5
- Cohen, P. (2004) 'The Olympics Story', in *Rising East*, December edition, <[www.uel.ac.uk/risingeast/archive01/features/olympicstory.htm](http://www.uel.ac.uk/risingeast/archive01/features/olympicstory.htm)>

- Cohn, L. (2005) For London, What Price Olympic Security?, *Business Week*, August 15, <[www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05\\_33/63947076\\_m2054.htm](http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_33/63947076_m2054.htm)>
- Cooke, P. (1988) 'Modernity, Postmodernity and the City', in *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 5, 203, *Postmodernism* (London) Sage
- (1983) *Theories of Planning and Spatial Development* (London) Hutchinson
- Connor, A. (2011) Smashed hits: Is London Calling the best Anthem for a City? *BBC News*, <[www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-14324385](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-14324385)>
- Construction Skills Network* (2006) UK construction industry needs 348,000 new recruits by 2010, June 5 <[www.constructionskills.net/news/whatsinthenews/20060605-csn.asp](http://www.constructionskills.net/news/whatsinthenews/20060605-csn.asp)>
- Coward, R. and J. Ellis (1977) *Language and Materialism* (London) Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Daily Telegraph* (2011) London 2012 Olympics: Criminals may get a chance to work as Olympic guards, August 3
- Dean, M. (1999) *Governmentality* (London) Sage
- Debord, G. et al (1983) *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit) Black & Red
- Dodd, V. (2005) Surge in stop and search of Asian people after July 7, *The Guardian*, December 24
- Donnelly, M. (2010) Government confirms infrastructure unit, *Planning Resource*, June 29
- Dowding, S. (2008) Cultural Olympiad or Olympics Cull? *Games Monitor*, October 1, 2008
- (2009) Olympic Reporters' Secret Club, *Games Monitor*, July 19 after A. Jennings, Transparency in Sport, June 21, <[www.transparencyinsport.org/Olympic\\_Reporters\\_Secret\\_Club/olympic\\_reporters\\_secret\\_club.html](http://www.transparencyinsport.org/Olympic_Reporters_Secret_Club/olympic_reporters_secret_club.html)>
- (2010) And now for something completely different, *Games Monitor Blog*, December 13
- (2011) That's a wrap then, *Games Monitor Blog*, July 26
- (2011) Home and dry, *Games Monitor Blog*, July 31
- Eastern Daily Press* (2006) Prison goes into the labour market, October 5
- Eisenschitz, A. & J. Gough (1993) *The Politics of Local Economic Policy* (London) Macmillan
- (1998) 'Theorising the state in local economic governance', in *Regional Studies*, Vol. 32.8, pp 759-768
- Evening Standard* (2010) Security fears close 'Olympic gateway' canal, November 3, <[www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23894158-security-fears-could-close-olympic-gateway-canal.do](http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23894158-security-fears-could-close-olympic-gateway-canal.do)>
- (2010) Olympic fan parks risk being 'soft targets', November 26, <[www.thisislondon.co.uk/standardd/article-23901591-olympic-fan-aparks-risk-being-soft-targets.do](http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standardd/article-23901591-olympic-fan-aparks-risk-being-soft-targets.do)>
- (2011) New police gun units for routine patrols on Tube and rail network, January 21, <[www.thisislondon.co.uk/standardd/article-23916239-new-police-gun-units-for-routine-patrols-on-tube-and-rail-network.do](http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standardd/article-23916239-new-police-gun-units-for-routine-patrols-on-tube-and-rail-network.do)>
- (2011) Terror police warned no to abuse their powers during the 2012 Games, May 16, <[www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23950431-terror-police-warned-not-to-abuse-their-powers-during-the-2012-games.do](http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23950431-terror-police-warned-not-to-abuse-their-powers-during-the-2012-games.do)>
- Fennell, E. (2005/1) Calling out for an army of willing workers, *The Times*, September 12
- (2005/2) Domestic talent is required, *The Times*, September 12
- Financial Times* (2010) Police cuts to be heaviest during Olympics, October 27, <[www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d5777240-e1ec-11df-a064-00144feabdc0.html](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d5777240-e1ec-11df-a064-00144feabdc0.html)>
- (2011) MoD voices concerns over bigger role at Olympics, July 17, <[www.ft.com/cms/0/2c807850-b07a-11e0-a5a7-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1Spzy0JSn](http://www.ft.com/cms/0/2c807850-b07a-11e0-a5a7-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1Spzy0JSn)>
- Fitzgerald, G. (2010) Minister: 'Games Will be Safe and Secure', *Sky News Olympic Desk*, December 13 <<http://news.sky.com/skynews/Home/UK-News/London-2012-Olympic-Games-The-Home-Office-Is-Releasing-An-Extra-280m-To-Bolster-Security/Article/2010122158532?f=rss>>

- Fuller, G. (2006) Locals to lose out as migrants win 2012 Olympic skills race, *Personnel Today*, May 24, 2006
- GamesBids.com* (2005) London 2012, The Next 100 Days, July 16, <[www.gamesbids.com](http://www.gamesbids.com)>
- Games Monitor* <[www.gamesmonitor.org.uk](http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk)>
- (2009) Police harassment of critics of Vancouver Olympics is protested, June 13
- Germination* (2009) We still don't know yet. Newham young people feel out of the loop on London 2012 opportunities, September/October
- Gibson, O. (2011) Second arrest in Olympic staff explosives case, *The Guardian*, March 31
- Goodwyn, E. & K. Munn, (2006) Skills shortages: crisis — what crisis?, *Contract Journal*, October 11 <[www.contractjournal.com/Articles/Article.aspx?liArticleID=49056&PrinterFriendly=true](http://www.contractjournal.com/Articles/Article.aspx?liArticleID=49056&PrinterFriendly=true)>
- Google/Hosted News* (2009) Vancouver security budget has increased by over five times, November 4, <[www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/AleqM5hqUlxjk8PJltjErqtdz-iAl28dA](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/AleqM5hqUlxjk8PJltjErqtdz-iAl28dA)>
- (2009) London faces the largest security challenge..., November 13, <[www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/AleqM5gK\\_O9odNC8RUSH2TgVC5MAF1E0wD9BULBF82](http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/AleqM5gK_O9odNC8RUSH2TgVC5MAF1E0wD9BULBF82)>
- (2010) 10,000 special constables for 2012 'unattainable', November 29, <[www.google.com/hostednews/ukpress/article/AleqM5iE0SolugBibX15HOIHIVL56weY7g?docid=B35487931290939184A0](http://www.google.com/hostednews/ukpress/article/AleqM5iE0SolugBibX15HOIHIVL56weY7g?docid=B35487931290939184A0)>
- Gough, J. (1996) 'Neoliberalism and localism: comments on Peck and Tickell', in *Area* 28, 3, pp 392-8
- Gray, A. (2004) *Unsocial Europe, Social Protection or Flexploitation?* (London) Pluto Press
- Guiraud, P. (1971) *Semiology* (London) Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Hackney Citizen* (2010) Only one Hackney apprentice on Olympics site, March 10
- Hackney Today* (2006) New centre offers golden opportunity for Hackney business, Issue 126, January 23
- Hansard* (2010) HC Deb, c527W, January 7 <[www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2010-01-07a.308811.h&s=speaker%3A11333#g308811.q0](http://www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2010-01-07a.308811.h&s=speaker%3A11333#g308811.q0)>
- Hardt, M. and A. Negri (2000) *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass) Harvard University Press
- Hopkins, N. & R. Norton-Taylor (2011) US officials worried about security at London 2012 Olympics, *The Guardian*, November 13
- Host Boroughs Unit (2009) *Strategic Regeneration Framework: An Olympic Legacy for the Host Boroughs* (London) Host Boroughs Unit
- House of Commons Public Accounts Select Committee*, November 14, 2007
- Hutton, C., S. Sexton, E. Balgobin, G. Rees (2003) 'Burying Failure, Smothering Success'. A Survey of Current Training Support Provision in Hackney. Report to Jobs and Economy Sub Partnership of Hackney Strategic Partnership, <[www.hackney.gov.uk](http://www.hackney.gov.uk)>
- Jameson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London) Verso
- Jones, M. & K. Ward (2002) 'Excavating the Logic of British Urban Policy: Neoliberalism as the "Crisis of Crisis-Management"', in *Antipode*, pp 473-494
- Kipnis, L. (1986) "'Refunctioning" reconsidered: towards a left popular culture', in C. MacCabe (ed) *High Theory/Low Culture, Analysing Popular Television and Film* (Manchester) MUP
- Lazzaratto, M. (1999), *General Intellect: Towards an Inquiry into Immaterial Labour*, published online, *Aut-op-sy*
- Lefebvre, H.(2001) 'Comments on a New State Form', in *Antipode*, pp 769-782 (originally published as A propos d'un nouveau modele etatique, *Dialectiques* 27, February 1979, pp 47-55)
- London 2012 (2004/1) *Make Britain Proud: Volunteer to Win* (London) TimeBank
- (2004/2) *2012: Transforming the Landscape. Culture in the Spotlight* (London) London 2012

- (2005) *Host City News* (London) London 2012. December edition
- website <[www.london2012.com](http://www.london2012.com)>
- London Development Agency (2004/2) *Socio Economic Assessment and Lower Lea Valley Olympic and Legacy Planning Applications. Appendix 5 to the Environmental Statement* (London) LDA
- (2006) *On Your Marks* <[www.lda.gov.uk/upload/pdf/On\\_Your\\_Marks\\_ESF\\_brochure.pdf](http://www.lda.gov.uk/upload/pdf/On_Your_Marks_ESF_brochure.pdf)>
- London Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Bill* (2005)  
<[www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200506/ldbills/052/06052.ii.html](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200506/ldbills/052/06052.ii.html)>
- London Social Forum (2006) *London Social Forum demand*, leaflet given out at the London Civic Forum conference How should London be run? February 13
- Londonist.com* (2011) Ground-to-air Missiles for Olympics, November 14  
<<http://londonist.com/2011/11/ground-to-air-missiles-for-olympics.php>>
- MacLeod, G. (2002) 'From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a "Revanchist City"? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance', in *Antipode*, pp 602-624
- Marrs, C. (2010) Boroughs oppose Mayor's bid for 2012 Legacy planning powers, *Regen.net*, July 27
- Marshall, P. (2010) Workers Memorial Day, *Demotix.com*, April 28,  
<[www.demotix.com/news/315359/workers-memorial-day](http://www.demotix.com/news/315359/workers-memorial-day)>
- Mayor of London (2006) *Additional powers announced by Department of Communities and Local Government*, July 13, <[www.london.gov.uk/mayor/powers/index.jsp](http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/powers/index.jsp)>
- McPhedran, I. (2007) Armed pilotless planes to protect London Olympics, *Courier Mail*, November 25
- Melossi, D. (1979) 'Institutions of social control and capitalist organisation of work', in B. Fine et al (eds) *Capitalism and the Rule of Law* (London) Hutchinson, pp 90-99
- Merrick, J. (2008) Security bill for London's 2012 Olympics to hit £1.5bn — triple the original estimate, *Independent on Sunday*, September 28
- Miah, A. (2010) Will Citizen Journalists Take Over the London 2012 Olympic Games? *Huffington Post*, September 9, <[www.huffingtonpost.com/andy-miah/media2012-will-citizen-jo\\_b\\_708095.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/andy-miah/media2012-will-citizen-jo_b_708095.html)>
- Moore, P. (2005) 'Revolutions from above: Worker training as trasformismo in South Korea' in *Capital & Class* 86, pp 39-72 (London) CSE
- Morrison, R. (2008) Could our Cultural Olympiad be another Dome-style fiasco? *The Times*, September 27
- Murray, D. & N. Cecil (2011) £1,200 Olympic 'bribe' for Tube drivers, *Evening Standard*, September 13
- Muir, H. & P. Kelso (2005) Olympics row Lawyers who briefed against bid claim £1m from public funds, *The Guardian*, August 10
- Nicholl, K. (2009) The Queen: Don't link my Jubilee celebration to 'flashy' Olympics, *Daily Mail*, June 27, <[www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1195973/The-Queen-Dont-link-Jubilee-celebrations-flashy-Olympics.html#ixzz0X6NSIPgj](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1195973/The-Queen-Dont-link-Jubilee-celebrations-flashy-Olympics.html#ixzz0X6NSIPgj)>
- Notes from meeting with Greek Social Forum Anti-Olympics activists*, Urban Forum (fringe event to the European Social Forum), Bartlett School, University College London, October 15, 2004
- Offe, C. (1985) *Disorganised Capitalism, Contemporary Transformations of Work and Politics* (Cambridge & Oxford) Polity Press & Basil Blackwell
- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2006) *The Greater London Authority: The Government's Proposals for Additional Powers and Responsibilities for the Mayor and Assembly — Consultation Document* (London) ODPM
- Olympic Resistance Network* (2009) Targeting of anti-Olympics movement, June 8,  
<<http://olympicresistance.net>>
- Osborn, A. (2002) Work is three times as deadly as war, says UN, *The Guardian*, May 2
- Pattni, V. (2006) AOSEC win contracts to train Olympic workforce, *FE News*, August 15,  
<[www.fenews.co.uk/newsview.asp?n=1788](http://www.fenews.co.uk/newsview.asp?n=1788)>

- Peck, J. (1996) *Work-place, The Social Regulation of Labor Markets* (New York) The Guilford Press
- & A. Tickell (2002) 'Neoliberalising Space', in *Antipode*, pp 380-404
- Peev, G. (2010) Drug squad 'should raid Olympic village', *The Scotsman*, January 4
- Peirce, G. (2003) 'Terrorising communities', in E. Schmid and D. Morgan, *A Permanent State of Terror* (London) CAMPACC
- PeopleManagement.co.uk* (2010) Freedom-of-information request reveals Olympics skills legacy, June 11 <[www.peoplemanagement.co.uk/pm/articles/2010/06/freedom-of-information-request-reveals-olympics-skills-legacy.htm](http://www.peoplemanagement.co.uk/pm/articles/2010/06/freedom-of-information-request-reveals-olympics-skills-legacy.htm)>
- Phillips, T. (2005) Let's show the world its future, *The Observer*, July 10, Olympics 2012 supplement
- Pilditch, D. (2010) British firms' fury as 2012 Olympics promo film is made in China, *Daily Express*, May 24
- Press Association* (2008) The massive demands of the 2012 Olympics will leave forces struggling to cope with everyday policing..., May 21
- Press TV* (2011) Olympic security to be inspected by SAS, April 10, <[www.presstv.ir/detail/174096.html](http://www.presstv.ir/detail/174096.html)>
- Prince, K. (2006) *Report back on 'How the Olympics can strengthen our community'*, Public Meeting, The Score Project, Oliver Road, Leyton, E10. January 24 (email)
- Project Mimique* (2005) 2012 Olympics and the institutionalisation of consent, leaflet, October
- (2011) *A neo-Baroque condundrum*, poster
- Randerson, J. (2006) Police DNA database holds 37% of black men, *The Guardian*, January 5
- Regen.net* (2007) Unions sign Olympic memorandum, September 12
- (2007) Skills investment related to Olympics, October 5
- Reuters (2010) Cuts fears hinder 2012 Olympics emergency plans, *UKPlurk.com*, October 13, <<http://sports.ukplurk.com/2010/10/cuts-fears-hinder-2012-olympics.html>>
- (2012) Olympic games security budget set to double — FT, November 30, <<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/12/01/olympic-security-idUSL4E7N10ED201111201>>
- Rose, N. (1999) *Powers of Freedom, Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge) CUP
- Rythmist* (2010) A brief look at the less publicised security options for the 2012 Olympics, September 5, <<http://rythmist.wordpress.com/2010/09/05/a-brief-look-at-the-less-publicised-security-options-for-the-2012-olympics/>>
- Schmid, E. & D. Morgan (2003) *A Permanent State of Terror* (London) CAMPACC
- Scotland on Sunday* (2011) Armed police to guard Olympics, June 12, <<http://scotlandonsunday.scotsman.com/news/Armed-police-to-guard-Olympics.6783631.jp>>
- Seymour, B. (2008) Blurred boundaries: Sport, art and activity, *Mute* [www.metamute.org/en/Blurred-Boundaries-Sport-Artand-Activity](http://www.metamute.org/en/Blurred-Boundaries-Sport-Artand-Activity)
- Sharp, R. (2011) £87m Cultural Olympiad will be one-woman show, says boss, *The Independent*, April 25
- Slavin, M. (2007) London Olympics will lead UK's buoyant CCTV market growth to 2012, *Games Monitor*, December 31
- (2008) Unite trade union say European Court judgement could derail the London Olympics, *Games Monitor*, April 9
- (2009) Construction workers demonstrate for legal and fair working conditions at Olympic site, *Games Monitor*, May 10
- Swyngedouw, E., A. Moulaert & A. Rodriguez (2002) 'Neoliberal Urbanisation in Europe: Large-scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy', in *Antipode*, pp 542-577
- The Big Opportunity (2007) *The Big Opportunity – Context and communication behind the 2012 Third Sector Engagement Project* (London) London Civic Forum

- The Guardian* (2011) Health agency issues Olympics emergency warning, May 5  
<[www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/may/05/health-agency-olympics-emergency-warning](http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/may/05/health-agency-olympics-emergency-warning)>
- (2011) Olympics 2012: London's legacy 'sabotaged by spending cuts', May 6  
<[www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2011/may/06/london-olympics-legacy-sabotaged-cuts](http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2011/may/06/london-olympics-legacy-sabotaged-cuts)>
- They Work for You* <[www.theyworkforyou.com/debate/?id=2008-05-16a.1721.2](http://www.theyworkforyou.com/debate/?id=2008-05-16a.1721.2)>
- Tims, C. (2008?) *The Post-Exotic Olympics* (online) Demos  
<[www.demos.co.uk/files/File/PostExoticOlympics.pdf](http://www.demos.co.uk/files/File/PostExoticOlympics.pdf)>
- Tompsett, F. (1996) 'Dislocation on the Isle of Dogs', in *Transgressions 2/3* (London) Salamander Press
- Travellers living on local authority sites in the Olympic zone: Statement from the Waterden Crescent Residents Group and the Clays Lane Travellers Residents Association*, January 10, 2006
- Travis, A. (2006) Compulsory work plan to cut prison numbers, *The Guardian*, February 10
- UCATT Building Worker* (2005) New Year edition
- (2005) Spring edition
- Vancouver Media Co-op* (2009) Olympic critic detained, questioned, and rejected at USA border, December 13, <<http://vancouver.mediacoop.ca/video/2245>>
- Walker, K. (2011) £1,800 bonus bribe to Tube drivers not to disrupt Olympics as militant leaders crank up strike threat, *Daily Mail*, September 14
- Webster, P. (2006) Costs soar for London Olympics, *The Times*, July 6
- Wells, M. (2010) London 2012: One big party or one big prison?, *Games Monitor*, April 12
- Wiggins, K. (2009) East London social businesses claim contracts are too large to bid for, *Third Sector* <<http://thirdsector.co.uk/News/918132>>, July 7
- Wightman, C. (2009) Rascal: '2012 Olympics do my head in', *The Sun*, September 4,  
<[www.digitalspy.co.uk/showbiz/a175760/rascal-2012-olympics-do-my-head-in.html](http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/showbiz/a175760/rascal-2012-olympics-do-my-head-in.html)>
- Williams, C. (2009) 'Geo fences' could protect east London, *Policing*, July 6,  
<[www.theregister.co.uk/2009/07/06/olympics\\_mobile\\_tracking](http://www.theregister.co.uk/2009/07/06/olympics_mobile_tracking)>
- Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour* (Farnborough) Saxon
- Wilson, D. (2011) UK police consider facial recognition technology for 2012 Olympics, *The Inquirer*, August 12 <[www.theinquirer.net/inquirer/news/2101437/uk-police-considering-facial-recognition-technology-2012-olympics-london-riots](http://www.theinquirer.net/inquirer/news/2101437/uk-police-considering-facial-recognition-technology-2012-olympics-london-riots)>
- Wintour P. & A. Travis (2010) Olympic park to rival Silicon Valley in David Cameron's vision for east London, *The Guardian*, November 4
- Woller, S. (2011) The Olympic promise to children falls at very first hurdle, *Daily Express*, May 22
- Wright, G. (2005) Olympic win could mean a loss for North, *Yorkshire Post*, July 14

